

Factionalism in Punjab Muslim League (1947-55): Review of Political Coherence to Incoherence in Pakistan

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Abstract

Ranks of Muslim League bore multiple tendencies regarding identity, however, in the province of the Punjab, identities were not only aligned with religious lines but with rural-urban divide and class-stricken issues as well. In this backdrop, factionalism was noticed among ranks and files of Punjab Provincial Muslim League (PPML). In this backdrop, this study focuses on factionalism in PPML (1947-1955) review of political coherence to incoherence in Pakistan. The present study is delimited to explore the nature and extent of the very factionalism among ranks of PPML from 1947 to 1955, so that a scenario of Punjab, major province of Pakistan, can be grasped. It deals with the qualitative and historical data analysis. Data is collected from the historical works and books. The researcher interprets different events and books to analyze the data. The study expresses the post-partition politics in Pakistan to highlight the nature of factionalism that could be explored with respect to very identities. It was concluded that the Punjab has been a harbinger of such kind of factionalism; politics of PPML remained coherent in the presence of proper organization, leadership and ideology while its politics become incoherent in the absence of these faculties.

Keywords: Factionalism, Coherence, Incoherence, Colonialism, Socialist, Ideology, Nationalism

Introduction

Politics of grouping and factionalism was very much there in the colonial Indian politics and this phenomenon of factionalism continued even in post-colonial era. However, the focus of the study is the Punjab—its post-colonial phase, i.e., from 1947 to 1955. Politics of province was prone to bifurcation in the name of urban and rural Punjab, ethnic divide, cultural diversity among inner-city and countryside, manufacturing and agricultural Punjab, family, class, personal rivalries among eminent leaders and politicians; catalyzed the emergence of factionalism in Punjab's political landscape. Prior to independence PPML's politics, remained incoherent due to poor organizational machinery, lack of visionary leadership and absence of popular ideology from 1907 to 1940. After Lahore Resolution PPML organization improved due to services rendered by young educated Muslims like Nawab Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Mian Abd-ul-Bari; Jinnah provided necessary leadership faculty and Pakistan ideology was accepted as popular ideology, which changed incoherent politics into coherent one gradually. This politics of coherence resulted in not only victory of League candidates in byelections till 1944 but its success during 1945-1946 elections. Due to successful political maneuvers, British imperialist forces agreed to divide Indian subcontinent into Pakistan and India.¹

After creation of Pakistan provincial Leagues were naturally interlinked with the working of Pakistan Muslim League (PML) including PPML. Politics of PPML was dominated by factional divide between different factions; while argument has been developed about this fact that factionalism at the time of poor organizational machine, absence of leadership faculty and non-availability of ideology caused politics of incoherence.

Research Questions

To what extent death of Mr. Jinnah and organizational deficiencies of Muslim League resulted in decline of PPML; why Punjab based Muslim Leaguers, in early years of 1950s, were split into groups and factions and were even ready to

change their loyalties by formulating their own political organizations?

Theoretical Parameters

One can explore the framework of '*exit voice and loyalty*'² within the ranks of Muslim League, as it is evident from the gradual rise, evolution and strengthening of political organization of PPML.

Politics of Punjab Provincial Muslim League after Creation of Pakistan and Factionalism

After independence Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot formulated ministry on 16th August 1947, other prominent members of ministry were, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Sheikh Karamat Ali and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din was included in the Mamdot ministry as minister of refugees.³ At the time of creation of Pakistan Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot was president and Mian Abdul Bari was general-secretary of PPML party. As Pakistan had to face many problems after its creation, therefore, League organizational work was ignored. On 1st October 1947, a meeting was held of Central Council of PPML and resolution was passed to revive and organize the provincial League.⁴ PPML Council meeting was held on 17th November 1947, in Lahore. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, minister of refugees, resigned from ministry one day prior to meeting. As, there were ideological differences among Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, who was relatively conservative capitalist in his outlook, while Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had socialist tilt. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din suggested economic and social reforms according to his ideological tilt but were not entertained by the provincial ministry and he resigned in disappointment. He contested the election of president of PPML and eventually, he was elected as the provincial president, despite the fact he was rigorously opposed by Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot.⁵ This is of utmost significance that ruling party, PPML Council, rejected the consent of provincial government, which was predominantly a League ministry, within three months of its foundation. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, as president PPML, visited in the hook and corners of the province for party membership and organization. He spoke for the Islamic state, demanded to abolish feudalism,

aristocracy and suggested nationalization of the industry. He criticized the provincial government, therefore, both provincial government and PPML stood against each other in the beginning.⁶

As far as League parliamentary party was concerned grouping and factional divide emerged in the very early stage of its foundation; one faction was led by Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, while the other by Mumtaz Daultana. In December 1947, Mian Mumtaz Daultana complained that cabinet decisions were often superseded by a shadow cabinet of Nawab of Mamdot.⁷ Differences between both Mamdot and Daultana were there even prior to creation of Pakistan but after creation of Pakistan these converted into direct tussle between both the prominent figures of Punjab and also resulted in factional divide. Actually, Daultana considered himself wiser as compare to Mamdot and he was not ready to work under the subjugation of Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, therefore, he tried to dominate on Mamdot which resulted in tussle and factional divide in the provincial ministry and PPML also. Both factions remained entangled and wrangling with each other to gain more powers. Their differences were not on ideological basis but these were based on personal rivalries, quest for power and to satisfy the complexes of superiority, which badly deteriorated credibility of PPML.

Due to this heightened factional divide and grouping, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had to interfere and rival ministers (Mamdot, Daultana and Shaukat Hayat) were summoned in Karachi. They returned with a joint declaration that they would work as a unit and will not indulge in conflict with each other. After few days, there was new wave of strained relations among them and they were re-summoned by Jinnah along with Governor of Punjab, Sir Francis Moodie. During the talks Jinnah even offered Daultana to become chief-minister of Punjab but he declined till his election as leader of the provincial parliamentary party by an overwhelming majority. Differences between the ministers were not patched and Jinnah referred the matter to the Governor for suitable action. Soon after their return, Nawab of Mamdot successfully sought confidence in his government both from parliamentary provincial party and PPML Council. Thus

irritated, both Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat, chose to resign on 27th May 1948; resulted in the enhanced grouping and tussle between all three leaders of Punjab.⁸

Politics of Punjab Provincial Muslim League after Demise of Jinnah

After the demise of Jinnah on 11th September 1948, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din succeeded Jinnah as Governor-General while Liaquat Ali Khan remained prime-minister. In September 1948, Prime-Minister started his tour of West Pakistan and he tried to patch up, already existing, grouping and factional divide in the provincial Leagues of West Pakistan and he tried to mediate between Mamdot and Daultana, while Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot agreed to invite Daultana and Feroze Khan Noon to sit in the provincial ministry of Punjab. As, Liaquat Ali Khan left the jurisdiction of Punjab, Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot deviated from the promise and refuse to include Daultana and Noon in the Punjab ministry, which infuriated both Daultana and Noon. Liaquat Ali Khan also disliked this breach of trust. This made Daultana humiliated and he decided to bring down Mamdot ministry by obtaining control of the PPML organization.⁹ Daultana and Noon held alliance against Mamdot and tried to defame Mamdot ministry by alleging as immoral, illegitimate and Mamdot is serving his personal cause instead of national cause.¹⁰

Daultana was waiting for proper moment to challenge Mamdot. Elections of PPML were scheduled on 25th November 1948, while Daultana presented himself as candidate for president of PPML. Two major candidates, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Maulana Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui, were contesting against each other for party presidentship. Mian Mumtaz Daultana, however, won the PPML party president elections while Nawabzada Valayat Ali, son of Liaquat Ali Khan, was elected as general-secretary of PPML.¹¹ Mumtaz Daultana was elected president by defeating Mamdot's nominee, Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui, by a majority of eighteen votes, in the meeting of the reorganized Council of the PPML in November 1948.¹² As matter of fact, these party elections were contested on personal basis; no rule, ideological tilt or particular policy was followed. Both central and provincial ministries stood against each other, as Prime-Minister Liaquat

Ali Khan supported Daultana while Siddiqui was supported by chief-minister of Punjab. Politics of favoritism and nepotism was also there in the provincial election, as Nawabzada Vilayet Ali, who contested election of general-secretary from Daultana faction was son of Liaquat Ali Khan. In this way, it was an open conflict of interest and a clear breach of morality during the provincial elections of PPML party, which badly damaged the credibility of League.

In December 1948, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, as president of PPML, visited the province of Punjab and he raised allegations of corruption and corrupt practices against provincial government of Mamdot. Provincial government under Mamdot and PPML under Daultana stood against each other while new and increased race of leg-pulling started between both the major factions of Punjab. In the absence of Jinnah and proper organization of Muslim League, these groupings proved very damaging for the credibility of League.

PPML Parliamentary Party held its meeting in December 1948, and 76 members attended the meeting out of 81 total members. Daultana faction raised the issue of mismanagement in the process of rehabilitation of refugees while 41 members of parliamentary party, majority members, promulgated an application in which they pleaded, leader of the house, to step down from his office.¹³ This was an indirect attempt of no-confidence motion against Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot. PPML Council held its meeting in the same days, which was also bifurcated into factional divide between Daultana and Mamdot factions. After assuming powerful portfolio Daultana started alienating Mamdot's supporters in the Parliamentary Party with various promises and made situation tough for the Mamdot ministry to run the provincial government affairs. Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, however, tried to mediate between both factions but he failed and under disappointment he substantiated formal request to Governor General, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, to suspend the constitution in the province of Punjab. Finally, in the environment of this tussle and conflict Governor-General on 25th January 1949, the provincial government was sacked, the provincial legislature was dissolved, and administration was handed over to the Governor

under section 92-A of the provisional constitution; on the charges of incompetence of assembly members to perform their obligations & duties.¹⁴

Now, revengeful, Daultana was satisfied, as he had successfully toppled Mamdot ministry by his political tactics and maneuvers. Meanwhile, Mumtaz Daultana realized the need of unity in the ranks of PPML and on the request of sympathizers and mediators, he resigned from the office of president of PPML. Daultana resigned on 17th March 1949 and Working Committee of PPML approved his resignation.¹⁵ Both, Mamdot and Daultana agreed to work in mutual collaboration and nominated Mian Abd-ul-Bari for the president of PPML and he was elected as president of PPML with larger consensus who promised to follow the party manifesto.¹⁶ Liaquat Ali Khan was appreciated on his timely interference in the affairs of Punjab, while PPML also supported prime-minister, instead of its representative Mamdot ministry. Decision to dissolve the provincial assembly would remain enforce till the holding of new provincial elections as well as formulation of new ministry in the Punjab.¹⁷

Mian Abd-ul-Bari vs Francis Moodie

Mian Abd-ul-Bari, close friend of Quaid-i-Azam, became true president of PPML instead of stooge of Mamdot or Daultana. Mian Abd-ul-Bari, as president of PPML tried to reorganize and strengthen the PPML and also challenged the despotic powers of Governor of Punjab, Sir Francis Moodie, in the affairs of province as Moodie was in full control of administrative machinery of the province contrary to parliamentary norms.¹⁸ Due to factional divide between both Daultana and Mamdot groups the administration of the province had suffered greatly, because the government servants had political inclination with either one political group and Governor of Punjab instructed servants to remain aloof from politicization and ignore all pressures from any political group. Mian Abd-ul-Bari visited Punjab after becoming party president of PPML, everywhere in whole of province and party workers of different districts complained about the non-responsive and non-cooperative attitude of government servants. Bari perceived that the Governor was intending to diminish Muslim League in the province of Punjab. On listening this Mian Abd-ul-Bari started

an anti-Moodie campaign. Mian Abd-ul-Bari demanded removal of British nationals from key positions and he also demanded removal of Moodie from governorship of Punjab. PPML Working-Committee passed a resolution in this regard, which was resented by Liaquat Ali Khan. This resulted in strained relations between Liaquat Ali Khan and Mian Abd-ul-Bari. At last, it was decided to raise this issue in front of Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, president of PML, to seek his confidence on this matter.¹⁹

At first, Prime-Minister behaved with commendable firmness and reprimanded the PPML for its childish behavior; but later he realized that his own position and that of his government in the center would be jeopardized. Accordingly, he reached a compromise with the PPML and in November 1949, Liaquat-Bari Formula was agreed, according to which coordination between PPML and Punjab Government was promised. Therefore, few Muslim Leaguers were nominated as the advisors of Governor and they were given the status of provincial ministers. These advisors were given more administrative powers which was not acceptable to Governor Moodie, who was not ready to sit beside Mian Abd-ul-Bari and PPML advisors on equal basis. In the prevailing situation, Moodie resigned and Liaquat Ali Khan approved his resignation. Sardar Abd-ul-Rab Nishtar, loyal associate of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, took oath as governor and his appointment was praised by the majority circles of Muslim Leaguers. The PPML, whose administration had previously been dismissed and whose parliamentary leaders were under inquiry or trial for corruption and other serious charges, was once again to rule the province, this time through the backdoor.²⁰

During anti-Moodie campaign, Bari and Mamdot came further close to each other and so their respective groups. Daultana was watching these developments minutely and he complained that through system of advisors, his opponent faction has come to power, despite the fact that Daultana faction had more influence in the PPML. Resultantly, Daultana started his political activities against all, Bari, Mamdot faction and advisors of governor as well.²¹

Daultana, now apprehensive of the strengthening of his rival group, pleaded against appointment of advisors; but he was voted down in the PPML Council by a majority of twenty-two votes. It was however, alleged that Mian Bari had offered five posts of advisors to nineteen different League Councilors to seek their support in the party meeting.²² This is a fact Bari was not able to patch up personal rivalries, factional divides existing in the ranks of PPML, yet he tried to revive declining PPML to some extent. Mian Abd-ul-Bari, in this way, remained successful in demonstrating the organizational strength of PPML which resulted in the popularity of Muslim League in Punjab which is evident from the election results of Punjab legislature in March 1951.²³

Meeting of PPML Council was scheduled on 11th June 1950, in which new party constitution draft was discussed, but suddenly, Mian Abd-ul-Bari suspended the meeting. Due to which, party elections and provincial elections were further delayed. PPML party elections were going to complete till December 1950; therefore, provincial elections were not possible prior to 1951.²⁴ PPML Council meeting was held on 24th July 1950 again, which was also dominated by factional divide and tussle among both the groups. When resolution against Malik Muhammad Anwar was presented, squabble erupted in the meeting. Mian Abd-ul-Bari, president PPML, gave the ruling that voting on the resolution would be through secret ballots, while Daultana faction was in favor of open ballot. Daultana faction, therefore, started rowdyism and shouting and meeting was badly spoiled.²⁵ Meeting was, however, suspended by Mian Abd-ul-Bari in these circumstances while Daultana group resented and refused to vacate the hall. Daultana faction selected Maulana Akhtar Ali, as their president and continued the proceedings of suspended meeting. In this meeting, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, presented two more resolutions; according to first resolution, rejected the ruling of Bari of secret ballot and secondly condemnation resolution against Malik Muhammad Anwar was passed. As majority councilors of PPML attended this session, therefore, it was indirect move of no-confidence against Mian Abd-ul-Bari and he resigned.²⁶ Mian Abd-ul-Bari gave reasons that he has resigned in protest against Daultana, because, Daultana and his

faction was indulged in intrigues, due to which both central command of PML and PPML stood against each other, which defamed the credibility of Muslim League organization.²⁷ Working Committee of PPML approved the Bari's resignation on 21st August 1950 and elected Sufi Abd-ul-Hameed, as new president of PPML whose name was proposed by Daultana faction.²⁸

Dominance of Daultana Faction

Daultana was in full control of PPML affairs and he was also enjoying the support of PML due to patronage rendered by Liaquat Ali Khan. Mamdot faction was badly outmaneuvered by Daultana faction and Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot became so much disappointed and dishearten that he left Muslim League. Meanwhile, Prime-minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, assumed the office of president of PML also in October 1950; therefore, it became impossible for Mian Abd-ul-Bari and Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot to challenge Daultana faction.²⁹

Mamdot's departure from PPML portrayed a negative message that loyalty to League is associated with remaining in power, because, Mamdot remained loyal to League till he remained in power, from creation of Pakistan to 1950. As Daultana faction became dominant, Mamdot left League which showed that loyalty feature is guaranteed with remaining in power and also unrevealed that Leaguers, in the absence of Jinnah, were ready to defect from League organization. However, defection in the ranks of Muslim League party, conspiracies, intrigues, misdirected foreign policy of the government, lack of individual freedoms, failure in rehabilitation of refugees, delay in constitution making process, disruption of democratic norms and unifications of both offices, prime minister-ship and presidentship of PML had badly damaged the evolution of parliamentary democracy and credibility of PML and its provincial branches including PPML. All these above reasons were mentioned in Mamdot's resignation and he not only left Muslim League but formulated new party, Jinnah Muslim League, in October 1950.³⁰ When one may apply 'exit-voice and loyalty' framework here in this particular case one can witness that Mamdot preferred to exit from the party, rather to raise voice

for the reorganization of League by remaining loyal to League organization.

PPML promulgated its manifesto on 21st November 1950, in which rural financing and development were focused, rehabilitation of refugees, industrial development, resolution of problems faced by laborers, eradication of unemployment, provision of civil liberties, education, health facility, general development, civil defense and protection of minorities were promised.³¹ Province-wide 'Manifesto Day' was celebrated and public meetings were held in this regard. More than 800 applicants applied for Muslim League ticket to contest provincial elections and they also promised to remain loyal to the program of Muslim League.³² PPML executives visited different constituencies of Punjab, formulated a five-member committee (A.B. Halim, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Malik Sharif-ud-Din, Syed Hassan Mehmood and Khan Ibrahim Khan) to scrutinize the candidates, provincial Parliamentary Board of PPML held its meeting in February 1951. Finalized 197 candidates and Muslim League party tickets were awarded to them also.³³

On the other hand, both, Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy merged their parties, Jinnah Muslim League and Awami Muslim League, to formulate Jinnah Awami Muslim League (JAML) to challenge the monopoly of Muslim League. This party proved to be blessing in disguise for those Leaguers who applied for Muslim League tickets but they were not entertained. These rejected elements changed their loyalties with Muslim League and became loyal to new party, JAML. In this way, first major election in the newly established Pakistan, resulted in change of loyalties and defection in the ranks of Muslim League; merely for personal politics and this trend was initiated in the major province of Punjab and maiden election of country's political history. After the demise of Jinnah, this trend of breakaway and defection in the ranks of Muslim League became order of the day for personal gains and material benefits. Now, both the parties, PPML and JAML, and both the factions, Daultana and Mamdot, were ready to face each other in the upcoming provincial elections of Punjab. During election campaign personal attacks, blame game, abuses to opponents

were dominated as political slogans instead of party manifestos and service to the people. This trend not only bifurcated society of Punjab, sown the seed of enmity within the society and spoiled the political culture and rotten the democratic norms in the country.

Liaquat Ali Khan supported PPML candidates and paid province-wide political visits and addressed to public gatherings in different places. He portrayed Muslim League as sacred trust of Jinnah and claimed to fulfil the dreams and aspirations of Jinnah. To counter Liaquat Ali Khan, Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot announced that Miss Fatima Jinnah will visit Punjab to render support to candidates of JAML. Miss Fatima Jinnah, however, had not visited Punjab, but she never negated Mamdot's claim.

PPML emerged as the single largest majority party in the provincial elections by winning 153 provincial seats out of 197, while JAML was able to win only 29 seats. Later independents also joined PPML, which further strengthened its position in the provincial legislature.³⁴ Success of party election by Daultana faction was followed by the overwhelming victory of PPML in the Punjab elections of March 1951, while many factors contributed to the League's success. League's leading role during freedom movement was still fresh in the minds of Muslim masses, opposition parties had very short experience and were lacking popular visionary leadership and were lacking proper future program also. This is a fact that Muslim League was the most popular political party of independent Pakistan and was in a position to win the elections easily, but the use of government machinery and other tactics damaged the credibility and impartiality of elections as well as Muslim League. These provincial elections set a bad precedent for upcoming and future elections also.³⁵

Mian Mumtaz Daultana was elected as the leader of the PPML parliamentary party in a meeting presided over by Liaquat Ali Khan, which took place a few days after the election results were announced and he was invited by the Governor to formulate ministry in the province.³⁶ Sufi Abd-ul-Hameed, Sardar Abd-ul-Hameed Dasti, Chaudhary Muhammad Hussain Chattha, Sheikh

Fazal Ilahi Paracha and Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi joined the provincial cabinet while chief-minister, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, promised to follow the party manifesto.³⁷ Mian Mumtaz Daultana targeted the opposing voices and this culture of hate was also substantiated and supported by other Leaguers, even Liaquat Ali Khan supported this culture. Working Committee of PPML started a cleansing work by expelling 474 members from party for five years on the basis of complaints received from the League candidates.³⁸ This culture to snub the dissenting voices, curb the opposition and detain them behind the bars was the legacy of colonial rule and it was followed by the political elites of Punjab which also set a bad precedent.

As Daultana was already aware of conspiracies in the legislature of Punjab and factional tussle prevailing within the PPML organization; he took substantive measures to establish strong control of the League Parliamentary party to avoid any future eventuality; he amended the parliamentary party constitution in September 1951. According to this amendment the parliamentary leader, chief-minister, would hold office for the life of the provincial legislature, but other office bearers were to be elected annually; while no-confidence motion against an office-holder or cabinet minister required requisition signed by at-least one-third of the total membership, with a prior notice of at least fifteen days.³⁹

Factionalism Against Daultana

Daultana's pleasure was short lived, as he had to face first major complication on the issue of Agrarian Reform Bill, which was opposed by the majority of feudal-lords sitting in the Punjab Legislature, who were also members of PPML assembly party. On the other hand, landlord Muslim Leaguers, from the platform of *Anjuman-i-Tahafuz-i-Haqooq-i-Zamindaran Teht-ul-Shariyya* which was presided over by Pir Naubahar Shah not only resented these reforms but organized themselves against PPML and Daultana ministry.⁴⁰ They, even, exploited religion against these reforms by alleging, reforms are contradicting the teachings of Islam. As, landlord had significant presence in the legislative assemblies of Pakistan, therefore, these land reforms greatly damaged the strength of Daultana in the Punjab legislature. Daultana, strongly pleaded for the reforms,

threatened to go back to the electorates for a fresh mandate if they are not ready accept the bill. After the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, in October 1951, Daultana's position became further weak, his biggest supporter in the central government.⁴¹

On the other hand, as restriction to acquire two offices, prime-minister-ship and presidentship of PML, was already waved; Mumtaz Daultana, to strengthen himself and secure his political position, by following the central government and PML, became the president of PPML along with holding the office of chief-minister-ship of the province, while Sufi Abd-ul-Hameed became vice president of PPML, who was earlier president of the PPML.⁴² Daultana tried rigorously to secure his politics and prolong his stay in the provincial government.

Basic Principles Committee (BPC) report was published, in December 1952, under the prime-minister-ship of Nazim-ud-Din which was not acceptable to the provinces of West-Pakistan, especially Punjab, therefore, Daultana flew to Karachi in January 1953 and shared the sentiments and response of Punjab to the leaders and members of central cabinet. In Punjab, debates were held and 2nd report of BPC was criticized.⁴³ As this report was supported by prime-minister, therefore, he disliked reaction of Punjab on the BPC report. But these developments increased gulf between Daultana and Nazim-ud-Din. Ahmadi controversy, which is also known as *Khatam-i-Nabuwat Tehreek*, resulted in deterioration of law-and-order situation. This controversy, not only, resulted in resignation by Daultana, on 25th March, but also paved the path for removal of Nazim-ud-Din from the office of Prime-Minister. Daultana, however, resigned from the office of president of PPML as well.⁴⁴ Daultana was further asked to propose Firoz Khan Noon, then Governor of East-Pakistan, as the new leader, more sympathetic towards the landlords.

New Wave of Factional Tussle between Daultan Faction and Noon Faction

New chief-minister, Firoz Khan Noon, instead of patching the differences already existed within the conflicting factions, adopted a policy of confrontation in order to maintain himself in power. In the early months of 1953, Daultana group remained on backfoot due to unfavorable circumstances; but in June 1953,

they decided to put up a fight for the election of the new president. Choudhary Muhammad Hussain Chattha, former revenue minister of Daultana cabinet, was the candidate against Firoz Khan Noon. Muhammad Hussain Chattha, however, withdrew his name after his sudden arrest and then release; which provided, Noon, an opportunity to elect himself as president of PPML without opposition.

In November 1953, Daultana held a meeting of Punjab Assembly members at his residence, in which 86 members participated and they promised to support no-confidence motion against chief-minister. Similar meeting was held at the residence of Malik Feroze Khan Noon, to counter the political move of Daultana faction, in which 87 members participated.⁴⁵ Ironically, some members attended meetings of both factions and promised their allegiance to both. This was, rather, an immoral in nature but opportunists within the ranks of PPML, were not ashamed of their dual character. On the other hand, League leadership, due to internal factionalism and weakness, was forced to accept and accommodate these immoral and opportunist elements. Desire to move a no-confidence motion, however, remained unsuccessful, despite rigorous efforts by Daultna faction. Thus, yet another tussle between Daultana and Noon factions after Daultana-Mamdot factions, badly damaged the credibility and unity of PPML, which further reduced the popularity of PPML among the people of Punjab. In the absence of powerful organization, visionary leadership and political ideology, these factions proved suicidal, which resulted in gradual decline of Muslim League and incoherent politics was noticed.

As Noon faction was facing difficulties within the PPML Council, therefore, they started a move to dissolve the Council. Daultana faction had significant numerical presence in the PPML Council, therefore, they were against this move. Pro-Daultana, Chaudhary Muhammad Hussain Chattha, even visited Karachi and tried to convince PML leaders to refrain from dissolution of PPML Council.⁴⁶ But incomplete Working Committee of PML dissolved the PPML Council. However, Prime-Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra, as president PML gave

the ruling, not to implement the decision of incomplete Working Committee.⁴⁷

In April 1954, a Convention was announced by PPML to reorganize and revive the declining PPML. There held two parallel conventions; one at the residence of Daultana and the other at the residence of Noon. In this way, this effort to revive the League, back-fired badly and resulted in enhanced grouping and factional divide, which, further, damaged the credibility of PPML.⁴⁸ The decline of Muslim League, at the center as well as in the provinces, was not accompanied by the rise of any party that could take its place or form an effective opposition. Organizational flaws of League were exposed badly, in the absence of charismatic and visionary leadership, lack of popular political rhetoric or ideology, the PML and provincial branches of League including PPML, were gradually declining, which resulted in either defection in the ranks of league. In 1955, second CAP was established but Muslim League not only lost its majority but significance also.

Malik Feroze Khan Noon survived, however, till 1955, finally his ministry was sacked, as it was alleged that it was working against public interest. The internal composition of the Muslim league was so latently factionalized that the organizational hold over the party member was almost non-existent. As organization of Muslim League became weak, it had no visionary leadership like Jinnah and was not able to evolve a political rhetoric according to needs of newly established country which resulted in absolute decline.

Conclusion

In the presence of better organizational machinery, visionary leadership, and proper ideology; politics remained coherent while different factional groups were forced to sit under same banner, resulted in more votes gained by AIML. After creation of Pakistan PML and provincial branches including PPML were not able to sustain their organizational skills, lost visionary leadership and were not able to evolve new political ideologies according to need of the hour. In the absence of these faculties decline in PML and PPML ranks was noticed resulted in politics of incoherence till 1955. PPML became battle ground of

factionalism between Mamdot and Daultana factions in the early years while in the decade of 1950 a new wave of factionalism started between Daultana faction and Noon faction. Punjab based Muslim Leaguers, in early years of 1950s, were split into groups and factions and were even ready to change their loyalties by formulating their own political organizations.

It was examined that factionalism without organizational structure, absence of faculty of political leadership and non-availability of popular ideology to run the affairs of newly established state of Pakistan not only resulted in politics of incoherence but also gradual decline in the ranks of Muslim League. So, it is suggested that sustained improvement in the organizational machinery of political parties, visionary leadership and provision of popular ideology factionalism can become beneficial but same can become harmful and cause defection in the ranks of political organizations. It is further advised to listen to the voice of loyal members to avoid defection in the ranks of political organizations.

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