

## ***1951 General Elections in the NWFP***

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### **Introduction**

Elections are life line of a democratic system. However, in Pakistan elections are held either as necessary evil or to prolong ruling. Members of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and provincial assemblies were elected in the elections of 1946. After the creation of Pakistan assemblies were constituted on the basis of 1946 elections. However, in 1951 it was realized that there is a need of holding general elections in the country. It was thus the Federal Government's decision to hold elections and the provinces followed the suit.

As part of this process Qiayum Khan, Chief Minister of the NWFP also announced in February 1951 to hold general elections in the province. His announcement was received with mixed reactions. Some of his colleagues in the government did not agree with him on holding the elections at that time considering it a premature decision. The opposition parties were pessimist. The opposition's main concern was his continuation as Chief Minister of the Province for the interim period. They demanded from the Governor of the NWFP and the Federal Government that an impartial machinery of the government may be installed for the holding of fair elections in the province.

Actually earlier Qaiyum Khan had been ruling the province with an iron hand. He had banned the *Khudai Khidmatgars*, one of the most popular parties in the province and had put a heavy hand on the opposition within the Muslim League. Pir of Manki Sharif,

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M. Yusaf Khan Khattak, Ibrahim Khan Jhagra and Ghulam Mohammad Khan Lundkhwar, the Muslim League stalwarts, either had been compelled to quit the Muslim League or side lined. Thus there was a general mistrust about Qaiyum Khan's honesty and impartiality in the forthcoming elections. But in spite of all kind of opposition he went along with his announced programme. He was also supported in his programme by the Federal Government in general and Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan in particular.

### **Announcement of Elections**

In the beginning of 1951, the Government of Pakistan started considering holding general elections in the country. The decision was taken by the Governor-General of Pakistan on 19 March 1951, amending the Government of India Act 1935, Indian Central Government and Provincial Legislative Assembly Act, 1946. This paved the way for the first general elections in Pakistan on the basis of universal adult franchise.<sup>1</sup> As part of the Central Government policy, Qaiyum Khan, also made the announcement on radio on 20 February 1951 that the provincial assembly would be dissolved on 10 March 1951 and fresh elections would be held on the basis of universal adult franchise. He also stated that the Provincial Government had suggested an increase in provincial assembly seats from 50 to 80 or 85.<sup>2</sup>

Qaiyum Khan's decision to hold general elections caused some negative response due to certain reasons. Mazhar Ali Khan, the editor of the leading English daily newspaper, *The Pakistan Times*, wrote an editorial on 28 February 1951 and analyzed the political situation of the province. He wrote that the situation in the NWFP was not conducive for general elections because the province had been ruled very ruthlessly and that the political parties just existed in name. Most of the leaders and workers were either in jails or in exile, and no party was allowed to work freely. He further stated: "An atmosphere of fear — created by the ever-present threat of internment, externment, or arrest — is hardly

1 Aziz Javed, *Sarhad ka A'ini Irtiqa* [Urdu] (Peshawar: Idara Tahqiq wa Tasneef, 1975), pp.276, 278. Also see, *Dawn* (Karachi), 18 March 1951, headline news.

2 The North-West Frontier Province Archives, Peshawar (PA), Special Branch, IPS daily diary No. 45, dated 12 March 1951, bundle No. 77, serial No. 1403.

conducive to the free exercise of the people's right to vote. No election held under these circumstances can be confused with the usual democratic practice, and unless the Frontier Government can be persuaded to reverse its present policies, its title to rule the Province in the name of the people will be as untenable after the elections as it is today..."<sup>3</sup>

The Speaker of the Assembly, Allah Nawaz Khan, also opposed the decision of the Chief Minister on technical grounds. His plea was that the tenure of the existing assembly was until 1953. However, Qaiyum Khan did not agree. This disagreement between these two important members of the official party was, however, suspected by the opposition. They believed that it was a cooked-up plan to deceive the electorate by showing that Qaiyum Khan did not want to delay the elections and that he never supported the prorogation of the assembly.<sup>4</sup>

In March 1951, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed the NWFP General Elections Bill paving the way for general elections. Under this law, the Provincial Assembly was to be dissolved but Qaiyum Khan was retained as the interim Chief Minister.<sup>5</sup> This Act also enhanced the assembly seats from 50 to 85, out of which only three seats were kept as reserved.<sup>6</sup>

In pursuance of this Bill, the Governor of NWFP, I.I. Chundrigar, dissolved the NWFP Legislative Assembly on 10 March 1951. Qaiyum Khan's Government was allowed to continue as interim government and the elections' date was fixed in November 1951.<sup>7</sup>

Jinnah Awami Muslim League voiced many apprehensions about Qaiyum Khan's interim government. In order to squash those apprehensions, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, convener of

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3 Khan Mazhar Ali Khan, *Pakistan: The First Twelve Years, the The Pakistan Times Editorials of Mazhar Ali Khan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.317.

4 Provincial Assembly, Special Branch, IPS daily diary No. 38, dated, 3 March 1951, bundle No.77, serial No.1404. Also see, *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 22 February 1951.

5 Safdar Mahmood, *Muslim League ka Daur-i-Hakoomat (1947-1954)* [Urdu] (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1986), p.215.

6 *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 18 March 1951, p.4.

7 *Shahbaz* (Peshawar), 12 March 1951, headlines news. Also see, NWFP, GG. Extra Ordinary, No.858(a)-G, 10 March 1951.

the Jinnah Awami League, met the Governor of NWFP on 14 March 1951, asking him to dissolve the ministry, appoint a committee for the delimitation of constituencies with a member from Jinnah Awami Muslim League and Samin Jan Khan as president of the Committee from the Muslim League. The Governor told Suhrawardy that it was not in his power to remove the ministry and that the delimitation of the constituencies was the work of the President of All Pakistan Muslim League, Liaquat Ali Khan.<sup>8</sup> Later, Suhrawardy in a written statement to the daily *Khyber Mail* demanded that in order to hold free and fair elections in the NWFP, it was imperative to remove the Qaiyum Khan ministry because if they continued to hold their offices, fair elections could not be expected.<sup>9</sup>

In March 1951, the weekly *Affaq* wrote that the removal of Qaiyum Khan was necessary because the way he was ruling the NWFP, since the formation of his ministry, raised many questions. Particularly his attitude towards his political opponents was highly immoral and non-political. In this situation, if Qaiyum Khan was allowed to continue as the Chief Minister, the impartiality of election machinery as well as provincial administration would be unlikely. As such the provincial administration should be handed over to the Governor.<sup>10</sup> In spite of demands from different circles for Qaiyum Khan's dismissal, he was not removed because Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's extended whole hearted support to Qaiyum Khan.<sup>11</sup>

The response of the general public towards the announcement of the elections was indifferent. Why the people were not interested in this very important exercise of democracy can be well judged by a commentary of an important newspaper, *The Pakistan Times*. The paper wrote:

This general apathy towards a vital problem of life is understandable when viewed in the context of major political events of the past four years. There is generally a subdued feeling that in the absence of civil liberties, elections

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8 Provincial Assembly, special branch, IPS daily diary No.48, dated 15 March 1951, bundle No.77, serial No.1404.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Affaq* Weekly (Lahore), 18 March 1951, p.1.

11 *Dawn* (Karachi), 26 February 1951.

would be no more than a farce, that unfair means would certainly be used and that the tussle is not between principles but personalities. The masses who have been greatly disillusioned all along, do not seem to be duped by the promises made by various parties...<sup>12</sup>

In May 1951, the Provincial Government of NWFP changed the election schedule for the Provincial Assembly to 20 July 1951.<sup>13</sup> This date was again changed for Kohat and Mardan districts subsequently, fixing new dates as following:

All Muslim Constituencies in Kohat District	5 <sup>th</sup> and 6 <sup>th</sup> December 1951 for males. 7 <sup>th</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> December 1951 for females.
All Muslim Constituencies in Mardan District	9 <sup>th</sup> and 10 <sup>th</sup> December 1951 for males. 11 <sup>th</sup> and 12 <sup>th</sup> December 1951 for females. <sup>14</sup>

### **Delimitation of Constituencies and Allotment of Elections Colours**

The government tried to delimit the constituencies strictly on geographical basis in order to break the traditional constituencies of the notables, which were based on economic or kinship ties.<sup>15</sup> On 1 May 1951 the Government of Pakistan announced the formation of a Delimitation Committee for NWFP. The Committee comprised of the following:

Lt. Col. Allah Dad Khan	Chairman
Nawabzada Sher Afzal	Member
Khan Bahadur Hidayatullah Khan	Member
Hassan A. Shaikh	Secretary

The Committee was asked to submit its preliminary report within sixty (60) days commencing from 1 May 1951. As the total population of NWFP, according to the 1951 census was 3,238,591, the Committee made 82 constituencies on geographical basis

12 *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 9 July 1951, p.3.

13 *NWFP Government Gazette*, 24 May 1951, No.2.E.O. 23 May 1951.

14 *NWFP Government Gazette*, PGGEO, 26 November 1951, No. 6/45-H.G.A./E.O. 26 November 1951. See also, *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 28 November 1951.

15 James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985), p.213.

giving one seat per 40,000 people. Two seats were reserved for Muslim women and one for general seat.<sup>16</sup> The Mardan tribal areas got one seat while the Hazara tribal areas got two. Four seats were reserved for the Hazara mountainous (Kohistani) area. The Frontier Tribal Areas were not granted seats because they were under the direct administration of Federal Government.<sup>17</sup> Seats were distributed on the following lines:

District	Population	No. of Seats
Peshawar:	900,517	23
Hazara:	846,621	21
Mardan:	597,652	15
Kohat:	305,059	8
Bannu:	306,099	8
Dera Ismail Khan:	282,643	7
Women (Muslims):		2
General (non-Muslim)		$\frac{1}{85}$ <sup>18</sup>
Total:	3,238,591	

Out of two women seats one was allotted to Peshawar city and cantonment area while the other was allotted to the towns and cantonments of district headquarters of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat, Mardan and Abbottabad jointly. The women were given the right to cast double vote: one for general Muslim seat and other for women reserved seats. While allotting one seat to general category, for non-Muslims, the Committee recorded that “we have, unfortunately, no figures of the population available of non-Muslims in the Province. It is, however, safely estimated that their population is about 20,000, which is far less than the unit of population for the allotment of a seat. It is indeed a case, not of merely according a legitimate but generous treatment to the minorities.”<sup>19</sup>

16 *The NWFP Government Gazette*, PGGEO, 31 May 1951, No.280 – DC 31 May 1951, Government of Pakistan Ministry of Law.

17 Aziz Javed, p.288.

18 Mohammad Shafi Sabir, *Taarikh Suba Sarhad* [Urdu] (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), p.1064. Also see, NWFP, Governor-General Extraordinary Ordinance, 31 May 1951, No. 280 – DC 31 May 1951, Government of Pakistan Ministry of Law.

19 *The NWFP Government Gazette*, PGGEO, 31 May 1951, No. 280 – DC 31 May 1951, Government of Pakistan Ministry of Law.

For the general elections the allotment of red colour, as election symbol, was banned. Actually, this was the symbolic colour of the Red Shirts (*Khudai Khidmatgars*), which was under ban for the past four years. The Jinnah Awami Muslim League had requested for the red colour but they were allotted the white instead, which was their second option. The other main parties were allotted the following colours:

Muslim League: Green  
 Jama'at-i-Islami: Brown  
 Islam League: Yellow<sup>20</sup>

On 1 November 1951 full schedule of the election was announced stating that the final result would be possible by 11 December 1951. The schedule of the elections was as follows:

8 November 1951 — nomination of candidates.  
 9 November 1951 — scrutiny of nomination papers.  
 14 November 1951 — withdrawal of candidature.

Remaining schedule of the 1951 election:<sup>21</sup>

Constituency	Category	Polling Dates	Counting of Votes and Declaration of results
1.(i) All Muslim Constituencies in Hazara district	Male	26-27 November	Within 3 days from 29 November
(ii) -do-	Female	28-29 November	-do-
2. Muslim Women Constituency	Female	30 November	Within 3 days from 30 November
3. General (Non-Muslim) Constituency	Non-Muslim	30 November	Within 3 days from 30 November
4.(i) All Muslim Constituencies in Kohat & Peshawar districts	Male	1-2 December	Within 3 days from 4 December
(ii) -do-	Female	3-4 December	-do-
5.(i) All Muslim Constituencies in Bannu, Dera	Male	5-6 December	Within 3 days from 8 December

20 *The Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), 30 October 1951, p.6.

21 *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 2 November 1951, p.4.

Ismail Khan and Mardan (ii) -do-	Females	7-8 December	-do-
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In order to hold the elections in the province smoothly, the election commission arranged around 400 polling stations with 2000 presiding officers, polling officers, and polling assistants.<sup>22</sup>

### Election Campaign

Qaiyum Khan's government in NWFP did not provide equal opportunities to all the parties for their election campaigns. In fact, he used every tactic to disturb the election campaign of the opposition parties. Leader of the Jinnah Awami League, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, was banned from entering the limits of NWFP for six months on 7 October 1951. The notice was served on him at the Campbellpur railway station [presently Attock] when he was on his way to Nowshera to attend the party meeting.<sup>23</sup> According to Qaiyum Khan: "After his speech in East Bengal applauding the Red Shirts, how could we take the risk of allowing him in the province and trying to revive a banned organization." He further alleged that the Awami League had entered into a pact with the Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan faction for their support during the elections.<sup>24</sup>

During the election campaign the Muslim League propagated that voting for Muslim League would mean:

1. Consolidating the economic, social, religious, and defence strength of Pakistan.
2. Completion of industrial and other projects in NWFP.
3. The end of *Pakhtoonistan* Movement and acquisition of Kashmir. During election campaign, Qaiyum Khan categorically termed the election as a fight between *Pakhtoonistan* and Pakistan
4. Supremacy of the people and the end of cruel capitalist exploiters.<sup>25</sup>

22 *Ibid.*, 27 November 1951.

23 Provincial Assembly, Special Branch, IPS daily diary No.170, dated 8 October 1951, bundle No.78, serial No.1420.

24 *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 18 November 1951.

25 *Shahbaz* (Peshawar), 14 November 1951, p.3. Also see, *The Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), 30 November 1951, editorial on p.5.

Qaiyum Khan had complete control over the provincial administration during the 1951 elections and he did not accept all the nominees of the Muslim League Board. He gave tickets to those of his favourites whom the Board had not nominated despite his recommendation. Qaiyum Khan did not want anything or anyone to go against his wishes. When prominent Muslim League leaders came to the province to do canvassing for official candidates, he asked them to go back. Otherwise, he said, he would arrest them for creating law and order situation.<sup>26</sup>

The *Khudai Khidmatgars* of Charsadda issued a poster in Pashto titled “*Khudai Khidmatgar au Election*” [*Khudai Khidmatgar* and election], saying that, though some candidates claimed to have the support of *Khudai Khidmatgars*, they wanted to make it quite clear that they did not support any group or any individual in the forthcoming elections.<sup>27</sup> However, an earlier report had suggested that Abdul Ghaffar Khan had asked his party workers to support such a political party, which, in their opinion, would be in the best interest of the country.<sup>28</sup>

Pir of Manki Sharif of the Jinnah Awami Muslim League, who was the main opposition party leader in the elections, levelled serious charges against Qaiyum Khan in a press conference in Karachi on 27 September 1951. He claimed that Qaiyum Khan was harassing the opposition by instituting baseless cases against them, putting them in the jails, and creating hurdles in the smooth functioning of their party. He also put forward the following demands in order to conduct free and fair elections in the province:

1. The Governor of NWFP should take over administration of the province under Section 92-A during the forthcoming elections, as Qaiyum Khan would not refrain from using his official position and influence when and where it suits him.
2. Integrity of the ballot boxes in the elections be preserved by means of proper sealing of the boxes.

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26 Syed Nur Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab, 1919-1958*. tr. and ed. by Craig Baxter from the Urdu version of Mohammad Ali (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1985), pp. 314-315.

27 Provincial Assembly, Special Branch, IPS daily diary No. 205, dated 30 November 1951, bundle No. 78, serial No. 1420.

28 *Ibid.*, diary No. 114, dated 17 July 1951, bundle No. 21, serial No. 285, p.57.

3. Nomination papers should not be rejected on flimsy grounds.
4. No “illegal cases” be instituted against any person during the elections.
5. Polling booths be situated at distances of every three miles and *zanana* (female) polling booth be put in every *baste* (small village) and *qasba* (town).

He further demanded that if the government could not meet his demands due to any reason, then the elections should be postponed for the time being.<sup>29</sup>

However, Qaiyum Khan was not ready to listen to these demands and could concede to any political party in the province. This was also evident from a letter written by Maulana Maududi to a Lahore-based weekly, *Chattan*. Maulana Maududi wrote that Qaiyum Khan had arrested a very important and influential Jamaat-i-Islami worker, Sardar Ali Khan, under 40 F.C.R. Beside that Provincial Government was also harassing his other workers during election canvassing. He wrote that he himself also experienced the police hounding during his trip to the province. He demanded that Qaiyum Khan should abstain from harassing his opponents otherwise all the opposition parties would announce boycott of the elections.<sup>30</sup>

Before the 1951 elections the Frontier branch of Jamaat-i-Islami published a two-page pamphlet in Urdu titled, “*Suba Sarhad Kai Intikhabaat Kai Qawaid aur Tariqa-i-kaar main Tarmeem Kaa Mutaaliba*” [Demand for amendments in the NWFP Election rules and regulations]. While commenting on the elections held in the Punjab, the leaflet stated that every kind of illegal method was used in order to get the desired results. This made the election a mockery in the eyes of the people. In order to avoid such repetition in the NWFP elections, it was imperative to make certain changes in the election rules so that fair and peaceful elections could be held. The pamphlet made the following suggestions so that fair election could be held:

1. The voters’ list should be complete in all aspects, and should have his/her father’s name, nationality, education, profession

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29 *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 28 September 1951.

30 *Chattan*, Weekly (Lahore), 5 November 1951, p.22.

and full address. Further the lists should be prepared *Mohallah* (ward-wise).

2. Indelible ink or chemical should be applied to the finger of the voter before casting his/her vote.
3. Section 196 should be eliminated, which is a hurdle in the implementation of Section 9 of Pakistan Penal Code that deals with election offences like use of pressure, purchase of votes and making baseless propaganda. However, it is ineffective due to the implementation of Section 196.
4. All contesting parties and candidates should refrain from negative propaganda against their opponents once the election schedule was announced. Any breach of this conduct should be tried in the court of law, as Pakistan Penal Code's section 17 was not effective enough.
5. A filled sample of nomination paper should be printed in the nomination paper gazette to reduce the possibility of technical error. Further, the candidates should be given a chance to rectify the paper if the returning officer has objection to any part of the nomination paper.
6. Ballot boxes of all the candidates should be of white colour and every box should have the candidate's and the party's names on it. Further the candidate's election symbol should also be printed on the box to make it easy for the voter to recognize the box of the candidate of his/her choice.
7. No body should be allowed to establish their polling camps within one-furlong of the polling station. They should also be refrained from canvassing either in favour or in opposition of a candidate.
8. Any government servant on duty, who tries to favour or help any candidate in any form or avoids performing his/her duty, should be made liable to direct petition in the court by the concerned party or voter.
9. Providing transport facility to the voters should also be made a criminal offence.
10. Presiding officer should be given full authority within premises of the polling station to deal with such cases which had been declared illegal in the law.
11. Every box should also be affixed with the candidates' stamps and during the one-hour break the boxes should remain in front of polling agents under the protection of police.

12. The guardian of boxes in the polling booth must be a person from outside and he/she should not be in official uniform.
13. For the hearing of election petitions the tribunal should be headed by a High Court judge. The decision of the tribunal should be considered as court decision, and should be made within a prescribed time limit.
14. If the government was considered negligent in the performance of its election duties, she should be made liable for petitions in the High Court.
15. Special arrangements should be made for female voters. There should be no male staff in female polling booths so that workers could perform their duties freely and the voters could expose their faces to the polling staff.<sup>31</sup>

However, neither these nor other suggestions/demands were accepted. The Provincial Government went ahead with their election schedule as per announcement. During the submission of nomination papers, a total of 266 candidates filed their papers for the 85 NWFP Provincial Assembly seats. The details are as follows:

Kohat:	23
Hazara:	73
Mardan:	52
Peshawar:	68
Bannu:	22
Dera Ismail Khan:	19
General:	6
Women:	<u>3</u>
Total:	266

The final contestants of each political party were as follows:

Muslim League	84
Jinnah Awami League	46
Azad Muslim League (Yusafzai)	5
Jamaat-i-Islami	3

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31 *Jama'at-i-Islami* (pamphlet), Special Branch, bundle No. 76, serial No. 1395, pp.835-37.

Islam League	4
Other parties (Independents)	<u>98</u>
Total:	240 <sup>32</sup>

### Elections and Allegations

In a pre-election analysis, the special representative of *The Civil and Military Gazette* wrote that though the Muslim League seemed the strongest party in the polls, it faced a formidable task from the opposition, mainly from the Jinnah Awami League, which had made an alliance with the banned *Khudai Khidmatgars*. Together, these two parties could put on strong show in the elections. Their strongholds were Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts and had some solid pockets in Peshawar and Mardan as well. The editor was of the opinion that if fair elections were allowed, the opposition might get more seats than was expected by circles outside the province.<sup>33</sup>

Qaiyum Khan was elected unopposed from the constituencies of Peshawar and Hazara. The papers of the two candidates contesting against Qaiyum Khan, Master Khan Gul of Jinnah Awami League and Akbar Ali from the constituencies of Peshawar and Hazara respectively, were rejected. Master Khan Gul's supporter (seconder) submitted a written affidavit with the returning officer pleading that his signatures on the nomination papers were taken from him by 'fraud and deception.'<sup>34</sup> The leading newspaper of Pakistan, *Dawn* wrote in its editorial that the unopposed winning of Qaiyum Khan from two constituencies raised eyebrows. It commented that no doubt Qaiyum Khan might have won against any strong candidate but the way he returned unopposed provided opportunity for the opposition to level charges of rigging and irregularities.<sup>35</sup> Master Khan Gul, in a press conference held in Lahore on 14 November 1951, stated that in Frontier Elections 30 nomination papers of candidates were

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32 The NWFP Legislative Assembly Debates, Peshawar, official report, 12 March 1952, Vol.XXV – No.7, Serial No.361, p.25.

33 *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 25 November 1951, p.4.

34 *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 10 November 1951, p.4. Also see, *Shahbaz* (Peshawar), 11 November 1951.

35 *Dawn* (Karachi), 6 December 1951, editorial on p.5.

rejected and all of them either belonged to the opposition party or independents. No Muslim League candidate was found ineligible.<sup>36</sup>

Giving reference of 'Nawai Waqt' editorial, titled 'Dhandli' (fraud/rigging), Zahid Chaudhri writes that Abdul Qaiyum Khan was able to get elected unopposed by using brute force and coercion. In the Hazara constituency, his opponent was arrested and removed from the area. In case of his other opponent in Peshawar, his seconder was kidnapped at night and was forced to give the statement that he had not signed the papers, and that his signatures on the nomination papers were forged.<sup>37</sup>

*Al-Jamiat Sarhad*, another paper, reported that Qaiyum Khan managed it through coercion and underhand methods. It wrote that, according to their information, Master Khan Gul, his opponent from the Peshawar constituency, was contesting from two constituencies. He went to Kohat, his second constituency, to file his nomination papers while the Peshawar constituency was left to his supporters. But Qaiyum Khan forcibly took his supporters outside Peshawar and compelled them to sign an affidavit for the withdrawal of Master Khan Gul's papers. The same was done with his opponent from Hazara Constituency.<sup>38</sup>

In order to return successfully unopposed from the Peshawar constituency, initially, Qaiyum Khan wanted to strike a deal with Master Khan Gul, and for this purpose the good offices of Mian Jaffar Shah were used. Master Khan Gul was told that if he would not contest elections against Qaiyum Khan from Peshawar constituency, Qaiyum Khan would ensure his successful return from his hometown Kohat. Besides that, he was also offered good business deals in his stationary business but he refused to accept that.<sup>39</sup> As for as the second home constituency of Master Khan Gul was concerned, it was made sure that he loses that as well. According to Master Khan Gul's son, on the first day of elections,

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36 *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 15 November 1951, p.4.

37 Zahid Chaudhri, *Pakistan ki Siyasi Taarikh: Vol.VIII, [Urdu] Afghanistan: Taarikhii Pasmanzar aur Paktoon Masla Khud Mukhtari Kaa Aaghaaz*. [Urdu] Compiled and ed. Hassan Jaffar Zaidi (Lahore: Idara Mutalia Taarikh, 1994), pp.178-79.

38 *Al-Jamiat Sarhad* (Peshawar), 26 May 1953, editorial.

39 Mustafa Kamal s/o Master Khan Gul, Interview by author, tape recording, Peshawar, 26 June 2001.

his father was having thousands of votes lead, but the next day, Qaiyum Khan changed the staff from education department who were not prepared to rig the elections, and thus, with the help of new staff, the elections were heavily rigged. So much so that at one polling station of Dum Kalai full copy of ballot papers was cast in the ballot box even without bothering to remove the stapler pins of the copy.<sup>40</sup>

After the 1951 elections, there were many allegations against Qaiyum Khan for using illegal methods to win the majority in the Provincial Assembly. He even encouraged some aspirants to contest as independents against those Muslim Leaguers who were granted tickets against his recommendations, and made sure that they won the elections. For this purpose, he used every unfair method in order to achieve the desired results.<sup>41</sup> This was confirmed by the well-known physician of the Frontier Province, Dr. Alaf Khan, who said that he lived in his ancestral hometown of Tangi, Charsadda, and remembered very vividly that the famous landlord of their area, *Khan Bahadur* Mir Alam Khan, had applied for the Muslim League ticket, but was not granted the ticket as he was not in the good books of Qaiyum Khan. He appealed to the Central Parliamentary Board of Pakistan Muslim League, which gave him the ticket. Since it was the over-ruling of his decision, Qaiyum Khan asked another landlord of the area, Haji Mohammad Ali Khan, to contest the elections as an independent candidate and openly supported him. He went to Tangi for a public meeting, for which the police brought even the school children. Qaiyum Khan openly threatened the people saying that those who would not vote for Haji Mohammad Ali Khan, would be hanged upside down.<sup>42</sup>

Mohammad Ali Khan of Hoti was also denied a Muslim League ticket for the provincial assembly elections. When he appealed to the Central Parliamentary Board, Miss Fatima Jinnah asked Qaiyum Khan how come a person who had represented Pakistan at the United Nations could not represent his small constituency? Qaiyum Khan could not explain that. The issue was

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40 *Ibid.*

41 Sardar Inayat-ur-Rahman Abbasi, Interview by the author, Tape recording, Shamsabad, Rawalpindi, 28 November 1999.

42 Dr. Alaf Khan, Interview by author, Handwritten, Peshawar, 10 June 2001.

later on discussed between the Governor, Khwaja Shahabuddin and Qaiyum Khan. The Governor told Qaiyum Khan that he should give Hoti the ticket but should make sure that Hoti would not win. Hoti's cousin, Khan Bahadur Hidayatullah Khan of Toru who was secretary to Governor, overheard this conversation and leaked this out to Mohammad Ali Khan of Hoti with the advice not to contest the election otherwise he would be in great trouble. So Mohammad Ali Khan withdrew his application.<sup>43</sup>

Papers of strong candidates were rejected on flimsy grounds. One such case was that of Maulana Minhajuddin. On the day of submission of papers, his supporters along with the seconders, went to the office of the returning officer Hangu at 7.00 a.m., but were not called until 1.00 pm. When one of the seconders had to go to the bathroom, the papers were rejected, as the seconder/proposer could not be there at that particular time when the returning officer called for him despite the assurances by other supporters that he would be back in a few minutes. It seems that the returning officer was waiting for such an opportunity because from 7.00 am to 1.00 pm they were not called but once the seconder was found missing, they were immediately called and the papers were rejected.<sup>44</sup>

Pir of Manki Sharif, in a press statement, strongly criticized the unfair and unscrupulous methods of Qaiyum Khan in the Frontier elections saying that the unopposed election of Qaiyum Khan and his friends to the assembly was a tragedy in the history of the Frontier. He further stated that three candidates, Nisar Mohammad Khan, Arbab Sarfaraz Khan and Fazl-e-Haq Shaida filed nomination papers against Shamsul Haq, a close friend of Qaiyum Khan. But the nomination papers of all the three candidates' were rejected which was "a master piece of unfairness and partiality particularly when Mr. Shaida's same papers were accepted from another constituency."<sup>45</sup> Ghulam Mohammad Khan of Lundkhwar, an important leader of Jinnah Awami League and a

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43 Mohammad Ali Khan Hoti, Interview by author, Tape recording, Mardan, 18 June 2001.

44 Syed Fazal-i-Mabood, Interview by author, tape recording, Peshawar, 23 June 2001.

45 *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 17 November 1951.

key opponent of Qaiyum Khan filed his nomination papers for constituency no 1 and 2 Mardan, however, his papers were rejected on both constituencies on the ground that he had not signed it personally.<sup>46</sup>

Mohammad Ali Khan Hoti narrated an interesting story about the rigging in the election. He said that, in one of the Mardan constituencies, Qaiyum Khan supported Ayub Khan, a cousin of Mir Afzal Khan, against Mohammad Ali Khan's, cousin Abdur Rahman Khan. Ayub Khan not only abstained from canvassing, he was busy hunting in the jungles on the election day. When he returned from hunting, he asked from which constituency he had won the elections. He was so ignorant that he did not even know about his constituency. From another Mardan Constituency, Qaiyum Khan successfully had a dismissed police sergeant elected to the NWFP Provincial Assembly.<sup>47</sup>

Nawab of Hoti and his group also protested against the interference of the Qaiyum Khan government in the election. They sent telegrams to the Governor-General and the Prime Minister. However, when their protests yielded no results, the Awami League, the Azad Muslim League Yousafzai and the independent candidates in Mardan announced their boycott of the 10 December 1951 elections and did not send their agents to the polling stations.<sup>48</sup>

In an interview with an eyewitness, whose father was a police officer in Charsadda, the author was told that one day he accompanied his father to the police station, where he saw the political opponents of Qaiyum Khan in the cell with chains in their hands and feet.<sup>49</sup>

Qaiyum Khan also heavily used the state machinery for achieving the desired results in the election. It was believed that he

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46 *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 11 November 1951, p.4.

47 Hoti, Interview.

48 Special Branch, IPS daily diary No. 213, dated 13 December 1951, bundle No. 78, serial No. 1420.

49 Arif Khan Bangash, ex-Governor NWFP, Interview by author, Handwritten, Governor House NWFP, Peshawar, 12 April 1999.

had the blessing and support of the Federal Government as well.<sup>50</sup> This is also obvious from the following facts. In 1951 general elections, Qaiyum Khan and Mohammad Yusuf Khan Khattak were bitter rivals. Therefore, the former wanted to make sure that the latter and his group did not return to the NWFP Assembly. During the election campaign, and later on the polling day, M. Yusuf Khan Khattak and his brother-in-law, Saifullah Khan, faced many problems in their constituencies in Kohat and Bannu. As a result, they sent telegrams to the Governor-General and Prime Minister on 6 December 1951. On the following day, Yusuf Khattak talked with the Prime Minister, Governor NWFP, and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar on phone about the highhanded methods of Qaiyum Khan against them.<sup>51</sup>

Similar telegrams were sent by other candidates from Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan constituencies. However, no remedial measures were taken either by the Federal Government or the Governor. In protest, Yusuf Khattak, Muslim League candidate from Constituency No. 4, Kohat, Saifullah Khan, Muslim League candidate from constituency No. 6 Bannu, Atta Mohammad Khan from constituency No. 8 Bannu, Mohammad Daraz Khan and Habib ur Rehman Khan, independent candidates from Constituency No. 1 Bannu, Mohammad Khan and Habibullah Khan from Constituency No. 5 Bannu, and Taj Ali Khan, Awami League candidate from Constituency No. 2, Bannu, decided to boycott the elections and withdrew from the contest on 7 December 1951.<sup>52</sup> The two other candidates, that is, Attaullah Khan of Maddi, Constituency No.5 Dera Ismail Khan and Said Akbar, of Constituency No. 7 Dera Ismail Khan also levelled allegations of rigging against Qaiyum Khan.<sup>53</sup>

According to Mohammad Ali Khan Hoti, Qaiyum Khan fielded a peon Watan Badshah against Mohammad Yusuf Khattak, who was a stalwart of Muslim League, and had him elected

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50 Zulfikar Khalid Maluka, *The Myth of Constitutionalism in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 152.

51 Provincial Assembly, Special Branch, IPS daily diary No.214 dated 15 December 1951, bundle No. 78, serial No. 1420.

52 *Ibid.*

53 *Ibid.*, diary No. 213, dated 13 December 1951.

through massive rigging.<sup>54</sup> Rigging in Yusaf Khattak constituency is also confirmed by Maulana Fazal-i-Mabood who was polling agent of Minhajuddin at Karak. According to him, the first day election was very fair. On the second day rumours were afloat in Karak that Qaiyum Khan had visited the constituency the previous night and had given orders for rigging the elections. During the polling time, when there was a lull in the voting, the presiding officer asked Maulana if somebody asked a person to do something against one's conscience, what would be the strategy. He told him that one would follow the conscience instead of the authority. On that particular day, according to their lists, only 32 votes had been polled while at the time of counting some 500 extra votes were found in Watan Badshah's ballot box. He refused to sign the statement and the statement was sent without his signatures.<sup>55</sup>

For the 1951 general elections, Qaiyum Khan had granted tickets to very mediocre people, and he very frankly admitted that he could not afford bright people in the assembly. He wanted people who were rubber stamps and could not oppose his policies. He used to say that educated people should not be given assembly seats because they would always create problems for the executive authority. Similarly he made it sure that only incompetent people or his loyalists made it to the assembly who dared not oppose him.<sup>56</sup>

In those days, in all the provinces, Pakistan Muslim League was the ruling party and the chief ministers used to be the provincial Muslim League presidents as well. The ruling party usually adopted undemocratic methods to fail the opposition parties. So much so that some candidates were not allowed to do canvassing and were kidnapped on the polling day. The general impression about these elections was that the ruling party broke the polling boxes, cast bogus votes, and resorted to all sorts of irregularities.<sup>57</sup>

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54 Hoti, Interview.

55 Fazal-i-Mabood, Interview.

56 Justice (retd.) Mian Burhanuddin, Interview by author, Tape recording, Hayatabad Peshawar, 9 July 2001. Also see, Hoti, Interview.

57 Aziz Javed, pp.278-79.

In an editorial on the elections of NWFP the editor of weekly *Chattan* Lahore while addressing the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, charged Qaiyum Khan with all kinds of irregularities and anti-democratic tactics. It was demanded that Qaiyum Khan should be made accountable for his actions as he had alienated the sincere leaders of Muslim League like Pir of Manki Sharif, Pir of Zakori and Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi — people who had made great sacrifices not only in the achievement of Pakistan but also in the consolidation of Muslim League in NWFP.<sup>58</sup>

Commenting the 1951 elections, a well-known author, Rafique Afzal writes that Qaiyum Khan made sure the success of his candidates by all means. During the scrutiny of nomination papers, papers of 31 opposition candidates' were rejected on flimsy grounds. In protest, 112 opposition candidates, including president of the main opposition party, Jinnah League, Pir of Manki Sharif, withdrew their nomination papers. Besides Public Safety Act was widely used against opponents including Ibrahim Khan of Jhagra who was restrained from going to Karachi to present his case before the Muslim League high command.<sup>59</sup>

After the election, the NWFP Provincial Council of the Jinnah Awami Muslim League held a special meeting in Nowshera on 18 December 1951 and declared the new legislative assembly of the province is unconstitutional and demanded fresh elections under the control and supervision of a judge. The party also levelled various charges of malpractices in the elections against Qaiyum Khan and his group, and demanded that a tribunal of High Court judges be appointed to hold an inquiry into the "illegal methods" adopted during the elections. A resolution was passed condemning the alleged illegal methods adopted in the elections in NWFP. They enumerated the following malpractices:

1. Thirty per cent of the votes polled by opposition voters were rejected without cause.

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58 Editorial, "*Khwaja Nazimuddin ki Khidmat main aik Maktoob*", *Chattan*, Weekly (Lahore), 3 December 1951, p.1.

59 M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958*, Vol.II (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), p.72.

2. Polling officers polled 40 per cent bogus votes for candidates who had obtained League tickets.
3. Members of the police and polling officers snatched away ballot papers from voters and put them into League candidates' box. This was done on a large scale.
4. Government officials, including police officers, intimidated voters not to vote for Qaiyum Khan's candidates, forced them to vote for them.
5. The police cordoned off and batoned voters intending to vote for opposition candidates in order to prevent them from casting their votes.
6. The police kept under custody polling agents of opposition parties and polled bogus votes during their absence from polling stations.
7. Women groups were organized to poll bogus votes for women in Peshawar.
8. The nomination papers of 31 opposition nominees, who were sure of their success, were rejected without any valid reason.<sup>60</sup>

Beside these charges, it was also alleged that in some polling stations, the ballot boxes of opposition candidates were either put upside down or a very thin cloth was pasted at the entry hole from inside to deny them the polling of votes. The voters were also told that if they would cast their votes to opposition candidates that would be noted, as the staff was watching them.<sup>61</sup>

There was a general consensus amongst all politically conscious people that the provincial assembly elections were heavily rigged. *The Pakistan Times* reported on 26 November 1951, that NWFP Assembly elections, the official machinery was heavily involved on the side of Abdul Qaiyum Khan. They were even publicly holding meetings telling the people to vote for Muslim League candidates. In some villages armed police guards accompanied workers of the Muslim League. All this went on in spite of the NWFP Chief Minister's pledge that the provincial administration would fully remain neutral in the elections.<sup>62</sup>

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60 *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 20 December 1951, p.4.

61 Zahid, pp.181-82.

62 *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 28 November 1951, p.3. According to *Dawn* (Karachi), 21 December 1951, 55% voters used their right of vote.

*The Pakistan Times* editorial of 30 December 1951 called it “Hitlerian elections”, and demanded from the Federal Government to take some remedial measures.<sup>63</sup> The prominent leader of the Awami League, Suharwardy, had also alleged mass rigging in the Frontier elections. He stated that the provincial elections in Sind and NWFP were heavily rigged in favour of the Muslim League party, resulting in no change in the complexion of the legislatures. The only change was in the NWFP assembly because Qaiyum Khan who himself belonged to a middle class made the success of illiterate candidates possible, so that no body could challenge his authority.<sup>64</sup>

On 11 December 1951 Ghulam Mohammad Khan Lundkhwar issued a press statement from Campbellpur [Attock] charging the NWFP Provincial Government of massively rigging the elections. He levelled 11 charges of different kinds including rejection of 40% opposition votes on flimsy grounds; casting 60% bogus votes in favour of Muslim League candidates in connivance with polling officers; and paralyzing and destroying the opposition canvassing machinery by arresting 250 leaders and workers.<sup>65</sup>

In a press conference in Karachi on 8 January 1952 *Pir* of Zakori charged Qaiyum Khan with gross irregularities and highhandedness in the election process. He charged that Qaiyum Khan did not allow opposition parties to smoothly run their election campaign. Rather Section 144 was imposed wherever the opposition wanted to hold rallies. On the election day, opposition voters were lathi-charged, armed guards patrolled the polling areas and opposition workers were jailed. He demanded that a judicial commission should be appointed with judges from the Punjab to investigate the charges.<sup>66</sup>

The elections of 1951 were so heavily rigged that a nickname of “*Jhurloo* elections” was given to it. *Jhurloo* is basically a stick used by the jugglers to send the ball during demonstration from one place to another. By giving 1951 elections the name of *Jhurloo*

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63 Khan Mazhar, pp.319-321.

64 Allen McGrath, *The Destruction of Pakistan's Democracy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.251.

65 *The Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 12 December 1951, p.4.

66 *The Dawn* (Karachi), 9 January 1952, p.4.

elections it was meant that Qaiyum Khan did the same thing with the votes, wherever he desired he put the votes in the boxes.<sup>67</sup> Of course, Qaiyum Khan spurned all these allegations in a press conference. He stated that his government had neither used official pressure nor had opposed those Muslim League candidates whom the Central Parliamentary Board had awarded tickets.<sup>68</sup>

### **All-Parties Constitutional Rights Defence Committee**

Since there was a general agreement amongst the opposition parties that the elections were heavily rigged and manipulated. In order to strengthen their opposition, all the leading parties in NWFP rallied together and formed All-Parties Constitutional Rights Defense Committee (APCRDC) on 23 December 1951. They chose Fida Mohammad Khan, an old Muslim Leaguer, to be the Convener of this committee. After the first meeting, he issued a statement to the press saying that a representative meeting of the leaders of Muslim League, Awami League, Jammat-i-Islami, Azad Muslim League Yussafzai and independent candidates was held in the Jinnah Awami League office at Nowshera on 23 December 1951. Prominent amongst the participants were Pir of Manki Sharif, Khan Samin Jan Khan, MLA, Dr. Abdur Rahim, Maulana Khanmir Hilali, Dost Mohammad Khan Kami and Abdur Rauf Khan. The meeting thoroughly discussed the elections in the province and formed a Committee named, All-Parties Constitutional Rights Defence Committee of 30 members. This Committee was given the task to find ways and means to get the NWFP elections null and void and to arrange fresh elections after the enforcement of Section 92 A in the province.<sup>69</sup>

Qaiyum Khan's government reacted strongly against these activities and interned Fida Mohammad Khan along with many other political workers. Pir of Manki Sharif's movements were also restricted to the Nowshera police station and hundreds of other political workers were served with restrictive notices.<sup>70</sup>

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67 Professor Qalandar Momand, Interview by author, Tape recording, Peshawar, 23 June 2001.

68 *The Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 14 December 1951.

69 *Ibid.*, 28 December 1951.

70 Khan Mazhar, pp.319-21.

On 27 February 1952 another meeting of the APCRDC was held at the house of Qazi Mohammad Aslam, Advocate in Peshawar, under the presidentship of Pir of Manki Sharif. The meeting took stock of the grave situation of the shortage of food items. Pir of Manki informed the participants that he wanted to see the Governor-General in order to inform him about the dictatorial policies of Qaiyum Khan. However, if he failed to see him, then he would call upon the Governor of NWFP for the same purpose. The meeting strongly condemned the inhuman attitude of the provincial government towards political detainees and condoled the death of Qazi Attaullah and termed it as a political murder. They also showed great concern over the ill-health of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was in jail and demanded that he and other political detainees should be released. The meeting strongly condemned the Provincial Government's policy towards the press and the cancellation of the declaration of the 'Naujawan-e-Sarhad' Haripur and 'Sang-e-Meel' Peshawar.<sup>71</sup>

#### **Formation of Government**

In the 1951 elections, nine Muslim League candidates were elected unopposed. For the rest of eighty-five seats about 660,000 voters, that is 49% of those eligible, used their right of vote. Qaiyum Khan's faction won overwhelming majority of seats while his opponents, led by Yusuf Khattak and Ibrahim Khan Jhagra, within the Muslim League, were defeated. When the Assembly met, Qaiyum Khan had a solid support of sixty-seven assembly members, including the two seats reserved for women. Independents were thirteen and Jinnah Awami League, the main opposition, had four seats.<sup>72</sup>

By-elections in the Muslim Constituencies of Hazara were held on 11 November 1951, in Dera Ismail Khan on 6 November 1951 and in Peshawar on 7 November 1951. Qaiyum Khan, who had won elections from two constituencies, vacated the seat on Peshawar 1. Mohammad Dawood Khan, a Muslim Leaguer was elected unopposed on this seat. From Dera Ismail Khan 7, Sardar

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71 Special Branch, IPS daily diary No. 35, dated 29 February 1952, bundle No. 80, serial No. 1444, pp. 399,401.

72 Spain, p. 213.

Abdur Rashid was elected unopposed. Pirzada Ahmad Gul resigned from Peshawar 7. Another Muslim Leaguer, Col. Mir Haider, won this seat.<sup>73</sup>

The Muslim League Parliamentary Party held a meeting on 14 December 1951 at the Assembly chambers, all 67 MLAs including two women attended the meeting. They unanimously chose Qaiyum Khan as their party leader. After the election, Qaiyum Khan's interim government tendered its resignation to the Governor, Khwaja Shahabuddin. As leader of the newly elected NWFP provincial assembly, the Governor asked him to form new government.<sup>74</sup>

Qaiyum Khan announced his cabinet on 17 December 1951 taking five ministers. Mohammad Farid Khan, who was a minister in the first ministry of Qaiyum Khan was dropped. The new ministers along with portfolios were as under:

Chief Minister (Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan)	Finance, Law and Order (Political and Police), Public Works, Industries and companies, Electricity, Legislative Department, Judicial and Firearms.
Education Minister (Mian Jaffar Shah)	Education, Agriculture, Forests, Guzaras, Civil Supplies, Historical Research, Archaeology, Geological Survey, Census and Gazetteers and Auqaf.
Local Self-Government (Jalaluddin Khan)	Local self-government, Rehabilitation Minister and Resettlement of Refugees, Veterinary and Marketing, Stationary and Printing, National Savings Scheme and Resettlement of Demobilized persons.
Health Minister (M.R. Kiyani)	Hospitals and Public Health, Information, Jails, Elections, Civil Estates and Awards of Gallantry.
Revenue Minister (Mohammad Ayub Khan:	Revenue, Cooperative Societies, Civil Defence, Motor Transport, Excise and Taxation.

The government also announced the appointment of the following members as parliamentary secretaries:

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), 15-16 December 1951, p.4.

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|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Mohammad Aslam Khan  | Chief Parliamentary Secretary to work with Minister for Education.           |
| 2. Shams-ul-Haq Khan    | Parliamentary Secretary to work with the Chief Minister                      |
| 3. Mohammad Yaqoob Khan | Parliamentary Secretary to work with the Minister for Local Self-Government. |
| 4. Raja Sardar Khan     | Parliamentary Secretary to work with the Minister for Health.                |
| 5. Nawab Qutbuddin Khan | Parliamentary Secretary to work with the Minister for Revenue. <sup>75</sup> |

Besides these parliamentarians, some other MLAs were also given responsibilities to run different committees of local bodies, which was obviously done to keep their allegiance intact to Qaiyum Khan. On 15 November 1952 Mohammad Jalaluddin Khan, Minister for Local Government presented the following list of MLAs who were serving as Administrators of different local bodies and drawing certain amount of money under different heads:

1. Mohammad Ashraf Khan, MLA Administrator Municipal Committee, Peshawar. (Rs. 500/- P.M., 100 C.A. [Conveyance allowance] and 70/- D.A. [Dearness allowance].)
2. Abdul Hayee Lodhi, MLA, Joint Administrator, Municipal Committee, Haripur. (Rs. 200/- P.M. fixed).
3. M. Shah Mohammad Khan, MLA, Administrator, District Board, Hazara. (Rs.400+65 D.A.).
4. Pir Shahinshah, MLA, Administrator, District Board, Kohat. (Rs. 200/- P.M. fixed).
5. *Haji* Abdullah Khan, Potah, MLA, Administrator, District Board, Dera Ismail Khan. (Rs. 200/- P.M. fixed).
6. *Mian* Akbar Shah, MLA, Administrator, Notified Area Committee, Nowshera Kalan. (Rs. 100/- P.M. fixed).
7. Khan Bahadur Khan MLA, Joint Administrator, Municipal Committee, Mansehra. (Rs. 200/- P.M. fixed).

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 December 1951, p.4. Also see, Government of NWFP Gazette, PGCEO, Peshawar, dated 17 December 1951, Legislative Assembly Notification, dated 15 December, 1951, vide No. 1161/9/8-LA-II.

8. Captain Adam Khan, MLA, Joint Administrator, Notified Area Committee, Baffa; (Rs. 200/- P.M. fixed).<sup>76</sup>

After the conclusion of the elections, a total of 9 election petitions were lodged against different successful candidates. Five of them belonged to the ruling Muslim League, three were independents and one belonged to Jinnah Awami League.<sup>77</sup>

On 1 January 1952, the first day of the Assembly after the NWFP Provincial Assembly elections, Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan and Mohammad Farid Khan were elected unanimously as Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, and the newly elected members took oath as members of the Assembly.<sup>78</sup> Thus, Qaiyum Khan was able to form his second ministry through these controversial elections. However, these elections not only gave him legitimacy but also made him more powerful.

### Conclusion

Qaiyum Khan was appointed as Chief Minister of NWFP in August 1947 in spite of the fact that he did not enjoy support of the majority of members of Provincial Assembly. It was after more than six months in power that he was able to win over few members from the opposition, but he was constantly in danger of losing the majority. Those who supported him were given many perks and privileges at the expense of the leaders and workers of Muslim League. This is obvious from the fact that the Muslim League leaders and workers complained about the attitude of Qaiyum Khan to the High Command of Muslim League many times.

When the Federal Government announced elections in the country, Qaiyum Khan had no option but to follow the policy of the Central Government. However, he was able to manipulate the Federal Government in his own favour. The most striking concession to Qaiyum Khan was the government decision to appoint him as interim Chief Minister of NWFP. Though the

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76 LAD, official report 15 November 1952, Vol. XXVI-No.2, serial No. 371, pp. 16-20.

77 LAD, official report, 19 November 1952, Vol. XXVI – No. 6, serial No. 379, p. 29.

78 PA, special branch, IPS daily diary No. 5, dated 10 January 1952, bundle No. 80, serial No. 1444 & LAD, 10 January 1952, Vol. XXIV No. 1, official report, pp. 4-5.

opposition and even some Muslim Leaguers demanded from the Governor and the Federal Government to appoint a neutral caretaker but they could not succeed in removing him. They were pessimist about the conduct of Qaiyum Khan because they had an experience of around three and half years with him. They knew that under his interim government they could not expect fair and free elections because Qaiyum Khan believed in Machiavellian politics. For him ends justified the means. This pessimism of the opposition, both outside and inside Muslim League, proved correct during the elections as Qaiyum Khan used all tactics to win absolute majority in the assembly.

These were the first ever elections in the province of NWFP after the creation of Pakistan but the way they were conducted, it set a very bad example for the coming generations. Instead of strengthening democratic institutions it weakened them. It set an example of fraud, rigging and coercion to achieve desired results. These are those problems which still haunt the political institutions of the country.