

**POLITICS OF REGIONALISM: A CASE
STUDY OF BAHAWALPUR REGION
(1947 - 2000)**

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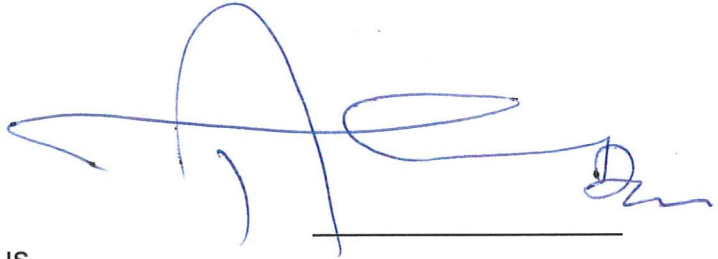
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**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Taxilla
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University, Islamabad. 2002.**

CERTIFICATE

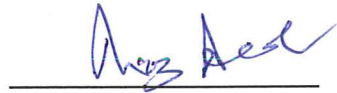
This is to certify that this dissertation by Umbreen Javaid is accepted in its present form by the Taxilla Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, as satisfying the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other University for any other Degree.

Umbreen Javaid

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my parents, my husband Javaid and my daughter Rameesha, who have all given me the pleasures of life.

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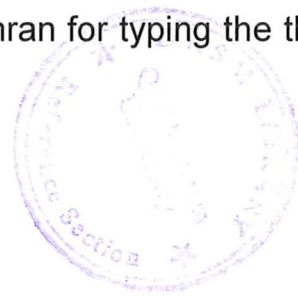
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ABSTRACT

Regionalism is an ambiguous and contested concept. It can take many shapes. In principle it recognizes the distinct features of a geographical region within a country. It may involve sentiments like love of one's own region, the desire of reviving a glorious past, fear of a strong central government and a stronger belief in regional self-government.

This study offers a thorough analysis of the politics of Bahawalpur describing the political behaviour of the local people in terms of regionalism. Bahawalpur State, had a separate political and administrative identity. The State had its own legislative assembly and high court. Prime Minister was the administrative head of the State. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was the permanent constitutional head. The pace of development was satisfactory and the State continued to grow as one of the richest states of the Sub-Continent. But after the State's merger into One Unit, the people of Bahawalpur did not feel comfortable with the new arrangement. Their perceived grievances were with respect to slow development effort, allotment of land to outsiders, lower share in provincial and federal jobs, and expending the earnings of Bahawalpur region in other areas. The cumulative effect of these individual grievances was the demand for Bahawalpur Province based on political, administrative and economic considerations.

The study has looked into the origin of the Abbaside dynasty of Bahawalpur, life sketches, roles and contributions of all the Nawabs, who ruled Bahawalpur State. Politics prevailing in the region is thoroughly studied which includes the time when the region was an autonomous state and also after its abolition.

The study determines whether accession has been a good experience for the people of Bahawalpur region. The answer is in affirmative. Accession was a reflection of the collective will of the people. The study also enquires into the actual aspirations of the people of the region towards the Bahawalpur Province Movement and Saraiki Province Movement and find that the latter has a negligible following.

The genesis of the political activities, the introduction of main stream national political parties and the emergence of regional parties are discussed. The old but perennial political undercurrent based on a cultural heritage of affinity to sufi schools and shrines and the later trend of regionalism have been discovered as the main determinants of politics in this region.

Next was the examination of the question whether regionalism in Bahawalpur is a force of disintegration or a force of integration. It leads to the gratifying conclusion that it is a struggle for better opportunitie for improvement in life within the ambit of national politics of Pakistan.

The study concludes with recommendations for giving sympathetic and careful consideration to popular demands of the region, which do not seem to be in conflict with the national interest of the country.

CHAPTER NO.1**INTRODUCTION****REGIONALISM**

Regionalism is a principle, which recognizes the distinct features of a geographical region within a country, sometimes by investing it with powers of local government and cultural autonomy. It involves sentiments such as love of one's own region, the desire of reviving a glorious past, fear of a strong central government and a belief that regional self-government is more efficient and develops greater civic loyalty in the people. Regionalism, however, recognizes the national authority and unity as more important than regional loyalty. Regionalism is based more on historical, ethnic, national, linguistic, and cultural peculiarities.¹

Regionalism has become a more powerful political movement since the 1960s. The forces supporting regionalism include the growth of ethnic and cultural nationalism, and the declining capacity of the nation-state to maintain a high level of political allegiance. It is sometimes argued that regionalism is only appropriate to certain states in which there are strong and

¹ Wilbur W. White, White's Political Dictionary (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1948), p.243.

meaningful traditions of regional political loyalty. Criticisms of regionalism fall into one of the two categories. They either warn that regionalism threatens the nation's territorial integrity by strengthening regional loyalties and identities at the expense of national ones or, from a separatist perspective, they argue that regionalism is a device employed by central government to contain and control centrifugal pressures within the state. This latter view implies that regionalism may take the form of 'regionalisation', the process by which central authorities respond to regional demand without redistributing policy-making power. Concern with regional patterns and regionalism did not suddenly begin in the 1960s: it has been a focus of study and political action since the beginning of the twentieth century and, some would argue, for even longer than that.

One of the most concise attempts has been made by Stubbs and Underhill who identify three central elements to regionalism. There is a common historical experience and sense of shared problems among a geographically distinct group of societies: this effectively gives a definition of 'region'. There are close linkages of a distinct kind between those societies; in other words, there is a 'boundary' to the region

within which interactions are more intense than those with the outside world; this intensification of interactions has been termed 'regionalization'².

Although Stubbs and Underhill are concerned particularly with the political economy of regions and regionalism, their criteria can be extended to cater for all areas of interest and activity. Notably, the criteria do not make judgements about the outcomes of regional activity and organization; these outcomes can as easily be an intensification of frictions as an intensification of cooperation or integration. The key element is proximity and intensity of relationships.

Regionalism can be seen both as a force for integration and as a force for disintegration. At one and the same time, it expresses the desire for collective action and identity and the desire for difference and distinctiveness.

Regionalism is a fissiparous tendency particularly in larger plural societies, arising out of multi-lingualism, multi-religious localities, disparities in the level of economic development, dominance of local or regional traditionalism or

² Brian White, Richard Little and Michael Smith, Issues In World Politics (New York: Macmillan Press, 1997), p.71.

patriotism, ethnic differences or identities.³ Centering around such forces, there develop socio-political movements in different parts of the state seeking to foster or protect an indigenous culture in particular regions, or to “decentralize central government to an intermediate level between that of the State and the traditional units of local government” or sometimes even to advocate secession.

Regionalism is the transfer of decision-making authority from central government to intermediate bodies, which stand, between the centre and local government and have territorial jurisdiction over a region or portion of a state. Regionalism thus implies decentralization but without calling the integrity of the state and the final authority of national government into question. However, regionalism is an ambiguous and contested concept. Regionalism, for instance, may take the form of devolution, in either its administrative or legislative guise, or it may involve federalism, in which case regional or provincial bodies are constitutionally entrenched and exercise a share of sovereignty.⁴

³ M.G. Gupta, Encyclopedia of Contemporary International Affairs (Agra: Y.K. Publishers, 1987), p.280.

⁴ Andrew Heywood, Key Concepts In Politics (London: Macmillan Press, 2000) p.259.

In a very general way regionalism may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggerated or oppressive form of centralization. It must not, however, be considered solely from the viewpoint of political control or governmental administration. Regionalist problems arise only where there is a combination of two or more such factors as geographical isolation, independent historical traditions, racial, ethnic or religious peculiarities and local economic or class interests.⁵ Regionalism involves such diverse problems of modern political and cultural life as those of minorities, administrative decentralization, local self-government and autonomy.

Complex of attitude, loyalties and ideas, which concentrates the individual and collective minds of people's upon what they perceive as 'their' region. Within states it can be manifestation of ethnic nationalism and the political goal of separatism and independence. On the other hand, regionalism may simply reflect an organizational desire to increase efficiencies and make administration more accountable to the population. Regionalism within states is thus a very broad-based set of ideas and aspirations which may see much or little

⁵ Edwin R.A. Serigman and Alwin Johson, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (London: The Macmillan Company, 1959), p.209.

conflict between the concept of region and the concept of centre.⁶ The primary, common sense usage connotes contiguity. Indeed proximity seems to be a necessary, although not sufficient physical condition for confident stipulation of a region. Within state actors physical contiguity or proximity seems to be an important prerequisite for creating and maintaining a sense of unity.

Regionalism is the practice of or belief in regional government. The term regionalism is therefore better applied to regimes in which there are, or might be, regions, but where regions are a creation of central government which may be as easily destroyed as created.⁷

Regionalism flourishes under the following conditions: (i) Acute ethnic variations in the federal society as exist in Canada, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, India and Nigeria. (ii) Excessive centralization accompanied by authoritarian rule. This has been the major factor behind the growth of regionalism in Pakistan. (iii) Weakening hold of the unifying forces such as of the religion or of the desire to continue to live as an integral part of

⁶ Graham Evans and Jeffery Newham, The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations (England: Penguin Books, 1998), p.473.

⁷ Iain Mclean, ed. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.424.

one political unit. The separation of East Pakistan amply illustrates this point. (iv) Wide economic disparity between the regions as prevails in Pakistan and India. (v) Domination - political, economic and administrative - of one region or part over other units due to its size population and richness in natural resources such as of the Punjab in Pakistan, the Northern states in India. (vi) Presence of regionally-based political parties as exist in Pakistan.⁸

The continued growth of regionalist forces, if not contained by political and constitutional means, would obstruct the process of development and threaten the administrative stability of the state. In Pakistan the conflicting forces of unity and diversity could not be balanced due to the prevalence of acute ethnic and linguistic variations and lack of mutual interdependence of national and regional sub-systems.

Growth of regionalism in Pakistan can be attributed to five factors i.e., (i) centralization accompanied by political authoritarianism, (ii) ethnic and linguistic differences, (iii) wide economic disparity amongst the regions, (iv) sway of one province over others, and (v) the absence of a nationally-based

⁸ Verinder Grover, Pakistan Government and Politics (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 2000), p.120.

political party having roots in all the provinces. The wariness of small regions about the big units is not an uncommon phenomenon of a pluralist society. It is present in varying degrees in all federal societies. e.g. in Canada-the English versus the French Canadians, and in India - the North versus the South, this feeling, however, threatens the system's stability when the suspicion and distrust of small regions turns into a strong sense of insecurity and a fear overpowers them that they are being culturally and linguistically submerged with the big unit by a deliberate, well calculated policy. This development can be as much an outcome of domination of one unit at the centre as of uneven economic progress of the units.⁹ What determines the degree of a region's ability to influence central policies is not only its size and population but the skill of its manpower, its richness in natural resources and its sound economic base.

Being inherent in a multi-national country, regionalism as such is not a problem. What makes it problematic is its steady growth and eventual sway over centripetal forces upsetting the federal-state equation. Any attempt to contain it with coercion

⁹ Ibid., p.131.



could provoke resistance as was witnessed in the former East Pakistan and Baluchistan. What is needed in the pluralist society of this state is the recognition of this force and its reconciliation under a genuine democratic federal set up ensuring effective constitutional guarantees against central encroachment in the provincial domain and equal participation of the units in the country's administrative, political and economic set up.

REGIONALISM IN BAHAWALPUR

Historically Bahawalpur region has enjoyed a unique position in British India, Bahawalpur was the second largest Muslim State. Geographically it is the largest State, which joined Pakistan. Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan, who was a personal friend of Quaid promised to join Pakistan without any condition, and he fulfilled his promise. Ever since Bahawalpur has really stood up for Pakistan's unity in times of crisis.

Historically it was in 1727 that Bahawalpur was founded as a State under Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan as its first ruler. From 1727 till 1955 for 228 years Bahawalpur remained as an autonomous State. In 1956 it was made a part of One

Unit. Subsequently from 1969, with the break-up of One Unit it had been a division of the Punjab Province.*

The State of Bahawalpur, after its voluntary annexation with Pakistan, has passed through many critical phases. The unique population mix which comprises the native Saraiki speaking, the Urdu speaking migrants, and Punjabi speaking settlers from East Punjab and upper Punjab had worked very well initially. The Ameer of Bahawalpur did a yeoman's service towards promotion of education and arts in the muslim community. Irrespective of the area or the origin of the talented muslims, liberal scholarships and grants were offered for their advancement in education and arts. The poor and needy craftsmen all over India were invited to this State. The virgin lands of Bahawalpur State were opened to the people of other parts at the introduction of canal irrigation in this area.

This feeling of oneness of Muslim community was efficiently promoted through a just and balanced administrative and judicial system which would protect the rights of every body and which created an environment of security and self-assuredness for the common man.

With the extension of administrative and judicial system operating in other parts of the country to the old State of

* Since 14th August, 2001 the Divisions have been abolished.

Bahawalpur this feeling of cohesion evaporated gradually and petty differences on the basis of language, origin and even sectarian beliefs started surfacing, some time quite ominously.

The economic potential of the State owing to its unique endowment for agriculture and live-stock, bio-diversity and minerals has not been fully explored and is lagging behind on industrialization as well.

The feelings of the people of Bahawalpur were badly injured at the time of promulgation of One Unit as they took it as a violation of their agreement of annexation. The economic deprivation and backwardness has augmented this feeling but even in the face of these handicaps the Bahawalpur State did not lose its original tilt towards Muslim brotherhood and its commitment towards the ideology of Pakistan.

The high point in the recent political history in Bahawalpur region is the movement of Bahawalpur Province. Even this has looked askance for a serious political analysis. The Bahawalpur Province Movement, is a movement for the creation of a separate province covering the former princely State of Bahawalpur. It had been ruled by the Abbasi Nawabs since 1727. The State acceded to Pakistan in 1947. In 1955, Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, the ruler of Bahawalpur, agreed to

merge the State with the newly created province of West Pakistan.

In 1957, when West Pakistan was supposed to be divided into its constituent units, the twelve members from Bahawalpur in the National Assembly declared that their area would become a separate administrative unit. However, before this could be done, Ayub Khan imposed martial law and West Pakistan remained as it was until the new military ruler, Yahya Khan, decided to restore the provinces in November 1969.

The government now decided to amalgamate Bahawalpur with Punjab, a decision which the leaders of the former State did not accept. Several groups for the defence of the rights of Bahawalpur were formed.

The suppressed emotions are expressed in elections. Most seats go to the sympathizers of the Movement, whether they stand as independents or as candidates of a political party. The Bahawalpur Province Movement had abated out by 1972 and the Saraiki Movement started. However, most of the people in Bahawalpur appear to be suspicious of such an arrangement because it will place them in a subservient position relative to Multan.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Bahawalpur State remained in existence for 228 years. It willingly acceded to Pakistan. Its merger into the West Pakistan Province was also through mutual understanding and agreement. What happened after the dissolution of One Unit when Bahawalpur was given the status of a Division in the Province of Punjab has not been to the liking of the people of this area. It gave rise to a strong sentiment of regionalism in the area and a vociferous movement was launched with the name 'Movement for Restoration of Bahawalpur Province'. The movement ended in a fiasco in year 1972 but the sentiment stayed and still persists as a strong under current in the politics of area.

It is to be checked whether the Regionalism of Bahawalpur is a force of integration or a force for disintegration.

The basic problem for analysis in this study is whether Bahawalpur region is happy being a part of Punjab Province? Does the region aspire for the status of a province within the federation of Pakistan? Is the region in favour of Saraiki Province? What kind of political behaviour prevails there? All these above queries have been the basis of this research.

OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The purpose of this research is to study the political behaviour of the local people of Bahawalpur region, in terms of regionalism. The research concentrates on the politics of the region, of the time when it was a State and also after the abolishment of the State. The study also covers the type of politics, which prevails in the region lately, this includes the political trends, political behaviour, culture and the role of local leaders.

One of the aims of study is to see how well the people of Bahawalpur have accepted the loss of separate identity of their own? And whether annexation has been a good experience for the people of Bahawalpur? What are their losses and gains through this experience?

There is an immense impact of two political movements in the region, another main aim of research is to analyze the region's role and its attitudes towards the Saraiki Province Movement and Bahawalpur Province Movement. The study enquires into the actual aspirations of the people of the region vis-a-vis these movements. The research also looks into how these movements are affecting the politics of the region.

The major hypothesis of the research is that, the region is not happy being a part of Punjab Province, and the majority of people of Bahawalpur aspire for a separate province for Bahawalpur region. This will be checked by various research tools, applied in the study. The main object of this study is to find out the actual aspirations of the people of Bahawalpur towards the political movements in an unbiased way and to determine the features of regionalism of Bahawalpur.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The new findings in this research are firstly, that the people of Bahawalpur region have not accepted the loss of a separate identity of their own. The region is not happy being a part of Punjab province, and the majority of people of Bahawalpur region aspire for a separate province for Bahawalpur. Secondly, in national, provincial and local bodies elections no candidate, no matter, from which platform i.e. national political parties, regional parties or independent can win elections if that candidate opposes or does not support the movement for a separate province for Bahawalpur. Lastly, regionalism in Bahawalpur is not a force for disintegration. It respects the federation of Pakistan. It is a force to be reckoned

with which calls for recognition and reconciliation through political means under constitutional arrangements.

The conduct of a case study of Bahawalpur region in context of regionalism is a rewarding and revealing exercise, yet highly challenging. It involves analysis and evaluation of grave and sensitive issues prevailing in the politics of the region.

STATEMENT OF THE CHAPTERS

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which explains regionalism. This chapter also covers statement of problem, objectives of study, statement of chapters, survey of literature and sources regarding the research work.

The second chapter, which is the introduction to the land of Bahawalpur, contains all the basic features of Bahawalpur. This section required latest and up to-date data on nearly all the features. Geographical position is the first feature, this describes the location of Bahawalpur region, which was also the Bahawalpur Division of Punjab Province. Its position according to the longitude and latitude has been given. The areas and places, which the region borders with, are mentioned.

District-wise comparative statement of the geographical area, population and density is given in the second feature i.e., area and population.

The next topic i.e., demographic composition, is regarding the various castes and tribes residing in Bahawalpur region. This section also includes when and how Islam came to this region.

Agriculture, which is the backbone of the economy of Bahawalpur, has been dealt in detail. It includes the role of agriculture and also details about all the major crops grown in Bahawalpur. Due to various factors the agricultural production in the region is on the increase. The introduction of chemical fertilizers and mechanized cultivation has immensely increased crop production, especially wheat and cotton, the two major crops of the region.

Another economic feature given is the industries which are not very popular amongst the rich class of the area, but still there are number of industries which are mostly related to the products produced in abundance in agriculture.

The last physical feature given is the desert Cholistan. This lies in the south of the region. It is divided into two part's, lesser Cholistan and greater Cholistan. The people are

generally nomads spreading over the entire area in small groups who with their livestock are on constant move along the rainwater catchments. Their needs and demands are also touched upon.

The third chapter i.e. Rulers in Politics comprises of two main sections, the first part deals with the historical setting of the Bahawalpur region. This part concerns the issue of who were the people who became the rulers of Bahawalpur. Where did they come from? and how they settled here? When and who laid the foundation of Bahawalpur State? These all issues are dealt in detail in the historical setting. The two different versions regarding the origin of the rulers of the State are discussed with the available material. One version is that the people who became the Nawabs of Bahawalpur State were the Abbaside who ruled over Baghdad, who first came to Sindh and later on, came to this area and established their rule. The other version, which prevails in Bahawalpur but lacks much supportive evidence, is that these rulers were the local tribes who used to loot people and later on claimed themselves to be Abbasides. Both these views are critically discussed.

The later part of the third chapter comprises of the individual Nawabs of Bahawalpur State. Over here, the first

Nawab to the last Nawab of the State are discussed in detail. This part includes the life sketches, role and contribution of all the Nawabs. How these Nawabs developed the State? The political role of the Nawabs played before the partition and after the partition, especially the role and contribution of Nawab Sadiq V the last Nawab of Bahawalpur State are examined. His greatest contribution to Pakistan was his decision of joining with Pakistan at the time of partition. He was a close associate of Quaid and after the establishment of Pakistan, he offered many services, which included monetary help, and shelter to the refugees.

The fourth chapter deals with the politics in Bahawalpur till 1970. This covers the era, which starts from the independence of Pakistan till the first general elections held in Pakistan. This period also covers few years when the State was autonomous. This was the time when the Nawab was the absolute ruler. The study looks into the kind of politics, which prevailed under the rule of Nawab. The second phase starts after the State was abolished by the government of Pakistan.

The second section of the chapter deals with the role of Bahawalpur in the Independence Movement for Pakistan. Even though the people and the State did not directly

participate actively in the movement but indirectly their contribution was of great help regarding the Movement. Nawab Sadiq of Bahawalpur presided over many sessions of Aligarh College and gave huge amount of money towards the Independence Movement. Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali visited the State and received large amount of financial contributions from the people. Few small political organizations also emerged working towards the cause. The study also looks upon various reasons, which led to the minimal participation of people of the State in the Independence Movement.

The fifth chapter deals with the political movements in Bahawalpur. Firstly Saraiki Suba Movement is dealt with. This movement not only concerns Bahawalpur but the whole of the Southern Punjab. The Saraiki Suba Movement started in 1960's. The movement has also spread into Bahawalpur region, and at times has gained momentum there. How popular is this movement in Bahawalpur has been looked upon in the study. The other, Bahawalpur Province Movement, is a movement for the creation of a separate province in the former princely State of Bahawalpur. In 1969, Yahya Khan restored the Provinces and decided to amalgamate Bahawalpur with Punjab, a decision which the leaders of the former State did not

accept. This movement has been a more popular movement in Bahawalpur. An analysis has been conducted in depth to know the impact of this movement in Bahawalpur.

The fifth chapter i.e. Politics of Shrines, covers the role of the spiritual leaders in the foundation of Bahawalpur State. It also looks into their role during the existence of the State and also the political role played after 1955.

Fifth chapter concerns the study of the political parties both national and regional parties in the region, the major political parties, their working, role and impact on the politics of Bahawalpur. The study has also located the centres of power in the region. The role of local politicians, voting behavior and political culture of the region have also come under study.

The last Chapter comprises the conclusion, which summarizes the whole research along with future suggestions.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE.

In spite of the paramount importance of Bahawalpur region in Pakistan, no specific research has been done on the politics of the region. The available material mostly concerns the historical background or contribution and life-sketches of the various Nawabs, who ruled Bahawalpur State. Books and

articles available are mostly written by local writers in Urdu. Written in typical oriental style, their utility is quite limited. They are to some extent helpful as they provide with the cultural, ethnic and basic information of the region but no writer has dealt with the political aspect. On this topic particularly no book or research paper is available. Even articles were hard to come by.

SOURCES

Material was available regarding the region in National Documentation Centre, National Archives, Islamabad, Commissioner's Office Bahawalpur, Census of Pakistan, Central Library and few private libraries of Bahawalpur.

The Central Library, Bahawalpur has been the most useful source for the research. The material obtained from there included books, manuscripts and record of local newspapers. Some very ancient books on the region were available there.

Some material was available at National Documentation Centre, Islamabad. This mostly consisted of official reports of the Bahawalpur State pre-1947. These reports are mostly stored on microfilms.

At the National Archives, Islamabad and Punjab Archives, Lahore, there are files, which contain the data prepared by various Ministries of Government of Pakistan on Bahawalpur. There is a collection of newspapers available also.

Bahawalpur State Gazetteers were available at Punjab Printing Press, Lahore for sale.

Quaid-i-Azam Library, Lahore has also been of great help as it contains lot many books which were required for the historical background and various castes and tribes, dealt in the second chapter.

The office of Commissioner, Bahawalpur provided with an updated administrative report on Bahawalpur in a booklet form.

The primary sources were the interviews, questionnaires. As secondary sources all books in English, Urdu and Persian related to the subject were consulted. Also all articles in journals/magazines were consulted and articles published in newspapers were read. For fieldwork intense inter-face interviews were done with the local opinion leaders and public to have an idea of the inner most aspirations.



CHAPTER –II

THE LAND OF BAHAWALPUR

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION:

Bahawalpur region comprises the former Bahawalpur State which was merged in the Province of West Pakistan on 14th of October, 1955. On disintegration of One Unit in 1969, the territory comprising the former Bahawalpur State became an Administrative Division of the Punjab Province with Bahawalpur City as its headquarter. The region consists of three districts, namely, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan, covering an area of 28013 square kilometre between latitudes 27.42 north and 30.25 north and longitudes 69.31 and 74.1 east.

Bahawalpur is the size of Denmark lying between the Punjab and Sindh.¹ It is bounded on the north and west, first by the Sutlej which separates it from the Pakpattan, Vehari, Lodhran and Multan districts, then the combined waters of Sutlej and Chenab which separate it from the Muzaffargarh District and finally, from the point where the joint streams meet

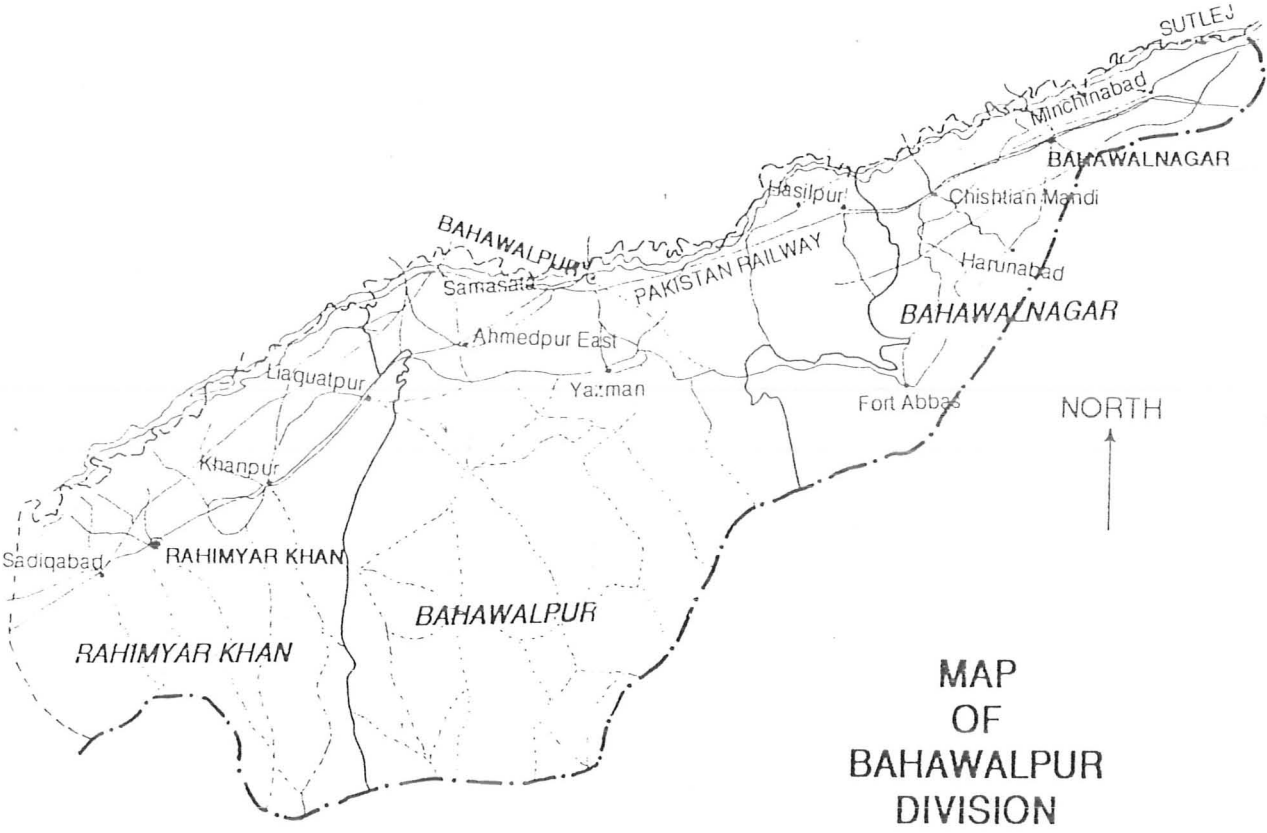
¹ Penderal Moon, Divide and Quit (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), p.97.

Map of Pakistan showing Bahawalpur region.



Figure 1

Map of Bahawalpur region.



the Indus which divides it from the districts of Rajanpur in Punjab and Ghotki in Sindh. On the north-east lies the district of Ferozpur of India and on the south the States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer of Indian Union, and the Province of Sind.

Bahawalpur region consists of a flat alluvial plain merging into desert towards south. Devoid of hills and watercourses except for pools and backwaters of the rivers in the north, the Division can be roughly divided lengthwise into three tracts. Of these, the southern most and broadest is part of the great Desert, largely sand dunes, locally known as Rohi or Cholistan. It is separated from the adjacent tract by a depression called the Hakra which is the ancient bed of some great river probably the Ghaggar or Drishadwati. The central tract is chiefly flat desert but a large portion of it now has been colonized and brought under cultivation by canal irrigation. The northern strip which lies on the north of the railway tract is a fertile, irrigated and narrow alluvial tract in the river valley.

Except for the northern riverain strip where sweet water is found, the sub-soil water in other parts of the region is brackish, uncertain and unfit for irrigation and drinking purposes. Now a days for agricultural, economic and other aspects the Division can be divided into three zones each

having different characteristics. The Riverain or Mahal or Hithar area is inhabited by the old settlers, the Colony or Uttar area is inhabited by the immigrants 'Abadkars' while the Cholistan area is inhabited by the nomads.²

AREA AND POPULATION.

The Bahawalpur region consists of three civil districts i.e. Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan. The total area of the region is 11.455 million acres out of which the cultivated area is 3.737 million acres. Further, a vast sandy area of 6.6 million acres comprises Cholistan.³

District-wise comparative statement of the geographical area, population and density is given below:-

District	Population 1998 (000' persons)	Geographic al Area (Sq Km)	Density (persons/ Sq Km)
Bahawalpur	2411	24830	97
Bahawalnagar	2034	8878	229
Rahimyarkhan	3073	11880	259
Bahawalpur Div.	7518	45588	165
Punjab.	72585	205345	353

Source: Brief on Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Directorate of Development, 1999), p.4.

² A. Khalid The Bahawalpur Perspective (Bahawalpur: Government of the Punjab, 1974), p.4.

³ Brief on Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Directorate of Development, December 1999), p.5.

As per 1981 census, the total population of Bahawalpur Division was 4.653 million persons, which increased to 7.518 million in 1998.⁴ District-wise break-up of the rural and urban populations pertaining to two census periods is indicated in the following table:-

Sr. No	Name of District	POPULATION 1981 '000' Persons			POPULATION 1998 '000' Persons		
		Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
1	Bahawalpur	328	1119	1447	657	1753	2411
2	Bahawalnagar	245	1126	1371	388	1646	2034
3	Rahimyarkhan	299	1535	1834	602	1271	3073
	Total	872	3780	4652	1617	5871	7518

Source: Brief on Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Directorate of Development, 1999), p.7.

CLIMATE:

The climate mostly remains hot and dry from March till October, nearly for eight months the climate remains hot, the temperature ranging between 30^o to 50^o centigrade. In winter the temperature of night time may even fall below freezing point. The exceedingly hot summer is accompanied by frequent dust storms.

⁴ Punjab Census Report 1998 (Islamabad: Population Census Organisation, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p.8.

Rainfall is irregular, which rarely exceeds 5" to 7". In summers approximate rain is 20 centimetre and in winter nearly only 5 centimetres. Monsoon season comes in July and August. In Cholistan at times there is no rain for years leading to severe drought in the desert area. The dust storms which occur at the beginning of summer have lessened due to irrigation and cultivation of more land which has become possible due to the Sutlej Valley Project, initiated by the collaboration of British government and Bahawalpur State.⁵

ETHNIC COMPOSITION: CASTES AND TRIBES:

Bahawalpur has been the cradle of many civilizations. Its vast desert areas of Cholistan form part of the ancient Indus Civilization. Its towns & villages which once flourished on both sides of River Hakra (old Drishadwati) are now no more; Hakra itself has long since dried up. Investigations carried out by archaeologists have; however, brought to light remains of pre-Harappa (Kot Diji) culture and various phases of Harappa culture from 4000 B.C. to 2000 B.C. Dr. Rafiq Mughal during his archaeological survey of Cholistan has concluded in his findings the discovery of a new cultural assemblage called

⁵ Khalid, The Bahawalpur Perspective, op.cit., p.20.

“Hakra Ware”, which chronologically pre-dates the Kot Diji related early Harappan phase of Indus Civilization.⁶ Cholistan is the only place in the Indus Valley which survived the demise of Indus Civilization-Some of its settlements remained intact the reason being the inaccessibility of the area.⁷

The archaeological evidence shows that human settlements in these areas must have started very early, perhaps sometimes during the pre or proto-historic times when the region possessed flourishing centres of the famous Indus Valley civilization. These centres existed for a considerably long time when natural calamities as well as human vandalism gave a deathblow to them and eventually turned them into dust-laden mounds. The city was re-occupied by the Aryans who arrived in the sub-continent sometimes in the middle of the second millennium B.C. During the early days of their settlement, they founded several cities and towns throughout the northern parts of the sub-continent including that at Uchchh

⁶ Rafiq Mughal, Ancient Cholistan (Rawalpindi: Feroz Sons, 1997), p.22.

⁷ Noor-ul-Zaman Auj, Harrapan Heritage (Multan: Caravan Book Centre, 1998), p.75.

which they called Ussa after the name of their goddess of Dawn.⁸

During the reign of the third Achaemenian sovereign, Darius (522-488 B.C.), the areas situated in the Indus Valley formed the “twentieth province” or the Indian satrapy of the vast Achaemenian Empire. This “twentieth province” was considered the wealthiest and the most populous satrapy of the empire.

The Achaemenian domination continued for about two centuries or until 326 B.C. when the Greek troops under Alexander the Great overran these areas. The Greek conqueror visited the territory during the course of his campaign towards Sind, and founded a new city called Alexandria after his name at the confluence of the five rivers. Some historians have tried to identify this place with the city of Uchhh in Bahawalpur. It has been recorded that the people of Alexandria sent to the Greek conqueror one hundred bravest and noblest men as hostages besides 500 war chariots with their drivers and horses fully caparisoned. Alexander was gratified by the show of respect and returned the hostages,

⁸ A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978), p.233.

keeping only the chariots with their horses and drivers. According to the identification of Cunningham, it was the same place called previously Ussa or Uchchh. Alexander ordered city to be built at the confluence of the two rivers imagining that by the advantage of such a situation it would become rich and prosperous.⁹

Within a decade or so the remnants of the Greek hold over these areas diminished to the extent that the local chieftains started re-occupying the tracts. This was also the time when northern India was being consolidated under the fast growing power of Chandra Gupta Maurya who, had gradually occupied the vast prosperous satrapies of the Paropanisadae (Kabul), Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Qandhar) and the eastern portion of Gedrosia (Baluchistan).¹⁰

The most celebrated king of the Kushanas was Kanishka during whose reign the Punjab and Sind were annexed to the Kushan empire. The people then professed Buddhism as manifested by the ruins of a monastery and a tower erected at

⁹ Alexander Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta: S. Chand Publishers, 1942), p.271.

¹⁰ H. Raychaudhry, Political History of Ancient India (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1923), p.141.

Sui Vehar in Bahawalpur region.¹¹ It is evident that the areas were included in the vast kingdom of Kanishka.

About 495 A.D., authenticated history begins again for in that year Raja Diwaj commenced his reign. The dominions were vast, extending to Kashmir and Kanauj, to Qandahar and Seistan, and, on the west to Makran and the port of Debal, while on the south they held Surat. Their capital was Alor, and under their rule Sind was divided into four provinces, viz., Bahmanabad and Siwistan: the province in which lay Askalanda or Talwara and Pabiya or Chachpur, and which comprised the greater part of the Bahawalpur State: and the fourth province which included Multan and the Western Punjab.¹²

Five rulers of the Rai dynasty governed Sindh for 137 years after 495 A.D. all of whom reigned with splendour and success. Rai Siharas repulsed an invasion under a Persian king or a governor of Sijistan, but fell in the battle fought at Kich. Rai Sahasi II, the last of his line, remitted taxation on condition that the fortresses of Uch, Sevrai (now Sarwahi) and

¹¹ Ahmed Nabi Khan, Uchchh History and Architecture (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), p.6.

¹² Punjab States Gazetteer Bahawalpur State 1904 (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908), p.26.

Mau, all in Bahawalpur territory, and other strongholds, including Alor, were kept in repair by his subjects. But he allowed Chach, a Brahman, to obtain great influence in his kingdom.¹³

Chach, known to the Arabs as Sasa, the son of Si-Laij, was a Brahman and is said to have invented chess. On the death of Rai Sahasi II, Chach married his widow and established himself on the throne.

Chach died at Alor after a reign of forty years and was succeeded by his brother Chandra whose reign lasted for seven years. After the death of the later, Chach's sons, Dahir and Daharsiya divided the vast kingdom among themselves with Alor and Brahmanabad as their respective capitals. The kingdom was again united in 670 when Daharsiya died and Dahir became the ruler of the whole kingdom.¹⁴

It was during the later part of Dahir's rule, sometimes in 703, that an event of far-reaching effect occurred on the sea-coast near Debul which resulted in the conquest of Sind and parts of the Punjab by the Arabs and the establishment of Islamic rule in these areas. From a very remote antiquity the

¹³ Ibid., p.28.

¹⁴ Nabi Khan, Uchchh History and Architecture, op-cit., p.11.

sea-ports of western India had been familiar to the Arab traders. They were already familiar with reports of India's fabulous wealth and their interests in the country were further stimulated by the prospect of bringing an idolatrous people within the Muslim fold. A pretext was soon found. Several ships carrying presents from the ruler of Ceylon to the Arab Caliph Walid were plundered by the pirates of Debal, a sea-port of Sind, Al-Hajjaj, The Caliph's governor of Iraq demanded restitution from Dahir – Dahir disowned any responsibility for the doings of the pirates and refused to comply with the demand. This infuriated Al-Hajjaj who sent two punitive expeditions against Dahir, but they were repulsed. He then entrusted the work to his nephew and son-in-law Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 A.D. He invaded and conquered the whole territory upto Multan.¹⁵ The whole of the Indus Valley was now dominated by the Arabs.¹⁶ When peace was concluded on solemn conditions with the chiefs and dignities of the town of Multan, Muhammad Bin Qasim appointed an Arab Governor of

¹⁵ L. Mukerjee, History of India (Calcutta: Mondal Brothers, 1964), p.9.

¹⁶ R.C. Majumdar, An Advanced History of India (Lahore: Famous Books, 1992), p.182.

Multan.¹⁷ The Arabs remained in Sind, their government was tolerant and gradually became nominal, with the local chieftains exercising the power, while many became Muslim.¹⁸

Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni marched in 395/1005 against a stronghold named Bhatiya then located in the neighbourhood of Multan and ruled by a local Rajput chieftain.¹⁹ Mahmood Ghaznavi passed through Mauj Garh in Bahawalpur on his way to Somnath.²⁰

After Muhammad Ghauri this territory formed part of the Delhi Sultan's domain. Nasiruddin Qubacha, Governor of Sind in Multan under the slave dynasty made Uchh his headquarters and established here Madrasa-I-Ferozia. Minhaj Siraj, historian & author of *Tabaqat-I-Nasiri* was the head of the institution and among the teacher was Ali Bin Hamid Bin Abi Bakr Kufi, the author of *Chachnama*. After the slaves, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Syeds and Lodhies ruled from Delhi. With the weakening of the central power, local tribes, notably Sammas and Langhas rose to power. Mughals conquered India in 1526 and Bairam Khan,

¹⁷ Mirza Klichbeg, *The Cachnamah* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1985), p.190.

¹⁸ J.C. Powell, *History of India* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1955), p.52.

¹⁹ Possibly it was Bhutta Wahan in Bahawalpur Division.

²⁰ Nabi Khan, *Uchchh History and Architecture*, op.cit., p.15.

General of Emperor Akbar restored the imperial authority upto Sind. Towards the end of 18th century, Ahmad Shah Durrani ruler of Afghanistan over-ran this area. It was during this period that Amir Sadiq Khan Abbasi, the founder of Bahawalpur State migrated here from Sind and came to Uch Sharif and obtained from the Governor of Multan the estate of Chaudhry (now Liaquatpur) as Jagir in 1718.²¹

When Muhammad Bin Qasim invaded Sindh and Multan, this region also came under Islam, and thus the settlement of Muslims began in the region. Amongst these were mostly Tauqir Syed's who played a vital role in conversion of Hindus to Muslims in the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Another tribe which first came to Sindh and then to Bahawalpur was Baluch Tribe. They started coming in the fifteenth century. As this tribe was known for its bravery and being warriors, Khalhora Abbasi was the first ruler who gave protection to Baluchi Tribe and gave away lands and concessions to them. But this proved fatal to Khalhora's as Baluchi took over the rule of Sindh from them, other than this the constant conflict

²¹ Brief on Bahawalpur Division, op.cit., p.2.

between Khalhora's and Daudpotras also led to the downfall and the settlement of Daudpotra's in Bahawalpur.²²

Due to the cruelties of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh few Pathans also settled in Bahawalpur. At the time of partition of India, the Hindus started migrating to India and many Muslim migrants came over from East Punjab to settle in Bahawalpur, they came from Rohtak, Hissar, Garghaon, Balwal, Karnal, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Patiala, amongst these were mostly Rajput, Jat, Arain and also Sheikh, Qureshi and Syed.

The various castes and tribes settled in the Bahawalpur region are:-

Syed:

They call themselves the descendants of the famous martyrs Hasan and Hussain, the sons of Ali the fourth Khalifa, and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet. How many of these are true Syeds it is impossible to say. Many of them came with the early Muhammadan invaders and asserted some priestly pretensions which were in many cases rewarded by gifts of revenue - free land which their descendants still enjoy. Many of these now recorded as Syeds have no real claim to the

²² Noor-ul-Zaman Auj, "Bahawalpur Main Abad Qabilay Aur Quamen", Al-Zubair Quarterly (December 1994): 30-35.

title.²³The Syed's in Punjab are primarily divided into Hasani descended from Hassan and Hussaini descended from Hussain, the sons of Hazrat Ali.²⁴

The growing influence of Syeds in Bahawalpur goes to the ancestors of Bukhari and Gilani of Uch Sharif. The Bukhari Syeds have their centre at Uch Bukhari, but they are found all over the region. The centre of the Gilani Syeds is at Uch Gillani.²⁵ Syeds are now spread all over the region. Other than these are the Gardezi Syed, Durjawali Syed, Hamdani Syed and Mushahidi Syed. They are mostly settled in Bahawalpur, Ahmad Pur and Khairpur.

Qureshi:

The Qureshi is the Arab tribe to which the Prophet belonged, the second important tribe after the Syeds is Qureshi's. These include Siddiqui, Farooqi, Daudpotra, Alvi and Nohani. Kureja's and Chishti also claim to be Qureshi's.

²³ W.Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of the North Western India (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1974), p.301.

²⁴ Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1994),p.223.

²⁵ Bahawalpur State Gazetteer, op.cit., p.115.

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²⁴ Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1994),p.223.

²⁵ Bahawalpur State Gazetteer, op.cit., p.115.

Pashtun:

The major Pashtun tribes which are now settled in Bahawalpur include Slowazai, Khakwani, Babar Malzai, Popalzai, Alizai, Khalgi, Tareen and Ghauri. Saduzai's came to Bahawalpur during the rule of Ranjeet Singh, when he had turned out Muzafer Khan Saduzai and his family from Multan. Nawab of Bahawalpur welcomed them and even fixed their pensions. Khakwani's belonged to Herat, they came to Bahawalpur and Multan during the rule of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Nawab Bahawal Khan III contributed a lot towards their settlement and even gave them huge land holdings. Babar Pashtun's also came to Bahawalpur during the rule of Nawab Bahawal III. Malzai also came from Multan due to the cruel rule of Sikhs Ghauris are not much in number in Bahawalpur.²⁶

Gujjar:

They are spread all over Bahawalpur region and are settled in nearly every Tehsil. It is generally assumed that Gujjar's usually have been living in hilly areas, who mostly earned livelihood by raising and selling animals.

²⁶ Ibid., p.130.

They are identified by General Cunningham with a tribe of Eastern Tartars.²⁷ Ibbetson calls Gujjars as the cowherds of the Hills.²⁸

Arain:

The word Baghban is the Persian equivalent of word Mali, which means gardener, it is commonly used for Arain. It is generally believed that Arains were thrown out of Uch, they then starting settling in areas around Ganges and then further to Bareli and Rampur. It is also taken as that they were thrown out of Uch by Syed Jalal ud Din and at that time they were Kambo, which later on converted to Muslims. It is also assumed that when River Hakkra dried, they started migrating to other areas. Arains specially came to Bahawalpur when Sutlej River Project began and they bought a lot of government land to settle here.²⁹

²⁷ Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, op.cit., p.184.

²⁸ Ibid., p.185.

²⁹ Ibid., p.189.



Jat:

The Jat is in every respect the most important of Punjab peoples. In point of numbers he surpasses the Rajputs who come next to him. Ethnologically he is the peculiar and the most prominent product of the plains of the five rivers. From an economical and administrative point of the view he is the husbandman, the peasant and the revenue- payer. The Jats seem to have first occupied the Indus Valley as far as Sindh.³⁰

In Bahawalpur the various branches of Jat include Maachi, Chachar, Channar, Lakwera.

Maachi belong to Fatehpur Maachla in Tehsil Sadiqabad, another of their settlement area is Machi Ghot in Sadiqabad. They were given high respect and status in the courts of Nawab Bahawal Khan, because Maachi's sided and supported the forces of Nawab whenever there was an uprising against him.

Channar are also called Channun-di in Bahawalpur, they are found chiefly in Bahawalpur and Ahmd Pur East, as cultivators and in the Rohi, as land owners and cattle breeders.

³⁰ Ibid., p.114.

Dahar:

In Bahawalpur they hold an important position. Their descent is traced from Raja Rawan, ruler of Mir Pur Mathilo, who was converted to Islam by Sayyid Jalal and was by him named Amir-ud-Dahar or "Ruler of the Age". Many privileges were given to them by Daudpotras. The Dahars are closely connected with the Gilani, Makhdums of Uch, to whom they have, it is said, given many daughters in marriage from time to time.³¹ Dahars are settled in both Rahim Yar Khan and Bahawalpur, their central place is Bhutta Wahan.

Chaachar are followers of Bahaudin Zakria of Multan. They have settled in Chak Abbas Sultanpur, Makhan Bela, Sardar Gar and Bibipur which are localities of Rahim Yar Khan, Nawab Balawal Khan III gave them a lot of land.

Daudpotra:

It is the clan to which belongs the ruling family of Bahawalpur. It claims to be Abbassi and is practically confined to Bahawalpur and the neighbouring portions.³²

³¹ Denzil Ibbetson and E.D. Machlagan, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), p.273.

³² For the origin of the title, see Chapter III.

Rajputs:

The Rajputs (literally "Kings sons") probably originated in Central Asia, which may help to explain their success at warfare and their singular tenacity.³³ It is now generally agreed that they were descended partly from the ancient foreign invaders of the Hun-Gujara tribe, and partly from the original inhabitants of the soil. In course of time, they became absorbed in the Hindu community and formed the warrior caste owing to their material spirit.³⁴

The races of Punwar and Bhatti, who have held from time immemorial the country of the lower Sutlej and deserts of western Rajputana, are the parent stocks whence most of the other tribes have sprung, as they have moved up the river valleys into the Punjab plains they have taken local tribal names.

The Rajputs are fine brave men and retain the feudal instinct more strongly developed than perhaps any other non menial caste, the tribal heads wielding extraordinary authority. They are very tenacious of the integrity of their communal

³³ Stanely Wolpert, A New History of India (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.108.

³⁴ Mukerjee, History of India, op.cit., p.5.

property in the village lands, seldom admitting strangers to share it with them. Pride of blood is their strongest characteristic, for pride of blood is the very essence of their Rajput hood. They are lazy and poor husband men and much prefer pastoral to agricultural pursuits, looking upon all manual labour as derogatory and upon the actual operation of ploughing as degrading; and it is only the poorest class of Rajput who will himself follow the plough.³⁵

In Bahawalpur the various branches of Rajputs include Joyya (originally Yaudheya), Watto, Bhatti, Khokkar, Sial. Joya's are mostly settled in Bahawalnagar. Ibbetson writes that the Joyya is one of the royal races of Rajputs, and is described in the ancient chronicles as 'Lords of the Jangal - des'.³⁶ Mehr are also settled over here. Watto came from Jasalmeer, they came into the fold of Islam during the times of Feroz Shah Tuglaq. Watto's were maltreated by the Sikhs, which led to their sufferings, at last they were given protection by Nawab Bahawal Khan.

³⁵ Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, op.cit., p.132.

³⁶ Ibid., p.146.

Sial are politically one of the most important tribes of the western plains. They are a tribe of Punwar Rajputs who rose to prominence in the first half of the 18th century. The sial tradition in Bahawalpur is that Sewa son of Sangar, Raja of Panipat and Karnal, was expelled from his country by his brothers Teu and Gheu, and took refuge with Baba Farid-ud-Din Shakar Ganj, who converted him to Islam in the 7th century of the Hijra and instructed him to settle in Jhang.³⁷

Baluch:

Baluchi's settled in Bahawalpur include Gopang, Chandio, Khosa, Rind, Dashti, Lashari, Laghari, Jatoi and Mazari. Gopang's are mostly in Khanpur and Ahmed Pur, Khosa in Allahabad and Rahim Yar Khan. Rind are spread all over Bahawalpur region. Dashti Baluchi mostly live in Sadiqabad and Khanpur. Jatoi's settled in Bahawalpur during the times of Nawab Bahawal Khan III, and they were recruited in the army. They showed a lot of bravery during wars and thus the Nawab gave away huge land to them in Uch. Mazari Baluch settled in Bahawalpur on the invitation of Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV and were given land in Sadiqabad.

³⁷ Ibid., p.417.

Laghari Baluch also came in the same time and became feudals of Sadiqabad.³⁸

ECONOMY:

a) AGRICULTURE:

Agriculture is the backbone of the economic structure of the division. The major crops are cotton, wheat, sugarcane, rice, gram and oil seeds etc. For the development of agriculture, the government has been supporting services in the fields of extension, mechanization, research and water management etc. Out of total area of 4, 821, 154 acres, the total area under cultivation in Bahawalpur region is 3,737,180 acres having the Kharif-Rabi ratio of 51:49. Main acreage however, is for wheat (45%) and cotton (40%).

³⁸ Auj, Harrapan Heritage, op.cit., p.33.

The land use statistics for the Bahawalpur region are mentioned in the following table:

(Million acres)

Sr.No	Item	B/Pur	B/Nagar	R.Y. Khan	Total
1	Cultivated	0.955	1.335	1.447	3.737
2.	Uncultivated area	0.426	0.525	0.458	1.118
	Total				11.455

Source: Brief on Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Directorate of Development, 1999), p.11.

After the Indus Water Treaty between India and Pakistan, which gave all the water of Sutlej River to India, the irrigation for agriculture in Bahawalpur is now totally dependent on the link canals. Even shortage of water has not hindered the increase in agricultural production in the region. This has been possible due to the introduction of mechanized farming, chemical fertilizers and use of insecticides which has increased the yield per acre. Not only cotton but wheat is also exported to other areas in Pakistan. But still a large area of the region remains uncultivated or is not suitable for cultivation.

Approximately about 60% land is uncultivated and 40% is under cultivation.³⁹

The main crops during Rabi are wheat, gram, pulses and oil seeds and in Kharif are maize, rice, jawar, bajra sugarcane and cotton.⁴⁰ Indigenous varieties of wheat were grown in the area earlier, after 1970's the Department of Agriculture introduced dwarf varieties with potentials for high yield and better response to high doses of fertilizers. These new varieties gained popularity with the farmers, these varieties now cover 70% of the total area sown under wheat crop.

Bahawalpur is the second best region in the Punjab for growing cotton. The agriculture department has evolved several improved varieties of American cotton to replace the old varieties, which had declined in quality and yield. Around 10% area is still under improved varieties of desi cotton whereas 90% of the area sown under cotton has the new varieties. In order to increase the production of the fine quality cotton needed for export and for domestic textile industries

³⁹ Syed Asraf Ali, "Bahawalpur Ki Geographai Ahameyet", Al-Zubair Quarterly (December 1994): 9-23.

⁴⁰ Bahawalpur State 1949-50 (Bahawalpur: Government of Bahawalpur, Publicity Department), p.23.

improved practices, balanced fertilizers, irrigation and plant protection measures are being popularized.

Sugarcane is both a cash and food crop which is grown over here. Formally desi varieties of sugarcane were grown in the region, but due to the installation of sugar mills in Bahawalpur region, the production of sugarcane has increased. The mills annually produce tons of sugar and provide employment for thousands of labourers. In order to feed these mills the production of sugarcane has attracted the attention of farmers. New varieties have been introduced which are high yielding.

Bahawalpur region is famous for the production of high quality grafted and indigenous mangoes and dates. Many huge and old gardens of mangoes are found in the region. Besides, citrus fruits, mostly Kino, are also commonly grown. Rabi and Kharif vegetables are also cultivated.

Prior to 1950, chemical fertilizer was not used by the farmers. The department of agriculture launched an all out vigorous campaign to popularize the use of artificial fertilizer as the fertility of the soil was rapidly decreasing due to continuous crop production. The organic manure was not adequately available, consequently the average yield per acre were very

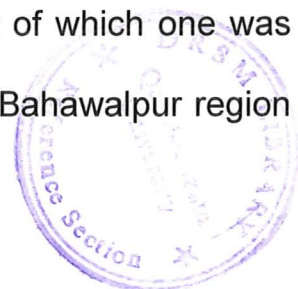
low. Chemical fertilizers were introduced on subsidized rates. There are several branches of Agricultural Development Bank at suitable places to advance loans to farmers. Mechanized cultivation is gaining popularity amongst growers in this region as it is economical, time saving and effective.

b) IRRIGATION:

The total length of canals, branches, distributaries and minors in the region is about 7234 Km. Out of the total area 3.989 million acres gets perennial/non-perennial supplies. The main irrigation canals in the division which off-take from Sulemanki, Punjnad and Islam head-works are Fordwah, Eastern Sadiqa, Abbasia and Punjab Canals, Bahawal Canal Upper, Bahawal Canal Lower & Qaim Canal.

Prior to the inauguration of Sutlej Valley Project, agriculture in Bahawalpur region, depended entirely on irrigation from wells, inundation canals, river floods and Jhallars.

In 1920-21 a project was finalized between Punjab and Bahawalpur State known as Sutlej Valley Project, which could irrigate the areas near River Sutlej. According to this Project four headworks were to be constructed, out of which one was to be built in Ferozpur and the rest three in Bahawalpur region



at Sulemanki, Islam and Panjnad. In 1930-32 all three headworks were completed, which were designed for perennial and non-perennial irrigation. Six canals take off from these Headworks.⁴¹

Near the border between India and Pakistan, in District Bahawalpur is the Sulemanki Headworks out of the three canals which flow from here, Pakpattan Canal irrigates District Sahiwal and two canals are for Bahawalpur. The other Head works is near Khairpur Tamawali at Islam, from where two canals irrigate District Vehari, Multan and Bahawalpur, third and important headworks lies one mile below where Sutlej and Chenab meet. It is near Uch Sharif. Two canals which flow from this Panjnad Head-works, irrigate District Rahim Yar Khan.

The other means of irrigation in Bahawalpur is through tube-wells, especially in those areas where there is sweet water available, and many tubewells are working to deal with the problems of water logging and salinity which have affected the areas of District Bahawalnagar and District Rahim Yar Khan. A part of area of Cholistan which was originally included

⁴¹ Report on the Administration of Bahawalpur State 1945-46 (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette, 1947), p.5.

in the Sutlej Valley Project was later abandoned due to paucity of water.⁴²

c) FOREST:

The forest area in Bahawalpur region accounts for only 1% of the total area. Man made or artificial forests have been successfully grown in Samasata, Lalsohanra and Chak Katora, Hasilpur, Qasim wala, Bahawalnagar, Abbasia and Shahiwala. These are all canal irrigated forests. Other than these forests trees have been planted alongside canals, roads and railway lines in rows, which include Shisham, Kiker and Neem. These plantation forests have been possible after the Sutlej Valley Project.

The Forest Department has undertaken a number of development schemes in the region. One of the most important is the introduction and preservation of wild life, specially the endangered animal species. A fenced enclosure over about 720 acres was made at Lalsohanra in which black Bucks are successfully kept - Another small enclosure was also made at Fort Phulia for breeding of Chinkara.

⁴² Ashraf Ali, Bahawalpur Ki Geographai Ahamayat, op.cit., p.6.

d) INDUSTRIES:

Presently in Bahawalpur region most of the industries which have been set up are related to the agricultural products, which are produced in the area. Nearly in every district there are industries set up relating to cotton, sugarcane, wheat, rice and oil seeds. Cotton ginning mills are in every Tehsil. Under cottage industry, there are lot of hand looms in all areas. Now a number of the textile mills have also been set up in the region. Due to abundance of seeds of cotton, lot of edible oil mills are present. Amongst the rich class of Bahawalpur, the trend towards industry is not much, so as to encourage industrialization the government has set up an industrial area near Bahawalpur city where various incentives are given to establish industries.

Presently, the following major industrial units are functioning in the region.

1	Textile Mills	14
2	Sugar mills	5
3	Vegetable ghee mills.	7
4	Fertilizer unit	1
5	Flour mills	27
6	Cotton ginning factories	288
7	Oil mills	337
8	Ice factories	166
9	Rice husking unit	54
10	Oil extraction unit	5
11	Milk Plant	1
12	Steel re-rolling mills	2
13	Paper & Paper board mills	3

Source: Brief on Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Directorate of Development, 1999), p.15.

e) **COMMUNICATIONS:**

Railways:

During the early years of Bahawalpur's development and progress, railway has played an important role. The length of

railway line in the region is 240 kilometre, which is part of the main railway line between Lahore and Karachi. It was in 1889 when railways started functioning in the region. All the old major cities like Bahawalpur, Ahmedpur, Liaquatpur, Khan Pur, Rahim Yar Khan, Sadiqabad are situated along the track. Other than the main track, there are other railway tracks which connect the local cities. When Bahawalpur was a State, the railway tracks were called as Darbar lines and their expenditures borne by the Nawabs.

Roads:

Prior to independence of Pakistan, the State of Bahawalpur had only one 32 mile metallic road which connected Bahawalpur with Dera Nawab, this road was made for the official cars of the State. After the independence brick roads were made to connect Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan and Bahawalpur. Later on National Highways Authority paid special attention towards this region, now under it there is a 242 kilometre road. Other than the network of roads in the region, roads have also been built in Cholistan.⁴³

⁴³ Khalid, The Bahawalpur Perspective, op.cit., p.73.

The roads in Bahawalpur region come under four different categories:-

- a) National Highways
- b) Provincial Highways
- c) Roads under Irrigation Department
- d) Roads of local bodies

Under the Provincial Highways are the roads, which link all the three district headquarters. These are at various places linked with the main highway. The Irrigation Department has built roads along the canal banks. A large number of roads have been constructed by the local bodies, these are mainly the roads which connect farms to markets.

Airways:

Domestic airports for commercial flights have been functioning at Bahawalpur and Rahim Yar Khan. There are daily flights from here to major cities like Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi. At Bahawalnagar, there is a airstrip for small, light aircrafts or for emergency use.

CHOLISTAN:

Cholistan or Rohi constitutes the desert area of Bahawalpur region. Cholistan is a word of Turkish origin meaning the land of 'Chol' i.e., sands. Rohi, a local word means flowing river i.e., Sarasvati. Cholistan is a deep mass of sand and forms a part of the great Indian desert called 'Marusthali' or "the region of death".⁴⁴ It is situated at the south of the irrigated tract of Bahawalpur region and at the north of the desert of the former States of Jaisalmeer and Bikaner of the Indian Union. Cholistan encompasses about two third of the area of present day Bahawalpur region which stretches over some 10,000 square miles.⁴⁵ The Bahawalpur region comprises three districts; Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan and the Cholistan desert spreads into these three. The desert region of Rajasthan forms the eastern and southern boundaries of Cholistan, the desert region of Sindh lies to its southwest and to its north and west runs the river Sutlej.

⁴⁴ Nur-ul-Zaman Auj, Cholistan Land and Its People (Multan: Caravan Book Centre, 1991), p.13.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.14.

Cholistan can be divided into two parts Lesser Cholistan and Greater Cholistan. Lesser Cholistan has an area of approximately 3000 sq. miles and is of a relatively flatter terrain. It is found along the colony areas whereas Greater Cholistan takes shape more towards the south and covers an area of over 7000 square miles.⁴⁶ In most parts, sand dunes called 'Tibbas' are formed, which at times rise to a height of 500 ft. Here the vegetation is typical of the vegetation of sandy tracts.

Cholistan's district-wise break-up is as under:-

District	Square Kilometres	Area in Acres
Bahawalpur	10070	40,28,160
Bahawalnagar	2528	10,11,200
Rahim Yar Khan	4040	16,16,000
Total	16638	66,55,360

Source: Khalid, A.K. The Bahawalpur Perspective
(Bahawalpur : Govt. of Punjab, 1974), p.117.

⁴⁶ Nur-ul-Zaman Auj, Legacy of Cholistan (Multan: Caravan Book Centre, 1995), p.13.

Water is a critical factor in Cholistan. Rainfall in the months of July and August goes up to 3-5 inches. Nevertheless average annual rainfall is unreliable and draughts are frequent and often quite severe, lasting upto 3-7 years at times destroying a large number of animals and vegetation.⁴⁷ Cholistan experiences hot and dry climatic conditions. In summers the temperature rises upto 51°C and in winter drops down to freezing point at night. Rainfall in little amounts is sufficient for the survival of valuable herds of cattle, goats, camels and sheep who depend on desert plants for food. Rainwater is collected in community ponds called 'Tobas'. Nomadic tribes move to a different place when a Toba dries up and often during the hottest months of May and June, shift near permanent village settlements. Ground water is brackish and is found at depth of approximately 80-300 ft., permanent and semi-permanent settlements are seen wherever potable water is available. Thus it is the availability or scarcity of water that determines the regular cycle of movements of the Cholistanis.

⁴⁷ Bahawalpur Gazetteer, op.cit., p.5.

Remains of settlements show that there was time, approximately between 4000 & 2000 BC, when Cholistan was not a desert but a fertile and populated area and had a river flowing through it. The lower Indus, in Pakistan, now passes through barren desert, though this was once a well watered and fertile land.⁴⁸

Cholistan has not always been a desert, between 4000 and 2000 B.C when rivers flowed through it, the area was fertile and populated, as remains of its settlements show.

Western fringe of Thar Desert or Cholistan is defined by dry bed of Hakra River forming the "Hakra Depression". This river is known as Hakra in Pakistan and Ghaggar in India. It is identified with the sacred Sarasvati River of Vedic Aryans which ran along the western edge of Thar Desert, turned South into eastern Sind and down to Rann of Kutch. In Sind, various names have been given to it i.e. Raini, Kakro, Nara and Wahind. Ghaggar-Hakra was a perennial river until middle of third millennium B.C. Environmental changes had profound effects on settled population farming along Hakra Plain. This legendary river is now known as the Lost River. Present day

⁴⁸ Basham, The Wonder That Was India, op.cit., p.1.

harsh environment of Cholistan (absence of ground & surface water) is a sharp contrast to conditions of protohistoric time. For 300 years the Hakra plain remained heavily populated. Archeological evidence show that Hakra flood plain was densely populated between fourth & second millennium B.C. and supported a major city Ganweriwala (larger than Harappa) and as large as Mohenjodaro.⁴⁹

On present evidence it seems that some time around the middle of second millennium B.C, hydrographic changes that were operative since at least third millennium had substantially reduced or cut off the river water supply to Hakra. The populations settled along with Hakra were forced to move out & settle near the upper course of Ghaggar & its tributaries and to the northwest of Cholistan where water was still available perennially or with seasonal regularity (Derawar Fort).⁵⁰

It is an established fact that the Ghaggar - Hakra river was, in ancient times, a mighty river that had an independent course along the fringes of the Thar desert down to the Rann of Kutch. However, for more than a 100 years, the various changes in the river courses and their consequent effects have

⁴⁹ Auj, Legacy of Cholistan, op.cit., p.22.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.23.



been debated over and many writers have expressed their views on the complex hydrographic changes occurring in the region based on the little data available.

Cholistan is a sparsely populated area. The density of the population is 2 ½ people per square mile and according to the census taken in 1998, the entire population totaled upto 1,18,000.⁵¹ The local inhabitants of Cholistan, called Rohelley, belong to nomadic groups that are spread over the entire area, and are constantly on the move, taking their livestock with them. These nomads move on in search of rainwater catchments called 'Tobas' and wells with mostly brackish water. The period from July to February is good for grazing but as the grazing areas become depleted and the Tobas and wells dry up, nomads move northwards even at times reaching the fringes of the irrigated tract. This migration for the search of water and grass often results in the loss of precious lives of both men and animals. For centuries, it has been observed that cattle in Cholistan roam about freely in the desert, feeding on

⁵¹ District Census Report of Bahawalpur 1998 (Islamabad: Population Census Organisation, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p.10.

natural herbs and bushes that become green during rains. The main occupation and source of income for the Cholistanis are to raise cattle. The comparatively well off own them and the poor become shepherds. Milk from the cattle is a staple diet for them and they sell the wool of their sheep to earn money. Eid-ul-Azha is a time when earnings for Cholistanis are high, as they go to towns to sell their cattle.

Cholistan supply animals for meat and other by-products like wool & dairy goods to Punjab and Sindh. In the towns and villages nomads barter their products for manufactured goods and food grains. Although both permanent and nomadic populations have a different ecological (relationship of people with surrounding) set-up and exist independently, it has been seen that economically they are interdependent, constituting essential components of the large well knit and viable social and economic system of the region. The similarity is not new but can be traced back to prehistoric past. Recent surveys conducted in Cholistan have produced convincing archeological evidence that reinforce this belief, suggesting that at least since 4th Millennium BC, there has been a living



together relationship between the nomadic and settled population.⁵²

For centuries, Cholistan has been a land of nomads who travel from place to place, taking their cattle and belongings with them, without a precise idea of what their next stop will be. While travelling, the nomads play flutes and when there are indication of a strong storm, they play peculiar tunes on their flutes that symbolize danger for the herds of cattle, bringing them back.

Temporary houses, where the majority of Cholistani reside, are called Gopas. Gopas are usually near Tobas and when water dries up in the Tobas, they leave the place and move on to an area where there is sufficient water and there they build temporary grass huts.⁵³ Gopas are shaped like domes and on the floor, flacy or matting is laid and colourful sheets are spread over them. Women who stay at home busy themselves in making Gindi and doing needlework.

The occupation of the Cholistanis is mainly grazing of sheep goats and camels. Their cottage industrial activities consist mainly of making woolen 'Shawls', camel and goat hair

⁵² Auj, Legacy of Cholistan, op.cit., p.90.

⁵³ Ibid.,p.40.

bedding mats called 'Falassis'. Some Cholistanis engage in making 'Sijji' or 'Alkali' from 'Khar' plant and others sell wood that is available in the desert. A few hides and skins also result as by-products of the deaths of their animals due to drought and inclement weather.

In order to compensate for their dull and bleached surroundings, Cholistanis wear colourful clothes with dazzling colours like bright reds, greens, yellows, blazing oranges & startling pinks. Men usually wear turbans in colours of orange & red and women use very vibrantly coloured dupattas.⁵⁴

Scarcity of water has always been the most serious problem in the area. The water found in wells is brackish and not fit to drink. Nevertheless people and animals all use it for drinking purposes. Many a times people while travelling, get lost and so die of hunger and thirst. There are many graves of those who had earlier died of thirst when they had lost their way. Near Derawar 13 such graves have been found. It has become a custom for nomads, who are about to start a journey, to sprinkle water over such a grave if they see one. According

⁵⁴ Auj, Cholistan Land and Its People, op.cit., p.66.

to their belief this will ensure a safe journey and ample water supply. The more intelligent nomads keep a desert grass 'Katran' roots in a water container before the journey. If the water ends, the roots are sucked and this lessens thirst. Others, when they get lost and have no water, take off their clothes, turbans & shoes and spread them over a bush so that some one might spot them and come for help. Then they lie down under the bush and rub the cooled sand underneath, on their chests. As it is possible to see through miles in a desert, there are chances they might be rescued.⁵⁵

The Rohillas of Cholistan appear to be of Dravidian descent. Dravidians were the ancient local inhabitants before Aryan invasion. In the Regveda, their physical appearance has been described as those with a short stature curly hair, flat noses and a dark complexion. The bronze statue of the Dancing Girl from Moenjodaro has been called as a 'Dasa' in the Regveda and displays Negroid features. On one of her arms she's wearing bangles or "Chura" similar to those worn by the Cholistani women today. The Nomadic Aryans (meaning noble one) were tall, well built people with fair skin, aristocratic

⁵⁵ This information was collected during the visit to Cholistan.

features and long straight noses. They came from Eastern Europe and Central Asia and like the nomads of today, wandered in clans with their herds of cattle, sheep & horses. They invaded Indus Valley about 1600-2000 BC and became fond of the land. It was centuries later that they moved eastward to India.

Scythian were natives of ancient Scythia who arrived here in colossal numbers and their influence was very strong, transforming Indus Valley into another Indo Scythia. The hardships of the desert did not deter their will to move on and made the area their abode. Many Cholistanis of today are considered to be of a Scythian origin.

What brought about the decline and ultimate fall of the Indus culture, of this, we are not sure. It cannot be said with certainty that it were the Aryans who forced the culture to vanish. It is believed that the Indus people did not die out but survived through the vedic period and their culture diffused into that of the vedic Aryans. They coexisted in the same land for centuries and in due course locals and immigrants, having different ancestral, origin and traditions shared a common motherland.

In Cholistan today, major part of the population comprises of Jatts, Rajputs and Baluchis. Amongst these, the Jatts are numerically the strongest and are believed to be the oldest tribe, Dahia, Joiya, Mohil, Wattus & Bhattis are other prominent races of Cholistan. All races are supposedly Rajputs, who invaded the sub-continent in the 5th & 6th centuries and have left their presence. The Bhatti Rajputs became the lords of Rajasthan.

Another mentionable race that has left its mark in Cholistan is the Arian, the immigrants from Uch who claim to be the descendants of the Aryans. From all the old races of Cholistan, this race was the first to accept Islam as it was under the religious influence of the Saints at Uch.

Cholistans historic city of Uch was a great centre of Islamic learning and was prominent even before the arrival of Daud Potra Abbasi's. It had saints coming in from Baghdad & Bokhara who settled here with the advent of Islam in the Indus Valley. Uch was positioned at the confluence of five rivers and the river Indus flowed much nearer to it then than it does today. It was an attractive city, useful for inland water transport and connected with all major commercial towns as it was the major linking caravan route. Thus, Uch had widespread

communication facilities and it was because of this utility that the early preachers of Islam selected it as the venue of their sacred mission.⁵⁶

Cholistan has been the cradle of many literary personalities and historians. The first history of Sindh (Chach Nama) and the earliest known anthology of Persian poets (Labab-al-Albab) were all composed here. Author of the world famous history (Tabqat-I-Nasri), Minhaj-ud-Din Siraj, was a migrant to Cholistan from Heerat. He also served as a professor at the Firozi College of Uch during its time of prominence.⁵⁷

Legendary Sufi poet, Khawaja Ghulam Farid was passionately fond of the desert environment. He spent eighteen years of his life in the desert where he came to understand the culture of the nomadic tribes of Cholistan. Many of Farid's finest poems describe the beauty experienced in the desert. Khawaja Farid's poetic contributions about Cholistan have played an important part in the development of the Saraiki language.

⁵⁶ Masood Hassan Shahab, Kita-I-Pak Uch (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1967), p.14.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.20.

The needs of Cholistanis are few and their demand is simple viz; that they should be given an even chance to fight the battle against the cruel and unsparing desert. Their problems are basis such as:-

- a) Shortage of drinking water for both humans and animals population.
- b) Medical treatment for both men and their livestock.
- c) Opportunities and facilities to sell their products e.g. wool Shawls, camel and goat hair mats, Ghee, 'Khar' products etc.
- d) Basic education to their children.
- e) Rudiments of agricultural farming with some irrigation facilities so that they may meet their deficit of food and fodder.
- f) Facilities to get food stuff and other necessities of life from the irrigated areas.

The most important factor in the development of Cholistan, is water. Where water is available the desert can be converted into smiling green fields with very little effort.⁵⁸ To

⁵⁸ S. Nasir-ud-Din, Development Planning of Bahawalpur Division (Lahore: Tarteel Publishers, n.d), p.64.

solve the problem of Cholistani people is, therefore, basically and fundamentally to find more water for:-

- i) Irrigation, and
- ii) Drinking purposes.

There are certain areas in the 'Lesser Cholistan' which were originally included in the Sutlej Valley Project and even canals were constructed to provide irrigation but due to paucity of water these areas were abandoned.

The present method to get water is through open ponds known as Tobas, where water collects during the rains. If there is rain from 2 to 4 inches, the Tobas get filled up and the quantity of water becomes enough for the whole year. However, since the rainfall is very erratic and there are many drought years the Tobas get dried up and on such occasions people find it extremely difficult to keep their livestock. Presently it is passing through such a phase and many have migrated to other areas. The traditional system of collection of water in Tobas will continue for some time till the government is able to find alternative sources of water.

At certain places in Cholistan viz, Rinhal, Thundi Mithra and some areas, there are deep wells of sweet water which require some modifications such as cement lining, desilting etc.

It has also been suggested from time to time that ground water resources of Cholistan should be properly explored. There is a feeling among certain section of the population that since the areas was once the bed of a river called Hakra there are possibilities of finding water at deeper level. It is also stated in quarters that India has been able to install tube-wells across the border in the adjacent States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Even though the possibility of finding sweet water at deeper level are remote, there is, however, no harm if such surveys and investigations are carried out.⁵⁹

The basic and fundamental problem of Cholistan is water for drinking as well as for irrigation purposes. An area of about 7 lacks acres which was originally included in the Sutlej Valley Project and was later abandoned for shortage of water, can be brought under irrigation by re-modeling and extending the existing canals and by reviving and renovating the old abandoned channels in the desert. Non-perennial irrigation in this area will not be possible, as the sub soil water is deep and brackish.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ghulam Murtaza Hamdani, "Cholistan Ka Mustakbil" Al-Zubair Quartely (June 1979): Urdu Academy Bahawalpur, p.179.

⁶⁰ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series Punjab, Vol II. (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1979), p.342.

Cholistan was once famous for its wildlife especially Chinkara deer, black-bucks, bustards etc. Due to indiscriminate shootings these species are fast disappearing. It is high time to protect and preserve whatever wildlife is left in this area. Presently there is a scheme for conservation of wildlife, which is being implemented by the Forest Department. The proposal which needs consideration in this respect is that this region may be totally reserved for foreign dignitaries as far as shooting of game animals is concerned.

CHAPTER III**RULERS IN POLITICS****HISTORICAL SETTING**

Bahawalpur as a State came into existence in 1727, and Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan became its first ruler, later on the State of Bahawalpur was named after Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan Abbasi I. They were not Pathans but wrote Khan along with their names, as in those days writing Khan was a symbol of great dignity and respect. They claimed that they belonged to the Abbaside Caliphate of Baghdad.

There are two views regarding the origin of rulers of Bahawalpur. The first version is found in nearly all the books written on Bahawalpur mostly by the local writers. Following is the version of the first view. For about five hundred years the Abbaside Khalifas ruled over Baghdad from 173 Hijra to 665 Hijra. Amongst these were few pious, some God fearing and some cruel rulers. During the last years of rule, there was immense instability leading to palace intrigues and internal revolts. This all enabled the Tartars to attack on Baghdad which resulted in large scale bloodshed, and the foundation of

the rule of Halako Khan over Baghdad but the Abbasi's still ruled over Egypt for more than two hundred years.¹

In those days Muhammad Tuglaq Bin Ghais-ud-Din Tuglaq who was the ruler of Delhi, had been considering for some time to attain the support and good will of the Abbaside Caliphate, as he considered that he needed the approval from the Caliphate to rule. Muhammad Tuglaq decided to send messengers to the court of Abbaside's asking for official recognition of his rule. In 744 Hijra, the Caliph sent his special emissary, Haji Saeed Harrari to Delhi, with an official recognition of Tuglaqs rule. This made Muhammad Tuglaq so happy that he even kissed the feet of Haji Saeed Harrari and lot of gold coins were given to the ordinary people. As a gesture of appreciation and thanks, he often used to send gifts to the Caliphs of Egypt. As a gesture of respect or dignity of the Caliphate, he ensured that the Caliphs are mentioned in the sermons of Juma and Eid Prayers, he also had the name of Caliph engrossed on local coins rather than his own name. When all this reached Egypt which showed the love and respect of Tuglaq towards Caliphate many Abbaside families

1 Masood Hasan Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tareikh (Lahore: Nauqosh Press, 1979), p.25

visited and a few even migrated to Delhi and adjoining areas (now Pakistan).²

Feroz Tuglaq the successor of Muhammad Tuglaq was even more hospitable to the people of Iraq and Egypt, who had come to the court of Muhammad Tuglaq with the intention of receiving stipends and monetary help. Feroz Tuglaq was very generous towards these people.³ After the death of Al Mustansir Billah, the last Abbaside Caliph of Baghdad, his descendants for four generations, from Sultan Yasin to Shah Muzamil ruled in Egypt. The latter's son, Sultan Ahmad II left that country between 1366 and 1370 A.D., in the reign of Abul Fathal M'uatqidillah Abu Bakr, the sixth Abbasid Khalifa of Egypt and came to Sindh by way of Kich and Mekran hoping to find supporters at the court of Delhi. Tughlaq kings of Delhi were the recipients of the diploma of investiture from the Abbasid Khalifas of Egypt. In the Bhangar territory on arrival in Sindh, Sultan Ahmad II, the Abbaside Prince, was confronted by Raja Rai Dhorang Sahta. Sultan Ahmad Abbasi had a long

2. Mohd. Qasim Farishta, Tariekh-e-Farishta (Lahore: Ilmi Printing Press, 1974), p.438

3. *Ibid.*, p.456.

number of Arab followers with him. Moreover, many of the Arab tribes already settled in Sindh rallied round Sultan Ahmad ii.⁴

These families first settled in Baluchistan and during the early years of their settlement they remained as religious leaders, saints and pirs. Their later generations became landlords and feudals. Many of these families came to Sindh, that time Sindh extended till the Sutlej River and the area of Bahawalpur was a part of Sindh.⁵

When Sultan reached Sindh at Kot Kangi, the ruler Raja Dhorang allowed his people to stay there, as he took them as harmless religious preachers, later Raja gave the hand of his daughter in marriage with Ameer Sultan, a son was born who later married the daughter of Raja Jakkar and their son Her Khan, was the great grandfather of Bahawal Khan. Till this time Abbasi family had become feudals One of his sons was Ameer Chani Khan, who was a very clever ruler, at this time Shah Jahan was the King, Ameer Chani due to his shrewd nature became very close to the Governor of Multan,

4. Nazeer Ali Shah, Sadiq Namah (Lahore: Ilmi Printing Press, 1959),p.20.

5. Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., p.36.

Shahzada Murad Buksh. The Governor issued a notification that all the landlords, and rich of Sindh shall be subordinate to Ameer Chani and he also received a large land holding also. Ameer Chani laid the foundation of Abbasi rule in Sindh.⁶ He married a daughter of a Sindhi Raja, and two sons were born who were named Daud Khan and Ameer Mehdi. The children of these two later divided into two antagonist groups as Khalhora group and Daudpotra group, who fought with each other for a whole century, until the British intervened to halt hostilities.

After the death of Ameer Chani the family of Abbasi's split on the issue of control of land, Khalhora who was one of Chanis grandson seized the control of power and forced his uncle Daud Khan to leave. Daud Khan was a noble person who took his belongings and settled in Basti Sher Wangi (present Nawab Shah), his children and future generations came to be known as Daudpotra's who kept on expanding their domain.⁷ Ameer Bahadur Khan from the ninth generation

⁶ Shah, Sadiq Namah, op.cit. ,p.33.

⁷ Ibid.,p.34.



of Chani Khan, laid the foundation of Shikarpur in 1617, when he died his younger son Ameer Mubarik Khan became his successor, but had to face a lot of hostility from a local group, which was successful in throwing out Daudputra's from Shikarpur.⁸

The other view, which has been given by just a few writers but is gaining more support from sections of people, is that the rulers of Bahawalpur State were not Abbasies, who had migrated from Baghdad (as given in the above view) but the Nawabs belonged to local tribes. According to Ibbetson, the Daudputra are the reigning family of Bahawalpur, and usually claim to be Qureshi Arabs, though occasionally said to be Rajputs, but all that is certain about their origin is that their ancestor Daud Khan was a Julaha by occupation, if not by caste. Their founder Daud Khan is said to have been the son of one Jam Junjar of Shikarpur, and brother of Muhammad the ancestor of the Kalhora dynasty of Sindh; while another story makes him a Wattu Rajput.⁹

⁸ Syed Zahid Ali Wasti, Bahawalpur Ki Sarzameen (Multan: Nadeem Shariq Printing Press, 1993),p.46.

⁹ Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes (Lahore: Government Press, 1916), p.117.

Cunningham relates their origin thus, when Nadir Shah proceeded to establish his authority in Sindh, he found the ancestor of the family a man of reputation in his native district of Shikarpur. The Shah made him deputy of the upper third of the province, but becoming suspicious of the whole clan, resolved on removing it to Ghazni. The tribe then migrated up the Sutlej and seized lands by force. They fabulously trace their origin to the Caliph Abbas, but may be regarded as Biloches changed by long residence in Sindh.¹⁰

On this account Tod writes that little is known regarding the family who founded it. Daud Khan the founder of Daudpota was a native of Shikarpur, west of Indus, where he acquired too much power for a subject, and consequently drew upon himself the arms of his sovereign of Candahar. Unable to cope with them, he abandoned his native place, passed his family across the Indus, and followed them into the desert. Daud Khan with his adherents gradually extended his authority into the Thul.¹¹

¹⁰ J.D. Cunningham, History of Sikhs(New Delhi: S.Chand Publishers, 1981),p.40.

¹¹ James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan(New Delhi: M.N.Publishers, 1983), p.261.



Even the Gazetteer, while dealing with the Abbasi Daudpotra's remarks that the history of the Daudpotras seeks to connect itself with one of the most curious and interesting episodes of Indian history, and gives a highly circumstantial and intrinsically not impossible explanation of the title Abbasi.¹²

In 1843, a book on the history of Bahawalpur was written by Shahamet Ali, which was published, from London at that time. This book is valuable in two ways, firstly a Muslim author had written a book in English in those years when there were not many Muslims who had learned English. Secondly, he is the only author who gave a different and independent view of the origin of the rulers of Bahawalpur. Shahamet Ali states that the Daud claim descent from Hazrat Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad. Their real origin is to be traced to a very different source. Their progenitor, Daud was resident of Shikarpur of the class called Julahas or weavers. As they became numerous, they gradually relinquished their more industrious occupation of weavers, and devoted themselves more exclusively to the use of arms. Many took service under the Nazims of Multan and Thatta and under the emperors of

¹² Bahawalpur State Gazetteer, 36-A (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908),p.49.

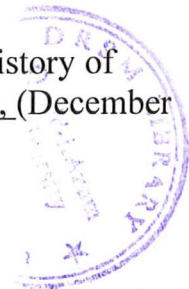
Delhi, but the greater number remained to infest the roads between Shikarpur and Multan, plundering kafilas and committing depredations on every side.¹³

In an article on this issue Dr. Saleem contests that Bahawalpur rulers were purely a local tribe. Since they also claimed Kalhorahs as their kin, then Kalhorahs of Sindh too have no Abbasi or Arab origin. In fact the name "Kalhorah" is in itself an indigenous word which is presumed to be derived from the work, peeler of oil, the word 'Kala' is also used for wine extractor which clearly sets them in the local milieu. Kalhorah may also be a corrupt form of 'Kulhari' (axe) which most Sindhi's carry on their person even today as a weapon of self-defence.¹⁴

Taking into account all the above arguments an entirely new light is thrown on the origin of Bahawalpur rulers. The historical background tells that their origin is local rather than Arab. There are other reasons to claim so, firstly all the books written on Bahawalpur have adopted the first version because

¹³ Shahamet Ali, The History of Bahawalpur (London: James Madeen's Leadenhall Street, 1843), p.182.

¹⁴ Dr. Muhammad Saleem Ahmed, "Shahamet Ali's History of Bahawalpur", Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, (December 1999), 25-29.



the authors who wrote these books were under the influence of the Nawabs and many wrote to please the rulers. No author actually even afterwards tried independently to look into the historical background.

Another issue is the confusion regarding Sultan Ahmad, who had entered Baluchistan from Egypt. Some authors name him as Ahmad II while some Ahmad VI. Looking into the names of Abbasid rulers, there were number of Ahmads. There is no clarity about which Ahmad came here to settle. Dr. Saleem writes that major tribal groups and families in Sindh claim Arab descent and most of the authors accepted it. Richard Burton was the first modern writer who doubted their claim and regarded them as neo-Muslims. A tendency has been noted in South Asian families of neo-Muslims to claim Arab and foreign ancestry, as neo-Muslims were looked down upon by the elitist dominated society.¹⁵

The Nawabs claimed to belong to the Abbasid dynasty in order to get recognition from the elite and the people, who had more respect for the foreign origin Muslims rather than locals.

¹⁵ Ibid.,

Family and not merit was the criterion of recognition. Although, the Abbasid dynasty had practically become extinct, the memory of its glorious rule was embedded in the minds of the people. The Muslims of the sub-continent were especially devoted to this dynasty, and myths of their greatness were popular among the people.

Even though the rulers claimed Arab origin but weak historical background provides more weightage to the second version that they are of local origin. The tragedy is that no authentic history is found regarding the origin of Bahawalpur rulers.

ROLE OF NAWABS:

NAWAB SADIQ MUHAMMAD KHAN I.

It was 1727, when Ameer Mubarik died and his son Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan took over the reigns, and afterwards was known as Sadiq Muhammad Khan I. At this time Hazrat Mukhdoom Sheikh Abdul Qadir Gilani resided at Uch Sharif and when he came to know about the homelessness of Daudpotras, he sent a message to Ameer Sadiq to come over to Uch Sharif. Ameer Sadiq accepted the offer. On the insistence and recommendation of Hazrat

Mukhdoom, Ameer Sadiq went and met the then Governor of Multan Nawab Hayat Ullah Khan who turned out to be very generous and allocated a large area on the east side of River Sutlej to Ameer Sadiq.¹⁶ In the given area there was only a small locality which was settled, over here was a building with four doors and due to this building this locality was known as Chodri, Ameer Sadiq decided to settle over here and the area started developing.¹⁷ In two hundred years the name Chodri became Chudhri, and when after the creation of Pakistan in 1949, the first Prime Minister Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan visited this area, the new name given to it was Liaqat Pur.

In 1731, Ameer Sadiq attacked Sher Farid, as its ruler Farid Khan had refused to pay the revenues to the Governor. Ameer Sadiq won and was highly appreciated by the Governor, who rewarded the Ameer by giving him all the captured area. So now the domain of Ameer extended from Chudri to Sher Farid (now Chishtian). In 1733 Kalhora's along with Raja Aaghi Singh of Jaisal Mir fought with Ameer Sadiq but when facing

¹⁶ Bahawalpur State Gazetteer, op.cit.,p.57.

¹⁷ Ibid.,p.58.

defeat Raja took refuge in Fort Darawar. Ameer Sadiq took the control of Fort Darawar when Raja ran away from there.¹⁸

Again in 1739, there was another bloody war between Kalhoras and Ameer Sadiq in which Ameer won but very soon another war took place between them and in 1746 during this war Ameer Sadiq I died. He was buried in Shikarpur and even today his tomb is present in Stewart Ganj in Shikarpur.

AMEER BAHAWAL KHAN I:

After the death of Ameer Sadiq his son Ameer Bahawal Khan I took over his father's reign.

Around the middle of Eighteenth century, Ameer Bahawal Khan's domain extended from Ahmedpur till Chistian. Now he required a headquarter which would be located in the centre of his territory. After consultations a small locality named Soad Haki Jhoak was selected and thus over here the foundation of the city of Bahawalpur was laid.¹⁹ Free choice was given to the people to choose the land themselves but mostly the people were adamant because it was a deserted locality. Shops were built and given by Ameer and thus the

¹⁸ Shahab, Sadiq Namah, op.cit., p.54.

¹⁹ Wasti, Bahawalpur Ki Sarzameen, op.cit., p.56.

development and settlement of Bahawalpur began in 1748. Along with it started the plan of developing small localities around Bahawalpur. Very soon many more areas developed and people started settling there. During this settlement Ameer Bahawal Khan I died, who was buried in a graveyard of Bahawalpur.

NAWAB MABRIK KHAN:

The Late Ameer Bahawal Khan did not have any child, so his younger brother took over the control. His name was Mubarik Khan who was young and energetic. This was in 1750. During his tenure there was lot of extension and development in his area. Many new towns like Ahmadpur, Mubarikpur were settled.²⁰ Due to his constructive mind, he built three canals in the areas of Lodhran and Malsi, these canals are still flowing.²¹ Due to these canals, a large area of Bahawalpur got irrigated which led to immense agriculture in the land. Many people from Multan now started to migrate and settle in Bahawalpur. Nawab Mabrik Khan after ruling for twenty-four years died on 5th June 1772, he was buried

²⁰ Ibid.,

²¹ Ibid., p.58

alongside his elder brother, their graves are still there but very few know about their presence.

NAWAB BAHAWAL KHAN-II.

Mubarik Khan also did not have any child so his nephew Jaffar Khan became the next ruler adopting the title and name of Bahawal Khan II. At this time the Sikhs were desperate in taking over Punjab. During his time of rule, there were series of wars with Sikhs and Kalhora's.²² His tenure was the lengthiest but wars and tussles never gave him any peace of mind.

During his period around the beginning of Eighteenth Century, the British in sub continent had quite successfully spread out. Due to instability and internal wars, many local rulers thought that rather than going for wars it was better to ally with British to be more secure. The British took this as a golden opportunity to take over the control of sub-continent. Nawab Bahawal II who was exhausted and tired of all the wars received a British diplomat Mr. Man Stewart Anfeston in 1808

²² Shahab, Sadiq Namah, op.cit., p.66.

who was on a mission to Kabul with open arms and requested the British Crown to give protection to Bahawalpur State and showed his solidarity and co-operation to the British. These were the times when Ranjeet Singh's expansionist motives were at the peak. He had all the intentions to take over Bahawalpur. If Ameer Bahawal II had not perceived the threat and had not entered into friendship with the British, Bahawalpur would have become a part of the Sikh rule.²³

NAWAB SADIQ MOHAMMAD KHAN II:

After the death of Nawab Bahawal Khan II in 1809, his son Sahibzada Abdullah Khan with the title of Nawab Sadiq Mohammad Khan II became the new ruler. During his rule, he constantly faced wars which ended only when he died in 1835.

After the visit of British Diplomat Anfeston in 1808 to Kabul, Shah Shuja the ruler of Kabul was defeated and then exiled by his brother. Shah Shuja reached Bahawalpur and met Nawab Sadiq II, who treated him well. During his stay in Bahawalpur Shah Shuja requested Nawab Sadiq II to help him in winning over Dera Ghazi Khan. The Nawab deputed his

²³ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., p.21.

military Commander Munshi Mohammad Yaqub. Under his command, the forces were successful in capturing Dera Ghazi Khan for Shah Shuja, who after few years went back to Kabul leaving his nominated Vice, Zaman Khan to look after Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1819, Ranjeet Singh took back Dera Ghazi Khan but gave back to Nawab Sadiq II on the condition that the Nawab will pay two lakh fifty thousand rupees annually to him.²⁴

During the rule of Nawab Sadiq II, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh's son Kharak Singh captured Multan and killed Nawab Muzzafar Khan along with his five sons.²⁵ The eighth son of late Nawab Muzzafar, Mir Baz Khan who was fourteen years old successful with the help of a loyal servant in running away. They took refuge in Bahawalpur in a small mosque outside Multani Gate. Nawab Sadiq II who was in Ahmed Pur, when heard of this immediately rushed to Bahawalpur and showed a lot of love and affection towards Mir Baz Khan. The Nawab also granted a monthly stipend to him along with other gifts.²⁶

²⁴ Mohd Anwar Firoz, Aiana Dar-ul-Saroor Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Yousaf and Younas Publishers, 1989),p.50.

²⁵ Nur-ul-Zaman Auj, Legacy of Cholistan (Multan: Caravan Book Centre, 1995),p.166.

²⁶ Mian Noor-ul-Zaman Ahmad, "Bahawalpur Tariekh Kay Aianay Mein", Al-Zubair, Quarterly (December 1994), p.25.

The most important contribution of Nawab Sadiq II was to organize the administrative system of Bahawalpur State, for this he established various departments of government. The whole twenty six years of his tenure of rule he constantly had to face internal revolts and wars with the rulers of Sind. Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan II died in 1835.

NAWAB BAHAWAL KHAN III:

After the death of Nawab Sadiq II, his eldest son Nawab Bahawal Khan III became the new ruler. The most important feature of his rule was that there were no civil wars and the State remained peaceful. There was immense increase in the powers of the State. This resulted in the stability of the Bahawalpur State.

The deal between Ranjeet Singh and Nawab Sadiq II regarding Dera Ghazi Khan was not being carried out since few years. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was not any more paying the annual sum to Ranjeet Singh. As a result, Ranjeet Singh threw out the workers of Nawab out of Dera Ghazi Khan and thus it was now out of the control of Nawab of Bahawalpur.²⁷

²⁷ Shahab, Sadiq Namah, op.cit., p.66.

But Ranjeet Singh did not seem content with this and showed intentions of attacking Bahawalpur. To face this threat Nawab Bahawal III sought the help of British and also requested for the appointment of a political agent in the region. Thus various British political agents stayed here, for example, lieutenant Maxine, Dr. Gordon, Captain Thomas and Captain Charles Graham. In 1833 with the efforts of Maxine, a pact was written which declared the sovereignty of the Bahawalpur State. In it were also laid down the rules regarding the expansion of trade between the British government and Bahawalpur State. This agreement was again renewed in 1838.²⁸

In 1833 Bahawalpur was visited by Mr. Elphinstone on his way to Kabul and in the same year, at the instance of the British Government, a treaty was negotiated which was further strengthened by a subsequent treaty in 1838 which declared that "there should be perpetual friendship alliance and unity of interests between the Honourable East India Company and Nawab Bahawal Khan III and his heirs and the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties."²⁹ Both treaties recognized the Nawab and his heirs as

²⁸ Firoz, Aiana Dar-ul-Saroor Bahawalpur, op.cit., p.51.

²⁹ Shahab, Sadiq Namah, op.cit., p.67.

absolute rulers of their country. The treaties, as well as a number of other agreements, also regulated the traffic on the Indus and fixed the tolls to be charged by the State. On all subsequent occasions the rulers of Bahawalpur have demonstrated by their acts the depth of the loyalty felt and affirmed in these treaties. Much assistance was rendered during the first Afghan War of 1838 for which the then Nawab received the grant of the districts of Sabzal Kot and Bhung and again during the Multan Campaign in 1848 when the wholehearted co-operation of the Bahawalpur State Forces in the operations against Mul Raj was recognized by the grant by Lord Dalhousie of a life pension to the then ruler of rupees one lakh per annum. Unfortunately the Nawab died in the following year. Much assistance was also rendered during the Muntiny in 1857-58 and during the second Afghan War in 1878 when His Highness Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi IV received the honour of the G.C.S.I. Previously in 1868 the ruler of Bahawalpur were granted a permanent salute of 17 guns which continued unchanged.³⁰

³⁰ Report on the Administration of Bahawalpur State 1945-46
(Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette, 1947),p.4.



During the mission to Kabul, when the British forces passed through Bahawalpur State, they were provided with travelling equipment and food by the Nawab. As a reward for this gesture, the British captured back the areas of Sabzil and Bhong, which in 1807, had been taken away by Mir Pur Khas, Sindh, and gave them back to Nawab Bahawalpur.³¹ These areas brought a lot of a earning to the State.

In 1843, Mr. Robinson a magistrate gave the suggestion to Nawab Bahawal III, that as to control the crime rate in the area, a police station should be established.³² The Nawab readily accepted this and ordered one police station bearing all its expenditure also, thus Saadat Gargh police station was named after his son.

Nawab Bahawal III further strengthened ties with the British when he fully supported and helped the British against Mulraj the Governor of Multan in 1848. For this, Nawab Bahawal III starting receiving an annual stipend of 1 lakh rupees.³³

³¹ Bahawalpur State Gazetteer, op.cit.,p.69

³² Ibid.,

³³ Ibid.,p.71.

In 1849 Nawab Bahawal III met Lord Dalhousie and presented before him four requests which were:-³⁴

- 1) Saadat Yar Khan and not Sahibzada Haji Khan should be the next ruler.
- 2) Rather than giving the Nawab the stipend of one lakh, land of equivalent price should be given for the State.
- 3) The area which Ranjeet Singh had given to Nawab on lease should again be given back.
- 4) The area of Kot Sabzil should extend upto Rohri.

In January 1850, the British replied that Saadat Yar Khan should be the crown prince. Nawab Bahawal Khan III ruled for twenty-eight years and his tenure was a successful one because there were no civil wars and peace prevailed. He died in 1856. He had six sons, amongst these his third son Saadat Yar Khan according to his will became the next ruler of Bahawalpur State, but very soon with the help of influential people, his elder brother Fateh Khan over threw him. The Britishers were busy in the War of Independence of 1857, took it as a personal matter of Nawabs. The British readily accepted

³⁴ Ibid.,

Nawab Fateh Khan as the new ruler and sent Nawab Saadat Yar Khan to Lahore with a pension by the State.³⁵

NAWAB FATEH KHAN:

During the rule of Nawab Fateh Khan, War of Independence of 1857 had begun which brought devastation. In this war the Nawab sided with the British. At various times he received messages from the British to keep his army ready. At some time during war five hundred soldiers on foot and five hundred riders were sent for the help of Britishers. Nawab Fateh Khan died in 1858.

NAWAB BAHAWAL KHAN IV:

Nawab Bahawal Khan IV, the son of Late Nawab Fateh Khan took over as the new ruler in 1858 during eight years of rule, there was great disunity, upheavals and internal revolts. Nandu Khan and Baharam Khan, who rose against the Nawab when defeated took refuge in Allahabad.³⁶ The Nawab took it as mismanagement of Phalo Mal the incharge of Allahabd and was arrested. Nawab Bahawal Khan IV also ordered to

³⁵ Ahmad, Bahawalpur Tairekh Kay Aianay Main, op.cit.,p.25.

³⁶ Ibid., p.30.

confiscate the properties of all the people who had revolted against him. He sent Ghulam Mohammad Chaki for this purpose and also to arrest the insurgents, which were around two hundred. Most of these insurgents crossed over to the area under British control, but he was able to get hold of few who were caught in Cholistan. The arrested were taken to the Nawab, on this the Nawab made Ghulam Mohammad Chaki a Minister.

Nawab Bahawal Khan IV died in 1866, at a very young age.

NAWAB SIR SADIQ MUHAMMAD KHAN IV:

At the time of his father's death, Nawab Sadiq IV was the only son, who was only four and a half years old.

The people who were against the Nawabs, looked toward this as a golden opportunity to seize the control of the State. There were plans being made for revolts. Even within the family of Nawab, there were many members who wanted to become the rulers rather than the child. All this worried the loyalist's and also the mother of the young Nawab. His mother suggested that a request should be made to the British, that till the time the young Nawab becomes old enough, the affairs of

the State should be run by the British.³⁷ This idea was appreciated by all and the request was made to the Viceroy of India. This request was accepted by the British and as to run the affairs of the State, the government of the State was to be supervised under British Agency formed by the British government. It was also decided that Britishers would look after till the Nawab is eighteen years of age. He then will be granted authority to carry out the task of the State. William Ford, Commissioner Multan was appointed Political Agent and Superintendent of Bahawalpur State, to supervise the working of the State, it was also decided that all the expenses of this Agency would be borne by the State.³⁸

After this the affairs of the State now were under the direct control of the British government. For thirteen years the British ruled over the State in the name of Nawab. The Agency remained from 1866 to 1879. During this era not only the British maintained peace and implemented plans towards development and progress, they also arranged for quality education and training of Nawab Sadiq IV. He was educated by the best British teachers and later he was admitted to

³⁷ Bahawalpur State Gazetteer, op.cit., p.85.

³⁸ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., p.30

Chief's College, Lahore, he completed his education from there. For running of governmental affairs every department was headed by British officers.³⁹ These officers tried their best to increase the efficiency of their departments and also to lessen the expenditures. During this time canals were taken out of the river, which increased agricultural economy of the region, the first canal was the Fordwah, which irrigated a large desert area. Indus Valley State Railway, which became a milestone was also initiated by the Britishers, according to it hundred and fifty mile long railway track was laid down, even today this track links Punjab and Frontier with Sindh and Baluchistan. The journalist activities also began in this area, a press was established and a weekly news paper "Sadiq-Al-Akhbar" was started. This development later on induced a lot of political awareness amongst the people of Bahawalpur State.

Even though during the thirteen year rule of the Agency, there was immense administrative and economic development, which directly benefited the people but still the masses did not like the hold of British in the State, they considered it an

³⁹ Auj, Legacy of Cholistan, op.cit., p.196.

interference in the internal matter of the State.⁴⁰ The general view was that the British on the pretext of Nawab's childhood had seized the control of the State. They wished for the early rule of Nawab, so that the British leave the State. In various forms they expressed such views. Another factor towards this political awareness was that after the War of Independence 1857, started the political enlightenment in the sub-continent especially the educated class were now demanding for political rights, this influence had also infiltrated into Bahawalpur State.

On 28 November 1879, the Agency era ended, when Lieutenant Governor Punjab Sir Robert Aggerton at a special court function at Noor Mahal announced the delegation of authority to Nawab Sadiq Mohammed IV. The peculiar feature of this grand function was the speech by the Governor, it was the very first time that any British ruler had made a speech in Urdu in India.

After taking over the reigns of the State, Nawab Sadiq Muhammad IV made sure to carry out the tasks of governorship in the same manner, which the British had adopted. On

⁴⁰ Ibid.,p.23.

the other hand he also ensured that the friendly ties with the British become even stronger. He paid special attention towards showing strong loyalty with the British government. On the occasion of 25th silver jubilee of the British Queen in the 1887, Nawab Saidq IV arranged for celebrations all over the Bahawalpur State.⁴¹

During the war between British and Kabul, in 1878, Nawab Sadiq IV fully supported the British and even gave British a lot of aid and ammunition for the war. Because of Nawabs role in the war the British government in 1882, awarded him the title of G-C-S-I.

Nawab Sadiq Khan IV, during his rule introduced modern system of education in Bahawalpur State. Madrasas, middle, high schools and colleges were established. There was development in other fields also. Nawab Sadiq IV was very fond of hunting and was also a good rider. He became famous because of his bravery. He gave immense respect to writers and ulema. Due to his nature of helping the poor and generosity, he was loved by his people. He died on 14th February 1899, which saddened whole of the Bahawalpur State.

⁴¹ Ibid.,p.34.

NAWAB BAHAWAL KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR V:

On the death of Nawab Sadiq IV, his son Nawab Bahawal Khan V was only twelve years old, and was still receiving his education. Because of the earlier precedent it was decided that the British officials would run the State till the Nawab is eighteen years of age. When he was fourteen years old he was admitted in Atchison Chiefs College Lahore. Even during his studies, he would often visit and take interest in the affairs of the State.

On 12th November 1903, the then Viceroy and Governor General of India Lord Curzon himself came to Bahawalpur to grant the authority to Nawab Bahawal V to rule over Bahawalpur State.⁴²

Even though the tenure of his rule was only four years but Nawab Bahawal V took major steps towards the welfare of ordinary people of his State. He created an Orphan House for the orphans. Sadiqia Canal was extended which increased the agricultural economy. In Bahawalnagar to encourage trade, a market Sadiq Ganj was established, for health facilities,

⁴² Shahab, Sadiq Namah, op.cit.,p.86

building for Bahawalpur Victoria Hospital was built. To encourage education amongst women, a madrasa at Bahawalpur was set up. Other than these many social uplift schemes were adopted. Nawab Bahawal V took major steps in administrative machinery as to increase its efficiency and working. The Police department was modernized and re-organized. A huge amount was spent on education.

Nawab Bahawal V observing the changing conditions kept a close contact with citizens. He founded the Bahawal Club, which consisted of officials as well as prominent citizens. This club provided a forum where these people would sit together and discuss various issues.

In 1906, Nawab Bahawal V decided to perform Haj. He took along five hundred people including his family members. On his way back he got sick and died on his way back on 15th February 1907. His body was brought to Bahawalpur.

Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan Sahib Bahadur Abbasi V:

Nawab Sadiq was the only son of the late Nawab Mohammad Bahawal Khan Bahadur Abbasi V and was born in 1904 and succeeded his late father in 1907. He received his education at the Aitchison Chief's College, Lahore, from 1915-20 and later on administrative training as well as a course of

military instruction at Quetta. In 1911 he attended the Coronation Darbar and, at the age of eight, commanded his State Imperial Service Camel Corps which marched past the saluting base where his late Imperial Majesty King George V took the salute at an Imperial review.⁴³ From 1912-14 he was in England. In 1922 he received the honorary rank of Lieutenant and was attached to 21st King George's Own Central India Horse. At the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India he had the honour of being attached to His Royal Highness suite as an A.D.C. and the dignity of the K.C.V.O. was conferred on him in that year. In 1924 he was made a Captain. He was invested the Knighthood of the Star of India (K.C.S.I.) and in 1931 at Buckingham Palace, His highness received from His Imperial Majesty the dignity of the G.C.I.E. In 1933 he was promoted to the rank of Major, in 1940 to that of Lieutenant-Colonel and in 1946 to Major General. In 1941 he received the insignia of the G.C.S.I.⁴⁴

⁴³ Auj, Legacy of Cholistan, op.cit.,p.197.

⁴⁴ Report on the Administration of Bahawalpur State, 1945-46, op.cit.,p.2.

When Nawab Bahawal V died, Nawab Sadiq V was only three years old. The British government decided to form a Council of Regency, which shall look after the affairs of State till the Nawab is old enough to take over the control of the State. The Council of Regency was presided by Maulvi Sir Rahim Baksh and the other members included were Mirza Sultan Ahmed the Revenue Minister, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abdur Rehman as military member. The constitution of council and nominations of members was done by the British.

Since his childhood Nawab Sadiq V showed exceptional leadership qualities. When he was only seven years old, he performed march past as the commander of the Forces of the State, this was done in such a professional manner, which left every body amazed. In 1923 looking at his performance he was made the president of the Council of Regency. The Council remained for seventeen years, and all the matters of the State were decided by the Council, but it always acted on the advice and consent of the British. The Council was abolished in 1924 and in a grand function Nawab Sadiq V took over the reigns of the Bahawalpur State. Before taking over Nawab Sadiq was a Captain in the British Army who took part in the Second World War but remained in Britain during the war. He was trained by

the British Army and the Nawab turned out to be a brave soldier, good rider and a strong organizer. Because of his exceptional performances he was given various titles. In 1931 he visited Buchingham Palace and met the Crown.⁴⁵

Nawab Sadiq V fully supported and aided large amounts to various Muslim educational institutions of sub-continent i.e. Ali Garh Muslim University, Anjuman-I-Himayat Islam, Deo Band etc. Nawab Sadiq laid the foundation of Jamia Abbasia Sadiq Public School and Sadiq Reading Library, taking personal interest in establishing these institutions.⁴⁶ These institutions now a day have become pride of Bahawalpur region.

Amongst the various contributions the most important was the Sutlej Valley Project, which began in 1921. This project brought great prosperity by the provision of water to the thirsty land of the Bahawalpur. The agriculture increased, a proper irrigation system began all this resulted in a new settlement in the Bahawalpur region. This project was started

⁴⁵ Ahmad, Bahawalpur Tariekh Kay Aianay Main, op.cit., p.26

⁴⁶ Mamoon-ul-Rasheed Abbasi, Sadiq Dost (Lahore: Maktaba Jadeed, 1972), p.30.

to irrigate the valley of Sutlej River. Before this, irrigation depended on wells and inundation canals. Earlier there had been talks for improvement of the prevailing system between the British and the State but these failed. In 1921 the Secretary of State for India proposed Sutlej Valley Project between government of India, Bahawalpur and Bikaner. A pact was signed by which three Head works were to be built on River Sutlej i.e. Sulemankie, Islam and Punjnad. For the distribution of water, five thousand miles long canals were dug in the Bahawalpur region. The amount spent on this project was to be shared by British and Bahawalpur State. When this scheme was completed, the total expenditure on it was thirty two crores and thirty one lakhs rupees, out of this fourteen crore rupees was to be paid by Bahawalpur State, out of which two crores were paid while the rest fourteen crores remained as loan. It was a huge amount, various suggestions were taken to tackle this, and accordingly the best way out was decided to publicize all over the Punjab the availability of agricultural land in the State. Thus as a result many people came and bought land in Bahawalpur, this immensely increased the annual income and agricultural production of the State. Before Sutlej Valley Project the annual income of the State was around forty lakhs

which increased to seven crores annually. Due to this project the population doubled as new settlers came, this further resulted in creation of new towns, there was more trade, more roads and better system of communication.⁴⁷

Where Sutlej Valley Project brought prosperity to Bahawalpur State, there also erupted political problems, as the Riasti⁴⁸ people were not happy over the huge number of settlers who came to Bahawalpur from all over the Punjab. They considered that the new comers had taken away their share. To improve the efficiency of the State, so as to enable it to pay back the loan, the Britishers posted officials at important posts from outside Bahawalpur, this further aggravated the prevailing discontent amongst the locals, as they thought that these officials favoured the new settlers. The situation became serious as the Riasti people decided not to socially intermingle with the new settlers. This created a distance between the two, which is even seen now a days.

⁴⁷ Syed Hashmi, Hayat-I-Sadiq (Bahawalpur: Baghdad-ul-Jadid, 1949), p.49

⁴⁸ Riasti's are the local inhabitants of Bahawalpur region.

In Bahawalpur State the total population in 1947 was between one and a half and two million, the Muslims constituting about 83 percent. In the preceding twenty-five years it had nearly doubled. This was a result of the Sutlej Valley Project which had extended irrigation and led to the immigration of colonists, principally from the Punjab, to settle on the newly-reclaimed land. Most of the colonists were Muslims but there was also among them a sprinkling of Sikhs, settled for the most part near the north-eastern border of the State. These Sikh colonists constituted the bulk of the Sikh population of the State which was at this time a little under 50,000. The Hindus numbered about 190,000. The majority of them had been established in the State for several generations, but among them also there were a good many recent immigrants, bankers, merchants, shopkeepers who had bought sites in the new market towns that were springing up to serve an expanding agriculture.⁴⁹

These immigrants, whether Muslim, Sikh or Hindu, tended to be more vigorous and enterprising than the

⁴⁹ Penderel Moon, Divide and Quit (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), p.98

indigenous inhabitants and by their drive and energy were bringing the State, which had previously been a rather stagnant backwater, into the full stream of progress. Their influx had aroused envy and apprehension in the minds of the original inhabitants. They felt that they were outmatched by these thrusting energetic stocks from the Punjab and would ultimately be outnumbered by them. The strong rivalry between the original inhabitants – the ‘riasatis’ as they were called – and the ‘non-riasatis’ led to some measure of discrimination against the latter who were not treated in all respects as full citizens. The distinction cut across all communal divisions and in the day-to-day administration was a more obtrusive factor than they, since communal relations in the State were normally harmonious. The Sutlej Valley Project, which had brought into the State all these immigrants, had substituted weir-controlled irrigation for the old ‘inundation’ canals which only ran four to five months in the year and were dependent on the natural rise and fall of the river. With the construction of four weirs or ‘head-works’ from which the new canals took off, at Ferozepur, Suleimanke, Pallah and Panjnad, irrigation on both banks of the river could be extended and made more assured, and the low winter supplies of water could be utilized so as to give perennial

irrigation to some areas.⁵⁰ The Project, which had commenced in 1922 and finally completed about ten years later, had not fulfilled all the hopes entertained of it and Bahawalpur State in particular had suffered from its comparative failure. This had given rise to a good deal of controversy and in Bahawalpur. From the very outset the Bahawalpur authorities had pointed out that the water available in the rivers had been over-estimated and that this miscalculation vitiated the whole Project in the form in which it had been put forward. They protested against it being undertaken unless substantially modified. They protested in vain. The Nawab was at that time a minor. Disregarding the protests of the Regency Council, recklessly accepting palpable over-estimates of the costs, the Paramount Power forced Bahawalpur into the Project without removing its defects. It soon became apparent that the Bahawalpur authorities had been right. The supplies of water, it was found, were insufficient for the designed capacity of the canals; at the Suleimanke and Islam weirs in particular the shortage at the critical seasons of the year was serious and

⁵⁰ Ibid.,

chronic. In the end large areas of land which it had been intended to bring under irrigation had to be given up. Miles of canals dug through the deserts of Bahawalpur were later abandoned and rest-houses, built for the accommodation of canal officers were never occupied. Even worse than this unproductive expenditure was the terrific shortfall in the receipts which the Project had been expected to yield. The inadequacy of the supplies of water for the canals quickly became known and adversely affected the prices at which land could be auctioned. On top of this came the collapse of agricultural prices in the thirties. Colony land in Bahawalpur became practically unsaleable; even in the Punjab the auctioning of land had to be greatly reduced. The effect on Bahawalpur's finances was very serious. To meet its share of the capital cost of the Project, which turned out to be nearly two and a half times of the original estimates, the State had to borrow Rs.12 crores from the Government of India. By 1936 it had not been possible to make any repayment; even the interest charges had not been met in full and the debt had swollen to about Rs.14 crores. Ultimately the war came to the rescue of Bahawalpur. After 1942 with the steep rise in agricultural prices and consequently of land values the position

and prospects vastly improved. The debt began to be repaid much faster than seemed possible in 1936 and by the end of 1945 had been reduced to Rs.5 crores. But the financial difficulties and transactions which have been described had a profound effect on the whole organization of the State and consequently also on the whole of the Nawab. Born in 1904, he had lost his father in 1907 and with ruling powers he found that in consequence of his borrowings for the Sutlej Valley Project the administration of his State was half-mortgaged to the Government of India, and soon seemed destined to remain so for most of his lifetime. To safeguard their loan the Government of India had contrived to secure a tight control over the affairs of the State by the appointment of their own nominees to key posts, and they showed no sign of relaxing it so long as any substantial part of the debt remained outstanding.⁵¹

It cannot be supposed that the Nawab felt happy about the position. It meant that in practice he lost both in power and in wealth. Owing to the State's financial difficulties the amounts which could be officially allotted to him for his personal

⁵¹ Ibid.,p.101.

expenditure, though considerable, fell far short of his requirements, and owing to the Government of India's grip on the main branches of the administration, he could not easily, like other rulers whose financial powers were unfettered, obtain for himself a larger share of the revenues of the State. Moreover since real responsibility for the State was in effect assumed by the Government of India instead of being made to rest fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Nawab, his own interest in the State's administration was not as keen as it otherwise might have been. The Nawab himself was much of the time away in England or elsewhere; and even when he was in residence, the fact that his palace was at Dera Nawab, a place connected with Bahawalpur by the only metalled road in the State but over thirty miles distant from it, made him a rather inaccessible. Nevertheless he was by no means unpopular.

On May 1935 Quetta was jolted by a very severe earthquake killing thousands. There was a large section of population in Quetta which had come from Punjab. The serving people were being sent back to Punjab by the authorities. Daily a train full of these people would take them from Quetta to Lahore. This train would reach Bahawalpur in the afternoon.

Nawab Sadiq ordered that daily on the railway station food to be served for four thousand people, alongwith it, clothes, shoes and monetary help was also provided. To supervise this, Nawab Sadiq would daily visit the railway station.⁵²

The Second World War started in 1939, Nawab Sadiq V took a very active role in helping the British towards this war. At the outbreak of the war His Highness was among the first Indian Princes to offer his personal services and to place all the resources of the State at the disposal of the Crown. A War Purposes Fund was constituted which had enabled the State to make substantial contribution to the various war funds. As the British government had high expectations from him, Nawab Sadiq V did not let them down, he provided them every kind of support, this included the provision of his State forces who were sent to fight in Egypt and Basra, Bahawalpur's first infantry fought with the Japanese in Singapore. Nawab Sadiq V offered his personal services as Colonel to the British. As a representative of the British government he visited Iraq, Lebanaon, Palestine, Syria, Iran and Saudia, where he even visited the fronts where active fighting was going on. On the

⁵² Muhammad Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi, Baghdad Si Bahawalpur (Lahore: Al-Fazal Publisher, 1986), p.112.

special request of British government, Nawab Sadiq V in 1941 visited Iraq, where he stayed for a month. He was sent there to normalize the relations between Britain and Iraq, which had become tense lately. Nawab Sadiq was successful in removing the misunderstandings between the two governments.⁵³

Other than military help, Nawab Sadiq V also gave finances to the British. More than one crore rupees was given as aid by the people and government of Bahawalpur for the war.

Along with other contributions another major contribution of Nawab Sadiq V was towards the development and promotion of Urdu language in Bahawalpur State. Even though Urdu had been declared the official language of Bahawalpur before him, but it was during his era that Urdu received its due status and was now used as the official language in the administrative work of the State.⁵⁴ The decisions of the High Court of the State were now also being written in Urdu. Nawab Sadiq separated the judiciary from the executive branch.

⁵³ Ahmad, Bahawalpur Tariekh Kay Aianay Main, op.cit., p.27.

⁵⁴ Ibid.,

After the end of Second World War, the demand for independence from the British spread all over the sub-continent. There were political gatherings, meetings and protests all over. The British were under great pressure.

AFTER PARTITION:-

When the Sutlej River Project scheme was being prepared, the amount required for it was in crores, Nawab Sadiq V requested the Government of India for loan towards this project. To lay down the terms and conditions of this loan, an eminent lawyer Muhammad Ali Jinnah was appointed. This was the beginning of the friendship between Quaid-i-Azam and the Nawab Sadiq V. Since then onwards Ameer Bahawalpur would often meet Quaid-i-Azam and their friendship grew with time.⁵⁵

In 1947 at the time of partition, Muslims starting migrating to Pakistan and Hindus to India. Samasata railway junction in Bahawalpur State became a central point from

⁵⁵ Sahibzada Mohd. Qamar-Zaman-Abbasi, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Riasyat Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Shirkat Printing Press, 1999),p.126.

where the Hindu and Sikh army men were leaving for Delhi, and from India, Muslim army men and migrants were coming to Pakistan, to handle any unpleasant situation a major along with his infantry force of Bahawalpur were stationed there. Bahawalpur region was amongst those places where there was very less violence related to the partition. Nawab Sadiq V ensured to protect the rights of minorities also.⁵⁶

At the time of partition on 14th August 1947, there was widespread jubilation all over Bahawalpur State. There were lights all over buildings, in all major mosques there were sermons thanking God for the independence of Muslims, various organizations and gatherings showed immense excitement and joy.

Nawab Sadiq V was very generous and helpful to the Government of Pakistan immediately after the partition, he gave seven crore rupees to the new Government of Pakistan. After the establishment of Pakistan, all the salaries of Government departments of one month were drawn from the treasury of Bahawalpur State. On 14th August 1947, Quaid-i-

⁵⁶ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit.,p.140.

Azam travelled in one of the Rolls Royce car to take oath which was, sent by the Nawab of Bahawalpur, later-on these cars were gifted to Quaid-i-Azam and Muhtarma Fatima Jinnah by Nawab Sadiq V. For some time when Quaid came to Karachi at time of partition, he and Fatima Jinnah stayed at the Al-Qamar, the residence of Nawab in Karachi. Nawab Sadiq V gifted his private property to Punjab University which is now a days the Senate Hall. Nearly half of King Edward Medical College (Bahawalpur Block) was donated by Nawab. Another gift was the Mosque of Aitchison College.⁵⁷

After the end of Second World War, the victorious countries took compensations from the losing states. Bahawalpur State was also given its share because of its active participation in the war. This amount was fifty two lakh rupees which was given to Nawab Sadiq V in London, Nawab Sadiq V gave this money to Quaid-i-Azam towards the establishment of Pakistan.

All the princely states of sub-continent, at time of partition were given a free choice to join either Pakistan on India. A little delay in the decision created uncertainty among

⁵⁷ Mohammad Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi, Bahawalpur Ka Sadiq Dost (Lahore: Qamar Abbasi, 1992), p.40.

the people of the State, they were worried about, their future, they did not know whether Nawab Sadiq V decides to join India or Pakistan, to convince Nawab Sadiq V to join India many personalities of India met the Nawab, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru went to London to meet Nawab Sadiq V at his residence and offered various incentives to join India, which the Nawab did not accept. Again at Sadiq Garh Palace Maharani Amrit Kaur, an active Congress member and Vijay Laxmi Pandit, sister of Nehru met Nawab Sadiq V to convince him to join India, they offered more incentives which included a special agreement which would guarantee that Bahawalpur State shall always remain independent and sovereign, along with other concessions. The Nawab refused to accept the offer. After one month again these ladies paid a visit on the Nawab but again were turned down. At one time it was also suggested that if Bahawalpur State joins India, then Bahawalpur State, Bikanair and Jaisalmeer would all come under one administrative unit, and Nawab Sadiq would be given the authority.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Ibid.,p.142.

On 5th October 1947, Nawab Sadiq signed an agreement with the Government of Pakistan, which declared the joining of Bahawalpur State with Pakistan. Thus Bahawalpur State became the first State which joined Pakistan. One of the most important factors towards this decision was the close friendship between Quaid-i-Azam and Nawab Sadiq V. Even before the partition these two personalities showed great respect for each other. Another factor was the main railway track from Peshawar to Karachi, which passed through the middle of Bahawalpur State. The Islamic sentiments were another factor, as Bahawalpur State was a Muslim majority State.

At the time of partition large number of Hindus' left for India from Bahawalpur and also a huge number of migrants came from India to Bahawalpur. These mahajar (migrants) in the beginning were welcomed by the locals and were provided with food and clothing. But not much enthusiasm or spirit of sacrifice was shown by the people of Bahawalpur. The Government of Bahawalpur also was not very keen in accepting such big number of Mahajrin, around one lakh. Even though Nawab Sadiq V had ordered that the process of migration to both sides should be peaceful and the lives and property of both the Hindus and Muslims should be protected

but still few clashes between Hindus and Muslims did occur in Bahawalpur State.⁵⁹ Nawab Sadiq V also donated five lakh rupees for the Quaid-i-Azam relief fund. Concessions were allowed in the rates of shops and houses for refugees in the State. The Ameer of Bahawalpur Refugees Relief and Rehabilitation Fund was instituted in 1947 to provide a central organization for the relief of the refugees. Referring to the refugee question, Quaid-i-Azam, the Governor General of Pakistan said that Bahawalpur State had made a most valuable contribution to the task of refugee rehabilitation, earning the gratitude of lakhs of Muslims who found asylum in the State.

The State Majlis i.e. the legislature was constituted in June 1949 under the Government of Bahawalpur Act 1949. It had sixteen elected and nine nominated members. The Majlis had full powers of legislation in regard to Transferred subjects i.e. agriculture, forests, etc. It could also legislate for the Reserved Subjects i.e. revenue, irrigation, police etc, but such legislature was subject to veto and certification by the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur. The Majlis held two sessions during

⁵⁹ Ibid.,p.156.

1949-50 and passed the following bills a) Shariat Application bill 1950, b) Prevention of Corruption Bill, 1950 c) Transferred Subjects Legislation Validating Bill, 1950 4) Income tax (Amendment) Bill, 1950. Bahawalpur State was allocated one seat in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and Maulvi Fazl-e-Husain ex-Chief Judge of the State was nominated as the representative. Col. A.J. Dring was appointed as the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State. In accordance with the provisions of the Government of Bahawalpur Act 1949, Prime Minister was appointed by the Nawab in consultation with the Government of Pakistan. All this was stated in the new constitution of the State.⁶⁰

A Silver Jubilee Darbar was held at Gulzar Mahal, Baghdad ul Jadid on the 8th March 1949 to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the assumption of ruling powers by Nawab Sadiq V. On this occasion the new State constitution was announced. Nawab Sadiq donated Rs.three lakhs from his purse, out of this one lakh was donated towards the new

⁶⁰ Government of Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur Information and Publication Department, The Publicity Department, Bahawalpur Government, 1949), p.6.

Juma Mosque under construction and two lakhs for the relief of poor, special celebrations were held throughout the State. Nawab Sadiq V was promoted to the honorary rank of Lieutenant General in the Pakistan Army.

Prime Minister of Pakistan and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan visited Bahawalpur in March 1949. The Prime Minister inspected the Bahawalpur State forces training center, and visited Panjnad Headworks, Chistian, Harunabad and Bahawalpur, he also addressed the State officials. In December 1949 Khawaja Nazim ud Din, Governor General of Pakistan paid an official visit to the State. He addressed the representative of the state Majlis, he also drove along the Abbasia Canal and inspected the new colonization scheme.

In 1955, an accord was signed between Nawab Sadiq and General Ghulam Muhammad by which the State of Bahawalpur was merged in the Province of West Pakistan. It was also decided that the ex-Nawab of Bahawalpur should be given a yearly stipend of Rs.32 lakhs.

On May, 1966 Nawab Sadiq V, died in London and his body was brought to Bahawalpur, where he was buried in his ancestral graveyard of Derawar Fort.

CHAPTER-IV

POLITICS IN BAHAWALPUR – TILL 1970

NATURE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Even though the history of Bahawalpur is quite old, it was around three hundred years ago that the foundation of Bahawalpur State was laid. The politics of Bahawalpur State on one hand was highly influenced by the close contact with the British and on the other hand there was the absolute rule of the Nawabs. Also most of the political incidents were never recorded and the ones recorded were destroyed because of the Nawabs attitude, who never favoured political awareness amongst the people.¹ Under these circumstances, the people of Bahawalpur had a difficult time in the evolution of their political role.

Since the foundation of the Bahawalpur State, it had always been under the rule of the various Nawabs. There never were any political activities amongst the people. Political activities were forbidden by the State government. The political

¹ Masood Hassan Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh (Bahawalpur: Naqosh Press, 1977), p.14.

process if any evolved over the years was very nominal and slow.²

The establishment and working of the Agency, which was formed on 4th August, 1866, later on helped in bringing about political awareness amongst the people of the State. This Agency was formed by the British government on the request of the mother of the newly crowned Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan VI who was only four and half year old. Due to the intentions of many of exploiting this situation, his mother requested the British government to manage the matters of the State till the Nawab was old enough to handle the affairs of the State.³ This request was accepted and an Agency under a British official was established, which looked after the government of State till the Nawab was of eighteen years i.e. till November, 1879.

For nearly thirteen years the British governed the Bahawalpur State in the name of Nawab Bahawalpur. During this tenure other than looking into the upbringing of the young Nawab the British contributed a lot towards maintenance of law

² Ibid., p.18.

³ Punjab States Gazettee, Vol. 36 - A Bahawalpur State 1904. (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press), p.85.

and order and development of the State.⁴ During this time many river-lets were taken out from the river, which enhanced the agricultural productivity. Indus Valley Estate Railway was also initiated during this time by which hundred and fifty miles long railway track was laid, nowadays it is the same track which links the provinces of Punjab and Frontier with Sindh and Baluchistan.

It was during the Agency rule that for the first time a press was established and a weekly newspaper 'Sadiq-al-Akhbar' began its publication. This led to the beginning of the era of journalist activities.⁵ Even though Sadiq Akhbar was no more than an official gazette. Later on these factors played an important role in bringing political awareness amongst the people of the State. The thirteen years rule of the Agency provided for the first time a chance for the people of the State towards their political awareness.

The first ever political incident took place on 6th September, 1902. On the orders of the Nawab a buffalo was slaughtered and was distributed amongst the poor probably the

⁴ Syed Nazir Ali Shah, Sadiq Namah (Bahawalpur: Siraiki Adbi Majlis, 1971), p.89.

⁵ State Gazette, op.cit., P.110.

animal was slaughtered in a public place which infuriated the Hindu's and as a reaction total strike was observed in Bahawalpur city to express their anger and protest. Nawab Bahawal Khan V, quickly reacted to it and personally looked into the matter, and met with the Hindu activists. Due to the Nawab's personal intervention the issue subsided.⁶

Nawab Bahawal Khan V was a practical ruler, he realized that in the changed times as to rule successfully, he has to have links with his people. For this purpose he established Bahawal Club, which comprised of notables and high officials of the State, who would sit together and discuss various issues. With time this club became a forum where all the influential would bring about the problems in the notice of the Nawab, who used to preside the proceedings of the Club. There used to be high level consultations on political matters between the members. Even today the status of Bahawal Club is upheld.

From 1907 till 1947 was the era in which the whole of the sub-continent was engulfed with political movements and activities. These movements did leave some affects on

⁶ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., P.41.

Bahawalpur also, but the people of Bahawalpur State did not actively participate or indulge in the movements or activities. The Nawabs were autocratic rulers who never allowed political activities or freedom to the people. The State government ensured this by introducing laws, which forbade the working or establishment of political parties. Even then in this era a few religious and social organizations emerged which actually had political motives behind them⁷ Amongst these were Jamiat-ul-Musalmeem and Muslim Board. These parties did play some role in bringing about political awareness amongst the people of the State. These parties also played a role even though very little during the independence movement.⁸

After the independence of Pakistan and after Bahawalpur State joined Pakistan, the Nawab had realized that in the new times, there have been a lot of yearning amongst the people of the State for some political participation. For this purpose a Reforms Committee was appointed by the Nawab, this comprised of prominent people. On the basis of the

⁷ Syed Hashmi, Geographia Aur Tariekh Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Rehman Sons, n.d), P.60.

⁸ See next section for details.

suggestions of this Reforms Committee, there would be changes introduced in the State.⁹

After joining with Pakistan, the politics in the State was around two main issues, one was towards the formal establishment of Muslim League in the State and the other was to achieve or establish some kind of representative form of government. Under great pressures and demands on 7th November, 1948, Nawab Sadiq in this direction took the first step by issuing a special government gazette which declared that as a first step towards representative government, the Nawab has declared that the functions of Rural and Municipal Committees, Unified Area Committees and District Boards to be expanded and brought to the same level as of the Boards in other area's of Pakistan and all the members of these bodies shall be elected. For this, amendment shall be made in the law and elections shall be held in early 1949.¹⁰

This announcement brought activity in the political circles. The various political parties and the people rejected this and demanded for a elected legislative assembly. At this time

⁹ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., P.120.

¹⁰ Mohd Ali Darwaish, Tariekh Riasat Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Sadiq Academy, 1987), p. 141.

Jamiat-ul-Musalmeen and Muslim Board had merged together and formed All Bahawalpur State Muslim League, which along with State League were most active on this issue. As a result only after four months another announcement was made by the Nawab that on the occasion of silver jubilee celebrations in March 1949, more reforms shall be introduced. Colonel A. J. Dring, who was the new Prime Minister replacing Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani in December 1948 played an important role in convincing the Nawab for more effective reforms. Accordingly on 8th March 1949, new reforms were announced, which were that the number of members of local bodies of the State shall be 166, these members will in a joint session elect 16 representatives of an assembly. Along with these 16 the Nawab will nominate 9 more technocrat members, the total number of assembly members will be 26. Two of the ministers will be selected by the 16 elected members of the assembly.¹¹ The other ministers will be nominated by the Nawab. There was a mixed reaction to these reforms but generally all were satisfied that at least the process had began.

¹¹ Government of Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Information and Publicity Department, 1949-50), p. 6.

Immediately after the introduction of reforms, preparations for elections began. The two main contestant parties were the Muslim League and State League. In the local bodies elections, Pakistan Muslim League won with overwhelming majority. Out of 122 seats, it won 90 seats. On 28th May, 1949, the elections for the State Assembly took place at the Darbar Hall under the supervision of the Prime Minister. Out of 16, Muslim League won 15 seats. Mukhdoom Zada Hasan Mahmood was elected as the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly. After these reforms, Muslim League was content but there were section of people who were not happy, they were mostly the Mohajir's, State League and the people who opposed Muslim League. They claimed that it was not a fully representative system and also demanded the removal of the British Prime Minister Col. A.J. Dring.

As promised the Nawab very soon announced another phase of reforms. On 14th January, 1951 new reforms were introduced.¹² According to it the important features were:-

1. Nawab Sadiq V shall remain as the ruler of Bahawalpur State.

¹² Ibid., p. 8.

2. The next ruler shall be nominated on hereditary basis, any nominated son of the Nawab will be the Ameer of Bahawalpur State who has been accepted by the Governor General of Pakistan.
3. The Ameer shall receive as much yearly stipend from the State treasury, which has been fixed by mutual agreement between the Nawab and Governor General. But the amount will not be less than what the Nawab is receiving at the time of implementation of this Act.
4. This constitution will be implemented by the orders of the Nawab.
5. In accordance with the constitution of Pakistan, Bahawalpur State shall have the status of a federal State.
6. Any act of the State, which is against the constitution of Pakistan, shall be cancelled.
7. The Nawab will have special duties towards the law and order of the State and protection of economic interests of the State. Towards these issues the personal discretion of the Nawab shall prevail.

8. To give advice and help the Nawab regarding the carrying out of official duties of the State, a Council of Ministers will be constituted.
9. If on any matter there is a dispute between the Nawab and Governor General, the decision of the Governor General shall prevail.
10. The Nawab has the exclusive authority to appoint and dismiss any Minister of the Council.
11. The salaries of the Minister shall be finalized by the State government.
12. All administrative orders shall be carried in the name of Nawab of Bahawalpur.
13. For legislation, a State Legislative Assembly will be formed.
14. In the legislative assembly of the State there will be 49 members, who will be elected on basis of adult franchise. Unless dissolved, this assembly will remain for five years.
15. This assembly will meet at least once a year.
16. The Nawab will have the right to call the session of the assembly, close the session or dissolve the assembly

17. The Nawab can any time address the assembly and for this purpose can call a special session of the assembly. He can also send messages while the assembly is in session.
18. The assembly will elect speaker and deputy speaker.
19. All decisions in the assembly will be taken on basis of majority.
20. The salaries and allowances of members of assembly shall be settled through an Act.
21. Any resolution passed by the assembly will go to Nawab for approval. Any amendment or new legislation will also require the Governor General approval, who will have the right to accept or reject.
22. The yearly budget will be presented to the assembly for approval.
23. When the assembly is not in session, the Nawab could issue ordinance of special circumstances.
24. Public Service Commission will be constituted by the Nawab.

25. In employment and business there will be no discrimination on basis of caste, origin, colour and religion.

To implement these, changes were to be made in the Bahawalpur Act, 1994 regarding the private property and financial concessions an agreement was signed between the Nawab of Bahawalpur and Government of Pakistan on 11th April 1952. This agreement consisted of four articles, which were:

Article I: The Nawab can withdraw money from the State resources for personal use, but which will not exceed 29 lakh 50 thousand rupees yearly. This amount shall be tax-free. The provision of this amount will be generated by Government of Pakistan.

Article II: Till this agreement, the jewels, shares and property possessed by the Nawab, shall remain as his personal property. Within three months the Nawab shall provided all the details of his property to Government of Pakistan.

Article III: Before this agreement the concessions and titles enjoyed by Nawab and his family will remain so.

Article IV: The Government of Pakistan gives its guarantee that method of appointing the heir to throne shall be in accordance of the laid down rules and traditions of the State.

On 29th April 1951, the Nawab of Bahawalpur and Governor General of Pakistan signed a pact, by which Bahawalpur State will be treated on the same grounds as other provinces. According to it the State will possess all those subjects, which were under the provinces, the rest will remain under the Federal Government. Through this it was expected that the State shall get more funds from the Federal Government like other provinces.¹³

Within a period of three years, the third phase of reforms were introduced leading towards a representative government. On 11th March 1953, the State government published a special gazette, giving the Bahawalpur State Interim Act of 1952.¹⁴ According to it a 49 member legislative assembly will be elected on the basis of adult franchise. Its session once a year was must, this assembly will be for 5 years, the members will

¹³ Nazir Ali Shah, Sadiq Namah, op. cit., p.103.

¹⁴ Qureshi, Tariekh Bahawalpur, op.cit., p.166.

have all those facilities which members of provincial assemblies have. The assembly will give an oath towards loyalty of Nawab and no law would be passed which is against the Nawab. Also the Nawab shall have the right to dissolve the assembly and the assembly could pass an ordinance only with consent of Nawab. Lastly no case against the Nawab will be admitted in any court.

Because of new elections the Nawab dissolved the Bahawalpur Assembly and with it political activities in Bahawalpur State were at its peak. Various political parties held rallies and public meetings. Along with Muslim League, its dissidents and Jamaat-e-Islami which also started its role in Bahawalpur politics. In these elections, out of 49 seats 35 seats were won by Muslim League, Hizb-i-Iktalaf got 11 seats, Jamaat-e-Islami got 2 and the rest went to independent candidates.¹⁵ After the election results the Nawab asked the leader of the majority party to form the government. Makhdoom Zada Hasan Mahmood took the oath of the Chief Minister, who was the leader of the Muslim League. The assembly also began its regular sessions.

¹⁵ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., p.10.

On 24th October, 1954, Governor General of Pakistan Mr. Ghulam Muhammad declared emergency all over Pakistan and in 1955 announced the merger of all provinces and States into One Unit, and the ministry was removed, as Bahawalpur State also merged into One Unit. Bahawalpur was then given a status of administrative division with, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan as its three districts.¹⁶ On this occasion the last message of Nawab Sadiq to the people of Bahawalpur was "The relations between you and my family which carried on for the last few hundred years are now going to end. I thank you for your love, affection, cooperation and loyalty, which you have provided to me for the last fifty years. I am confident that you will be loyal and friends towards Pakistan. Till my death I shall be interested in your betterment and welfare. I pray to Allah that may God always bless you with his blessings. May God always take care of you and be with you and lead you towards the right path".¹⁷

¹⁶ Noor-ul-Zaman Ahmed, "Bahawalpur, Tariekh Key Aianay Main", Al-Zubair, Quarterly (December 1994): pp. 30-35.

¹⁷ Muhammad Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi, Bahawalpur Ka Sadiq Dost (Lahore: Qamar Abbasi, 1992), p.176.

The last Nawab of Bahawalpur State Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi V died in London on 24th May, 1966 and along with this the two hundred fifty years rule of Nawabs over Bahawalpur also ended. He was highly respected by the people then and even now.¹⁸

In 1969, there were serious considerations regarding the break up of One Unit. At this time, demands were put up by the people of Bahawalpur that at the break up of One Unit, Bahawalpur should be made a province, as before One Unit it had a status of a province. But the government on 28th March 1970 declared the break up of One Unit into four provinces of West Pakistan and Bahawalpur was merged into Province of Punjab. This resulted in great resentment in Bahawalpur leading to demonstrations, protests, arrests and the beginning of a movement for the restoration of Bahawalpur Province. This movement had great support from the masses, who felt that Bahawalpur can develop more if this region is made a province. This movement and feeling has a great impact on the politics of the region.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.30-35.



ROLE OF BAHAWALPUR IN PAKISTAN MOVEMENT:

Before the independence of Pakistan for nearly two centuries Bahawalpur remained under the State rule and like other States the political activities over here were negligible. The public was kept away from the political process, in those days the States were ruled in a dictatorial style, but with passage of time and changing circumstances, changes have occurred in the cultures and politics of areas.

The Bahawalpur State in the sub-continent possessed a distinct cultural identity. The political development process was extremely slow but it is to be noted that the few organizations, which were established as social and religious organizations, had political motives behind them. The political movement emerging in various parts of sub-continent left affects, even though very less, on Bahawalpur also. In 1942, a State law was implemented which was regarding the political activities within the State. This was the Public Societies Act according to this act it was forbidden in the Bahawalpur State to establish a political party. This Act also laid restrictions on the establishment of any branch of any political party of India in the

State.¹⁹ But still Bahawalpur State was not politics free, political associations like, Hizb Ullah was associated with Ehrar, Jamiat-ul-Muslameen with Muslim League and Khudaam Watan with Congress.²⁰ The presence of these, however, did not mean that there was political awareness amongst the general public of the State, as the subjects of the State were not allowed to participate in any political activity. The movements for the independence of the sub-continent and political happening, did impact the people of Bahawalpur but only as a point of information rather than as some actual local political activity.

The political activities amongst the students began at Sadiq Eggertton College, Bahawalpur, by laying the foundation of Anjuman Rafeeq Talba. Its first president was Muhammad Hussain Kanju, who was also known as the Sir Syed of Bahawalpur. Later on the active members of this association formed Sadiq State Student Society, whose aim was to provide educational facilities to the poor students.

¹⁹ Gazette Sadiq Al-Akhbar, Bahawalpur, 14 July, 1942

²⁰ Ibid.,

Even though according to the Public Society Act, the political activities in the State were prohibited but even then Muslim Board was formed which was purely based on the Muslim League's ideology. The active members included Dewan Aziz-ur-Rehman, Hayat Tareen, Shahab Delhvi, Mir Zahid Hussain and Malik Muhammad Din. Muslim Board from Bahawalpur started a newspaper "Nawai Muslim". The other newspapers associated with Muslim Board were Insaf and Musalman. Muslim Board was in fore front in helping Muslim league in the independence movement.²¹

During the independence movement and at the time of partition the whole of sub-continent was under communal riots, and its affects were also felt in Bahawalpur like other States. The Muslim population as well as Sikh and Hindus in the States were feeling insecure. The Muslims felt that their interests and rights need to be protected. For this purpose a representative party of the people of States was formed and named as All States Muslim League, whose president was Nawab Bahadur Yar Jhang of Hyderabad.

²¹ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op.cit., p.140.

The population in 1945, distributed according to the principal religions was as under:-

Religion	Number	Percent
Muslims	10,98,814	81.93%
Hindus	1,74,408	13.07%
Sikhs	46,945	3.50%
Jains, Christians and others	21,042	1.05%

Source: Report on the Administration of Bahawalpur State, 1945-46 (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1947), p.92.

Before the partition, the most important issue before the Bahawalpur State was to decide whom to join, India, Pakistan or declare to remain independent. The people of all the States were worried for their future, they realized that whatever decision is taken by their rulers, is going to affect their lives. They felt that no hasty or sentimental decision should be taken regarding this. In Bahawalpur State due to these concerns the two political associations Jamiat-ul-Muslameen and Muslim Board came closer to each other and decided to work together. They started campaigning by holding rallies and printing posters, in which they warned the people of the intentions of

Congress and supported joining with Pakistan. In this campaign *Nawai Muslim* and *Insaf*, the two newspapers played a very effective role, these news papers were great supporters of Muslim league and projected its views.

Bahawalpur had bigger resources in population and revenue than any of the other States, but even this State was too small to remain independent. Of its population of less than two million, 83 percent were Muslims. Its prosperity depended upon the Sultej Valley Project, which was essentially an extension of the irrigation system of West Punjab. The economic interests of West Pakistan and Bahawalpur were closely allied. The North Western Railways, which linked the North-West Frontier Province and West Punjab with Karachi, passed for a considerable portion of its length through Bahawalpur. If there were any serious threat to its security internal or external, Bahawalpur would have to turn to Pakistan for protection. These ties pointed inevitably to the accession of the State to Pakistan. Nevertheless, there was hesitation and delay caused by the desire of the Nawab and his Prime Minister, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, to "Maintain a quasi-independent existence". But events were moving too fast for these dilatory methods. In the second half of August, 1947, the

Punjab disturbances overflowed to Bahawalpur and although the State authorities took vigorous measures to protect the non-Muslim minority, a fairly complete evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from more than half the State had taken place by the end of September. On October 3, Bahawalpur acceded to Pakistan.²²

When on 14th August 1947 Pakistan came into existence, in whole of Bahawalpur State there were jubilations. Muslim Board, which was very effective in those days, held meetings took out procession and hoisted Pakistan's flag on many buildings. After Juma prayers people thanked God in their prayers and prayed for a strong Pakistan and long life of Quaid-i-Azam. But at the same time the people of the State were anxiously waiting for the decision of Nawab regarding the future of State. The people of the State were in favour of joining Pakistan and delayed decision had brought anxiety amongst the people.²³

²² Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, The Emergence of Pakistan (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973), p.235.

²³ Penderal Moon, Divide and Quit, (Chatto and Windus Ltd, 1961), p.107.

Penderal Moon giving an account on this issue writes that the people of Bahawalpur had assumed that the State would accede to Pakistan, they knew nothing of any other possibility. The majority of them, being Muslim were well content with the prospect, and throughout most of the State even the minority communities had accepted it philosophically and without undue alarm. Despite the uncertainty of the times the Nawab insisted on going off for the summer to England where he had a house near Farnham in Surrey. He promised, however, to return if any big issues regarding the future of the State had to be decided. With the announcement in June that the date for the transfer of power was to be put forward to August 15th these issues could no longer be postponed. Accordingly when towards the end of July Lord Mountbatten called the Ruling Princes to Delhi to talk to them about the future of their States the Nawab flew back to India to attend the meeting. Lord Mountbatten's object was to persuade all the rulers to 'accede' external affairs and communications – in other words to subordinate themselves in some measures to India or Pakistan. Gurmani informed me that the Nawab was being advised in certain quarters to accede to India. Gurmani himself seemed hardly less astonished and perplexed. The

reason for this perverse advice was not far to seek. The Muslim League leaders had been offering tempting concession to some of the Hindu rulers in the hope of inducing them to join Pakistan. Some people thought that the Nawab might extract similar concessions from India if he agreed to accede to India instead of to Pakistan. These calculations were quite unfounded. The Congress leaders were not interested in enticing Bahawalpur into the Indian Union. Moreover, since Bahawalpur was a Muslim State with a Muslim ruler and lay right astride the rail and road communications between Karachi and Lahore, its accession to India would be a deadly blow to Pakistan and must produce a violent Muslim reaction. After a day or two all talk of acceding to India ended as the Nawab decided that Bahawalpur should in due course accede to Pakistan.²⁴

At the time when doubts and apprehensions were at the peak, on 18th August was Eid-ul-Fitr, there was a big huge gathering at the Eidgah for the prayer, according to the tradition of the State, a high level official of the State government

²⁴ Ibid.,

wishes eid greetings to the public. On this occasion Prime Minister of the State Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani in his address, thanked God for giving the Muslims of the sub-continent a separate homeland, which they are celebrating, the State of Bahawalpur is the heart of Pakistan. He further stressed for the protection of the minorities, prayed for the well being of Pakistan and Quaid-i-Azam. This statement gave some relaxation to the people of the Bahawalpur State.

On 3rd October, 1947 the Ameer of Bahawalpur declared to accede to Pakistan. In accordance with the India Act 1935, a written accession document was signed by the Nawab on 3rd October, 1947 and Quaid-i-Azam as Governor General signed it on 5th October, 1947. The most glaring feature of this accession document was its paragraph number-8, in which it was guaranteed that the Nawab of Bahawalpur shall retain the authority and control over the Bahawalpur State.²⁵

Hindu Muslim communal riots and tensions also unfiltered into Bahawalpur State. At many occasions the Hindu minority in the State had to face the hostilities of the Muslim. As a result of these communal riots nearly 99 percent of the

²⁵ Copy of the original accession document given in the appendices.

Hindu population migrated to India from the State within three months, from August 1947 to October 1947.

During the partition of the sub-continent there was influx of refugees into Bahawalpur State from East Punjab and other areas of India. Initially the local population sympathized with the migrants and provided them food, but the amount of spirit, which was required at this crucial occasion lacked not only amongst the people but the local political parties also did not show much enthusiasm in helping the migrants. Muslim Board and Jamiat-ul-Musalmeen on a limited scale opened up few camps to provide assistance. The government of the State to deal with the problems of migrants established Ministry of Refugees on 18th January 1948, and appointed Mukdoom ul Malik Syed Ghulam as its minister in the Cabinet.

In Bahawalpur the incoming refugees were probably settled more promptly and with less harassment than elsewhere because it had the advantages of an autocratic government, which could take decisions promptly, and of an efficient settlement staff all of whom could be switched at once from their ordinary duties on to re-settlement of refugees.²⁶

²⁶ Moon, Divide and Quit, op.cit., P.266.

Even though the role of people of Bahawalpur State in the independence movement was not much but still there was appreciable contribution of Nawab Sadiq towards the cause. Nawab Sadiq before the partition of sub-continent, at many times presided over the meetings of Aligarh University and used to donate lakhs to it. At the time of partition Nawab Sadiq was very generous to the newly established Pakistan.

The Nawab had provided financial assistance to Pakistan Government just after independence when there were financial crisis and no money was there to meet the expenditure.²⁷

Just before the partition, when Quaid-i-Azam reached Karachi on 10th August, 1947, he first of all went to the residence of Nawab Sadiq "Al-Shams" at Malir. The same day on the orders of the Nawab, Bahawalpur First Infantry Battalion on the gate of Al-Shams gave royal salute and guard of honour to Quaid-i-Azam.²⁸ The salaries of the government employees of Pakistan for the first month were provided by the Nawab of

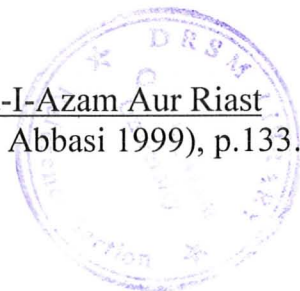
²⁷ S. Nasir-ud-Din, Development Planning of Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Tarteef Publishers, n.d) p. 5.

²⁸ Mohd. Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi, Baghdad Si Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Al-Fazal Publishers, 1986), p. 114.

Bahawalpur. On 14th August, 1947 when Quaid-i-Azam came to take the charge of Governor General, he used the Rolls Royce BWP-72. Which was the personal vehicle of the Nawab.²⁹

The role of Bahawalpur in the independence was not much, even though it was a Muslim majority State. One of the major reasons was that in the State the Political activities were banned and with no political freedoms there was not much political awareness amongst the people of the State. The legal restriction by the State government on the political activities did not let any effective or major party to be formed in the State. Another reason was that the people of the State knew that their future laid in the hands of the Nawab, their views or choices would not matter much, they will have to accept whatever the Nawab decided for the future of the State. Another factor was that Bahawalpur was a Muslim State, the public at large did not feel the pinch of the direct foreign rule. Nor were they very concerned about the domination by the Hindu majority.

²⁹ Mohd. Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi, Quaid-I-Azam Aur Riast Bahawalpur (Lahore: Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi 1999), p.133.



CHAPTER V

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN BAHAWALPUR REGION

SARAIKI MOVEMENT

Saraiki is one of the major languages of Pakistan. It is the mother tongue of the people of the southern Punjab, which is the Saraiki region. The area where the language is spoken lies in the central part of Pakistan, on either side of the river Indus, including the lower reaches of Chenab and Sutlej. This corresponds to the southwestern part of the Punjab Province and the adjacent area.¹

Punjab is a multi-linguistic region – Punjabi is the most commonly spoken language over a vast area, however high disparity exists in the local dialects. In the northern region it is pronounced in a typical as well as Hindko pronunciation in Potohari style. While in the central Punjab, pure Punjabi is spoken with varying pronunciation. In southern and southwestern Punjab, Saraiki is the most common language.² Urdu serves as medium of communication between

¹ C. Shackle, The Saraiki language of Central Pakistan(London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1976), p.1.

² Punjab Population Census 1998 (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p.34.

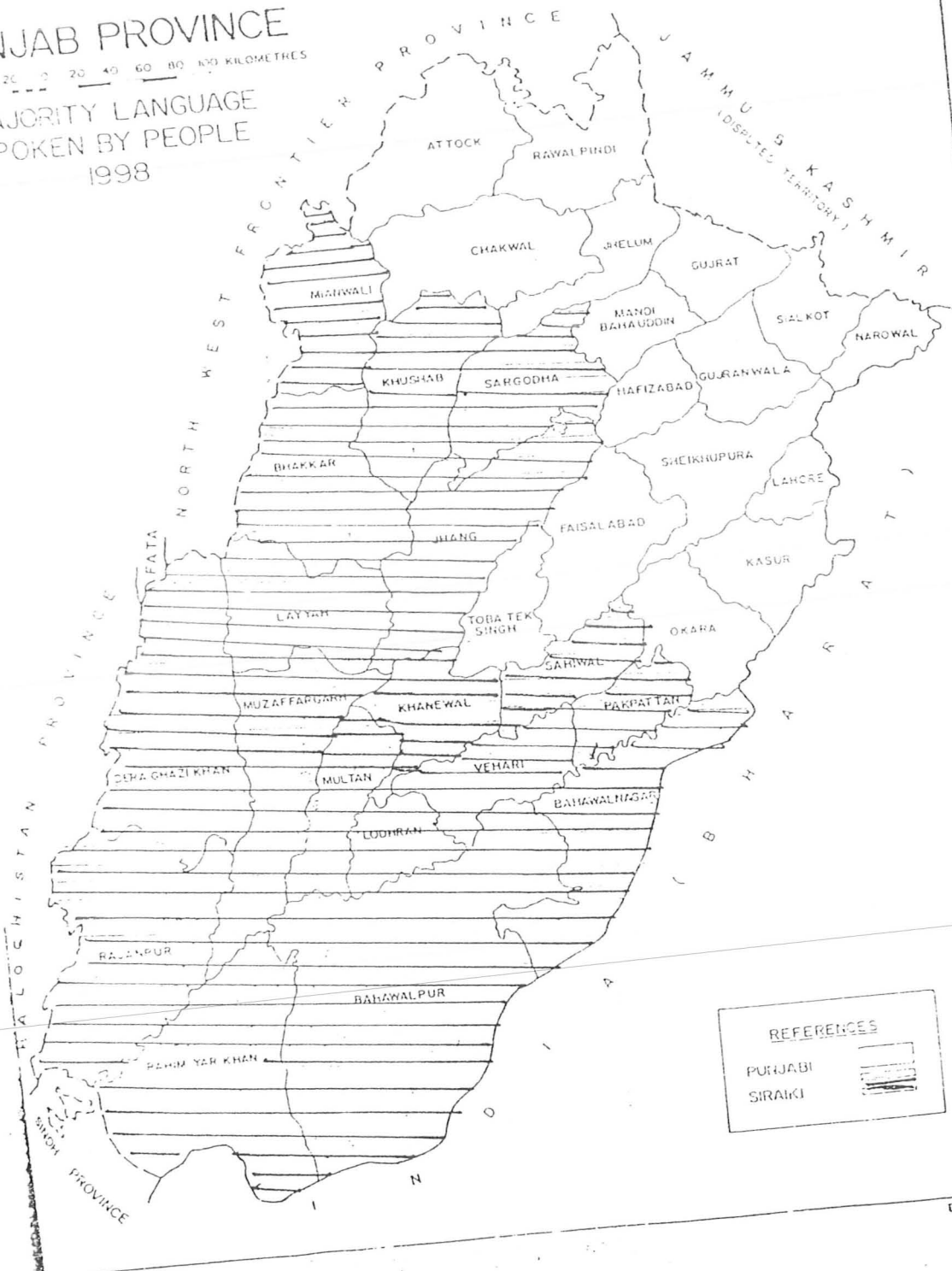
Map of Punjab Province, majority language spoken by people 1998.

MAP 2-3

PUNJAB PROVINCE

KILOMETRES 20 40 60 80 AND KILOMETRES

MAJORITY LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY PEOPLE 1998



REFERENCES

PUNJABI	
SIRAIKI	

various ethnic groups residing in different areas of the Province, it is also the medium of instructions throughout the Province at school level being the national language.

According to the 1998 population census Punjabi is the predominant language being spoken in the Province, representing 75.2 percent of the population, followed by Saraiki and Urdu spoken by 17.4 and 4.5. percent respectively while others speak Pushto, Balochi, Sindhi, Hindko, Brahvi, Dari etc. Though Punjabi is the major language being spoken in the Province but the proportionate shares of people speaking different languages has changed over time. The proportion of people speaking Punjabi has decreased from 78.7. Whereas percentage shares of Saraiki speaking and other languages like Urdu, Pushto etc have increased over this period.³

³ Ibid., p.221.

The following table gives details on percentage of population by mother tongue being spoken in rural and urban areas in 1981 and 1998.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE AND RURAL/URBAN AREAS, 1981 AND 1998

AREA	URDU	PUNJABI	SINDHI	PUSHTO	BALOCHI	SARAIKI	OTHERS
1998							
All Areas	4.5	75.2	0.1	1.2	0.7	17.4	0.9
Rural	2.0	73.6	0.2	0.9	0.9	21.4	1.0
Urban	10.1	78.7	0.1	1.8	0.1	8.4	0.8
1981							
All Areas	4.3	78.7	0.1	0.8	0.6	14.9	0.6
Rural	1.6	78.2	0.1	0.6	0.7	17.9	0.9
Urban	12.1	80.1	*	1.1	0.1	6.3	0.3

- Refers to a very small number.

Source: 1998 Punjab Population Census Report, (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p.32.

It was in the 1981 Census that for the first time Saraiki was taken as a distinct language. Even though Saraiki has been constantly influenced by a variety of dialects and languages. Its openness to other languages has not diminished its distinct identity.

Regarding the word 'Saraiki' various writers have given their views. One of the explanations is that this word originated in Sindhi where the Saraiki language is spoken by a large section of population. The word 'Sera' is related to 'Ser' used

for north in the Sindhi language. The background of this geographic sense is that north refers to the upper part of Sindh as the river Indus flows from the north to the south in that area. Therefore, Saraiki word means the language of the north, or the language of the people from the northern area.⁴

H.T. Lambrick further on explains that this has been the language of camel-driving and camel-raising 'Jats' and of number of Baluch tribes who settled in Sindh after a prolonged stay in Punjab.⁵

According to another observation Saraiki relates to the word 'SERAI' which was popular because of its association with 'Kalhoras' (a ruling dynasty) as an honorific title. Kalhoras were called 'Sirai' because they originally belonged to Bahawalpur and Multan, the region in the north of Sindh⁶. A quite different approach is that Saraiki is derived from 'Aserki' or 'Asurki' in turn taken from 'Surya' which is a word of Sanskrit, meaning the sun. The 'Asury' were the people who

⁴ C.Shackle, The Saraiki Language of Central Punjab, op.cit., p.2.

⁵ H.T. Lambrick, Sindh. A General Introduction, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.213.

⁶ Ibid.,

worshipped the sun. They were a ruling nation of Multan some 3,000 year's ago.⁷

Still another interpretation is that Saraiki is the modified form of word 'Sarawaki'. 'Sarawa' was a village near Rahim Yar Khan, district of the Punjab. Saraiki meant the language of the people of 'Sarwa' village.⁸ Wagha concludes that it is possible that the term Saraiki belongs to Saraiki language itself. The suffix 'Ki' or 'akki' is used in Saraiki to make the proper noun of a language with reference to its speakers.⁹

Till 1950's Saraiki was given a number of local names. Earlier the language of Bahawalpur, Multan, Muzaffargarh etc. has not always been called Saraiki.

The names Multani, Muzaffargarhi, Uchi, Riasati, Derewali, Hindko, Thalchari, Lahnda, Jaghdali, Jatki and Belochi have been used by local people for the language which is now called Saraiki.¹⁰ Shackles in his work on Saraiki calls it

⁷ Ahsan Wagha, The Saraiki Language its Growth and Development (Islamabad: Derawar Publications, n.d.), p.3.

⁸ Ibid.,

⁹ Ibid., p.4.

¹⁰ Tariq Rehman, Language and Politics in Pakistan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.173.

Sindhi Siraiki.¹¹ While Gankovsky considers it a dialect of Punjabi, he writes that the division of the Punjabi dialects, proposed by some, linguistics into a western and an eastern group, is to a large extent arbitrary. To contrast the western with the eastern dialects and regard them, as the manifestation of a separate language seems unwarranted, it is more to the point to regard both the western and eastern dialects as forms of a single language, Punjabi. At least from the fifteenth century onward the term Punjabi was used as “genetic name” for Lahori, Multani, Pothwari, Bahawalpuri and other western as well as eastern dialects. The principal dialects of Punjabi in the late Middle Ages were Lahori between the Jhelum and the Sutlej rivers, Sirhindi in the area east of the Sutlej, Pothwari in the upper reaches of Indus – Jhelum Doab, and Multani, Jatki, Ucchi or Hindko in the Indus Valley south of the salt range upto upper Sind.¹²

The Saraiki language has a long history that dates back many centuries. In course of history, Saraiki area was attacked, occupied and populated from west and north by

¹¹ C.Shackle, The Saraiki Language of Central Pakistan, op.cit., p.7.

¹² Yuri V Gankovsky, The People of Pakistan: An Ethnic History (Lahore: Peoples Publishing House, 1971), p.110.

Aryans, Persians Greeks, Parthians, Huns, Turks and Mongols. They had their own language and culture was so rich and deep rooted that it absorbed all the languages and cultures of invaders and developed itself into a unique language and culture.

The evolution of the Saraiki language had been mainly contributed by the dialects of ancient pre-Aryan, Dravidian and Dardic groups of languages. The hordes of invaders from the Central Asian region and the Pamir Mountain ranges brought to the plains of the Indus Valley a great amalgam of dialects, which had a tremendous impact on the development of local languages.¹³

According to the population census of 1998, in Punjab Saraiki speaking Districts include Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalnagar, Rajanpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Vehari, Pakpattan, Sahiwal, Khanewal, Lodhran, Layyah, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Khushab, Jhang, Sargodha.¹⁴

¹³ Wagha, The Saraiki Language, Its Growth & Development, op.cit., p.2.

¹⁴ Population Census, op.cit., p.123.

The process of the creation of a Saraiki identity in south western Punjab involved the deliberate choice of a language, called Saraiki, as a symbol of this identity¹⁵. By 1960's the activists of the Saraiki Movement rejected the common notion that Saraiki was a dialect of Punjabi, claiming that Saraiki was a different language from Punjabi.

Historically Multan which is the centre of power of Saraiki area had a separate and distinct administrative identity till 1818, when, Ranjeet Singh killed the ruling Nawab Muzzafar Khan of Multan and after this he ended the separate identity of Multan, Lahore, Kashmir, Peshawar and collectively named it Punjab¹⁶. Later on the Britishers made frontier a separate administrative unit, sold Kashmir to Dogars and Multan remained With Punjab. Abul Fazal in *Ain-e-Akbari* gives fifteen provinces in which Lahore and Multan are separate provinces.¹⁷

Gankovsky giving an account of the area mentions that the Saraiki area has always had, geographically, culturally,

¹⁵ Rehman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, op.cit., p.174.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.177.

¹⁷ Abul Fazal, *Ain-e-Akbari* Translated from Persian by Fida Ali Vol.I (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, n.d), p.1036-7.



economically and even racially more in common with Sindh than with the Punjab.¹⁸ Traditionally Multan's trade was through Sindh because of it being more closer to Sindh, and this led to more cultural interaction between these two. Tariq Rehman suggests that population was sparse and the river Sindh provided fish and agricultural goods. Farming required the presence of all the available males as did the semi-nomadic way of life in the desert regions.¹⁹ Thus Saraiki culture like the Sindh one discouraged travelling for employment. The Saraiki's were far more homebound than the Punjabis²⁰ One of the major grievances of the local Saraikis is the settlement of people from other areas.²¹ This was done twice on a large scale, firstly when in 1886-88 canals were dug by the British in Punjab and then in 1925 with the introduction of Sultej Valley Project many people all over Punjab came and settled in Bahawalpur and this practice of new settlers pouring in continues till today much to the disapproval of the Saraiki

¹⁸ Gankovsky, The Peoples of Pakistan: An Ethnic History, op.cit., p.107.

¹⁹ Rehman, Language and Politics in Pakistan, op.cit., p.179.

²⁰ Aziz-ud-Din Ahmed, Kya Hum Ekattha Reh Sakte Hain? (Lahore: Maktaba Fikr-o-Danish, n.d), p.2.

²¹ Akram Mirani, Greater Thal (Multan: Jhok Publishers, 1994), p.90.

people.

But the main cause, which initiated the feelings of separate identity after 1960's, is the lack of development in the Saraiki area. Helbock and Naqvi, two economists who carried out a comparative study of the development of districts, reported that in comparison with the Punjabi speaking areas, Saraiki speaking area show slower development and are less developed than Punjabi ones.²²

It has been observed that perceived injustice breeds ethnic nationalism. Some examples of this injustice are less access to power, goods and services which result in lack of development of that area. Thus an ideal stage was set in 1960's for the momentum of a Saraiki ethnic nationalist movement. The cultural, linguistic movement turned into a political movement.

The economic deprivation of Saraiki region influenced its culture and created consciousness of a distinct culture among the people. This fact gave rise to a political movement for a separate Saraiki Province.²³

²² R.W. Helbock and S.N.H. Naqvi, "Inter district variation in social well being in Pakistan" Unpublished paper, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad, 1976.

²³ Wagha, The Saraiki Language, its Growth and Development,

Saraiki cultural and linguistic activities began in 1950's, in which various conferences were held to project and develop the cultural and linguistic aspects of Saraiki. Some serious study work also began by Saraiki writers. This included the publication of Deewane Farid which is the mystical Saraiki poetry of saint Ghulam Farid translated into Urdu and celebrations of anniversary of Ghulam Farid. From Bahawalpur various books were written on the Nawabs in Saraiki and also the Quran was translated into Saraiki. Various Cultural organizations at Multan, Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh began functioning in 1960's. Along with these many Saraiki magazines and publications also were being published.

It was in 1971 when Bahawalpur Suba Movement after attaining momentum, fizzled out because of the dismemberment of Pakistan leading to separation of East Pakistan. The leadership of Bahawalpur Suba Movement in the national interest decided to call off the demand for the time being. At the same time, the Saraiki Province Movement begins.

Riaz Hashmi's Saraiki Suba Mahaz was the first political organization of this area which was formed in 1973 in

Bahawalpur²⁴. The major milestone was the 1975. All Pakistan Elmi-o-Adbi Saraiki Conference held at Multan. It was attended by many from all over Pakistan. A resolution was passed in favour of a separate Saraiki Province. It was considered that Saraiki Province Movement was a more viable demand than Bahawalpur Suba Movement, which was only limited to a smaller region of Bahawalpur and was based on it being a separate State earlier. But it was in 1983 that the proper movement for a Saraiki Province which was named as "Saraikistan" began. This proposed Province would include Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan Divisions.

In 1975, the lawyers of Lahore High Court belonging to Saraiki areas decided to assert the cause for the Saraiki Province. They held a meeting and decided to popularize the cause amongst the masses and also involve the public in the movement. In the meeting, Mr. Taj Muhammad Langah was made the President of the newly established "Saraiki Forum". On 6 April, 1984 another organization named "Saraiki Suba Mahaz" was established which later on turned into "Pakistan

²⁴ Riaz Hashmi, Brief For Bahawalpur Province (Bahawalpur: Bahawalpur Suba Mahaz, 1972), p.10.

Saraiki Party” on 17 April, 1989, and Taj Mohammad Langah became its President.

At the moment, the various political organizations or parties working for “Saraikistan” are: Manzoor Bohar’s “Saraikistan Qaumi Inqalab Party”, Abdul Hameed Kanju’s “Saraiki National Party” and Taj Mohamamd Gopang’s, “Saraiki Thinkers Forum”. These are few of the eminent parties but practically it is only the Taj Mohammad Langah’s Pakistan Saraiki Party which is the actual representative and effective party towards the cause.

The main demands, aims and objectives of the Pakistan Saraiki Party as given in its manifesto include the following :-²⁵

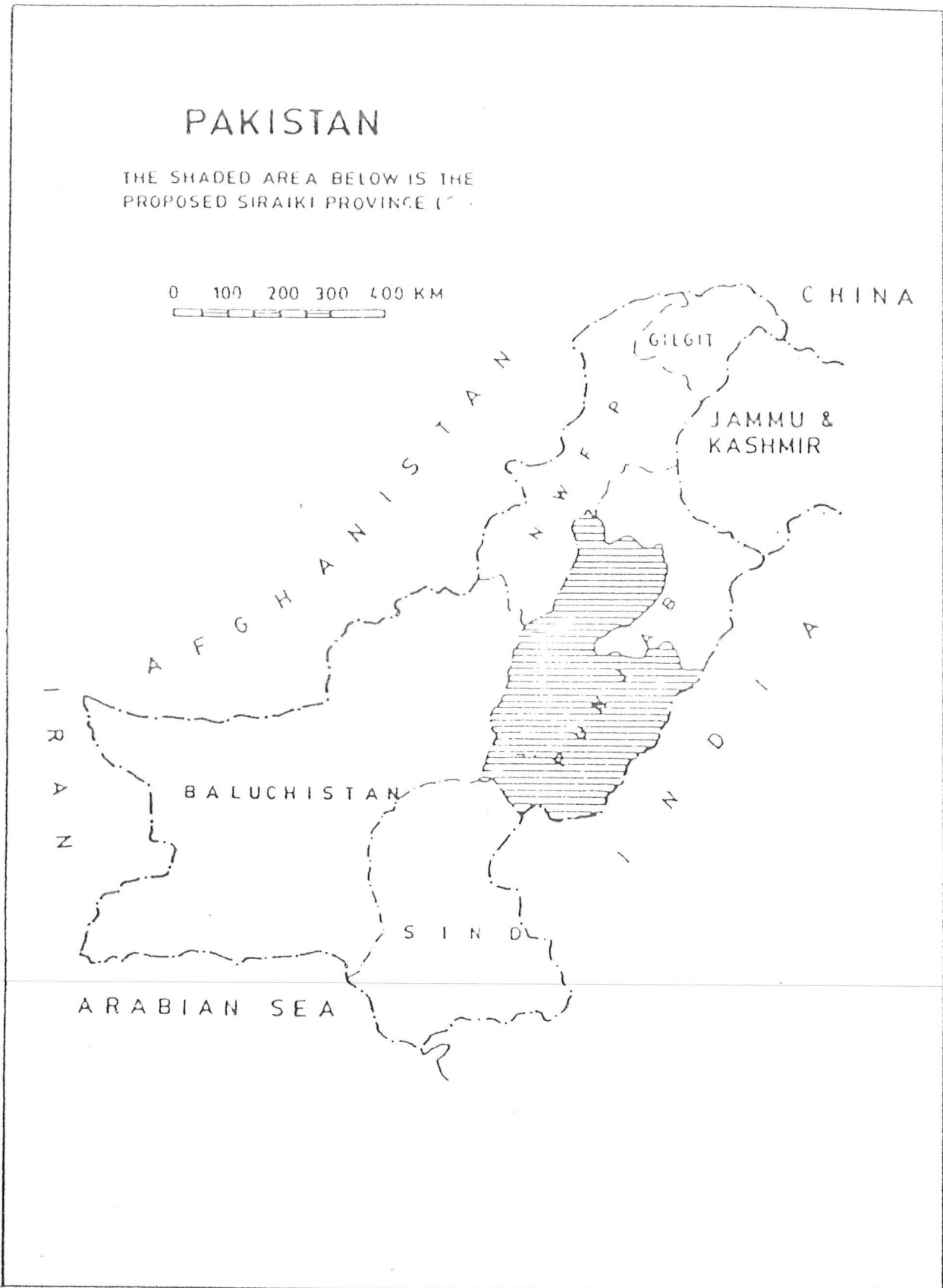
1. Creation of Saraikistan province comprising of Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sargodha Division and Jhang and Dera Ismail Khan Districts.
2. The people of Saraiki area to be given more employment quota in Armed Forces, Railway, WAPDA, Police and other Federal and Provincial Organizations in accordance with the population of the area.

²⁵ Manifesto of Pakistan Saraiki Party, Multan.



3. Saraiki to be the medium of instructions for the primary schools of the area.
4. A grievance is that Saraiki land is distributed among non-Saraikis.
5. The Saraiki area is economically exploited and believe that Bahawalpur being the production center of much of Pakistan's cotton, was not being given its due share regarding development. This does not only apply just to Bahawalpur but to the whole Saraiki area which is believed to generate more income than what is spent on it.
6. Settlement of Bihari's (Urdu speaking immigrants from Bangladesh) in the Saraiki areas meets with disapproval from the locals.
7. More time should be given to Saraiki programme's on radio and television.

Map of the proposed Saraiki Province.



Even though the Saraiki parties claim to be the representatives of the aspirations of the people of Saraiki area, the fact remains that never in any provincial or national elections, these parties have been able to attain a single seat.

The tragedy of separation of East Pakistan should be taken as a lesson for all times to come. All the less developed areas including the Sindh region should be given more attention by the government towards their development. Less development or underdevelopment is one of the root causes of the Saraiki Suba Movement.

The Saraiki Suba Movement includes Bahawalpur region in the proposed Saraikistan Province and its impact or influence can be felt in Bahawalpur but majority of masses, political leaders and activists do not seem to be in favour of this Saraiki Suba Movement, as they feel that if Saraikistan Province is made then Multan will be the capital of the new Province. The general feelings in Bahawalpur region are that now they are under Lahore and if Saraikistan is made, they will be subordinate to Multan.

There are a large number of Urdu-speaking population in Bahawalpur region, these vehemently oppose Saraikistan which will be established on the basis of Saraiki languages.

Generally, it is seen in Bahawalpur region that people do not support Saraiki Movement as it is based on linguistic separate identity, they rather prefer divisions on administrative grounds, so that various administrative units fulfill their own requirements.

BAHAWALPUR PROVINCE MOVEMENT:

At present, Bahawalpur Province Movement is not active but it has been a deep rooted movement in Bahawalpur region. The movement is also known as "Bahawalpur Suba Movement" and "Movement for Restoration of Province of Bahawalpur".

On 30th April, 1951 the Pakistan Government and the Ruler of Bahawalpur entered into an important agreement which put the State on the same footing as provinces under the Government of India Act of 1935 in the matter of legislation and administration.²⁶ The agreement technically described as the Supplementary Instrument of Accession, was signed by Ameer Sadiq Mohammad –V and was accepted by the Governor General of Pakistan Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din. Under the agreement the Ruler of Bahawalpur agreed to transfer to the

²⁶ The Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1951), p.30.

Central Government all subjects mentioned in list one of the Government of India Act (1935) called central subjects i.e. defence, communications and foreign affairs are administered by the centre. All subjects covered by list two of the Government of India Act, called provincial subjects, would continue to be administered by the State. Both the Federal and the State legislature in respect of subjects mentioned in the Concurrent List but the Federal Legislature will have precedence over the State legislature should there occur a conflict between the two.

The government also clarified that the pattern evolved for Bahawalpur State would not be applicable to all ten States in Pakistan, claiming that all were very different from one another. The State will in future be treated as a province in the matter of grants and loans.²⁷ Even after signing the document, the Ameer of Bahawalpur will remain as the State's constitutional head.²⁸

²⁷ The Statesman, Delhi: 2 May, 1951.

²⁸ Dawn, Karachi: 1 May, 1951.

After the provincial status in 1951, elections were held in Bahawalpur to elect the legislative assembly. A forty-nine member legislative assembly was formed, which began functioning in 1952. This assembly remained along with other provincial assemblies till the promulgation of One Unit. This assembly passed the resolution to join the West Pakistan like the other provinces.

It is a historic fact that before One Unit Bahawalpur had a provincial status, and Bahawalpur merged with a status of a province with West Pakistan at the time of One Unit.²⁹ But when One Unit was broken on 30th March, 1970 Bahawalpur was made a part of Punjab Province. Even though at the time of merger, an understanding was given to the Ameer of Bahawalpur that whenever One Unit will be broken, Bahawalpur will be restored as a separate Province.³⁰ This is from where the Bahawalpur Province Movement begins. Historically for nearly two and a half centuries since the State of Bahawalpur was established, it had retained its internal sovereignty.³¹ Never was it ruled or taken over by any

²⁹ Sahibzada Mohd. Qamar-ul-Zaman Abbasi, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Riasat Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur: Sahibzada Qamar Abbasi, 1999), p.188.

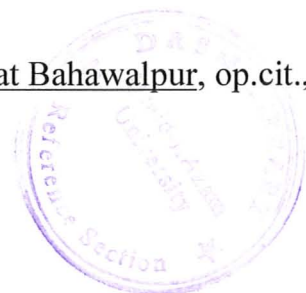
³⁰ Ibid., p.204.

³¹ Chaudry Farzand Ali, Convener Mahaz, Kianat, Goli Number 3, July, 1974.

other government, ruler or province. Even at the time when Sikhs took over whole of Punjab, Bahawalpur State remained out of their rule. Even after joining Pakistan till the time of merger into One Unit, Bahawalpur retained its sovereignty. The distinct and independent administrative identity, the deprivations & under development in Bahawalpur led to the emergence of Bahawalpur Suba Movement, which demanded that Bahawalpur should be made as the sixth province of Pakistan. The experience of One Unit turned out to be a bad one for the people of Bahawalpur, which led the region to consider utilizing its own resources towards its development.

The economic and political deprivations became the major causes leading towards the demand of a separate province. Bahawalpur State had always been a very rich State, it was a self sufficient region, which was able to fulfil its requirements itself and never remained dependent on any other outside source.³² On the opposite Bahawalpur State contributed financially first to the Britishers and then later on to Pakistan government. At the time when Bahawalpur was a State not only was it economically sound but in other fields

³² Qamar-ul-Zaman, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Riasat Bahawalpur, op.cit., p.230.



there was immense development, especially in the field of education, all over the State, students were given free education upto matric, even after that it was the responsibility of the state government to provide higher education. The higher education institutions were affiliated with Punjab University. Outstanding students were given stipends and were sent abroad for further studies. It was the duty of the State to provide jobs to them. The treasurer department of the State used to give huge aid to various institutions like Punjab University, Aligarh University, Jamia Anjuman Himayat Islam and other institutions of the sub-continent. There were fixed seats for students from Bahawalpur in Medical and Agriculture colleges. At the time of One Unit, this ended.

Another grievance is that Bahawalpur's prosperity mainly depended on the waters of River Sultej, which was given to India in the Indus Water Treaty, this adversely affected the economy of the region.³³ Earlier in Bahawalpur State judiciary and executive were separate, which also ended at time of One Unit. The State had its own legislature Assembly, Secretariat,

³³ Shahab, op.cit., p.406.

High Court, Accountant General and Public Service Commission.

An important grievance is that Bahawalpur region is one of the major producers of cotton crop, the earnings of this cotton crop are not being spent on the region but elsewhere. Another major grievance is the share of government jobs for the region.³⁴ This has been deeply felt in the region that both Provincial & Federal Government jobs quota is negligible. This includes lower scale as well as higher-grade jobs. Because of this the region feels left out from the mainstream of Punjab politics. There is no representation of Bahawalpur in the various important government institutions like Public Service Commission, Board of Revenue, Industrial Development Corporation, Agricultural Development Corporation, WAPDA etc.

It is necessary to look into the previous Budget just before the merger of the Bahawalpur State and compare the same with the budget of the other Provinces of Pakistan. The budget note dated 25th March, 1955 presented by late Mr. A.B. Khan, Advisor to His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur. The

³⁴ Qamar-ul-Zaman, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Riasat Bahawalpur, op.cit., p.280.

surplus of the Bahawalpur State budget after deducting the expenditure i.e. the net closing Balance was as under :-

1954-55 – Rs.4,09,20,612/- (Four Crore Ninety Lakh
Twenty Thousand Six
Hundred and Twelve).

From the above statement, that the surplus net closing balance, of the Bahawalpur State, for 1954-55, was much more than any Province of Pakistan including the East Pakistan and on the other hand it shows that the budget of the Province of Punjab, was in deficit, and Punjab was unable to maintain its budget. According to an economist, the aim for the establishment of West Pakistan was to feed one deficit region with the surplus of the other regions.³⁵

Bahawalpur had been able to balance its budget in the past and had also been a surplus and is now in a position to balance its budget over a reasonable time, and it has a capacity to increase its economic resources to meet higher level of development. Financial viability is to be regarded as an important criterion bearing on the creation of a new province and this consideration when weighed with other important factors like past history, population, culture and wishes of the

³⁵ Riaz Hashmi, Brief for Bahawalpur Province, op-cit., p.100.

people go long way to support the case of Bahawalpur for a separate province.³⁶

On 22 November 1969, the newspapers started giving news that the government will soon end One Unit and the previous provinces will be revived and it was revealed in the newspapers that Bahawalpur would not be given a separate identity. Immediately on 22nd November Allama Arshad called a joint session of various parties of Bahawalpur to stress upon the government to consider giving Bahawalpur a provincial status. These parties included Council League, Convention League, Democratic Party, National Awami Party, Jamiat Ulema Islam, Peoples Party, Chamber of Commerce, Bar Association and Jamat-e-Islami. The representatives of all these passed a unanimous resolution, declaring that at the break up of One Unit, Bahawalpur should be made a separate province, the other points in the resolution included the following: -³⁷

- 1) In 1955 Bahawalpur decided to join the One Unit and not any province, therefore, when One Unit

³⁶ Ibid., p.103.

³⁷ Kianat, Goli Number, Bahawalpur, 3rd July, 1974.

breaks upon then politically, legally and morally Bahawalpur's distinct identity should not be resisted by anyone.

- 2) The proper way at the time of break up of One Unit was to restore the original jurisdiction of earlier provinces and not to increase the jurisdiction of any province.
 - 3) At the time when One Unit was established, Bahawalpur had a full status of a province, and like other provinces there was an assembly here, so when One Unit broke Bahawalpur's status should remain as a province not as a State.
 - 4) Bahawalpur is not economically self sufficient, but it has been noticed from the provincial budget statistics that since last fifteen years the earnings from Bahawalpur have been spent on the development of other areas.
 - 5) Bahawalpur decided to join One Unit with the feelings of nationhood and love for Pakistan, whereas in return it received deprivations and discontent, and this has been accepted in the
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statements given by provincial finance minister, Governors and President in which they accepted that in Bahawalpur region less is being spent on development than its earnings. So Bahawalpur cannot further experiment by joining any province, which will bring discontent.

- 6) The demand for the restoration of province of Bahawalpur is not only from the people of Bahawalpur region but it has been supported by various political parties, these include Democratic Party, Council Muslim League, Jamat-i-Islami, Quaid-i-Azam Muslim League. Thus the views of these political parties should not be ignored by the government.
- 7) If the opinion of people of Pakistans largest previous State and also of the various political parties is not looked upon, then it may also have negative consequences on the Kashmir issue, a hasty decision which favours the expansionist intentions of a province should be avoided.
- 8) In 1955 One Unit was established after the consent of major political parties, so at the time of

break up of One Unit the consent of political parties and people should be taken into consideration.

- 9) Bahawalpur has larger population than Baluchistan and Bahawalpur had more earnings than Baluchistan and Frontier province. Therefore, it has the capacity and capability to fully survive as a separate province.
- 10) If at the break up of One Unit only provinces are to be made then there will be a need for redrawing them, so at this time the government should not go against the peoples opinion and include Bahawalpur in any province.

Several groups were formed for the restoration of Bahawalpur province. The most effective group was the Bahawalpur United Front abbreviated as Mahaz. The important leaders of this Mahaz included Mian Nizam ud Din Haider, Sardar Mahmud Khan, Chaudhry Farzand Ali and Tahira Masood.

With the announcement of Pakistan government in March 1970 that One Unit is broken up into provinces of Punjab, Baluchistan, NWFP and Sindh. Bahawalpur was

inducted into Punjab Province.³⁸ This decision led to great resentment from all sections in Bahawalpur. All over Bahawalpur began processions, protests and meetings negating the governments decision to amalgamate Bahawalpur in Punjab. By end of March activists starting courting arrests.

On 24 April 1970 the police opened fire on a procession killing two persons and wounding many. Many protesters were arrested. Five processions were taken out in the Bahawalpur city to press the demand for separate provincial status for Bahawalpur. The processionists started bricking the police, upon this the police opened fire. The local administration called in the Army and curfew was imposed.³⁹ Various political leaders were arrested, amongst them were Seth Ubaidur Rehman, Maulana Ghulam Mustafa, Altaf Qureshi, Allama Arshad, Syed Ahmad Nawaz Shah Gardezi. Begum Tahira Masood, was expelled from Bahawalpur for a period of one month.

For the restoration of Bahawalpur province, the women of the region also played a active role under the leadership of

³⁸ Imroz, Multan, 30th March, 1970.

³⁹ Dawn, Karachi, 25th April, 1970.

Tahira Masood, daughter of Mian Nizam ud Din, ex-Prime Minister of Bahawalpur. This was the first time that the women broke away the centuries old traditions and came out on roads. They would hold meetings and take out procession draped in white chaddars.

All this suppressed emotion was expressed in the elections of 1970. Most seats went to the sympathizers of the Mahaz, whether they stood as independents or as candidates of a political party.⁴⁰ At the time of general elections of 1970, when the movement for a separate province of Bahawalpur was at its peak, the candidates who supported the cause received 80% votes. Out of total of 10 Lakh 30 thousand votes, 7 lakh 14 thousand votes went to the supporters of Bahawalpur Province Movement. The candidates who were not supporting this movement altogether received only 1 lakh votes.⁴¹ Once elected the leaders of Mahaz did not pursue the case of Bahawalpur forcefully, but they did issue declarations in support of a separate province, letters were addressed to Yahya Khan and Z.A. Bhutto. After 1971 when Pakistan lost

⁴⁰ Tariq Rehman, Language And Politics In Pakistan, op.cit., p.182.

⁴¹ Qamar-ul-Zaman, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Riasat Bahawalpur, op.cit., p.235.

East Pakistan, many in the Mahaz felt that it was unsuitable to pressurize for their demand at this time and along with it the Mahaz lost its unity and effectiveness.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICS OF SHRINES

A brief account of the role played by the religious allegiance and association to various shrines and Sufi schools will be important for understanding the politics of Bahawalpur. Role played by religious personalities in the creation of Bahawalpur State, during the existence of Bahawalpur State and after the dissolution of the State of Bahawalpur is significant and easily identifiable as a destined feature of local politics.

Traditionally, the religious scholars and spiritual leaders have played an important role in Bahawalpur region both for the rulers and the common people. The people and the rulers thought it a blessing to have an audience with scholars and the spiritual leaders. These religious scholars and spiritual leaders have always been held in high esteem by the Abbasi Nawabs. They regularly consulted them and respected their advice. They visited their gatherings and travelled on foot to pay homage to them.

The rulers of Bahawalpur claimed to have their genealogical link with the Abbasi caliphs of Baghdad. To

respect the scholars was the quality, imbibed from their proclaimed ancestors. They honoured them and allotted them a distinguished place in the courts. They considered it a privilege to visit them. Existence of a large number of religious institutions and pervasion of and regard for the Islamic values in Bahawalpur Region is a result of the influence of scholars and spiritual guides on the rulers of Bahawalpur. The following will demonstrate the respect, which was shown to the religious greats.

Moulvi Ghulam Hussain was a very influential Home Minister of Bahawalpur. He had become the tutor of Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan. The Nawab always met him after touching his hands on Moulvi knees.¹

Khawaja Farid was a religious and spiritual personality in Bahawalpur. He had disciples all over India. (Chachran is the place of domicile of great Sufi and Saraiki poet Khawaja Ghulam Farid and members of his family. The people showed their allegiance to him for his knowledge, insight, spiritual enlightenment and great poetry. Rulers of State and chieftains in their court were his disciples. Nawab Sadiq Muhammad

¹ Masood Hasan Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh (Bahawalpur: Naqosh Press, 1977), p.102.



Khan–III of Bahawalpur, was very fond of him. It has been depicted in an article by Hassan Nizami in the following words:

*“I have seen Khawaja Sahib many a time and had witnessed this scene many times with my own eyes that Khawaja Sahib is sitting in a cart and Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan III, is pushing the cart like servants”.*²

Khawaja Sahib has played a great role in the religious and spiritual training of the rulers of Bahawalpur. The establishment of religious institution, good treatment and assistance to the poor by the abbasis is indebted to Khawaja Sahib’s instructions.

THE ROLE OF SPIRITUAL LEADERS IN THE FOUNDATION OF BAHAWALPUR STATE.

The Nawabs claimed that they had genealogical relation with Hazrat Abbas the honourable uncle of the Apostle of God (PUH). The popular version regarding the creation of the state of Bahawalpur is that when the Abbaside government ended in Baghdad and Egypt, some members of the family travelled to Sind and settled there in 667 A.H. By and by, they occupied a major section of the country.³ Owing to some difference of

² Masood Hasan Shahab, Khawaja Farid (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1994), p.24.

³ Ibid., p.16.

opinion in the matter of rulership, Sadiq Muhammad Khan left Sind and came to Dera Ghazi Khan. Makhdum Sheikh, Abdul Qadir-V, the vicegerent of Qadiriya Sufic Order at Uch invited Sadiq Muhammad Khan to Uch in 1139 A.H. On his request the Makhdum recommended his case to Nawab Hayat Ullah Khan, Governor of Multan who awarded the region of Chodhri (Liaquatpur) as his fief. Later on, he exercised influence on the neighboring regions.⁴ He was succeeded by the Bahawal Khan-I, who felt need of having place wherefrom he could administer his conquered regions with full satisfaction. Hence the present place of Bahawalpur was selected and the foundation stone was laid in 1162 A.H. Consequently the whole State was named Bahawalpur State after the name of Bahawalpur city.⁵

Irrespective of the claims of genealogical inheritance by Abbasi Nawab which we have already examined in the opening chapters, the point of interest in the above mentioned account is the role played by the Saints in their settlement in this area and their access to power.

⁴ Ibid., p.15.

⁵ Ibid., p.19.

From ancient times, Bahawalpur region has been an important centre of knowledge, gnosticism philosophy and mysticism. After the 1st Mosque of Bhambour in Sindh, the 2nd mosque was built at a place called Uch, which was known as 'Masjid-i-Hajat'. It is still extant near the Mausoleum of Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht.⁶

During the later half of the 4th century A.H, his holiness Safiuddin Gazrooni came to Uch and Islamic mysticism flourished for the first time in the sub-continent at this place. Later on spiritual leaders belonging to other mystic orders came here. In the seventh century of Hijra, the nephew of Khawaja Mueen-ud-Din Ajmiri, Sayyed Chiragh-ud-Din Shah and grandson of Baba Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar, Shaikh Taj-ud-Din (Taj Sarwar) visited this place and nourished spiritualism in the hearts of the people. In the twelfth century of Hijra, the Abbaside rulers had founded the Bahawalpur State and there were ample opportunities for spiritual leaders of different mystic orders to work for development of knowledge and spiritualism in the people. Due to patronage and respectful

⁶ Masood Hasan Shahab, Oliya-e-Bahawalpur (Bahawalpur:Urdu Academy, 1984), p.20.

attitude towards them, great number of learned men came to this place.⁷

Among the great personalities who guided the people and carried influence over them the most noteworthy are Khawaja Noor Muhammad Moharvi, Hakim Searani, Khawaja Abdul Khaliq, Qazi Muhammad Aqil, Khawaja Sulaiman Tonsvi, Mulook Shah, Khawaja Ghulam Farid.⁸ These Sufis were involved in religious, educational and spiritual development during the period of Abbasi Government.

ROLE PLAYED DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE

The religious scholars, spiritual leaders, and representatives of mystic center remained aloof from practical politics prior to 1857 freedom movement, in the sub-continent including Bahawalpur. When the British occupied the sub-continent, they tried to obliterate the Islamic values, the religious scholars and spiritual leaders thought it proper to come out of educational institutions and monasteries and offer political guidance to the Muslims so that they may regain the government for Muslims. Among the learned men who led this

⁷ Ibid., pp.23-25.

⁸ Ibid., P.37.

movement were Fazl-e-Haq Khairabadi, Mahmudul Hasan and his colleagues and others from Bahawalpur. Among the bravest ones, was Imam Bakhsh Chunnar who, notwithstanding the British allegiance of the ruler of Bahawalpur, persuaded him to advocate the cause of the freedom fighters. But he was put to death for this bravado.

On failure of the freedom movement of 1857, the British held sway on the whole of the sub-continent. But the religious and spiritual leaders kept carrying on religious and political movements. Bahawalpur was also involved in these movements, specially in the Rashmi Romal Movement which had Dinpur in the District of Rahim Yar Khan as center of its activity.

The spiritual leaders were generally in favour of the rulers of Bahawalpur and did not take part in the political movements. The following Sufi centers had spiritual influence on the rulers of Bahawalpur and the successors of spiritual leaders at these places carried over this influence: Mohar – Uch, Khanqah, Kot Mithhat, Kot Kureja, Ghulam Muhammad Ghotavi.⁹

⁹ Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh, op-cit., p.28.

POLITICAL ROLE PLAYED AFTER 1955.

After the dissolution of the state, they however, entered into politics themselves and till date carry a great influence. The political role played by the religious leaders revolved around the shrines they represented. A brief account of the shrines, the ancestors and descendents would thus be essential.

District Rahim Yar Khan.

The city of Rahim Yar Khan was known as Nowshehra for a century on. The city of Rahim Yar Khan was founded in 1751. In 1881 the Railway authorities requested the Nawab of Bahawalpur for change of its name because there was another city by this name in the Frontier Province. So in order to remove ambiguity, Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan – IV changed the name of Nowshehra to Rahim Yar Khan after the name of his son who died in childhood while playing with fireworks. Rahim Yar Khan was made District Headquarter in 1934.¹⁰ The learned men and spiritual leaders of following towns and villages of this district have played an important role in the history of Bahawalpur:

¹⁰ Syed Ahmed Syed, Zila Rahim Yar Khan Ki Siasi Tariekh (Rahim Yar Khan: Syed Academy, 2000), pp.463-464.

- Chachran,
- Jamal Din Wali
- Shaidani Sharif
- Dinpur
- Mianwali Qureshiyan
- Hassan Abad

Jamal Din Wali

The town Jamal Din Wali is situated at a distance of 19 Kilometers from Sadiq Abad. Out of the lineage of Makhdum Shamsuddin Gilani son of Sayyed Abdul Qadir Gilani III, the descendents of Sayyed Muhammad Zaman are living there. The tomb of some of the highly regarded persons of this family like Sayyed Jeewan Shah IV and Syed Sharifuddin are still extant in a beautiful Mausoleum. Makhdumul Malik Ghulam Miran Shah also belonged to this family. He was Minister of Refugees in the former Bahawalpur State. He rendered political services for Pakistan hand in hand with the Muslim League. After establishment of Pakistan, he helped a good deal in rehabilitation of Refugees. His son Makhdum Zada Sayyed Hasan Mahmud was the Education and Revenue Minister in the former Bahawalpur State. He was the only elected Prime

Minister in the history of the of Bahawalpur State. The tenure of his service is considered to be a golden era for the development of State. In One Unit Cabinet he was taken as Minister of Local Bodies. One member of this family Sayyed Ahmad Mahmud has a prominent position in Pakistan politics. Muhammad Sayyed Ali Akhtar Mahmud is regarded as an important personality of this family. ¹¹ Syed Ahmed Mahmud has recently been elected as District Nazim of Rahim Yar Khan.

Shaidani Sharif

Shaidani is a small colony in Tehsil Liaquat Pur, situated between Karachi-Lahore-Peshawar (K.L.P) Road and River Sind, situated at a distance of 35 Kilometers from Liaquat Pur. It was founded by a wealthy man named Shahdad Khan. By passage of time, it was transformed into Shaidani Abad.¹²

The Rulers of Bahawalpur had special respect for Koreja family of this place. At the death of Qazi Muhammad Aqil, the founder of Koreja family in Bahawalpur,¹³ the Nawab desired to bring him in Bahawalpur but the son of Qazi, Khawaja Ahmad

¹¹ Syed, Zila Rahim Yar Khan Ki Tariekh op-cit., p.448.

¹² Tahir Mahmud Kurija, Khawaja Farid Aur Aun Ka Khandan (Lahore: Al-Faisal Street,n.d), p.191.

¹³ Ibid.,

Ali did not agree to this proposal, so he was buried in Kot Mithhan. Shaidani is famous for being the residential place of Koreja family which has relationship with Koreja family of Chachran. The elders of this family devoted themselves to religious and spiritual guidance of the people and thousands of them became their disciples. Many communities of this region pay homage to their mausoleums. There are tombs of Sayyed Sharif Muhammad Bukhari and Sayyed Muhammad Azam Bukhari, the successors of Khawaja Aqil. The present political and religious personalities are looked upon with respect Khawaja Jamal Muhammad Koreja, Khawaja Ghulam Asghar Koreja and Kh. Muhammad Aqil Koreja are prominent political figures of Shaidani. These persons have special weightage in the political parties of the country.

Dinpur

Dinpur situated in the suburbs of Khanpur, has been a center of knowledge, gnosticism, mysticism and spiritualism. The elders took part in Islamic movements of the sub-continent. They played a prominent role in Rashmi Romal, Khilafat and Khatm-e-Nabbowat Movements. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, great leader of Rashmi Romal Movement belonged to Dinpur.

The founder of Dinpur is the spiritual leader Khalifa Ghulam Muhammad who on the advice of his spiritual teachers settled at this place and established a religious institution. The rulers of Bahawalpur, though had their allegiance with Chachran mystic center, they showed full respect to the spiritual leaders of Dinpur.¹⁴

On the death of Khalifa Ghulam Mahmud, his son Abdul Hadi succeeded him. The present spiritual leader Moulana Siraj Ahmad and his sons, specially, Masood Ahmad are continuing the tradition of teaching religion and guiding the path of mysticism. Moulana Siraj Ahmad was an active member of People's Party during the first period of Benazir's Government. He was appointed Chairman of the Committee for citing moon and Adviser on Religious Affairs in the first Benazir's Government.

MIANWALI QURESHIYAN.

Mianwali Qureshian is situated on National High Way at a distance of 33 Kilometers from Rahim YarKhan. The descendents of the chief of Suharwardi Order Sultanul Arifin Sh. Hameed-ud-Din Hakim are living there. His successor

¹⁴ Syed, Zila Rahim Yar Khan Ki Siasi Tariekh op-cit., p.425.

Makhdum Hakimuddin Hakim also belonged to this town. He was Minister of Food & Electricity in the Cabinet of Pakistan. Although Mianwali Qureshiyan is a small town yet, it is considered to be an important political center of Pakistan. The mausoleums of Moulana Shakir Muhammad (d-1160 A.H) and Moulana Muhammad Alim Ehsanpuri (d.1885 A.D) are located in it. Among the great personalities of Mianwali Qureshiyan are: Makhdum Hamiduddin Hakim, Makhdum Sultan Ahmad Shah, Makhdum Altaf Ahmad, Makhdum Noor Mustafa and Makhdum Muzaffar Hussain Hashmi. Makhdum Altaf Ahmad served as Senior Minister when Manzoor Ahmad Wattoo was the Chief Minister of Punjab. Another name from Mianwali Qureshiyan, worth mentioning, is that of Mukhdum Shahabuddin who was Federal Minister of State for Finance during the Benazir's 2nd regime.

DISTRICT BAHAWALPUR

UCH

In the sub-continent of Pakistan and India, from olden times, Uch was called the "City of Philosophers". Thousand years before the advent of Islam, Uch was a center of Hindu, Budhism and other religious. Three thousand years before, this city had been the capital of the government under the reign of

different kings. The first Muslim independent state 'Mansoorah' came into being through political ingenuity of a man named Abdul Aziz from this place.¹⁵

Uch is unrivalled for the number of its shrines and it is said that every inch of the ground is occupied by the grave of a saint. There are two families of Sayyids in Uch, the Bukhari and Gilani. The most celebrated shrine of the Bukhari saints is that of the Makhdum Sher Shah Jalal-ud-Din, Surkh Posh, Bukhari. The Gilani Sayyids are the descendants of Bandagi Muhyammad Gaus, founder of Uch Gilani, who was a descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani.

Though now a small town situated on the south bank of Sutlej, 48 miles south-east of the city of Bahawalpur, Uch has been regarded as an important metropolis of religio-political activities since its inception. At one time, it served as the capital of the sovereign state of Nasir-ud-Din Qubacha when it turned into a cosmopolitan center to which flocked religious luminaries, ulama, litterateurs, artists, engineers etc.

¹⁵ Syed Nazir Ali Shah, Armaghan-I-Uch (Bahawalpur: Saraiki Adbi Majlis, 1966), p.19.

Spiritually, Uch has been the centre of great Sufis from Kh. Safiuddin Gazroni to Sayyed Jalal Surkh Bukhari, from Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht to Hazrat Ghous Bandgi who propagated Islam from corner to corner and shed light of spiritualism in the far regions of the country. Uch is situated on the eastern bank of Punjnad at a distance of 15 miles from Ahmadpur Sharqiya. It has seen many ups and downs in the history. From 5th century of Hijra, eminent personalities started visiting this place. The first man with gnostic knowledge who visited this place and started propagation of Islam, was Safiuddin Gazrooni. The other learned men and scholars followed him. Accordingly, this region became the cradle of knowledge, religion and gnosis. Great and eminent sufis lived here and died here.¹⁶

Bukhari and Gillani families of Uch have rendered valuable services in the politics of Bahawalpur. But the Bukharis have never been able to win any seat, whereas the politics of Uch have been dominated by Gilani's. Makhdum-ul-Mulk Sayyed Shamsuddin Gillani-V and his descendents have been considered to be the nucleus of politics in this region. He

¹⁶ Shahab, Oliya-e- Bahawalpur, op-cit., p.81.

won elections twice and became member of West Pakistan Assembly and also a member of Bahawalpur Assembly. His son Makhdum Iftikhar Gilani is taking substantial part in the country's politics. He has been member of Provincial Assembly. Gilani family is held in great respect in religious and political matters.

KHANQAH SHARIF

Khanqah Sharif is situated in the south East of Samma Satta railway station at a distance of approximately one and a half mile and at about 10 miles from Bahawalpur. The previous name of this place was 'Goth Jiaposti Daudpotra' - The mausoleum of his holiness Mohkam-ud-Din Seerani has been built at this place. Since then it has been known as 'Khanqah'. He is known as 'Sahib-ul-Seear' and 'Seerani Badshah'. He belonged to Kharal tribe and his birth place was Basti Gogira. He died in 1198 A.H. at the age of sixty. The date of birth could be conjectured as 1138 A.H.¹⁷

Every year on the 5th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, his anniversary is celebrated. Thousands of the faithful attend the ceremony.

¹⁷ Ibid., p-250.

Specially, Memons of Kathiawar also attend and make arrangements for the anniversary. Descendents of this family like Miyan Sardar Ahmed Owaisi, Miyan Najib Owaisi, Miyan Shahab Owaisi have represented the people in provincial Assemblies. The Awaisi family dominates the politics of Khanqah Sharif. Sardar Miyan Abbasi was elected MPA for four times. Shahab-ud-Din Awaisi was also elected MPA four times. Najib Awaisi got elected MPA once. Mr. Najib Awaisi has recently been elected as Tehsil Nazim Bahawalpur.

DISTRICT BAHAWAL NAGAR

CHISHTIYAN

Shaikh Taj-ud-Din Chishti, whose shrine is at Chishtian, founded by his descendants, was a grandson of Bawa Farid-ud-Din Shakar Ganj – various tribes of Bikaner accepted Islam at his hands.

Chishtiyan is a Tehsil headquarter of Bahawalnagar. Its former name was 'Qaryah Taj Sarwar'. Near the shrine of Taj-ud-Din the Mausoleum of Khawaja Noor Muhammad Moharvi is situated, in Mohar at a distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Chishtiyan in the north west. The fame of this region is due to Khawaja Sahib and change over the name of Taj Sarwar to Chishtiyan is also due to him.

During the regime of Bahawal Khan-II, the political situation in India, specially in Punjab was critical and very much disturbed and uncertain. The Marhattas had created commotion in India. The Sikh were carrying on vandalism in the Punjab. They were keeping an eye on Bahawalpur and had made attacks on its borders several times. The rulers of Kabul, Timour Shah and Shuja-ul-Mulk wanted to ransack Bahawalpur. Over and above these external dangers, some evil-minded persons had created disturbance in the State. Some of the relatives of Nawab had the bad intentions to bring down his government. With all the tribulations and distractions he did not feel confidence to overcome all these obstacles with all his ability, sagacity and fortitude. He felt need of spiritual help and guidance. His affinity with such an accomplished preceptor as Khawaja Noor Muhammad augmented his strength and capabilities and he overcame all difficulties.¹⁸

Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan the IV, built a caravan sarai and a well outside his monastery, a mosque in the precincts of monastery and a religious school which is still extant.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.120-121.

Nawab Bahawal Khan the III, got constructed arches of the gates and a minar. He also presented a portico for the gates with the following inscription:

“This portico is presented by sinful Muhammad Rahim Yar Khan known as Muhammad Bahawal Khan Abbasi-III, he may be exonerated from sins, 1266 A.H.”¹⁹

Ghulam Nabi Moharvi was the first MPA from Chishtian he was elected twice, once a member of Bahawalpur Assembly and then a member of West Pakistan Assembly – Mumtaz Moharvi has become MPA twice. One Khawaja Noor Hasan of his family was the member of Advisory Council of former President Zia-ul-Haq.

The descendents and successors of the saints of Bahawalpur Region have not kept the standard of service of religion and spiritualism. They are more worldly type. They are benefiting from the good name earned by their ancestors. Their good work still carries weight with the common man who votes enthusiastically and with reverence for their successor. Except for the center of Uch where descendent have to face non-religious persons as opponents in general elections, all

¹⁹ Mohd. Hafeez-ur-Rehman Hafeez, Shan-i-Noor (Delhi: Mehboob Press, 1928), p.39.

other centers mentioned above see contests in general election all within the present incharge families of these shrines. The hold of these shrines is very strong on local Saraiki speaking community. The natives vote out of respect for the graves or out of the fear of inviting their wrath. Other than the cultural heritage much of this has to do with high rates of illiteracy and poverty in these areas. Even the popular political movement in favour of PPP in 1970 could not break this hold. The settlers and Mohajars are though immune from this influence to quite an extent. The areas with higher Saraiki speaking concentration are likely to follow this mould in the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL PARTIES AND LOCAL POLITICIANS **(1970-2000)**

The Bahawalpur region has three districts and fourteen sub-divisions. The total number of National Assembly seats for the region are ten, whereas the number of Provincial Assembly seats are twenty three.¹ The number of National Assembly seats for Bahawalpur district are three, Rahim Yar Khan district four and Bahawalnagar district three. The number of Punjab Assembly seats for Bahawalpur district are seven, Rahim Yar Khan nine and Bahawalnagar seven.

The history of the politics in Bahawalpur region is not old. Political activities and political parties were banned through the Act of the State. Some political associations and organizations started emerging in 1940s. After the introduction of Reforms Act, which gave some political participation to the people, led to the way towards the establishment of political parties in Bahawalpur. Since then various political parties, national, regional and religious have been active in the region. All major national parties contest elections here and have strong backing

¹ Brief on Bahawalpur Division (Bahawalpur: Directorate of Development, December, 1999), p.11.

in the region. The various major national political parties in the Bahawalpur region are:-

PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE:

At the dawn of twentieth century, the Muslims of the sub-continent were politically and economically alienated, at this time on 30th December, 1906 in Dhaka, few Muslim leaders held a meeting in which it was decided to form a political organization for the Muslims, this party was named as "All India Muslim League". In 1912 the party gave its aims and objectives, which were that:

1. To work towards creation of a representative government in India.
2. Protection of political and religious rights of Indian Muslim.
3. To encourage co-operation of Muslims with other communities of India.
4. To strengthen ties of Muslims of India with the Muslims of other countries.

After the India Act 1935, the Muslims of India needed a strong platform to put up their demands and grievances. To provide this Quaid-i-Azam joined Muslim League. Due to the struggle of Muslim League Pakistan Resolution was passed in

1940 and after seven years in 1947 Pakistan emerged, as a separate homeland for the Muslim's of Sub-continent. After the creation of Pakistan, on 14th and 15th December 1947 in a session of Muslim League its name was changed from "All India Muslim League" to "Pakistan Muslim League." Then till 1985, the party split into factions and Muslim League lost its status. In 1985, Muslim league was re-organized and its lost status was revived. Since then it is one of the largest political party of Pakistan.

Out of all the political parties in Bahawalpur, Muslim League is the most popular party. Bahawalpur region is one of the strongholds of Muslim League. It was after the independence of Pakistan that Muslim League was established in the State of Bahawalpur. Since the Pakistan Resolution was passed in 1940, Muslim League had become a very popular party amongst the Muslims.² There was a section of young people in the State who had become great supporters of Muslim League and most of these were members of Jamiat-ul-Muslameen. The group brought Jamiat-ul-Muslameen close to Muslim League and starting demanding for the establishment

² Masood Hasan Shahab, Bahawalpur Ki Siasi Tariekh (Bahawalpur : Naqosh Press, 1977),p.45

of a branch of All India Muslim Leagues in Bahawalpur, but the State Law did not allow this. Another political Organization Muslim Board in the State began working, which was also very close to Muslim League. After 1947 these two merged and on 14th April 1948 became All Bahawalpur State Muslim Leagues. This was the formal establishment of Muslim League in the region. After the series of political reforms introduced by the Nawab in 1949, Pakistan Muslim League started functioning in Bahawalpur, since then it has been playing a vital role in Bahawalpur politics. In the elected assembly of Bahawalpur State in 1952, the majority of members elected were of Muslim League. As a result of these elections, Mukhdoom Zada Syed Hasan Mehmood became the first ever Chief Minister of Bahawalpur, who belonged to Muslim League. At this time it was the most popular political party of the region, one of the major reasons for this was the respect for Muslim League as the founder party of Pakistan.

Muslim League as a national political party had started weakening after independence, which affected its role in Bahawalpur region also. Since 1955 onwards Muslim League lost much of its popularity in the region. It was in 1985, when Muslim League was re-organized with the efforts of Mian

Nawaz Sharif that Muslim League revived its lost status³. Since 1985 Muslim League has gained strong popularity in the region. The major reason is that after 1985 whenever Muslim League has come into power, it has, other than constructing highways, also laid a network of roads in small cities and towns, this was also done in Bahawalpur region. For people various programmes were initiated to introduce compulsory primary education and provision of basic health facilities. In Cholistan a few roads were constructed in far away areas, but now these are in pretty bad conditions. Muslim League governments initiated "Tameer-e-Watan" programme which provided electricity, drinking water and roads to many areas including Bahawalpur region. Especially for this region "Bahawalpur Rural Development Project" was started, according to it various initiatives were taken which included the construction of roads from fields to markets, small projects for development and employment, this project also included provision of clear drinking water and basic health facilities.

The other contribution of Muslim League as claimed by the local leadership of the region included the operation against

³ Interview with Samiullah Chaudhry, ex-Member Punjab Assembly, Muslim League Bahawalpur, 20th July 2001.

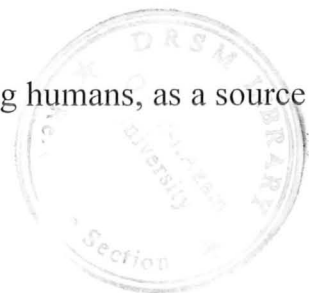
ghost schools⁴. A large sum was provided for establishment of Engineering College in Bahawalpur. Several steps were taken for protection of wildlife in Cholistan, a special grant was provided for this. The greatest contribution of the party was the banning of cycle rickshaw⁵ in Bahawalpur in 1991, and the introduction of auto-rickshaw in place of them. This step was much appreciated not only in Bahawalpur but else where also, as cycle rikshaw's were considered rather inhuman. This gave great relief to the poor of the region, who were the cycle rikshaw drivers. This bold step of Muslim League Government brought immense popularity to the party in the region, which is still continuing.

After 1985, Muslim League organized itself in the region also, which resulted in a strong and a well-established party in Bahawalpur region. The membership grew greatly and now a days it is the largest political party in Bahawalpur region.

Regarding the Saraiki Province Movement the party is totally against it, as it considers it as an ethnic and linguistic

⁴ Ibid.,

⁵ Cycle Rikshaw were driven by human carrying humans, as a source of travelling in Bahawalpur region.



movement. The party is strongly against ethnicity. Muslim League because of this reason openly condemned Saraiki Party and played a role in lessening the influence of Saraiki Party in Bahawalpur region. Muslim League believes that any party based on ethnic or linguistic grounds weakens unity and destroys brotherhood, groupings among people emerge and hatred against each other increases. These are the reasons why Muslim League has always stood against creation of Saraiki Province.⁶

On the issue of Bahawalpur Province Movement, Muslim League has not given any clear policy. The issue of Bahawalpur Province is on the back burner.

PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY.

The first convention of the Pakistan Peoples Party, in which the party was founded by the unanimous decision of the delegates present, was held in Lahore on 30th November, and 1st December, 1967. It met at the residence of Dr. Mubashir Hassan in Lahore. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto was nominated as the Chairman of the People's Party. The various aims and objectives of the party were:-

⁶ Samiullah, interview.

- 1) To put an end to corruption, police violence, cultural degradation and growth of lawlessness.
- 2) Through its economic reforms the cost of living, which is rapidly rising, will be brought under control and reduced.
- 3) Only a socialist programme can guarantee equal opportunities for all citizens.
- 4) With the breaking up of capitalism, not only will the workers, peasants and consumers be rescued from exploitation, but the national income will be more justly distributed.
- 5) Special attention will be paid to education. A great effort will be made to abolish illiteracy.
- 6) The progressive ideals of the party are the best guide for leading the nation to a better future and their translation into practice will create the classless society such as has been conceived in the faith of Islam⁷.

People's Party in Bahawalpur since 1970, has been re-organized three times on basis of nominations. The last time it

⁷ Verinder Grover, Pakistan Government and Politics (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, 2000), p.358.

was done by the Deputy Commissioners of the Division in 1976. After Peoples Party formed the government in 1971, it established Quaid-I-Azam Medical College, Islamia University, Lal-Sohanra National Park and Radio Pakistan in Bahawalpur. The region was provided sui gas and to certain extent compensated the grievances, the Nawab was made as the Governor of Punjab.⁸

Peoples Party fought against the Martial Law government of General Zia-ul-Haq, and as a result of both external and internal pressures in 1985 non party elections were held. The Peoples Party in Bahawalpur Division was also active on this issue, but Peoples Party boycotted these elections because they were held on non-party basis. In the 1988 elections, in Bahawalpur Division, Peoples Party got many seats, but was unable to form its government in Punjab.

Even though Peoples Party won the 1971 elections, but in Bahawalpur Division, it was only able to get four seats out of eight, because at that time the movement for Bahawalpur Province was at its peak and Peoples Party did not support it,

⁸ Interview with Malik Habibullah Bhutta, ex-District President, Pakistan Peoples Party, Bahawalpur, 20th July, 2001.

thus it had to face the Mahaz in Bahawalpur, which was able to attain a number of seats.⁹

JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI:

This is the third major national political party in the Bahawalpur region. It is the biggest Islamic party in Pakistan and in addition, it is perhaps the best organized and most disciplined political party in the country. Maulana Maududi founded it in 1942 in Punjab. The Jamaat has consistently advocated the cause of Islamic Revolution in Pakistan. It has been consistent in its demand for the enforcement of 'Shariah' i.e. the Islamic Law is the guiding framework for all activity, economic and political. The party has never had much success in electoral politics.

The party has libraries, which cater to the literary needs of the people through its own publications. It organizes discussions to elaborate teachings of Islam. It delivers lectures at Friday congregations.¹⁰

⁹ Ibid.,

¹⁰ Ali Ahmad Khan, "Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan", in Pakistan Government of Politics, ed. Verider Grover (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 2000), p.337.

The aims and objectives of the Jamaat are to fight the onslaughts of Capitalist and Communist ideologies and to create consciousness of Islamic way of life among the Muslims. The second programme is to mould the character of the people into Islamic pattern and produce the ideal citizens of the Islamic State. The Jamaat has been fighting for a new constitution, its struggle will go on till the constitution is framed in accordance with the Islamic demands. Another aim of the party is to change the leadership of the country through constitutional means. The Jamaat holds that the set of leadership is corrupting the general people, morally, spiritually and politically into un-Islamic ways of life.¹¹

The role of Jamaat-e-Islami in Bahawalpur begins in 1950s. Jammam contested the first elections held in Bahawalpur State in 1953 and got two seats in the newly elected Bahawalpur legislative Assembly. Since then Jamaat has been a strong party in the politics of the region.¹²

Till 1977 Jamaat in Bahawalpur region had been busy in moral, ideological and political training of its workers. In 1985

¹¹ Ibid., p.351.

¹² Interview with Dr. Wasim Akhtar, ex-Member Punjab Assembly and District Ameer Jamaat-e-Islami Bahawalpur, 10th July, 2001.

non-party national and provincial elections in Bahawalpur Division Jamaat actively contested the elections but even then it was not able to win a single seat. In the 1988 general elections Jamaat contested the elections, but with no success. In the 1990 elections Jamaat contested the election from the platform of IJI and got one provincial seat. Dr. Wasim Akhtar of Jamaat won from Bahawalpur. In the 1993 elections Jamaat fully contested the elections, but got no seat, as Jamaat was unable to win the ideological war with biradris.

Maulana Maududi in 1969, while giving the Jamaat's stance on Bahawalpur region demanded that One Unit to be broken and the previous provinces to be revived. He further demanded that Bahawalpur should be made a separate province. He fully supported the cause for restoration of Bahawalpur Province.¹³

The policy of the party on Saraiki Movement is that it is against any movement which is based on language.¹⁴

¹³ Nawa-I-Waqt, 31st December 1969.

¹⁴ Interview, Dr. Wasim.

RESULTS OF GENERAL ELECTIONS:

1970 ELECTIONS

Pakistan's elections in December 1970 were unusual in more than one sense. It was in fact the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise, since the birth of Pakistan. There was no "party in power" to defend the policies of the government. It was bound to be a free for all affair to all of the political parties, each emphasizing its own objectives.¹⁵ The two parties, Awami League and Pakistan People's Party which emerged as the leading political parties, concentrated on the two wings of East and West Pakistan respectively.

In the 1970 elections, Bahawalpur Division had eight National Assembly seats. These elections had immense importance for Bahawalpur region because at the time of these elections, the movement for restoration of Bahawalpur Province was at its peak. These elections became a sort of referendum in Bahawalpur region. The results of Bahawalpur Division were different in the sense that many seats went to the independents who were the supporters of the movement and

¹⁵ Iftikhar Ahmed, Pakistan General Elections: 1970 (Lahore: South Asian Institute, University of the Punjab, 1976), p.40.

members of Mahaz. Peoples Party, which attained majority of seats in other parts of West Pakistan, was not able to achieve many seats in Bahawalpur Division. These elections also gave the verdict of the people of Bahawalpur region. Two seats of National Assembly went to independents, two to Muslim League (Convention), three to Peoples Party and one to Muslim League (Qayyum Group). Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider, the ex-Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State got elected, his daughter Tahira Khan was an activist of the movement. In the provincial elections, from Bahawalpur District out of five seats, three seats went to independents who were the supporters of the Mahaz.

1970 National Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	NA-100	Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider	Muslim League (Convention)
2	NA-101	Sahibzada Saeed-ur-Rasheed Abbasi	Independent
3	NA-102	Muhammad Shafi	Pakistan Peoples Party
4	NA-103	Syed Rafique Muhammad Shah	Muslim League (Convention)
5	NA-104	Muhammad Rafique Gill	Pakistan Peoples Party
6	NA-105	Jamal Muhammad Koreja	Muslim League (Convention)
7	NA-106	Abdul Nabi	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	NA-107	Makhdoom Noor Muhammad Hashmi	Independent

Source: Pakistan Times, 18 December, 1970.

1970 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division:

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	PP-163	Syed Tabish Alwari	Independent
2	PP-164	Shabir Hussain Cheema	Pakistan Peoples Party
3	PP-165	Mian Sardar Ahmed Awaisi	Independent
4	PP-166	Allama Rehmat Ullah Arshad	Independent
5	PP-167	Syed Ahmad Nawaz Gardezi	Independent
6	PP-168	Rao Maratib Ali	Independent
7	PP-169	Manzoor Ahmed Mohal	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	PP-170	Hafiz Ali Asad Ullah	Pakistan Peoples Party
9	PP-171	Muhammad Iqbal	Muslim League (Convention)
10	PP-172	Abdur Rauf	Pakistan Peoples Party
11	PP-173	Abdur Ghani	Pakistan Peoples Party
12	PP-174	Muhammad Saifullah	Muslim League (Convention)
13	PP-175	Mian Muhammad Islam	Muslim League (Convention)
14	PP-176	Chaudhry Kaleem Ullah	Independent
15	PP-177	Muhammad Hanif Naroo	Pakistan Peoples Party
16	PP-178	Makhdoom Hamid-ud- Din	Muslim League (Convention)
17	PP-179	Bashir Ahmed Khan	Muslim League (Q)
18	PP-180	Makhdoom Hasan Mehmood	Muslim League (Q)

Source: Imroz, 19 December, 1970.

1977 ELECTIONS:

Pakistan Peoples Party formed the government after the 1970 elections. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto first became the President and then the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He called for new elections to be held in 1977. In these elections Pakistan Peoples Party government got an over whelming majority all over Pakistan. In Bahawalpur Division also nearly all seats in both National and Provincial Assemblies went to Pakistan Peoples Party.

1977 National Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division:

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	NA-140	Sahibzada Saeed-ud-Rasheed	Pakistan Peoples Party
2	NA-141	Shuja Ullah Sheikh	Pakistan Peoples Party
3	NA-142	Nawab Salah-ud-Din Abbasi	Pakistan Peoples Party
4	NA-143	Sahibzada Noor Muhammad Hussain	Pakistan Peoples Party
5	NA-144	Rifique Muhammad Shah	Pakistan Peoples Party
6	NA-145	Muhammad Afzal Wattoo	Pakistan Peoples Party
7	NA-146	Muhammad Afzal Sindhu	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	NA-147	Khawaja Jamal Kureja	Pakistan Peoples Party
9	NA-148	Makhdoom Hameed-ud-Din	Pakistan Peoples Party
10	NA-149	Muhammad Aslam Naroo	Pakistan Peoples Party
11	NA-150	Bilal Khan Laghari	Pakistan Peoples Party

Source: Mashriq, 9 March, 1977.

1977 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division:

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	PP-218	Mukhdoom Shams-ud-Din Gillani	Pakistan Peoples Party.
2	PP-219	Hakeem Faqir Muhammad Chishti	Pakistan Peoples Party.
3	PP-220	Sardar Ahmad Awaisi	Pakistan Peoples Party.
4	PP-221	Syed Ahmed Nawaz Gardezi	Pakistan Peoples Party
5	PP-222	Ghulam Jaffer Malik	Pakistan Peoples Party
6	PP-223	Mian Mushtaq Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party.
7	PP-224	Rao Akhtar Ali Khan	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	PP-225	Ali Asad Ullah	Pakistan Peoples Party.
9	PP-226	Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal	Pakistan Peoples Party
10	PP-227	Mian Abdul Rauf	Pakistan Peoples Party
11	PP-228	Malik Saif Ullah	Pakistan Peoples Party
12	PP-229	Roa Maratib Ali Khan	Pakistan Peoples Party
13	PP-230	Raja Imtiaz Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party.
14	PP-231	Muhammad Aslam Khan	Pakistan Peoples Party.
15	PP-232	Sardar Muzaffer Ali Khan	Pakistan Peoples Party.
16	PP-233	Haji Saif Ullah Khan	Pakistan Peoples Party.
17	PP-234	Ghulam Asghar Dasti	Pakistan Peoples Party.
18	PP-235	Hamid Kamal Dahar	Pakistan Peoples Party.
19	PP-236	Muhammad Jaffer Hashmi	Pakistan Peoples Party.
20	PP-237	Muhammad Haneef Naroo	Pakistan Peoples Party.
21	PP-238	Tariq Muslim	Pakistan Peoples Party.
22	PP-239	Muhammad Sharif	Independent
23	PP-240	Rias Shabir Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party

Source: Mashriq, 12 March, 1977.

1985 ELECTIONS:

The 1985 elections were held on non-party basis and adult franchise. Another feature of these elections was that they were held by the Martial Law government of General Zia-ul-Haq. All major political parties boycotted these elections when the government announced that these elections are going to be held on non-party basis. After these elections General Zia-ul-Haq appointed Mr. Junejo as the new Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In Bahawalpur, due to the sickness of ex-Governor Punjab Muhammad Abbas Abbasi his sons did not contest these elections, even then three members of Abbasi family, Farooq Anwar Abbasi, Saeed-ur-Rashid Abbasi and Usman Abbasi got elected. Syed Shams-ud-Din Gillani of Uch, who had earlier remained member of Bahawalpur State Assembly and West Pakistan Assembly lost in these elections. Tabish Alwari, a journalist Muslim League activist and Leader of Opposition in Punjab Assembly also lost, Chaudhry Bashir Ahmed Cheema, a senior parliamentarian won.¹⁶

¹⁶ Tariq Ismail, Election 85 (Lahore: Maktaba Intikhab Jamhoor, 1986), p.265.

From Bahawalnagar except for ex-MPA Maratib Ali Khan, all new faces won the rest of the seats. Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor who from 1977 was the Chairman of Municipal Corporation since 1977, won from both National Assembly and Provincial Assembly constituencies. Mian Manzoor Muhammad an influential candidate also lost.

In Rahim Yar Khan, there was a clash between the political families. Mukhdoom Zada Syed Hassan Mahmood who was known as the king maker in Punjab politics, won from both the National and Provincial Assembly seats.

1985 National Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division (non-party)

Sr. No.	Constituency	Winner candidate
1	NA-141	Sahibzada Saeed-ur-Rasheed Abbasi
2	NA-142	Syed Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi
3	NA-143	Mian Noor Hassan.
4	NA-144	Muhammad Ahmed Shah.
5	NA-145	Mian Abdul Sattar.
6	NA-146	Ch. Abdul Ghafoor
7	NA-147	Syed Ahmed Alam Anwar
8	NA-148	Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan
9	NA-148	Makhdoom Iman-ud-Din
10	NA-150	Makhdoom Syed Hassan Mehmood

Source: Tariq Ismail, Election 85 (Lahore: Maktaba Intikhab

Jamhoor, 1986), pp.60-72.

1985 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division (non party).

S.No.	Constituency	Winner candidate
1	PP-218	Zaildar Ahmed Yar Warran
2	PP-219	Sahibzada Muhammad Usman Khan Abbasi
3	PP-220	Mian Shahab-ud-Din Awaisi
4	PP-221	Bashir Ahmad.
5	PP-222	Farooq Anwar Abbasi
6	PP-223	Mian Riaz Hussain
7	PP-224	Abdur Rashid
8	PP-225	Khadim Hussain Main
9	PP-226	Kamal Khan
10	PP-227	Muratab Ali Khan
11	PP-228	Mumtaz Ahmad
12	PP-229	Abdul Ghafoor
13	PP-230	Muhammad Sidiq
14	PP-231	Muhammad Akram
15	PP-232	Muhammad Asghar
16	PP-233	Mushtaq Ahmed
17	PP-234	Syed Muhammad Azeem Shah
18	PP-235	Sheikh Muhammad Aslam
19	PP-236	Makhdoom Altaf Ahadd
20	PP-237	Zafar Iqbal
21	PP-238	Saeed Manzar
23	PP-239	Mahdoom Zada Syed Hassan Mehmood
23	PP-240	Sardar Rafique Haider Khan Leghari

Source: Tariq Ismail, Election 85 (Lahore: Maktaba Intikhab Jamhoor, 1986), pp.73-291



1988 ELECTIONS

On 29th May, 1988 President Ziaul-Haq removed Prime Minister Junejo, who was elected in the 1985 elections. The National and Provincial Assemblies were also dissolved. It was declared that new elections would be held in 1988.¹⁷ On 17th August, 1988, the plane carrying President Zia-ul-Haq crashed near Bahawalpur airport killing all on board. The Chairman of Senate Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan took over as the care taker President and announced that the elections will be held on 16th November, 1988 on party basis. Benazir Bhutto who was in exile came back to Pakistan to contest the elections. Islami Jhomri Ittehad was formed by various political parties which included Muslim League and other parties.

In Bahawalpur Division the election results were quite unexpected and both the national and provincial elections were closely contested. In the Bahawalpur district Peoples Party and IJI got one seat each and one went to an independent candidate, Salah-ud-Din Abbasi, who belongs to the Nawab family. From the Peoples Party Mayor Municipal Corporation,

¹⁷ Yaseen Rizvi, Election 90 Pakistan (Lahore: Shirkat Printing Press, 1990), p.40.

Bahawalpur Muhammad Farooq-i-Azam won beating Tahira Khan, daughter of an MNA Nizam-ud-Din and a great activist of Bahawalpur Province Movement.¹⁸ Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi won from the IJI platform. In the provincial elections, Peoples Party took most of the seats.

Out of the four national assembly seats, in Rahim Yar Khan district, three went to IJI. In both national and provincial elections over here, Peoples Party got one seat each. In provincial elections majority seats went to independent candidates. IJIs candidate Syed Ahmed Alam Anwar won the MNA seat with an over whelming majority, other winning candidates were Mian Abdul Khaliq and Rais Shabbir Ahmed. The only Peoples Party-winning candidate was Mukhdoom Rukin-ud-Din.¹⁹

¹⁸ Tariq Ismail, Election 88 (Lahore: Maqtaba Nawa-I-Waqt, 1989), p.304.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.312.

1988 National Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division:

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	NA-141	Sahibzada Salah-ud-Din Abbasi	Independent
2	NA-142	Muhammad Farooq-e-Azam Malik	Pakistan Peoples Party
3	NA-143	Syed Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi	IJI
4	NA-144	Syed Mumtaz Alam Gilani	Pakistan Peoples Party
5	NA-145	Mian Abdul Sitar Lalika	IJI
6	NA-146	Chaudri Abdul Ghafoor	IJI
7	NA-147	Syed Ahmed Alam Anwar	IJI
8	NA-148	Mukhdoom Rukin-ud-Din	Pakistan Peoples Party
9	NA-149	Mian Abdul Khaliq	IJI
10	NA-150	Rais Shabbir Ahmed	IJI

Source: Tariq Ismail, Election 88 (Maktaba Nawa-I-Waqt, 1989), p.304.

1988 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division:

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	PP-218	Yar Waran	Pakistan Peoples Party.
2	PP-219	Abdullah Khan Dahar	Islami Ittehad
3	PP-220	Mian Shahab-ud-Din Awasi	IJI
4	PP-221	Chaudri Tahir Bashir Cheema	Pakistan Peoples Party
5	PP-222	Shahid Mirza	Pakistan Peoples Party
6	PP-223	Syed Salman Ahmed Gardezi	Independent
7	PP-224	Tariq Mahmood	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	PP-225	Mian Khadim Hussain Watto	Islami Ittehad
9	PP-226	Abdul Qadir Shaheen	Pakistan Peoples Party
10	PP-227	Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal	Pakistan Peoples Party
11	PP-228	Mian Mumtaz Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party
12	PP-229	Ali Akbar Mazhar	Pakistan Peoples Party
13	PP-230	Muhammad Bashir	Independent
14	PP-231	Sufi Muhammad Akram	IJI
15	PP-232	Khawaja Muhammad Kureja	Islami Ittehad
16	PP-233	Chaudri Masood Ahmed	Independent
17	PP-234	Mian Abdul Sitar	Independent
18	PP-235	Seth Muhammad Aslam	IJI
19	PP-236	Mukhdoom Altaf Ahmed	Independent
20	PP-237	Chaudri Muhammad Jaffer Iqbal	Islami Ittehad
21	PP-238	Mukdoom Ahmed Mahmood	Independent
22	PP-239	Syed Ali Akbar Mahmood	Independent
23	PP-240	Sardar Muhammad Azhar Khan Leghari	Pakistan Peoples Party

Source: Tariq Ismail, Election 88 (Lahore: Maktaba Nawa-i-Waqt, 1989), p.308.

1990 ELECTIONS.

After the 1988 elections, Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but only for twenty months. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the government and dissolved the assemblies and declared new elections to be held on 24th October, 1990. Accordingly new elections were held and Nawaz Sharif became the new Prime Minister. His party Muslim League had formed electoral coalition with other parties and formed Islami Jhomri Ittehad, IJI. Peoples Party with its allies had formed Pakistan Democratic Alliance, PDA.

In Bahawalpur division, in both national and provincial elections majority of seats went to IJI. In Bahawalpur district all the three National Assembly seats were taken by IJI. Sahibzada Farooq Anwar Abbasi, a member of Nawab family won by defeating Peoples Party's ex-Federal Minister and Ex-Chairman Municipal Corporation, Bahawalpur, Muhammad Farooq-i-Azam. On the other seat Syed Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi won by beating his old rival from Peoples Party Mian Riaz Hussain Pirzada. The third seat went to Nawab Salah-ud-Din Abbasi who was the heir-in live of the Nawab family.²⁰

²⁰ Tariq Ismail Saghar, Election 90 (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 1990), p.285.

In Bahawalnagar district out of the three National Assembly seats, two went to IJI and one to an independent candidate. On one seat Mian Abdul Sitar Lalika who was also elected an MNA in 1985, and became a Federal Minister won again beating Mian Mumtaz Satiana. The other candidate was the Provincial Minister Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor, who won from the PDA candidate Ali Akbar. These two candidates won with huge majority because they had done a lot of developmental work in their areas.

In Rahim Yar Khan district Mukhdoom Alam Anwar, again won even though he went against the party and supported Benazir at the time of vote of no confidence against her. In these elections he contested on PDA ticket. One seat went to PDA, that of Mukhdoom Shahab-ud-Din. The rest of two National Assembly seats went to IJI, they were Mukhdoom Ahmad Mehmood and Mian Abdul Khaliq.²¹

In the provincial elections, all over the Bahawalpur Division nearly 98% seats went to IJI, PDA was only able to get two seats, one in Rahim Yar Khan and one in Bahawalnagar.

²¹ Ibid., p.412

1990 National Assembly Results of Bahawalpur Division.

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	NA-141	Salah-ud-Din Abbasi	IJI
2	NA-142	Farooq Anwar Abbasi	IJI
3	NA-143	Syed Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi	IJI
4	NA-144	Muhammad Asghar Shah	Independent
5	NA-145	Abdul Sitar Lalika	IJI
6	NA-146	Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor	IJI
7	NA-147	Syed Ahmed Anwar Alam	PDA
8	NA-148	Mukhdoom Shahab-ud-Din	PDA
9	NA-149	Mian Abdul Khaliq	IJI
10	NA-150	Mukhdoom Mahmood. Ahmed	IJI

Source: Tariq Ismail, Election 90 (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 1990), pp.80-120.

1990 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division.

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	PP-218	Malik Qadir Baksh	IJI
2	PP-219	Sardar Muhammad Abdullah Khan Dahar	IJI
3	PP-220	Shahab-ud-Din Awasi	IJI
4	PP-221	Chaudri Muhammad Iqbal	IJI
5	PP-222	Dr. Wasim Akhtar	IJI
6	PP-223	Salman Ahmed Gardezi	IJI
7	PP-224	Syed Muhamamd Sajjad Hussain	IJI
8	PP-225	Haji Khadim Hussain	IJI
9	PP-226	Mian Shaukat Ali	IJI
10	PP-227	Mian Manzoor Ahmed Mohal	IJI
11	PP-228	Muhammad Tahir Mahmood	IJI
12	PP-229	Chaudri Muhammad Ghafoor	IJI
13	PP-230	Muhammad Bashir	IJI
14	PP-231	Muhammad Akram	PDA
15	PP-232	Khawaja Muhammad Safdar Kureja	IJI
16	PP-233	Chaudri Masood Ahmed	IJI
17	PP-234	Mian Abdul Sitar	IJI
18	PP-235	Seth Muhammad Aslam	IJI
19	PP-236	Mukhdoom Musharaf Hussain	IJI
20	PP-237	Jaffer Iqbal Gujjar	IJI
21	PP-238	Syed Ali Akbar Mahmood	IJI
22	PP-239	Chaudri Shaukat Ali Daud	Independent
23	PP-240	Sardar Izhar Khan Laghari	PDA

Source: Tariq Ismail, Election 90 (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 1990), p.400.

1993 ELECTIONS:

As a result of 1990 elections Mian Nawaz Sharif became the new Prime Minister of Pakistan. But very soon there were charges of rigging in the 1990 elections by the Opposition. In 1993 serious differences surfaced between the Prime Minister and President. The Leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto called for a country wide long march. Due to the serious dead locks the then army Chief General Abdul Waheed intervened and as a result Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on 18th July 1993, asked the President to dissolve the assemblies and then gave in his resignation.²² The President Ghulam Ishaq Khan also resigned and Chairman Senate Wasim Sajjad became the new President. A caretaker government was formed under Moin Qureshi to hold the new elections in October 1993. In the October elections Peoples Party taking the majority seats formed the government with Benazir Bhutto as the Prime Minister.

The 1993 elections were unique in many respects. Fresh alliances were formed replacing the old ones. Politicians

²² Navid Zafar and Ishtiaq Hussain, Election 1993 Facts Figures Feats (Islamabad: Modern Book Depot, 1994), p.1.

who were partners in the pre and post 1990 election period parted ways. Four former Prime Minister, several Federal and Provincial Ministers, Governors and Chief Ministers were contesting elections.²³

In the Bahawalpur Division, Muslim League (Nawaz group) and Peoples Party got five seats each. Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi and Farooq Anwar Abbasi again got elected from the same constituencies. The third seat of Bahawalpur District this time went to Riaz Pirzada of Peoples Party. In Bahawalnagar District Abdul Sitar Lalika again won but from another constituency, the other two seats went to Peoples Party. In Rahim Yar Khan District on three seats the candidates were re-elected, they were Peoples Party candidates Syed Ahmed Alam Anwar and Mukhdoom Shahabud-Din. Muslim League's Syed Ahmed Mahmood was also re-elected and the fourth seat was won by Chaudri Jaffer Iqbal of Muslim League.

In the provincial elections of the division, majority of seats went to Pakistan Peoples Party. Whereas Muslim

²³ Anwaar Hussain Hashmi, Election 93 (Islamabad: Academy of Writers, 1994), p.128.

League (N) was able to get nine seats.²⁴ One seat was won by the Manzoor Ahmed Mohal of Muslim League Junejo group. In the last three elections Manzoor Mohal contested from different parties.

1993 National Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division.

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	NA-141	Nawab Salah-ud-Din Abbasi	Muslim League (N)
2	NA-142	Farooq Anwar Abbasi	Muslim League (N)
3	NA-143	Mian Riaz Pirzada	Pakistan Peoples Party
4	NA-144	Abdul Sitar Lalika	Muslim League (N)
5	NA-145	Mian Mumtaz Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party
6	NA-146	Ali Akbar Mazhar	Pakistan Peoples Party
7	NA-147	Syed Ahmed Alam Anwar	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	NA-148	Mukhdookm Shahab-ud-Din	Pakistan Peoples Party
9	NA-149	Chaudri Jaffer Iqbal	Muslim League (N)
10	NA-150	Syed Ahmed Mahmood	Muslim League (N)

Source: Anwar Hussain Hashmi, Election 93 (Islamabad: Academy of Writers, 1994), pp.68-180.

²⁴ Ibid., p.230.

1993 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	PP-218	Samiullah Sheikh	Pakistan Peoples Party
2	PP-219	Sardar Muhammad Abdullah	Muslim League (N)
3	PP-220	Mian Shabab-ud-Din Awasi	Pakistan Peoples Party
4	PP-221	Tariq Bashir Cheema	Pakistan Peoples Party
5	PP-222	Syed Tabish Alvari	Muslim League (N)
6	PP-223	Chaudri Safdar Hussain	Pakistan Peoples Party
7	PP-224	Riaz Ahmad	Pakistan Peoples Party
8	PP-225	Sardar Khan	Muslim League (N)
9	PP-226	Noor Muhammad Ghaffari	Muslim League (N)
10	PP-227	Manzoor Ahmed Mohal	Muslim League (N)
11	PP-228	Mian Mumtaz Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party
12	PP-229	Muhammad Afzal Sindhi	Pakistan Peoples Party
13	PP-230	Muhammad Rauf Khalid	Pakistan Peoples Party
14	PP-231	Tahir Bashir Cheema	Pakistan Peoples Party
15	PP-232	Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad	Pakistan Peoples Party
16	PP-233	Rais Mushtaq Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party
17	PP-234	Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan	Pakistan Peoples Party
18	PP-235	Seth Muhammad Aslam	Muslim League (N)
19	PP-236	Mukhdom Altaf Ahmed	Pakistan Peoples Party
20	PP-237	Imtiaz Ahmed	Muslim League (N)
21	PP-238	Ali Akbar Mahmood	Muslim League (N)
22	PP-239	Muhammad Shaukat Daud	Muslim League (N)
23	PP-240	Azhar Lighari	Pakistan Peoples Party

Source: Anwaar Hussain Hashmi, Election 93 (Islamabad: Academy of Writers, 1994), pp.240-260.

1997 ELECTIONS:

In November 1996, Benazer government was dismissed by the then President Farooq Laghari on various charges, the major ones were the grave economic situation and corruption. A care taker government was formed under Malik Miraj Khalid and fresh elections were to be held within 90 days. Accordingly fresh elections were held in February 1997. As a result of these elections, Mian Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister, his party, Muslim League winning with an over whelming majority.

In Bahawalpur in both the National Assembly and Provincial Assembly, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz group) took away nearly all the seats. Only two seats of Provincial Assembly did not go to Muslim League.

1997 National Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division.

S.No	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	NA-141	Salah-ud-Din Abbasi	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
2	NA-142	Sahibzada Farooq Anwar Abbasi	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
3	NA-143	Muhammad Aqeel-ur-Rehman	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
4	NA-144	Noor Muhammad Ghaffari	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
5	NA-145	Mian Abdul Sattar	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
6	NA-146	Ch. Abdul Ghafoor	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
7	NA-147	Syed Ahmed Mahmood	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
8	NA-148	Mukhdoom Imad-ud-Din	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
9	NA-149	Chaudri Muhammad Jaffer Iqbal	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
10	NA-150	Syed Ahmed Mahmood	Pakistan Muslim League (N)

Source: 1997 General Election Report, Vol.II

(Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan).

1997 Provincial Assembly results of Bahawalpur Division

S.No.	Constituency	Winner Candidate	Party
1	PP-218	Makhdoom Zada Syed Iftikhar Gillani	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
2	PP-219	Sahibzada Muhammad Usman Khan Abbasi	Independent
3	PP-220	Mian Najeeb-ud-Din Awaisi	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
4	PP-221	Ch. Muhammad Iqbal	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
5	PP-222	Samiullah Chaudhry	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
6	PP-223	Syed Irfan Ahmed Gardezi	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
7	PP-224	Muhammad Afzal Gill	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
8	PP-225	Muhammad Sardar Khan Wattoo	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
9	PP-226	Mian Shaukat Ali Laleka	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
10	PP-227	Khan Sardar Ahmed Khan	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
11	PP-228	Muhammad Jameel	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
12	PP-229	Imtiaz Ali Laleka	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
13	PP-230	Muhammad Arshad	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
14	PP-231	Haji Muhammad Akram	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
15	PP-232	Syed Masood Alam Shah	Pakistan Peoples Party
16	PP-233	Chaudhry Masood Ahmed	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
17	PP-234	Abdul Sattar Mian	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
18	PP-235	Sh. Muhammad Aslam	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
19	PP-236	Mukhdoom Khusroo Bakhtiar	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
20	PP-237	Imtiaz Ahmed	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
21	PP-238	Syed Ali Akbar Mahmood	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
22	PP-239	Shoukat Dawood	Pakistan Muslim League (N)
23	PP-240	Sardar Rafique Haider Laghari	Pakistan Peoples Party

Source: 1997 General Elections Report, Vol II (Islamabad:

Election Commission of Pakistan).

It can be seen from the results of all the elections that even now, the politics of Bahawalpur still rotates around the family of Nawab. Even though the Nawabs rule over the Bahawalpur State ended in 1955 but still the Nawabs family is highly respected in the region. Nawab Salah-ud-Din Abbasi the grandson of last Nawab is now a days taken as the Nawab by the people, and in every elections he wins, no matter from which political party. He is the most important political figure of the region. He in 1970's joined Peoples Party and later on in 1980's he has jointed Pakistan Muslim League. The other members of Abbasi family also contest elections and win, they include Sahibzada Saeed-ud-Rashid Abbasi, Farooq Anwar Abbasi, Usman Khan Abbasi, they all regularly contest elections.

In the Rahim Yar Khan district the most important political figure is Makhdoom Ahmed Mahmood, who is considered as the king maker and is very powerful in the political matters of the district. In Bahawalnagar district, the important political figures are Lalika and Chaudri Abdul Ghafoor. They have dominated the political scene of Bahawalnagar since long.

In Bahawalpur region the very politically active castes are the Abbasi Daudpotras, Arian, Jatt, Rajput and Mukhdoom. These castes have dominated the political scene of Bahawalpur region, especially the Arians have very important role in the politics of the region.

The note worthy features of politics in Bahawalpur are that voting patterns are different for different ethnic communities. The Punjabi speaking settlers vote on caste basis (predominantly on Jat and Arain basis), the Urdu speaking community overwhelmingly votes for Muslim League, and the Saraiki speaking natives votes for the shrines and tombs.

Resultantly no new faces are emerging in most of the Rahim Yar Khan District of Ahmed Pur East and Bahawalpur Tehsils of Bahawalpur District which are Saraiki speaking areas. The Jat – Arain rivalry plays an important part in Yazman, Liaqatpur, Cholistan and Haroon Abad Tehsils.

In all three districts the old political families have to field combined panels of candidates for National and Provincial seats in collaboration with the settlers. No community can fly it alone. Not even the Nawabs family, which is very widely respected otherwise. At the same time no political group

individually or collectively can afford to oppose the demand for a separate province.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE SUGGESTIONS

The terrain that became Bahawalpur was mostly desert, since a major riverine complex generously watering much of what is now the Thar Desert either changed course or dried up. This has been called variously the Hakra or Ghaggar, several theories compete to explain its extent, course, origins and disappearance. Many proto historic. Harappan sites lie here. Bahawalpur during Mughal period was entirely barren. Imperial revenue documents labeled it a useless tract of unpopulated desert. The very limited population of this area were mainly Jats, who lived on animal husbandry rather than farming. Such a pastoral – nomadic mode of existence was well suited to regional climatic conditions, where the mean annual rainfall is less than twelve centimeters.

But this pastoral – nomadic way of life was altered dramatically in the first half of the eighteenth century. A large clan of warrior chieftains known as Daudpotra's meaning sons of Daud, whose political history dated back to eighteenth century in Sindh, who styled themselves Abbasi, claiming descent from Prophet's uncle Hazrat Abbas, established

themselves in Shikarpur in upper Sindh. The rivalry of their distant kinsmen, the Kalhora's became more threatening in the declining years of Mughal empire. So they accepted an invitation from the Gilani and Bukhari Makhdoods of Uch, the sufi saints whose khangahs date back to thirteenth century. From this new and strategic location Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan managed to not only fend off the controllers of Sindh, the Kalhoras, but also conquered in 1733 the desert fortress of Derawar from the ruler of Jaisalmeer, Rawal Singh. After several successes and reversals, the entire clan settled in the strip of territory south east of Sutlej.

Soon after this, a canal network started to spring. The only remnant of such a project was a small canal near Khairpur, dug in Aurganzeb's time, it had become clogged with silt and refuse, the Daudpotra's renewed and extended it by 1753. New towns were founded surrounded by irrigated fields and populated by immigrants from beyond the rivers. Wells were sunk to obtain fresh water from beneath the Hakra depression and forts such as the one at Dingarh were built to serve as refuge from invasions.

Archaeological findings in Bahawalpur region have led to discoveries which belong to the times of Indus Valley

Civilization i.e. 4000 B.C to 2000 B.C. Cholistan which comprises of two third of the total area of the region was a part of the Harappa culture.

Dr. Rafiq Mughal, an archaeologist in his survey of Cholistan reveals a new cultural assemblage, which he names as 'Hakra Ware' this he even pre-dates the early Harappan phase of Indus Civilization. Cholistan during that time was heavily populated and River Hakra flowed through it, but when this river dried, this area became a desert, with most of the people leaving for other places and few remained back. This is the only area, which has survived the demise of Indus Civilization.

The three central elements to regionalism include a common historical experience, sense of shared problems among a geographically distinct group of societies, this also provides a definition of a region. Considering the case of Bahawalpur region with regard to the above essential elements of regionalism, Bahawalpur region fulfils all conditions to be a region. Bahawalpur division was the State of Bahawalpur, which had a history of rule of 228 years by the Abbasi Nawabs. The State, which was formed in 1727, ended as a State in 1955 and the whole area of the State was made a

division of Punjab Province, which is its present status. Bahawalpur region since last 300 years has faced a common historical experience. Taking into account the second element, which in the sense of, shared problems, fits perfectly to the Bahawalpur region. The people of Bahawalpur region are facing similar problems, these include underdevelopment, economic and political deprivations. The general masses feel that their region is being exploited and they are not being provided their due shares. These shared problems have brought the people of Bahawalpur region closer to each other towards the demand for a separate province for Bahawalpur region. Applying the third element, Bahawalpur region has always been geographically distinct. Since the establishment of the State, Bahawalpur has an independent and separate identity.

Bahawalpur region is one of the eight divisions of the Punjab province. Its total area is 18,000 sq miles. Area wise it has been the largest division of Punjab. The total population of the region is 7.518 million, which is 10.3% of the total population of the Punjab and 5.6% of the total population of the country. The average growth rate of the region is 5.0% per annum. It is one of the important regions from agricultural and

defence point of view. The important agricultural crops of this region are cotton, wheat, sugarcane, oilseeds and pulses. The most important crops are cotton and wheat, which contribute 23% and 10% of the total production of the country respectively. From the defence point of view Bahawalpur has three hundred miles long border with India with the requirement of special defence tactics suited to desert warfare. This region is being represented by 2 Senators in Senate, 10 MNA's in National Assembly and 23 MPA's in the Punjab Assembly.

Area wise it has been one of the largest divisions of Punjab but it is also one of the backward regions. The region remains underdeveloped, in nearly all fields.

The people of Bahawalpur have not forgotten the Nawab's, the family of Nawab is still highly respected in the region. Nawab Salahud-Din Abbasi the grand son of the last Nawab is one of the most important and the most respected political figure in the region. He has all the public support. The people still give him the same respect, which was given to the Nawabs.

Bahawalpur as a State merged in 1955 and along with it was the end of the Abbasi Nawab's rule, but even today all the Nawab's are remembered by the people. This includes all

sections of people the leaders, ordinary masses, the educated etc. The Nawabs are an important feature of the Bahawalpur region. People love and respect them as a symbol of their glorious past

The major reason for remembrance and respect for the Nawabs is that eventhough the Nawabs were autocratic rulers, who did not allow or give political freedom but they did a lot for the development of the State, which benefited the people. The first Nawab laid the foundation of the State in 1727, with only a small locality, very soon the latter Nawabs started expanding the domain of the State. Not only they gained a lot of land, they also made it one of the richest states of sub-continent. A lot of development work was done in the State in all fields. Schools, Colleges and later on a University were opened. A number of scholarships were given to students. Railway track was laid by the Nawabs in the State. Hospitals and dispensaries were established. Canals were dug and Sultej Valley Project was completed to provide water to the lands of Bahawalpur region. The State had its own administrative and judicial system.

It was but natural that as to retain their authority and control over the State, the Nawabs did not want political awareness amongst the people and thus did not allow any

political activity or freedom in the State. But their contributions out weigh this drawback. Then, also after the merger of the State, the region has been comparatively neglected by successive governments, the region lacks development and is not given its due share in both economic and political matters. Due to the deteriorating condition of the region, the people remember the times of the Nawabs even more. The people of the region strongly feel that their lot during the State was much better than the situation after the State was merged. The people were then assured that the earnings would be spent on the region, whereas, now the earnings of the region are spent elsewhere.

For 228 years Bahawalpur region was a State under the rule of Abbasi Nawabs. These Nawabs were autocrat rulers. To maintain their hold over the State, they did not allow political activities in the State. The politics in the region begins quite late, just few years before the State was merged. During the rule of Nawabs, they ensured that there is no political awareness amongst the people of the State. This was natural, as the Nawabs to have full control over the State had to deny political freedoms and rights to the people of the State. All authority lied with the Nawabs. But with changing times and

circumstances, some political activities started emerging in disguised form. An Agency was formed by the British Government in 1866, on the request of the mother of the young Nawab, who was just five years old, she requested the British to look after the affairs of the State till the Nawab is old enough to take control of the State. Her request was accepted and the British governed the Bahawalpur State in the name of Nawab till 1879. During these years of Agency rule, the British not only looked after the affairs of the State, but also did developmental work, which included the laying down of railway track, taking out new streams from the river, and establishing for the first time a press which published a weekly newspaper Sadiq-al-Akhbar, which heralded was the beginning of journalist activities in the State. The rule of Agency did leave impact on the region. Eventhough the changes were not felt immediately but in later years, this rule of Agency did play a part in bringing some political awareness amongst the people of the State.

The later Nawabs started realizing that in changing times and circumstances, they need to have some contact with the people of the State, as the whole of the sub-continent was engulfed with various political movements, bringing about political awareness amongst the masses, but the process was

very slow and minimal. Nawab Bahawal Khan V laid the foundation of Bahawal Club, which comprised the notables and high officials of the State, who would sit together along with the Nawab to discuss various issues and problems of the State. This Bahawal Club still exists with a prestigious position in the politics and life of Bahawalpur region.

The Nawabs of Bahawalpur had developed very close ties with the British, at various times agreements were signed between the two, but it was ensured every time that the Nawabs will have full internal sovereignty over the State. During the 1857 War of Independence, Bahawalpur State sided with the British and also provided help to them. From that time till 1947 the whole of sub-continent was rife with political movements, the people of the Bahawalpur State did not actively participate in the movements but still the effects of these movements infiltrated into the State, though very limited but the State did play a role in the political movements going on in the sub-continent. Even in the independence movement, the people of the State did not actively participate. There were reasons for this, firstly, the foremost factor was that in the State, political activities were forbidden by the Nawabs, through an act of the State government called the Public Societies Act

of 1942, which forbade the establishment of any political party or the establishment of any branch of any political party of the sub-continent in the State. Secondly, as a result of denial of political freedom, there was no political awareness amongst the people of Bahawalpur State. Thirdly, the people of the State knew very well that their future lied in the hands of the Nawab, whatever decision was taken by the Nawab was to be the faite accompli for them, the opinion of the people did not matter. Lastly, another factor was that the majority of population of Bahawalpur State was Muslims and their ruler was also a Muslim thus the people of Bahawalpur State did not feel the pinch of foreign rule.

In recent times there have been two political movements in Bahawalpur region. One is the Saraiki Province Movement and the other is the Bahawalpur Province Movement. These two movements have been active at different times in Bahawalpur region.

The Saraiki area comprises southern Punjab, which includes Bahawalpur region also. Saraiki Movement started in 1960's, initially not as a political movement but more of a cultural and linguistic movement. The movement gained

momentum in early 70's after the Bahawalpur Province movement had fizzled out in 1971.

Saraiki Province Movement began when the Saraiki speaking areas of Punjab felt that in comparison with Punjabi speaking areas, there was less and slower development in Saraiki areas. Less access to power, and goods and services resulted in lack of development. There are number of grievances which have been put up by the various Saraiki political parties and organizations. One of the grievance is settlement of people from other areas. This began when in 1886-86 canals were dug by the British and new canal colonies of Southern Punjab Bahawalpur region were opened to settlers from outside. Then again after Sutlej Valley Project new settlers came into Bahawalpur region, which is still continuing much to the disapproval of Saraiki people. Another grievance is that the Saraiki area generates more income than what is spent on it. According to Saraiki activists, Saraiki area is economically exploited. It a believes that Bahawalpur being the major producer of cotton, the income earned from it is not being spent on Bahawalpur. A major demand of Saraiki activists is that the quota of employment for Saraiki's be raised.

The number of people in Bahawalpur who support Saraiki Suba Movement comprise only of few Saraiki speaking people. The urdu speaking and Punjabi speaking section of people are totally against the creation of a separate Province on the basis of difference in the spoken languages as they then will be dominated by the Saraikis.

The Saraiki Suba Movement does not have many roots in Bahawalpur region. Not even once in all the elections, has any candidate of the Saraiki Party ever won a single seat in Bahawalpur, rather they always lost very badly in the elections.

It is not a popular movement in Bahawalpur region. The majority in Bahawalpur region still favours Bahawalpur Province upon Saraiki Province. The people feel that by supporting the creation of Saraiki Province they will be foregoing the demand for Bahawalpur Province. The other feeling toward Saraiki Province is that Multan will be the centre of power and the capital of Saraiki Province and the domination of other areas over Bahawalpur region will remain as such.

Being Saraiki, a limited section of people in Bahawalpur do have a soft corner for Saraiki Province, but in the last few elections no candidate of Saraiki Party has been able to get even a respectable number of votes. The people of

Bahawalpur claim that they are not seeking the establishment of a new province but are demanding for the restoration of Bahawalpur Province, whereas the Saraiki Province demands the division of Punjab and creation of a new province.

When the first ever general elections were held in 1970, it was the time when the movement for Bahawalpur Province was at its peak. The popularity of this demand in Bahawalpur was clearly manifested in these elections. All the candidates who got elected were great supporters of a separate province of Bahawalpur. These elected representatives from Bahawalpur comprised of few land lords and some were from the middle class. The question arises, once elected why these representatives did not strongly pursue the cause? It was because these representatives especially the one's from the middle class could not sustain the government pressures, few joined the government camp and few became inactive.

The other option for the people of Bahawalpur was to adopt aggressive attitude towards the movement but one of the quality of people of this region is that they are peace loving. Another reason for the weakening of the movement was the lack of leadership. Lack of strong leadership became and is still one of the major cause, leading to the demise of the movement

for a separate province. To cap it all the separation of East Pakistan forced the exponents of restoration of Bahawalpur province to leave it in the lurk, lest they be misunderstood.

Then there is strong influence of major national political parties in Bahawalpur. Most of these parties do not support the movement as they claim to be national parties discouraging ethnic and logistic divisions. Pakistan Muslim League is taken to be the party of Punjab. Its strength lies in Punjab, Muslim League cannot afford to favour the division of Punjab Province. Pakistan Peoples Party, which is the next major national party in the region is taken as a party of Sindh Province. If People Party supports the Bahawalpur Province Movement, then it will also have to make Karachi Division a province which will be dominated by MQM and as such will be unacceptable to Peoples Party. Jamaat-i-Islami contests elections in Bahawalpur region, but seldom its candidates win. At the time when the movement for restoration of Bahawalpur Province was active, Jamaat-i-Islami in its manifesto had supported the establishment of a separate province for Bahawalpur. But when Mian Tufail became the Ameer of Jamat, this issue was removed from the party's manifesto, one of the reasons given for this was the pressure of Punjabis on the Ameer.



After Bahawalpur was inducted in Punjab Province in 1970, great resentment surfaced in whole of Bahawalpur region. According to the 1951 agreement between Bahawalpur State and Pakistan government, Bahawalpur was given the same status as the provinces, and with this status it had merged into One Unit. Before the merger, Bahawalpur had an elected assembly, High Court, Public Service Commission, Revenue Board and other government departments just like in the provinces. It was expected that whenever One Unit is broken, the region of Bahawalpur will be made a separate province, but this did not happen. When Yahya Khan declared the merger of Bahawalpur in Punjab, the movement for the restoration of Bahawalpur Province initiated. This movement started gaining momentum, it was being led by Bahawalpur Mutahida Mahaz. In this Mahaz, leaders of various political parties were also associated. In the general elections of 1970, Bahawalpur Mutahida Mahaz on the slogan of separate Province for Bahawalpur contested the elections. It was able to win majority of national and provincial seats from Bahawalpur region. In these elections Pakistan Peoples Party had over whelmingly won both national and provincial seats in West Pakistan, but in Bahawalpur the candidates of Mahaz were

able to beat Peoples Party. These elections became a sort of referendum towards the cause for a separate province for Bahawalpur region. After the 1970 elections, the tragedy of separation of East Pakistan took place. This became one of the major factor leading to the weakening of the movement as this was a great national set back and most of the leadership of Mahaz felt that this was not the suitable time to pursue the demand for a separate province for Bahawalpur region. Another factor was the attitude of the elected representatives in the 1970 elections, after they were elected, most of them did not strongly pursue or pressurize the government. Thus the movement which had become very strong leading to demonstrations and processions and becoming violent at times started to subside.

Even though Bahawalpur Mutahida Mahaz is no more and the movement is not active but amongst the general people, there is a strong urge for a separate province of Bahawalpur. It is a deep-rooted feeling amongst the people of the region. At the moment there is no platform or leadership for this cause. The feelings of the people of Bahawalpur region for a separate province have been augmented by the constant increase in injustice and deprivations of the region. Because of

these more and more people are being convinced in Bahawalpur that the solution to their problems is a separate province.

They take it as a fact that the region is not receiving its due share both economically and politically. Bahawalpur is the second largest producer of cotton for Pakistan, but the money earned by the government from it, is not being spent on the region but elsewhere. The government has not given much attention towards the development of the region. Most of the area's of the region are underdeveloped. The government has not taken steps for the uplift of the area. The region is lagging behind in all spheres. Poverty and unemployment are common features of the region. These factors and many more have led to a stronger feeling in the Bahawalpur region for a separate province.

In 1970 when the movement for restoration of Bahawalpur Province was at its peak, Pakistan Muslim League had passed a resolution supporting the movements, but now, as the movement is not active, Muslim League no more gives any views in support or against the movement. Other than Muslim League Jamaat-i-Islami, Tahriekh-i-Istaqlal, Jamoohri Party, NAP and Awami League had also supported the

restoration of Bahawalpur Province but these parties now-a-days have no views over the issue.

Just like other areas of Pakistan, the trend of national politics also affects the Bahawalpur region. All the movements and electoral trends at national level leave impact upon the people of the region as well. At the moment in the region there is no effective regional party, which could contest a case for a separate province or demand for more shares for Bahawalpur region or take part in elections and provide alternative to national political parties to the voters of Bahawalpur region. Therefore, the national political parties and national political alliances remain the only available choices for the people of the region. Because of this reason the national political parties, just like other regions have been winning from Bahawalpur region. On the average Muslim League has remained the most popular and then comes Pakistan Peoples Party. But it is to be noted that which ever party or candidate of any party along with national issues gives attention and importance to the issues of Bahawalpur region have more chances of winning from this region. Another important aspect is that whenever there are elections whether national, provincial or local, the candidates of political parties who win are those who are supporters of a

separate province for Bahawalpur, even though their specific parties do not support the cause in their manifesto, but the candidates fully realize the peoples feelings and the people also know about the candidates tilt towards the issue of Bahawalpur Province.

FUTURE SUGGESTIONS

The majority of Bahawalpur region aspires for a separate province, which at the moment does not appear likely to be fulfilled in near future. If the grievances of the people are looked upon seriously by the national and provincial governments, then may be this demand for a separate province subsides further. There are a number of suggestions for Bahawalpur region, which if implemented can develop the region of Bahawalpur.

Agriculture in Pakistan continues to be the largest single sector and driving force for the growth of national economy. Bahawalpur is one of the backward but important region from agricultural point of view. This region has not been given due attention by the provincial government as well as by the federal government in the allocation of funds towards the development of the region. As there is not much industrialization in the region the economy of the region depends upon its agriculture.

Bahawalpur region is rich in agriculture commodities production. Main crops of the region are wheat, cotton, sugarcane, pulses and oilseeds. The government needs to set up storage facilities like huge godowns especially to store wheat which is the bumper crop of the region. More agricultural training centres should be opened as to train the farmers on scientific lines. Sugarcane is a major crop of the region but there are not many sugar mills, there is a requirement that large sugar mills should be installed in the region.

At present, in Bahawalpur there is not much trend towards industrialization. The rich class of the region is mostly involved in agriculture. There is a dire need that the government gives incentives to the people especially the rich section of the region to establish various industries. There is no heavy industry in the whole of the division except a few in Rahim Yar Khan District. In order to develop this backward area and to coup with unemployment, an industrial estate having big industries needs to be established. Total tax exemption should be given to those who would like to install heavy industries. The government should provide loans on easy terms for installation of industries. Other facilities should

be extended to the private sector. A tax free zone should be established where all types of industries should be set up.

Not only heavy industries but due attention should be paid to encourage and establish small industries and cottage industries. Bahawalpur region is famous for embroidery work, Khusa (embroided hand made leather shoes) Gandi (hand made woolen floor mats). If this cottage industry is developed, it will bring more earnings to the poor section. The government should open their centres where the workers can sell their products, the government can also take steps to advertise these products at export centres.

An office of imports and exports may be opened at Bahawalpur. Now the office is located at Multan and the businessmen of the entire Bahawalpur region have to go to Multan to acquire new licenses and to renew their licenses, which is costly as well as time consuming.

An office of the Cotton Export Corporation may be opened at Bahawalpur, as Bahawalpur region is a cotton growing and cotton exporting area. Bahawalpur region produces 23% of the total production of the country.

The means of communication of the region will have to be improved, it has become extremely essential to construct

new roads to meet the increasing heavy road traffic. If new roads are not constructed, the region will face grave situation emerging by the road traffic problems. Other than new roads in cities and towns, more roads from farms to markets have to be constructed.

The airport at Bahawalpur city needs to be expanded to cater for larger passenger planes like Boeing. At the moment there is no night landing facility, this should also be looked upon by the Aviation Department.

Serious efforts have to be made to raise the literacy rate of the region. This should be on all levels, from schools to university. Since long, Bahawalpur has been a centre of education. It has one university and one medical college besides other colleges and schools. In 1991-92 it was decided by the Punjab Government to open an engineering college at Bahawalpur but unfortunately this decision has not been implemented as yet. An engineering college should be opened in order to provide the facility of professional education to the students of this backward area.

Since agriculture is the biggest industry in this region, it is proposed that an agricultural college may be opened, having affiliation with Agricultural University, Faisalabad. Wheat,

cotton and oilseeds are the major crops of this region, one of the suggestion is to open research centres to improve the quality and yield of these crops.

Another demand of the locals is that in Islamia University, which is the only university of the region 75% should be fixed for the admissions for the people of the region. The Vice Chancellor of the university should hold the domicile of the Bahawalpur region.

Cholistan is a vast arid tract of sand mass comprising about two-third of the Bahawalpur division. The climate of Cholistan is harsh. Cholistan area is under arid zone and receives a maximum rainfall upto 200 mm. Rain is the only source of drinking water in Cholistan, both for the inhabitants as well as livestock. It is evident from the history that once Cholistan area was heavily populated with smiling green fields, but with the drying of the Hakra river, water is the most crucial factor in Cholistan. The intensity of climate accompanied by poor soil and water conditions have restricted Cholistan's major economic activity to livestock management. The people of Cholistan are nomadic pastoralists. Camels, cattle, goats and sheep are the major livestock.

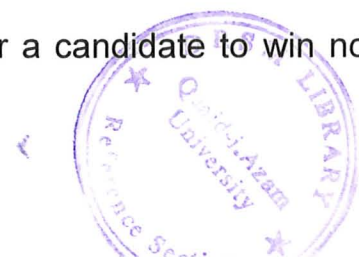
Cholistan area has received little attention for its development. In 1976, an autonomous body, Cholistan Development Authority was established, but this Authority has not been able to do much for Cholistan due to lack of funds and other resources.

One of the major causes of discontentment amongst the people of the region is the lower share in jobs at both federal and provincial level. One of the major grievance of the people is that the region is not given proper representation in the government departments. There should be a fixed quota for the region with regard to government jobs. The region has been given a minor share in services both at the provincial and federal level.

With the rapid growth of population in the Bahawalpur region, it is proposed that better and more attention should be paid towards the provision of the necessities like roads, education, health, water, gas, telephone, playgrounds, means of communication and new housing colonies.

The fact remains that the whole of Bahawalpur region remains underdeveloped and backward. Serious efforts have to be put in towards the betterment and development of the region.

The separation of East Pakistan should be taken as a lesson for all times to come, where refusal by the West Pakistan to provide due share to East Pakistan led to separatist movement eventually leading to dismantling of Pakistan. Bahawalpur region should be provided with its due share in both economic and political fields. The government should try to remove the feelings of deprivation amongst the people of Bahawalpur region before these surface into a active movement, which will have a negative impact on the integration of Pakistan. Even though Bahawalpur Province Movement is not active at the moment but it has strong roots amongst the people of the region. The people strongly feel that the problems of Bahawalpur region can be solved if it is made a separate province rather than a part of Punjab. While comparing the level of development of Bahawalpur region with that of other areas of Punjab, the difference can be seen and felt immediately. The people of the region are not wrong in feeling left out of the mainstream. At the movement there is no political party on platform working towards the Bahawalpur Province demand but during national and provincial elections, the people only like to vote for those candidates who support the cause. In Bahawalpur region it is very difficult for a candidate to win no



matter from which political party, if he does not support a separate province for Bahawalpur. The demand for a separate province is popular amongst all sections of people. The masses of the region seem to be very touchy on this issue, it is still very fresh in their minds that this region as a State was a flourishing one. Bahawalpur State was one of the richest States of the sub-continent. It was fully capable of surviving without outside help, it was able to generate its resources as to fulfill its requirements, not only this Bahawalpur States annual budget used to be in surplus.

Bahawalpur State had its own separate administrative judicial and educational systems, which were efficient and provided prompt relief to the people. After the merger of the State, the systems prevailing in other parts of the country were established in Bahawalpur region, which did not come up to the expectations of the people of the region, as a result this further dissatisfied the people. If Bahawalpur region had developed more after the merger and if it had received its due share then maybe things could have been different. The general feeling in the region is that as long as the region was a State, it had a separate and distinct identity, which did not rely on others but was sovereign in all its internal matters.

If serious thoughts and steps are not adopted for the uplift of the region then the politics of regionalism in this region may become a very serious issue. The majority of masses of the region aspire for a separate province for Bahawalpur region, this strong feeling may turn into a political movement, if the grievances of the region are not seriously looked upon.

APPENDICES



Instrument of Accession of Bahawalpur State.

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as Pakistan, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of Pakistan;

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Federation of Pakistan by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof :

Now Therefore

I Sadig Muhammad Iqbal Abbasi, Amir of Bahawalpur State in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Federation of Pakistan with the intent that the Governor-General of Pakistan, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court, and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of the Federation shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Federation, exercise in relation to the State of Bahawalpur (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of Pakistan on the fifteenth day of August, 1947, (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as "the Act")

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due

effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make laws for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Federation of Pakistan on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of the State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Federal Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Federal Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Federal Government of Pakistan for the purposes of a Federal law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice^{of} Pakistan.

6. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future Constitution of Pakistan or to fetter my discretion to enter into agreement with the Government of Pakistan established under any such future Constitution.

S c h e d u l e.

The matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

A. Defence.

1. The Naval, Military and Air Forces of the Dominion and any other armed force raised or maintained by the Dominion; including any armed forces raised or maintained by a federated State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.

2. Naval, Military and Air Force works, and administration of Cantonment areas save and except those belonging to the federated State.

3. Supply of fire-arms, ammunition and explosives for the use of Military Forces of the federated State.

4. Export by a federated State of fire-arms, ammunition and explosives outside Pakistan.

B. External Affairs.

1. External affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's Dominions outside Pakistan.

2. Admission into and emigration and expulsion from Pakistan, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movement in Pakistan of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in Pakistan or subjects of any federated State; pilgrimages to places beyond Pakistan.

3. Naturalisation in the federated State of persons other than Pakistan Nationals.

C. Communications.

1. Posts and Telegraphs, including Trunk telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication for federal purposes.

2. Federal Railways; the regulation of all railways other

8. Nothing in this Instrument effects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authorities, rights and jurisdiction now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this Third day of October, Nineteen hundred and forty seven.

Sadiq Muhammad Akbar

Ameer of Bahawalpur.

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession.

Dated this Fifth day of October, Nineteen hundred and forty seven.

M. A. Jinnah
Governor-General of Pakistan.

than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; admiralty jurisdiction.

4. Port quarantine.

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of port authorities therein.

6. Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organisation of air traffic and of aerodromes.

7. Light-houses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

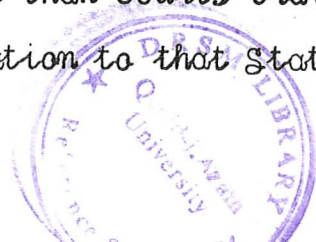
8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

D. Ancillary.

1. Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.

2. Inquiries and statistics for the purpose of any of the aforesaid matters.

3. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect of any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the federated State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State.





Supplementary Instrument of Accession of the Bahawalpur State.

Whereas in furtherance of my declared policy to provide for the increasing association of my people with the administration of my State and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in my State as a Federated Unit of Pakistan;

And whereas I have promulgated an interim constitution for my State as embodied in the Government of Bahawalpur Act, 1952, which provides for the setting up of a ministry which shall be responsible to a State Majlis composed of elected representatives of the people;

Now Therefore I have decided that I shall exercise my powers and authority over my State in accordance with the provisions of the interim constitution;

I have further decided that an experienced officer, shall be appointed by me in consultation with the Governor-General of Pakistan, as my Adviser to aid and advise me in the exercise of my powers and authority as the Constitutional Ruler of my State and in the discharge of my functions in respect of matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature has powers to make laws for my State and in respect to which the executive authority vests in the Governor-General of Pakistan, with a view to ensuring that due effect is given within this State to the provisions of the constitution and laws of Pakistan as far as they are and would from time to time become applicable therein, and to the directions of the Governor-General of Pakistan issued to me from time to time in regard to the matters mentioned above.

The terms and conditions of service of the said Adviser shall be determined by me in consultation with the Government of Pakistan.

If ever an occasion should arise when my views on a matter should

differ from the advice extended to me by my Ministers of the
 Nabina or by my said Adviser, I shall seek the advice of the
 Government of Pakistan (~~States Department~~) thereon and which
^{shall} ~~I would~~ ^{it} accept accordingly.

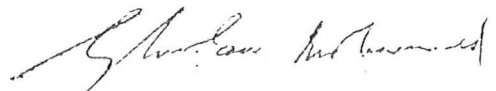
Signed by me on this day the first of March in the year
 Nineteen hundred Fiftytwo.



Amir of Bahawalpur.

I do hereby accept this Supplementary Instrument of Accession.

Dated this third day of March, Nineteen hundred and fifty two.



Governor-General of Pakistan.

Agreement between the Government of Pakistan
and His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur.

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Whereas the Government of Pakistan have decided that the Bahawalpur State Forces shall be integrated with the Pakistan Army and shall henceforth form part thereof;

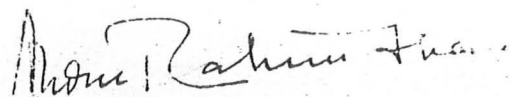
Now therefore it has been agreed as follows:-

- (1) The Government of Pakistan shall forego with effect from 1st April 1952, the annual contribution made by the State of Bahawalpur to the Government of Pakistan towards the maintenance of the Bahawalpur State Forces as provided in Clause 7 of the Second Supplementary Instrument of Accession of the State dated the 29th April 1951;
- (2) the proceeds of any taxes imposed and collected by the Federation in the State of Bahawalpur, including the sales tax shall be distributed between the Federation and the State as between the Federation and other Provinces of Pakistan on the basis of the recommendations contained in the Raisman Report and the provisions of the Supplementary Instruments of Accession of the State dated the 1st October 1948 and 29th April 1951 respectively shall stand modified accordingly;
- (3) the Bahawalpur State Forces shall be integrated with the Pakistan Army and shall form part thereof; provided that His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur's bodyguard shall continue to be regarded as Bahawalpur State Force and its strength and arrangements in regard to its financial, administrative and operational control shall continue as at present;
- (4) the present names of the Units comprising the Bahawalpur State Forces shall continue and the

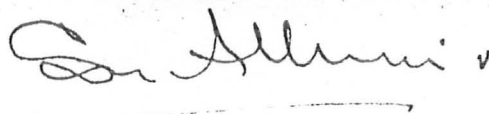
- shall be retained and used by them;
- (5) His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur shall continue to be the Colonel-in-Chief of these Units;
- (6) the Ameer of Bahawalpur shall be entitled to draw annually from the revenues of the State a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 in addition to the existing annual grant of Rs. 5,00,000/- for the maintenance of his Bodyguard, to enable him to raise the salary of the personnel;
- (7) the Units of Pakistan Armed Forces stationed in the State will show due honour and courtesy to His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur and at his request will provide within the State on ceremonial occasions, the necessary guards of honour;
- in confirmation whereof Col. Abdur Rahim Khan, Secretary to the Government of Pakistan in the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, has appended his signature on behalf of and with the authority of the Government of Pakistan; and

His Highness Lt.-General Al-Haj Sadiq Mohammad Khan V Abbasi, Ameer of Bahawalpur, has appended his signature on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors.

Dated 24th April, 1952.



Secretary to the Govt. of Pakistan.



Ameer of Bahawalpur.

AGREEMENT MADE THIS seventeenth day of December 1954 between the Governor General of Pakistan and His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur State.

WHEREAS in the best interests of the State of Bahawalpur as well as of the Dominion of Pakistan it is desirable to provide for the cession of the territories of the said State to the Dominion of Pakistan and for the merger of the same in the proposed Unit of the said Dominion to be known as West Pakistan.

NOW THEREFORE it is hereby agreed as follows:-

Article I.

His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur hereby cedes to the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan his sovereignty and all his rights, authority and powers as Ruler of the State of Bahawalpur together with all his territories; and the authority, jurisdiction and powers for the governance of the said State and territories shall vest in the Government of the Dominion on and from the day to be fixed by the Governor General of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as "the said day".

As from the said day the Government of the Dominion shall exercise all powers, authority and jurisdiction for the governance of the said State and territories in such manner and through such agency as it may think fit.

Article II.

His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur shall be entitled to receive annually from the Government of Pakistan for his privy purse a sum of Rs.32 lacs (Rupees thirty two lacs only) free of all taxes.

The said amount is intended to cover all the expenses

of His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur and his family including expenses on account of his personal staff, bodyguard, tours, hospitality, maintenance of his residences, marriages and all family ceremonies.

2. The said amount shall be payable to the Ameer of Bahawalpur in four equal instalments at the beginning of each quarter in advance.

3. The payment of the said amount as herein provided is guaranteed by the Government of Pakistan.

Article III.

His Highness the Ameer shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all the jewels, jewellery, ornaments, shares, securities and other private properties, movable as well as immovable, not being State properties, belonging to him on the date of this agreement.

If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of His Highness or State property, it shall be decided by the Governor General of Pakistan whose decision shall be final and binding on all concerned.

Article IV.

His Highness the Ameer, Her Highness and His Highness's children shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territory of the State immediately before the date of this agreement.

Article V.

The Government of Pakistan guarantees the succession according to law and custom of the State of Bahawalpur to the personal rights, privileges,



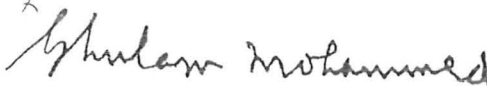
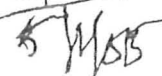
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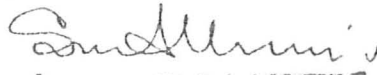
dignities and titles of His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur as specified in Articles II to IV above.

Article VI.

This agreement abrogates all the Instruments of Accession and agreements between the Governor General of Pakistan and His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur signed so far.

In confirmation whereof the Governor General of Pakistan and His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur have appended their signatures on this seventeenth day of December 1954.


GOVERNOR GENERAL OF PAKISTAN 



AMEER OF BAHAWALPUR.

AGREEMENT MADE THIS fourth day of June 1966,
between the President of the Islamic Republic of
Pakistan and Brig. His Highness Mohammad Abbas
Khan Abbasi.

WHEREAS Brig. His Highness Mohammad Abbas
Khan Abbasi (hereinafter referred to as the Ameer),
according to the law and custom of Bahawalpur,
has succeeded as the Ameer of Bahawalpur;

AND WHEREAS the President of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan (hereinafter referred to as
the President) has been pleased to accord recognition
to the aforesaid succession;

AND WHEREAS upon such recognition by the President
the Ameer receives such privy purse and enjoys such
personal privileges, dignities and titles as are
agreed upon between the President and the Ameer;

NOW, THEREFORE, it is hereby agreed as follows :—

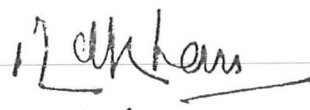
- (1) That the Ameer shall receive annually from
the Government of Pakistan as his privy purse
a sum of Rs.16,00,000/- (rupees sixteen lakh)
free from all taxes.
 - i. The said amount is intended to cover all the
expenses of His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur
and his family including expenses on account of his
personal staff, bodyguard, tours, hospitality,
maintenance of his residences, marriages and all
family ceremonies.
 - ii. The said amount shall be payable to the Ameer of
Bahawalpur in four equal instalments at the
beginning of each quarter in advance.
- (2) That the Ameer shall be entitled to all the
personal privileges, dignities and titles
enjoyed by his father, whether within or
outside Bahawalpur;

- 2 -

(3) That the claim of the Ameer to the aforesaid privy purse and the personal privileges, dignities and titles is subject to the law for the time being in force in Pakistan and to the conditions that the Ameer shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, conscientiously discharge the obligations of a citizen of Pakistan under the Constitution and the law and honestly and faithfully act in the interest of the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan.

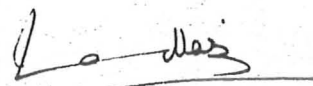
(4) The Government of Pakistan guarantees the succession according to law and custom of the State of Bahawalpur.

In confirmation whereof the President and the Ameer have appended their signatures on the day and year above mentioned.



The President.

4.6.66



The Ameer.

Agreement made this 11th day of April 1952 between His
Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan and His Highness the
Ameer of Bahawalpur.

Whereas it has been decided that the constitution of
Pakistan adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan shall be
the Constitution for the State of Bahawalpur as for the other
parts of Pakistan and shall be enforced as such in accordance
with the tenor of its provisions;

And whereas it is expedient that the rights,
privileges and dignities, including the dynastic succession
and the privy purse of His Highness the Ameer shall be
determined by agreement between him and the Government of
Pakistan;

It is hereby agreed as follows :-

Article I

His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur shall be
entitled to receive annually from the revenues of the State of
Bahawalpur for his privy purse a sum not exceeding Rs.29,50,000/-
(Rupees Twenty Nine Lacs and Fifty Thousands only) free of all
taxes as detailed in the schedule annexed to this agreement.

2. The said amount is intended to cover all the expenses
of His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur and his family including
expenses on account of his personal staff, bodyguard, tours,
hospitality, maintenance of his residences, marriages and other
ceremonies.

3. The said amount shall be payable to the Ameer of
Bahawalpur in four equal instalments at the beginning of each
quarter in advance.

4. The payment of the said amount as herein provided is
guaranteed by the Government of Pakistan.

His Highness the Ameer shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all the jewels, jewellery, ornaments, shares, securities and other private properties, movable as well as immovable, not being State properties, belonging to him on the date of this agreement.

2. His Highness the Ameer shall furnish to the Government of Pakistan within three months of the date of this Agreement lists of all the movable and immovable property held by him as such private property.

3. If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of His Highness or State property, it shall be decided by the Governor-General of Pakistan whose decision shall be final and binding on all concerned.

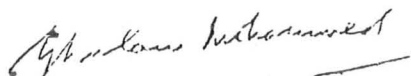
Article III

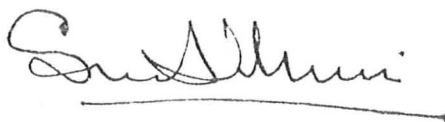
His Highness the Ameer and the members of his family shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or out-side the territory of the State immediately before the date of this agreement.

Article IV.

The Government of Pakistan guarantees the succession according to law and custom of the State of Bahawalpur to the Gaddi of the State and to the personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles of His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur.

In confirmation whereof His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan and His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur have respectively appended their signatures this ^{11th} 9th day of April 1952.


GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN


AMEER OF BAHAWALPUR.

Aide Memoir of discussion held between High Highness Al Haj Nawab Sir Sadiq Mohammad Khan Abbasi, Amir of Bahawalpur State and the Hon'ble Mishtaq Ahmad Gurmami, Minister of the Interior and States and Frontier Regions, Government of Pakistan on the 23rd February 1952.

The Hon'ble Minister mentioned to His Highness that it was considered desirable to integrate the units of Bahawalpur State Forces with Pakistan Army with a view to bringing their rates of pay, conditions of service and general standard in line therewith. His Highness said that he would agree to the proposed action being taken provided:—

- (i) his body guard continues to be regarded as Bahawalpur State Forces and all the existing arrangements with regard to it continue and he is given an additional grant to enable him to raise the pay of his body guard personnel as otherwise there would be discontent among them;
- (ii) the units of the Bahawalpur State Forces should retain their present names and the colours given to them by him and that he should continue to be their Colonel-in-Chief;
- (iii) the units of the armed forces stationed in Bahawalpur State should on ceremonial occasions provide necessary guards of honour and should show the same courtesy, respect and honour to him as the Ruler of the State, as they do at present;
- (iv) the State should be absolved of the obligation to make the annual financial contribution towards the maintenance of these troops and the fiscal arrangements between the State and the Federal Government should be on the same basis as between a Governor's Province and the Federal Government.

H.M. agreed in principle with all the points raised by His Highness and promised to have the position regarding financial arrangements further examined and to send him a final draft agreement in due course for His Highness's signature.


1-3-52

As desired by my illustrious father, the late His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur, in his Will dated the 20th March 1958, I undertake to pay to Her Highness Dowager Begum Olivyen Jamila Abbasi the sum of Rs.1,00,000/- (rupees one lakh) per annum till her death or remarriage.



Ameer of Bahawalpur

SCHEDULE

Privy purse of His Highness the Ameer of Bahawalpur:

1. Privy purse	Rs. 20,00,000	Per annum.
2. Civil list reserve	Rs. 2,00,000	Per annum.
3. Body guard	Rs. 7,50,000	per annum.
	<hr/>	
Total	Rs. 29,50,000	per annum.
	<hr/>	

Ameer Ratinu Khan

Text of interview (translated) with Dr. Wasim Akhtar, District Ameer, Jamaat-e-Islami, Ex-MPA from Bahawalpur

Date: 10 July 2001 Place: Bahawalpur

Q.1 What has been the standing and role of your political party in Bahawalpur Division upto July 1977?

Ans. Uptil 1977, Jamaat-e-Islami in Bahawalpur had been busy in moral, ideological and political training of its workers. The party was also involved in introducing the party amongst the people of the region.

Q.2 Were there any special contribution made by your party in that period?

Ans. Due to the non-democratic stance of Bhutto's government, at the national level, nine political parties together began a movement against the government and my party was one of them, which played a fundamental role in the movement. As a result of this movement, talks were to be held but before this could be done, Martial law was imposed.

Q.3 What is the present standing and role of your political party in Bahawalpur Division i.e. after 1985 till date?

Ans. In 1985 non party national and provincial elections in Bahawalpur Division, Jamaat actively contested the elections but even then it was not able to win a single seat. In the 1988 general elections Jamaat contested the elections, but with no success. In the 1990 elections Jamaat contested the elections from the platform of IJI, and got one provincial seat (that of mine). In the 1993 elections Jamaat fully contested the elections, but got no seat, as Jamaat was unable to win the ideological war with biradriism. After this, till 1999, Jamaat fought against the government, which it considered as antidemocratic and biased. Jamaat was very active in holding demonstrations and protests against the visit of Prime Minister of India to Pakistan. On his visit when demonstrations were held in Lahore, ten thousand workers of Jamaat went to Lahore for the purpose. Out of these 200 workers were jailed for 2 months.

Q.4 Any note worthy contribution made by your party during this period?

Ans. After the Martial Law of 1999, in the present 2001 local bodies elections, Jamaat actively participated in the elections and few have been elected at Tehsil level.

Q.5 In your opinion do the majority of people in Bahawalpur Division support Bahawalpur Province Movement?

Ans. In my opinion majority of people in Bahawalpur Division support Bahawalpur Province Movement. Over here it is to be clarified that Jamaat-i-Islami's stance on this issue is that it supports a separate province for Bahawalpur. This movement began in late 60's and both Saraiki and Punjabi people of the division actively supported it. Because this movement was not linguistic based but based on the political and administrative requirements of the people. Till the time this movement was active Saraiki movement remained inactive. But when Bahawalpur Province Movement started to fizzle out then only did Saraiki movement gain momentum

Q.6 In your opinion do the majority of people in Bahawalpur Division support Saraiki Province Movement?

Ans. In my opinion the people of Bahawalpur region do not support Saraiki Province Movement, this is one of the reasons why the leadership of Saraiki movement has not been able to draw processions or public gatherings.

Q.7 What is the stance of your political party on this issue?

Ans. The policy of the party on this issue is that it is against any movement which is based on language, which is also against the ideology of Pakistan.

Q.8 What are the factors, which affect the politics of Bahawalpur region?

Ans. The economic and educational backwardness affects the politics of the region and as a result feudalism is very strong in the region.

Q.9 Give your suggestions regarding the development and betterment of Bahawalpur region.

Ans. Literacy level should be raised. Industrialization to be encouraged, more agriculture should be done and more employment to be provided in the region.

Text of interview (translated) with Malik Habib Ullah Bhutta, Ex-District President, Pakistan Peoples Party.

Date: 20 July 2001 Place: Bahawalpur

Q.1 What has been the standing and role of your political party in Bahawalpur Division upto July 1977?

Ans. Like other parts of the country in Bahawalpur too within Peoples Party there was lack of democratic trends and because of this, the organizational set up of the party was based on nominations, due to which the party was in the hold of few. In Bahawalpur region also on nomination basis, the party was re-organized three times, this was done through the Deputy Commissioners. After Peoples Party formed the government in 1971, it established Quaid-i-Azam Medical College, Islamia University, Lal Sohanra National Park, Peoples Textile and Radio Pakistan in Bahawalpur. The region was provided sui gas, and to compensate the grievances, the Nawab was made the Governor of Punjab.

Q.2 The present standing and role of your political party in Bahawalpur Division?

Ans. Peoples Party fought against the Martial Law government of General Zia-ul-Haq, and as a result of both external and internal pressures, in 1985 non-party elections were held. Peoples Party in Bahawalpur Division was also active on this issue. Peoples Party boycotted the 1985 elections. In the 1988 elections, in Bahawalpur Division Peoples Party attained may seats but was unable to form its government in Punjab.

Q.3 In your opinion do the majority of people in Bahawalpur region support Bahawalpur Province Movement? And what is the stance of your party on this issue?

Ans. The majority of people of Bahawalpur region are in favour of a Bahawalpur Province. I played a active role in the movement. I was offered a ticket by Pakistan Peoples Party, which I turned down in the 1970 elections. At that time I did not want to leave the movement and join PPP which did not support the



Bahawalpur Province Movement. Peoples Party in the 1970 elections would not get strong candidates and thus lost to the activists of Mahaz. I at many occasions requested Mr. Bhutto to support the movement for Bahawalpur Province, which would have led to great success of PPP in Bahawalpur region, but the strong lobby under Sheikh Rasheed convinced Bhutto not to favour a separate Province for Bahawalpur. If the representatives elected in 1970 elections from the platform of Mahaz, had given resignations when their demand for a separate province for Bahawalpur was not accepted, the movement would have become more stronger, but few took ministries, and Nawab Bahawalpur was made the Governor of Punjab.

Q.4 In your opinion do the majority of people in Bahawalpur Division support Saraiki Province Movement?

Ans. With regard to Saraiki movement, Saraiki Party contested elections once and not even a single candidate of the party could get even five hundred votes. The people of Bahawalpur region are only in favour of a

separate province for Bahawalpur region, not of a Saraiki Province. In Bahawalpur Division there are Mahajirs, Punjabi and Saraiki, none of these three are in favour of Saraiki Province. The demand by the people of Bahawalpur for a separate Province is based on political, administrative factors. Before the merger of the Bahawalpur State, Bahawalpur had a separate political and administrative identity. Bahawalpur State had its own legislature assembly and High Court. Prime Minister was the administrative head of the State. The Ameer of Bahawalpur was the permanent constitutional head. The pace of development was satisfactory, this was a peaceful region. After the State's merger into One Unit, the development in the region nearly ended. The lands of region were allotted to others rather than the locals. The region had to face immense shortage of electricity and water. The deprivations of the people of Bahawalpur Division increased when they were not given share in federal and provincial jobs. All these grievances added led towards the demand for a Bahawalpur Province.

Q.5 What are the factors, which affect the politics of Bahawalpur region?

Ans. The deprivation of the people of the region is one of the factors, which affect the politics of the region. While every candidate talks of the problems of the people, is appreciated by them. After the break up of One Unit, the candidates who supported the Bahawalpur Province Movement got high percentage of votes. The candidates who supported remaining within Punjab Province lost the elections badly and did not even win a single seat.

In Bahawalpur region, the tussle in politics is between Arian and Jatt. Amongst these two, the one which gets the support of other castes, wins the elections. Another factor is the politics of the shrines, there are number of shrines in the region and the caretakers of these shrines are influential and political families. These political families have great impact on the politics of the region. The families of the shrines have huge vote bank and they nearly always win election and sit in provincial and federal assemblies. At times some constituencies seem

to be contested on hereditary basis. Some members of the family join Peoples Party and some Muslim League.

Q.6 Give your suggestions regarding the development and betterment of Bahawalpur region.

Ans. Bahawalpur is one of the best cotton producing division. One third of Pakistan's total cotton is produced in Bahawalpur region but there is no major textile mill in the whole region. In these times of industrial era, this seems strange. Upon this, the division is paying Rs.6 Million as federal taxes. The provincial taxes are other than this. Whenever there is shortage of water in rivers, this region has to suffer the most. Since 1985, there have been administrative changes in Punjab, due to which new divisions, districts and sub-districts have been made. These changes have brought good affects. If in Bahawalpur Division, such changes were made, there would have been more development in the region, but no new districts or sub-districts were created in the region. Three new districts are suggested for the uplift of the region, these may be Laiqatpur, Hasilpur and Cholistan

districts. Another suggestion is to establish Industrial Estate, where the government provides loans, electricity, gas and telephone facilities. This will provide jobs to the locals and also bring about more economic activity. Cottage industry should be encouraged. Measures should be taken to provide water to Cholistan. The agricultural land in Bahawalpur should only be allotted to the local farmers.

Text of interview (translated) with Sami Ullah Chaudhry, ex-MPA, Pakistan Muslim League, Bahawalpur, ex-Parliamentary Secretary.

Date: 20 July 2001 Place: Bahawalpur

Q.1 Till July 1977 what has been the role of your political party in Bahawalpur region?

Ans. Uptil 1977, the role of Muslim league in Bahawalpur region was not much but this party had a special status over here as it was the founder party of Pakistan. The actual role of Muslim League in Bahawalpur region begins after 1985, when Nawaz Sharif became the president of Muslim League and re-organized the party bringing new vigor and life into Muslim League.

Q.2 What has been the role of your party after 1985 in Bahawalpur region?

Ans. After 1985 whenever Muslim League got a chance to form the government, it not only constructed highways but also laid a network of roads in small areas. Various programmes were initiated which included primary

education for all and provision of basic medical facilities were to be ensured. In Cholistan and far flung areas some roads were constructed but now they are in poor condition. In accordance with Tameer-e-Watan Programme lot of areas were provided electricity, roads, drinking water and especially in Bahawalpur, Rural Development Project was launched, according to which roads from farms to markets were built, programmes to deal with employment problems, and encouragement of small industries began. One of the major achievements of my party has been the elimination of ghost schools through the help of army. Muslim League government provided a huge amount for the establishment of an Engineering College in the region. Special arrangements were done for the protection of wildlife in Cholistan, a special grant was provided for this purpose. During this time Muslim League was busy in establishing itself on strong grounds in the region, for this the party was organized in an effective way. Huge membership was attained and as a result now a days Muslim League is the largest national political party of Bahawalpur Division. The Muslim League government abolished

cycle rikshaw from Bahawalpur region, which were inhuman in replacement they were provided auto rikshaw.

Q.3 Do you think that the people of Bahawalpur region are in favour of Bahawalpur Province?

Ans. Actually the real solution to problems of Pakistan is to divide it into small administrative units, so that the people have feeling of security and participation. People would be able to resolve their problems easily. In the past the case of separation of East Pakistan should be taken as a lesson, where the separatist feelings became so strong due to the lack of peoples confidence in government and lack of participation in governmental affairs.

Q.4 On this issue what has been the policy of your party?

Ans. Muslim League has always been against ethnicity, and played a very effective campaign in ending the role of Saraiki Party, because Muslim League has always been against ethnicity and division of areas on linguistic

grounds. These two factors damage the feelings of brotherhood and people are divided into groups. These are the reasons why Muslim League has always openly condemned creation of Saraiki Province.

Q.5 Which are the factors, which influence the politics of the Bahawalpur region?

Ans. Various groups of Abbasi's Gardezi, group or a particular section dominates the politics of the Bahawalpur region, this section of people live in Lahore and Islamabad, from there they influence the local politics and as a result they are not fully aware of the actual problems of the area. The personal loyalties of these are superior to the collective ones, for example the waters of canals or roads are built where their own personal interest is. This section of people do not really want to eradicate ignorance amongst the masses because these politicians do not want the people to play an effective role in the region. These feudals always try that the poor sections of region do not get education. Biradari system

in Bahawalpur region is also strong and influences the politics of the region.

Q.6 What are your suggestions for the development and betterment of Bahawalpur Division?

Ans. The most basic problem is the lack of industrialization in the region, it is necessary to establish industrial units. Roads linking villages with towns should be built. Leave aside villages, even towns of the region lack basic facilities. There is immense shortage of water in nearly all areas of the region.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. In the local bodies election, do you like to vote for;

- Non-Party candidate;
- Regional Party candidate;
- National Party candidate.

In the provincial assembly election would you vote for;

- Non-party candidate;
- Regional party candidate;
- National party candidate.

2. In the national assembly election would you vote for;

- Non-party candidate;
- Regional party candidate;
- National party candidate.

4. Do you prefer voting for a candidate who speaks;

- Your mother tongue.
- National language.
- Language other than your mother tongue.

5. Do you prefer voting for a candidate;

- From your own caste.
- From any caste.

6. Do you prefer voting for a candidate from;
 - A rich family.
 - A middle family.
 - A average family.
7. Bahawalpur Region is important for Pakistan because of its;
 - Contribution in economy.
 - Geographical location.
8. Bahawalpur Region can flourish;
 - As a separate province.
 - As a part of some Saraiki Province.
 - As a part of Punjab Province.
9. After the new devolution plan, do you think;
 - Your region needs more power.
 - The power is adequate.
10. Which is the most serious problem in your region;
 - Poverty.
 - Sectarianism.
 - Unemployment.
 - Exploitation by the rich.
 - Illiteracy.

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