

ELECTION FOR SECOND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF ELECTORAL POLITICS IN WEST PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The paper seeks to record the history of electoral politics in West Pakistan for the election of Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1955. Most of the members were elected indirectly with the votes of the members of provincial legislatures. The political tactics of the ruling oligarchy in Pakistan to win the seats in Constituent Assembly in the wake of the formation of One Unit of West Pakistan has been revealed. Main reliance for the sources of the paper is upon the official documents of the British Government which are preserved in the National Archives London. In addition to British Archives the debates in the Constituent Assembly and some reliable secondary books have been consulted. The archival evidence thus has helped to record the history of electoral politics from an impartial and neutral observer. The outcomes of the study indicate that the ruling oligarchy managed to grab the seats of Constituent Assembly in a controlled politics. Even then the cracks appeared in their circles due to internal grouping.

Keywords: Election, Constitutional Assembly, Pakistan, Electoral Politics, West Pakistan

Introduction

The election for 32 out of 40 total seats for the West Pakistan in the Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held indirectly by the method of proportional representation with Single Transferable Vote. The method of election held on 21st June 1955 was similar to that for original Assembly. Newly elected Provincial Assemblies were the Electoral College for the

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seats of respective province (UKHC Karachi, 1955a, 23 June) (ECP, 1964-65, p. 2) (Chaudhuri, 1968, p. 182). Under the decision of elected Constituent Assembly of Pakistan five members were nominated by rulers of princely states. Three were elected by the members of the Tribal Advisory Council of the NWFP (Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) (Ahmad, 1960, p. 15)

Political Tussle in Punjab

Election campaign in Punjab was devoted to the rivalries of the various groups inside the ML. These were led by Feroz Khan Noon, Chief Minister of Province until May 21st; Mumtaz Daultana, who was Chief Minister until his dismissal after the religious disturbances in the Punjab in 1953; Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Chief Minister immediately after partition; and MA Gurmani, Governor of the Punjab and Governor-designate of “West Pakistan”. Noon and Daultana led two largest groups. The Mamdot group was rather loosely allied to the Noon group. Gurmani’s group was small, but coupled with Gurmani’s influence as Governor and as the Central Government’s principal agent in the Punjab could control the Assembly in alliance with either the Noon or the Daultana group. Noon had claims on the Central Government’s gratitude by rehabilitating the Punjab after Daultana’s unhappy period of office. He also initiated the unification of West Pakistan into One Unit. Moreover he had been among the first to rally to the Governor General when he was preparing in September and October, 1954 to dissolve the old Constituent Assembly. But to central ruling clique he had

exhausted these claims by his subsequent behavior (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

The politics for Constituent Assembly election was coincided with the struggle for power in Punjab and newly formed One Unit of West Pakistan. Daultana faction and Noon Group of Punjab ML (ruling party in Punjab) were engaged in this struggle. The differences arose about the nominations for the Assembly. Rafique Afzal (2012, p. 271) notes that a crisis in distribution of tickets developed when the central leadership tried to secure six seats. Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, Major General Iskander Mirza, I.I. Chundrigar, Gurmani and two others wanted to get these special tickets.

The Noon group was willing to concede the seats for central leadership provided they gave him a free hand in the selection of the remaining party candidates (Afzal, 2012, p. 271). On 22nd April the parliamentary party of ML in Punjab Assembly met to nominate sixteen Punjab candidates for the Constituent Convention (then name of Assembly). Noon, the leader of the parliamentary party in provincial legislature, proposed that the selection of the nominees should be entrusted to a committee of three Punjabi Leaguers Gurmani, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali and Noon. (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April) This committee definitely favoured the nominations of Noon Group.

Daultana, who led his own faction in the party, immediately moved an amendment stating that the leadership of the Central Government of Pakistan should be empowered to make the choice. It was at once clear that the sense of the meeting

was strongly in support of the amendment and it was unanimously adopted, but not before Noon had demanded and obtained a vote of confidence. He accepted Daultana's amendment as coming to practically the same thing as his own motion. Daultana accepted it because if he had tried to argue against, a vote of no confidence against him would have been carried by a large majority. (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April)

UKHC observes that the latter version is rather the more plausible and it is supported by the fact that strong protest against the Noon's proposed procedure came from Noon's main supporters including his own Parliamentary Private Secretary, who had tendered his resignation. This submissiveness to central authority came as rather a surprise to those people who had expected the Provincial Assembly to take fuller advantage of the strength of their position. (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April) Consequently ML Punjab made sixteen nominations on 27th April. The list of nominations contained the names of Iskander Mirza (Interior Minister), Khan Sahib, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali (Finance Minister), Feroz Khan Noon, Mamdot and Daultana. Other nominations were submitted both by opposition parties and by "rebel" ML members. (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 28 April) The Daultana group successfully exploited the situation and offered the central leadership absolute authority in selection all candidates from the province. Gurmani and another member of central leadership played a decisive role in ensuring the eventual victory of the Daultana group. (Afzal, 2012, p. 271)

The political decision and nominations of Punjabi Leaguers had to be changed when it was announced on 27 April 1955 that powers of Convention would be raised from initially proclaimed limited ones to function as a Federal Legislature like the old Constituent Assembly. The increase in the number of Convention's seats to eighty (adding another five seats from the Punjab) and deletion of provision for Convention's dissolution after six months also increased the prospects of second thoughts about the Punjab's nominations. So long as the Convention was to be a single-purpose body with a limited life, competition for membership could be restrained within reasonable bounds; but it was more than could be expected of the Punjab politicians that they would give away so meekly seats on the supreme body in the State.

Three most important figures of central leadership the Prime Minister Bogra, the Finance Minister Muhammad Ali and the Minister of the interior Iskander Mirza paid surprise visit to Punjab on 30th April in order to settle the politics there. Jockeying for position started at once. Three ministers Abdul Hamid Dasti, Leghari and Masood Sadiq, deserting Noon Group, submitted their resignations from the Punjab Ministry. Dasti was clearly the real leader; Leghari had considerable local influence and it was supposed that he would find a position in the new West Pakistan Government; Masood Sadiq was a weak character and it was thought that his desertion of Noon was the strongest indication of the extent to which Noon's position deteriorated. Daultana's influence was certainly growing rapidly and he was full of self

confidence. Prima fasciae, it might have been expected that one of Prime Minister's purposes of his visit was to try to salve the Chief Minister, and it might be significant that he associated with his discussions with Abid Hussain who was a bitter opponent of Daultana and friendly to Noon. Noon's position was gradually undermined ever since Gurmani was appointed Governor of the Punjab, which made it clear that he could not fill either of the two chief posts in the new West Pakistan (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April).

Iskander Mirza, in the morning of 1st May, viewed that the political climate in Lahore was "pretty bad". Though things were not out of control yet the unity of the provincial ML seemed to have dissolved and not even the unprecedented event of a personal visit of the Prime Minister succeeded in patching over the rifts (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April). However on his return from Lahore the Prime Minister told reporters that the mission "had made progress towards becoming successful." He told UKHC on 2nd May that he thought the selection of members would work out all right (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 2 May).

The postponement of the election to the Constituent Convention gave more room for maneuvering. The fact that five more names were to be decided required further negotiations (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April). Subsequent to designation of Gurmani as Governor of One Unit of West Pakistan, chances of Noon's elevation to prominent position in the new administration, diminished since two Punjabis could scarcely be put together at the top unless "One Unit" was to appear nakedly

as “Greater Punjab”. Consequently Noon first began to try secretly to delay the implementation of One Unit scheme. Then he initiated bargaining with the Centre over number of Punjab seats in the Constituent Assembly which could be reserved for Central ministers. Forestalling Noon’s moves his ministry was dismissed by Governor Gurmani on May 21st his ministry. Hamid Dasti, former Minister under Noon, was invited to form new ministry. Dasti and other cabinet members were regarded by UKHC to be from the Gurmani group (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July), while Rafique Afzal (2012, p. 271) regards them from Daultana faction. Daultana Group too received two or three cabinet positions in the new ministry.

Dismissal of Noon ministry was followed by wordy war between Noon and Daultana who had in conflict of power in Punjab for two years. Noon complained of the use of official pressure against his supporters and in favour of his rivals: e.g. the transfer of officials to unimportant stations and re-appointment of his rival Mian Anwar Ali as inspector General of police. By the time the ML Central Parliamentary Board headed by Prime Minister Bogra arrived in Lahore to decide ML “tickets” for the Assembly elections; the gulf between the Noon group and the reminder was wide and rigid. The Noon group commanded about 50 votes-enough, it was expected, to give them up to five Constituent Assembly seats. Of the remaining fifteen Muslim seats allocated to the Punjab, five were required for Central Ministers; Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, Major General Iskander Mirza, Colonel Abid Hussain, Sardar Mumtaz Ali and Sardar

Amir Azam Khan. Former two had joined the ML on 3rd June to be eligible for the League tickets. Ten remaining seats were to be distributed among groups of Mamdot, Gurmani and Daultana. Mamdot being Governor of Sindh and Gurmani being Governor-designate of West Pakistan were regarded by some people as illicit for election to the new Constituent Assembly. An attempt by the Noon group to secure a restriction from Lahore High Court against Gurmani's election on being disqualified on this ground was unsuccessful (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

Provincial ML Parliamentary Board, by seven to two votes, rejected Noon's stance about refusal of tickets to central leadership (Afzal, 2012, p. 272) as well as allotting his group a number of tickets proportionate to their voting strength. ML Central parliamentary Board preferred to crack the whip of party discipline by confirming the provincial Board's recommendation for all twenty candidates from Punjab without including either Noon or any of his group members. The Noon group promptly elucidated to rebel against the party authorities and vote for their own candidates. In the consequent danger of failure of five official Muslims League candidates to be elected a good deal of maneuvering between groups and individuals took place. In this situation Mamdot, though eventually returned with his personal efforts, felt that he was poorly treated by the party leaders. In the minute flurry over the procedure the Noon group secured a Court order designed to ensure the fairness and secrecy of the polling. However, mild complexities of the voting procedure under the system of proportional representation were too great for many of

the members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

Members elected from Punjab were Mian Abdul Bari, Abdul Hameed Khan, Abid Hussain Shah, Ameer Azam Khan, Ameer Muhammad Khan Kala Bagh, Aziz Din Chaudhry, Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain Chatha, Sardar Abdul Hameed Dasti, Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana, Chaudhry Abdul Ghani Ghumman, CE Gibbon, Alamdar Hussain Gillani, Mehta Ahmad Gurmani, Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin, Iskander Mirza, Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizalbash, Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Mir Balkh Sher Mazari, Muhammad Ali, Syed Mohyuddin Lal Badshah and Feroz Khan Noon (Jafri, 1996, p. 29).

Five of the official ML candidates duly failed to secure election (including one Central Minister, Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan). The Noon group won only three of these seats. The other two went to Mian Abdul Bari, an Awami Leaguer and leader of the small opposition in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and Mian Iftikharuddin, leader of Azad Pakistan Party. Mian Abdul Bari was regarded, at least at the Centre, as being a sound man and almost as good a Muslim Leaguer. Mian Iftikharuddin allegedly secured his election by a combination of family influence and judicious bribery: UKHC told that he got his seat by buying, relatively cheaply, the sixth or seventh preferences to which little importance was attached by most voters but which as counting went on became increasingly important. Another independent candidate, Said Seigal, a wealthy industrialist, let out considerable sums in return for promises of first preferences. The

recipients of money broke the promises at the time of polling, in favor of their personal or party liking. C.E. Gibbon, who won the seat for minorities of Punjab, had resigned some time ago from the Azad Pakistan Party because its policies were incompatible with his religious beliefs. He agreed to vote for Said Seigal, but broke promise and ran for his own election (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

Political Game in Sindh

The ML majority in the Sindh Legislative Assembly was large enough to ensure that no candidate could be elected without ML nomination. There was a major split in the Sindh ML between the factions of M.A Khuhro, the Chief Minister, and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, the Vice-President of the Pakistan Muslim League (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July). Ayub Khuhro was first empowered by the Sindh ML parliamentary party to nominate representatives to the Convention. Later Central Parliamentary Board affected a compromise by nominating four ministers; Talpur, Khuhro and two of latter's colleagues for the four Muslims seats (Afzal, 2012, p. 273).

Talpur was at the time of nomination awaiting trial on an almost certainly trumped-up charge of conspiring to murder in Khuhro. The case was dropped since the election. G.M. Syed and Kazi Fazlullah and were two other Muslim candidates. G.M. Syed was the leader of the small, left-wing Sindh Awami Mahaz (Popular Front). Kazi Fazlullah had been Chief Minister of Sindh from May 1950 to March 1951. He kept position of Chief

Minister warm for Khuhro during the period of latter's disqualification. He, however, joined Khuhro's opponents later. He was arrested just before polling day, on unbelievable charge of conspiring to blow up the Sindh Legislative Assembly and granted bail just after it. The prosecuting counsel raised no objection on his bail. It meant he was put out of the way during the last stages of the election campaign and released when his power to influence the electors was finished.

Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan, a former Sindh Food and Agriculture minister, attempted to establish a claim to vote in the election. He had been elected to the Sindh Legislative Assembly in 1953 and disqualified from public or representative of office in 1954. This was terminated by the Governor-General in October 1954 and Pathan argued that his membership of the Legislative Assembly was then revived. The Sindh Chief Court held that this was a matter for the speaker of the Legislative Assembly to decide. Pathan was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms from Assembly meeting the day before the election, on the orders of Khuhro, not the Speaker.

As Karachi being federal capital was under federal control and Sindh police under orders of provincial Chief Minister could not operate there, to facilitate any necessary pressure upon electors by provincial government of Khuhro, the election was held in Hyderabad instead of Karachi the customary seat of the Sindh Government and Legislative Assembly. 104 of the 108 members of the Sindh Legislative Assembly voted (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July). Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, Hajji

Maula Bakhsh Somro, Ghulam Ali Talpur were elected on Muslim seats and Siromal Kirpaldas was elected on minorities' seat (Jafri, 1996, p. 29). Khuhro and Rashdi with 26 first preferences for each and Talpur with 19 first preferences were elected in the first round. Somro and GM Syed both got equal 11 first preferences but Somro got lead over Syed in the second round of counting and got elected. Kazi Fazlullah lost securing 6 first preferences.

There were two candidates both Hindus for the single seat reserved from the minorities; Seth Sukhdev, the Sindh minorities' representative in the old Constituent Assembly and Siromal Kirpaldas, leader of the Hindu "opposition" in the Sindh Legislative Assembly who was reliable camp-follower of the ML. Siromal Kirpaldas begged 3 first preferences and was elected in competition to Sukhdev who got 2 preferences (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

NWFP's Politics

During second half of April 1955 the Frontier ML Assembly Party decided not to vote for any candidate for the Constituent Convention. In conclusion of a two-day secret session of the Assembly Party on April 26th and 27th passed a unanimous resolution recommending that elections to Convention be postponed until the final judgment of the Federal Court on reference. Consequently three of the four candidates who had been nominated were withdrawn. Fourth candidate, Abdul Qayyum Khan, the former Chief Minister, was withdrawn later.

The resolution was passed in advance of the decision by the Governor General to postpone the nomination day from April 27th to May 4th. Instead of having any connection with the election it was an expression of growing dislike of the One-Unit scheme. In the meeting the Chief Minister had stated the official view and then left the meeting free to express its own opinion.

There was some public expression or satisfaction from tribal leaders on the increase by Governor General of number of tribal nominees. However the general feeling in the Province was that the Central authorities had lost prestige and that the outlook for the people of the NWFP was a gloomy one (UKHC Karachi, 1955, April 17-30). On 27 April 1955 the Frontier AL was undecided on its attitude (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 28 April). The Working Committee of the Provincial AL authorized its president Pir of Manki Sharif, to put their opinion before the All Pakistan AL High Command (UKHC Karachi, 1955, April 17-30). The postponement of election apparently eased the difficulties in the NWFP, but public opinion generally could probably deplore it (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 30 April).

The ML's nominated candidates were Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan, (the Chief Minister,) Mian Jaffar, (the Education Minister,) Malik-ur-Rehman Kyani, (the Public Work Minister,) Khan Jalaluddin Khan, Vice President of the Provincial ML. It was widely expected that the Central Parliamentary Board would not endorse the name of Khan Jalaluddin and substitute instead that of Sardar Bahadur who was anxious to secure election from the same district as Jalaluddin, namely Hazara. Another criticism

emanated from the Peshawar Bar Association called that recommendations contained no lawyer. Peshawar city ML pressed the claims of Khan Fida Muhammad Khan. Another possible independent candidate was Dr. Rahim, a noted advocate (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 29 May-13 June). The AL nominated three candidates, including Pir of Manki Sharif, the AL leader in the NWFP from the same district as, but had little hope of securing a seat in view of the ML's great preponderance in the NWFP Legislative Assembly.

An important candidate for NWFP was Khan Abdul Qayyum who was dismissed from Chief Ministry in October 1954 when he had joined the faction of first Constitution Assembly who tried to decrease the powers of Governor-General that move ended in dissolution of Assembly. Since then he lived in Lahore out of the limelight. When applications for the Muslims League tickets were invited, he applied directly to the Central Parliamentary Board thinking it a waste of time to apply through the NWFP Provincial Board that was composed of his successors and rivals. His application was refused (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July). Consequently he resigned from the ML and fought elections as an independent candidate. Resigning from the ML and all its affiliated bodies on June 13 he observed that the party was "dead and could not be revived" (Afzal, 2012, p. 273). As many of the electors had secured their seats in the Provincial Assembly under his past patronage, there seemed some possibility of his winning enough votes to be elected. During his campaign he complained bitterly of the official pressure against

him but did not offer any criticism of actual voting agreements (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

In the results Sardar Abdur Rasheed Khan, Mia Jaffar Shah, Jalaluddin Khan and Kyani were returned from NWFP (Jafri, 1996, p. 29). Eighty-two electors cast their votes. Sardar Abdur Rashid secured 24 first preferences and Mian Jaffar got 18, Kyani got 12; Khan Jalaluddin got 12; Khan Abdul Qayyum got 9; and the Pir of Manki Sharif got 6 first preferences. Sardar Abdur Rashid and Mian Jaffar both were elected in the first round. Kyani was elected on the second round of counting. It was only in the fifth round that Khan Jalaluddin scraped in ahead of Khan Abdul Qayyum and got elected (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

Election in Karachi (Capital)

Single seat for the capital area of Karachi was to be filled with the votes of the members of Municipal Committee Karachi. There were eleven applicants for the Muslims Leagues ticket. In addition H.I. Rahimtoola, the Central Minister of Commerce had applied to Central Parliamentary Board for a “ticket” for any province. It was generally expected that he would be seriously considered only for Karachi, as there were pretty good chances of his victory from Karachi. In the event, however the choice fell on the Yusuf Haroon who not only belonged to a wealthy family but also his newspaper *Dawn* was supporting Prime Minister Bogra. *Dawn*'s rival *Times of Karachi* was at means right up to Election Day to deride Haroon's chance of election and to encourage its readers to believe that he would be beaten by one of the

independent candidates. It particularly favoured M.H. Gazdar, Deputy President of the old Constituent Assembly and one of the managers in attacking on the Governor- General in October 1954. Along with support of party the promises made by Haroon with the voters helped him elected with 56 out of the 90 votes cast (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

Balochistan's Election

The representatives from Balochistan were elected by the tribal Shahi Jirga and non-official members of Quetta Municipality (Muhammad, 2012, p. 34). Dr. Khan Sahib, a pre-independence Congress premier of NWFP had joined hands with ruling oligarchy that rehabilitated his career with his inclusion in the Bogra's Cabinet of Talent in October 1954. He had lent his support for One Unit and following its formation was Chief Minister-designate of West Pakistan (Talbot, 1998, p. 143). It was highly desirable for him to get elected. The Government canvassed various courses for his election. One of the options was to nominate him to one of the seats of States or Tribal Areas. Then the Government wanted to get him elected from Punjab. There was considerable opposition to this on the grounds that he was neither a Punjabi nor a Muslim Leaguer. An attempt to impose him on ML electors of his own Province, the NWFP, would probably have met even greater opposition, their enmity dating far back beyond partition. He might, however, have a

chance of success in election on adult franchise (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

The solution of the problem of getting Dr. Khan Sahib elected was that he should be elected for the Balochistan seats. The electors to Balochistan were amenable to official pressure and had no particular reason to dislike Dr Khan Sahib except the plain fact that he was from outside Balochistan. Indeed, they might well feel that to have Chief Minister of “West Pakistan” as their representative in the new Constituent Assembly would help to ensure a full consideration of Balochistan’s needs after formation of One Unit. The majority of the electors were then directed to address an invitation to Dr Khan Sahib to be there, which he graciously accepted. A member of the Shahi Jirga Sardar Muhammad Jan Khetran put himself a pin protest against the imposition of an outsider, but Dr. Khan Sahib being a ML candidate easily bagged 68 out of 87 votes and was elected (UKHC Karachi, 1955, July).

Representations of Frontier State and Tribal Areas: (8 seats)

The first item of Constituent Assembly of Pakistan’s business after its inauguration was the legislation for the representation of Frontier states and tribal areas. On July 9th 1955 through a Bill introduced by Suhrawardy and passed by Assembly on the same day (CAPD, 1955, 9 July). the provisions were invoked for representation in the Constituent Assembly of the states and tribal areas. Under these provisions the Nawab of Bahawalpur nominated Syed Ahmad Nawaz Shah Gardezi and

Chaudhry Abdus Salam as two representatives of that State. The Council of Rulers of the States comprising the Balochistan States Union (Kalat, Makran, Kharan and Lasbela) elected Nawab Mir Bai Khan to represent the Union. The rulers of Frontier states of Swat, Dir, Amb and Chitral elected Maj-Gen. MAH Jahan Zeb Khan. The members of the Tribal Advisory Council of the NWFP elected Khan Bahadur Hajji Malik Mehredil Khan Mehsud, Malik Waris Khan Malikdinkhil Afridi and Malik Jehangir Khan Madda Khel Wazir as their three representatives and the Legislative Assembly of Khairpur State elected Mirza Mumtaz Hasan Qizalbash as a representative of that State (CAPD, 1955, 8 August) (UKHC Karachi, 1955, 20 July) (NAP, 2020).

Conclusion

All the ML nominees were elected except in the Punjab, where (to most observers' surprise) the group led by Sir Feroz Khan Noon contested the elections in defiance of PML discipline and secured 3 out of the 20 Punjab Muslim seats, at the expense of Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan, Central Minister for Information and Broadcasting, among others UKHC Karachi (1955b, 23 June). The split inside the Punjab ML was probably partly responsible for election of Abdul Bari and Iftikharuddin and also for election of Gibbon to minorities' seat instead of Bhandara (Parsee), an ML lackey who held the seat in the old Constituent Assembly. In addition to Mumtaz Ali, who was defeated in election, several central ministers did not stand, including

Rahimtoola, Ispahani and General Ayub Khan (UKHC Karachi, 1955a, 23 June).

The West Pakistan members at least had little claim to be truly representative of the people and, elected as they had been by Provincial Assemblies the elections to which were not unspotted by tricky and improper pressures (Symon, 1955). Twenty-Eight landlords from West Pakistan won the seats. Twenty-Three lawyers, only 3 from West Pakistan, returned successful. Nine retired officers from East Pakistan and 5 from West Pakistan were able to win. The candidates belonging to the industrial and business class won 4 seats from West Pakistan (Chaudhuri, 1968, p. 182). ML secured 24 Muslim seats. Three seats were bagged by Noon Group that was dissident to ML. Three independents also won. Two members from minorities and eight elected from states or tribal areas were not formally aligned with any party.

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