

**POLITICS OF REGIONALISM:
A CASE STUDY OF MULTAN REGION
PERIOD 1947-2000**



**BY
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TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

2012

**POLITICS OF REGIONALISM:
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PERIOD 1947-2000**

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**BY
SALIM-UD-DIN**

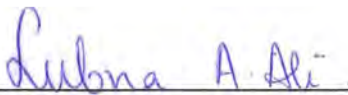
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2012


CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation by Salim-ud-Din is accepted in its present form by the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, as a requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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1. External Examiner



2. External Examiner



DECLARATION

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

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Salim-ud-Din', with a checkmark at the end.

Salim-ud-Din

CONTENTS

List of Contents	i
List of Tables	vii
List of Maps	viii
List of Illustrations	viii
Abbreviations	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Abstract	xiii
Chapter 1	
INTRODUCTION	1-45
1.1 Regionalism	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	13
1.3 Relevance of the Problem	15
1.4 Hypothesis	17
1.5 Definition of Concepts	18
1.6 Central Questions of Study	19
1.7 Theoretical Framework	20
1.7.1 Functionalism	21
1.7.2 Neo Functionalism	26
1.7.3 Realism	27
1.7.4 Neorealism	30
1.8 Research Methodology	35
1.8.1 Population	37

1.8.2	Sample	39
1.8.3	Delimitation	39
1.8.4	Tools of Research	39
1.8.5	Data Collection	40
1.8.6	Data Analysis	40
1.9	An overview of Literature	41
1.10	Organization of Research	42
Chapter 2		
THE LAND OF MULTAN		47
2.1	Geographical Location	47
2.2	Area and Population	51
2.3	Climate	51
2.4	Ethnic Composition: Castes and Tribes	52
2.4.1.	Syed	53
2.4.2	Qureshi	54
2.4.3	Arain	55
2.4.4	Kamboh	55
2.4.5	Pathan	56
2.4.6	Bloch	56
2.4.7	Jat	57
2.4.8	Rajput	58
2.4.9	Honorary Titles	59
2.5	Agriculture	59

2.6.	Irrigation	65
2.7.	Forest	66
2.8.	Industries	67
2.9.	Communications	69
2.10	Legacy of Multan	72-74

Chapter 3

RULERS AND POLITICS	75	
3.1	Historical Setting	75
3.2	The Greek Alexander The Great (356-323 BC)	86
3.2.1	Multan Under Greeks	86
3.3	Chandara Gupta Maurya and Ashoka	89
3.4	Multan under the Muslim Rule (711-1818 AD)	95
3.4.1	The Arabs (711-1000 AD)	95
3.4.2	Sultan Mehmood Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghori (1000-1206 AD)	101
3.5	Administration of the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1445 AD)	105
3.5.1	Multan a State under Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha(1206-1228 AD)	105
3.6	The Sultan of Delhi	108
3.6.1	Multan as a Province Delhi Sultanate (1228-1445 AD)	108
3.7	The Langhas (1445-1525 AD)	115
3.7.1	Multan as State	115
3.8	The Mughals (1526-1751 AD)	118
3.8.1	Multan as Province of the Mughal Empire	118

3.9	The Afghans and Multan (1752-1818 AD)	124
3.10	The Sikhs and Multan (1818-1849 AD)	128
3.10.1	Multan as Province of the Sikh Kingdom	128
3.11	The British (1849-1947 AD)	135

Chapter 4

	POLITICS IN MULTAN REGION (1947-1970)	137
4.1.	Pre-partition Political Legacy in Multan	137
4.2	Political Role of Multan in Pakistan Movement	142
4.3	Role of Multan Press in Pakistan Movement	155
4.4.	Role of the Women in Pakistan Movement	156
4.5	Creation of Pakistan	159
4.6	The Partition of Punjab	160
4.6.1	Community and Group Interests	160
4.7	Politics of One Party	165

Chapter 5

	POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE REGION	173
5.1	Saraiki Movement	173
5.2	Bahawalpur Movement	193

Chapter 6

	POLITICS OF MUSLIM SHRINES AND LANDLORDS (FEUDALS)	204
6.1	Politics of Shrines in Historical Context	204
6.2	Establishment of Shrines in the Region	207
6.2.1	Shrine of Qureshi Family (Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani)	215

7.2.4. 1988 Elections	275
7.2.5. 1990 Elections	276
7.2.6. 1993 Elections	277
7.2.7. 1997 Elections	279
7.3 The Voter of Multan Region	282
7.4. Politicians' Interviews	284
7.5 Opinions of Common People and political Figure	293
7.6 Analysis of Opinions: Common People and Political Figure/Leaders	294
Chapter 8	
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	296
8.1. Recommendations	310
Appendix 'A' (List of Saints of Indian Sufism arranged chronologically)	317
Appendix 'B' (The Principal Anniversaries of the Saints' Urs India/Multan)	330
Appendix 'C' (Shrines within Multan City)	333
Appendix 'D' (Deputy Commissioner Multan, British/Pakistan period)	339
Appendix 'E' (Commissioners of Multan Division, Multan)	343
Appendix 'F'	
1. Results of General Election National & Provincial Assemblies of Multan region 1970, 1977, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997.	344
2. Questionnaire)	359
3. Name of the Political Figures/Leaders of Multan Region who were consulted in connection with their opinions about Questionnaire.	361
Table: No of common people consulted for their opinions about questionnaire	
4. Table: Analysis on the opinions of Common People and Political Figure/Leader	362
Appendix 'G' (Text of Interviews)	363
1. Rao Muhammad Zafar, Ameer Jamaat-e-Islami City & District Multan	363
2. Mr. Nafees Ahmed Ansari, Ex-MPA, PML (N) District Multan	371
3. Malik Aamir Dogar, MPA, Pakistan Peoples Party, Multan	375
4. Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan, EX-MPA, Senior Minister PPP, Multan	378
Bibliography	384

List of Tables

S.No.	Title	Page No
1.	District Wise Comparative Statement of the Geographical Area, Population and density.	50
2.	District Wise break-up of rural and Urban Population pertaining to two census period.	50
3.	District wise comparative statement of crops area and production of wheat and cotton of Multan region for the period 1995-98.	60
4.	District wise comparative statement of fruit production; mango and banana for 1995-1998.	62
5.	Statement of Canals' length in Multan region.	64
6.	Statement of Canals wise irrigated area in Multan region.	64
7.	Major Industrial Units.	68
8.	District wise road length.	70
9.	Percentage of Population by Mother Tongue and Rural/Urban area, 1981 and 1998.	178
10.	1970 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	344
11.	1970 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	345
12.	1977 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	346
13.	1977 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	347
14.	1985 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	349
15.	1985 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	350
16.	1988 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	351
17.	1988 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	352
18.	1990 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	353
19.	1990 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	354
20.	1993 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	355
21.	1993 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	356
22.	1997 National Assembly Results of Multan Division.	357
23.	1997 Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division.	358

List of Maps

S.No.	Title	Page No.
1.	Map of Pakistan showing Multan Division.	46
2.	Map of Multan Region.	48
3.	Map of the Punjab province and major language spoken by the people, 1998.	175
4.	The Proposed Saraiki Province.	192

List of Illustration

Fig No.	Description	P/No.
Fig. 1	Shrine of Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakria (Multani)	217
Fig. 2	Shrine of Shah Rukn-i-Alam	220
Fig. 3	Shrine of Shah Yousaf Gardez	223
Fig. 4	Shrine of Baba Farid-ud-Din Shakarganj (Pakpattan Sharif)	226
Fig 5.	Shrine of Makhdoom Abdur Rashid	228

Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini: used in the Christian calendar when referring to a year after Jesus Christ was born in 1215 AD/AD 1215 during the seventh century AD. [Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary of English 3 rd Edition (2008)]
AIML	All India Muslim League – A political party
ANP	Awami National Party – A political party
BC	Before (the birth of) Christ
BCE	Before the birth of Christ's era
B.D.	Basic Democrat
CML	Council Muslim League – A political party
EBDO	Elective Body Disqualification Order
INC	Indian National Congress – A political party
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad – Alliance of Political Parties
JI	Jamaat-i-Islami (A political party)
KM	Kilometer – unit of distance
L.A.	Legislative Assembly
MNA	Member National Assembly
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
MQM	Muhajar Qaumi Movement now Muthada Qaumi Movement – A political party

NWFP	North West Frontier Province of Pakistan (now Khyber Pakhtun Khaw
PDA	Pakistan Democratic Alliance (Alliance of Political Parties)
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance(Alliance of political parties)
PLA	Provincial Legislative Assembly
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party (A political party)
PML	Pakistan Muslim League (A political party)
WAPDA	Water and Power Development Authority

Acknowledgements

First of all I am thankful to Allah Almighty, Who gave me strength to work for this dissertation. I wish to acknowledge many people who made my study possible.

I am thankful to Late Dr. Ahmed Hassan Dani, Professor Emeritus, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, his patient guidance inspired the completion of this work. His dedicated professionalism and enthusiasm for work has been a driving spirit behind the preparation of this dissertation. His towering personality and extensive knowledge always impressed me. In few words, he was a great scholar and as a human being, he was full of wisdom and originality. I pray Allah Almighty to keep his soul in heaven.

I am also grateful to Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Dean, Faculty of Contemporary Studies (FCS), National Defence University, Islamabad for guidance and suggestions to complete this work. His discussions were thought provoking and encouraged me. Likewise Dr. Lubna Abid Ali, who supervised this thesis, after the death of Professor Dr. Ahmed Hasan Dani. She gave valuable suggestions that prolonged the completion of this work. However, her stress on the incorporation of theoretical basis of study resulted in exploring literature in the field of Regionalism. This has made this work scientific and useful for students of comparative politics using case study method. I must thank the political and local leaders of Multan for their opinion and willing help. I am thankful of Library staff, Bag Lange Khan, Saraiki Research Centre, Library of Bahauddin Zakariya University and other libraries of Multan for providing valuable record.

I am thankful to Dr. Tahir Jamil, Mr. Muhammad Ismail, Chaudhry Muhammad Hanif and Javid Akhtar Bhatti, who helped me in digging out the old record regarding political history of Multan region. I am also indebted to Dr. Ghani-ur-Rehman, Dr. Riaz Ahmad, Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman and all the personnel of Taxila Institute of Asian Civilization, who assisted me in completing this thesis. Mention needs to be made of Mr. Syed Sardar Ali Shah and Mr. Imran Sadiq for encouraging me; Mr. Sadeed Arif for valuable discussions and to the other staff of Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations for their time to time cooperation and Mr. Muhammad Halim a retired officer of Quaid-i-Azam University, for typing the thesis skillfully,

My major source of strength and inspiration has been my family for the patience and sincerity they showed, as I had to cut out of their share a lot of time, and attention for this study. I thank my son Muhammad Kamran that generated radiance to work hard and my mother Aisha Bibi for her prayers towards my studies.

Salim-ud-Din

Abstract

Regionalism is dynamic and multi-dimensional concept, a universal phenomenon and micro view of nationalism. It tends to assume a decisive role in the operational sphere of Multi-ethnic, plural societies especially in developing regions. This study offers a thorough analysis of the politics of Multan region in the context of political scenario developed in the region with the passage of time and political behaviour of the local people in terms of regionalism.

Multan region had a separate political and administrative identity as a state, as a province and as an administrative unit from the time of Alexander the great since 327 BC till the creation of Pakistan in 1947. The people of the region felt that after the creation of Pakistan a new political era would start. But with the passage of time people of the region were disappointed by the new arrangement within the country. Their perceived grievances were with respect to slow development of the area, lower share in provincial and federal jobs, allotment of lands to outsiders and regional identity in terms of language, culture and administrative setup. Cumulative effect of these grievances was the political movements for rights in the region.

The study examines the political rulers in historical perspective, their role and contributions in the region, nature of politics in the region and role of press, women, groups and parties in Pakistan Movement. The role of one party i.e. 'Muslim League' from 1947-58 tended towards policy of centralization, which reached its peak during Ayub Khan Era 1958-1969. The ruling elite and government till now are continuing with this policy. Thus a highly centralized

government has always been at work since the creation of Pakistan and is one of the dominant factors to contribute growth of regionalism.

This study also probes the aspirations of the people of the region towards political movements. One was the political movement in 'Bahawalpur' which seems to have ended without any result, the other was 'Saraiki province movement' in Multan region (Saraiki area) based on political, cultural, administrative and economic considerations. The movement for Saraiki province still exists in Multan region.

The study also analyzes the role of Muslim Sufi shrines, feudals and landholder's families in politics and their influence in regional politics in the context of historical and cultural heritage. The trend of regionalism under the shade of shrines and feudals has been discovered as the main determinants of politics in the region.

Next is the examination of the role of political parties and local politicians in the context of elections. The question arises whether regionalism in Multan is a force of disintegration or a force of integration. Our study reveals that it is a struggle for better opportunity and development, for improvement in standards of life through political process, participation and acceptance of human rights and liberal values.

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

Chapter - 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 REGIONALISM

Regionalism is a political ideology that focuses on the interests of a particular region or group of regions, whether traditional or formal (administrative divisions, country subdivisions, political divisions, sub-national units). Regionalism centers on increasing the regions influence and political power, either through movements for limited form of autonomy (devolution, states' rights, decentralization) or through stronger measures for a greater degree of autonomy (sovereignty, separatism, independence). Regionalists often favour loose federations or confederations over a unity state with a strong central government.

Exponents' of 'regionalism' say that strengthening a region's governing bodies and political powers within a larger country would add to efficiencies of governance in the region. They promote decentralization to develop a more rational allocation of the region's resources for benefit of the local populations. These political aspects result in efficient implementation of local plans, raise competition to promote standards of good governance that ultimately benefit peoples in the region.

“Regionalism is a consciousness of and loyalty to a distinct sub-national or supra-national area characterized by a common cultural background or interest,

and development of a political or social system based on one or more such areas.¹ Moreover, "Regionalism' means using the region as a basis for planning, development, social-movement to revive regional identities and feeling the possession by areas of group consciousness".² Hence in the light of historical background and present state of affairs in Multan region, the demand of Saraiki province apparently seems to have matured over the period of time. "Regionalism is the advocacy of forms of government which permit and encourage the development of indigenous culture and institutions within or separate regions of the jurisdictions and which involve the delegation of substantial political and legal powers to regional authorities with less than full 'sovereignty' but more than merely administrative functions".³ This expression quite aptly favours the creation of Saraiki province.

According to an American political scientist David Easton politics is allocation of values in a given society. He defines that general problems common to all political system in Easton's view, survival, reproduction, and adaptation. Easton conceived all political systems as means of processing inputs (external and internal demands on the system-the latter termed supports) into outputs, through decisional process and then feedback. Negative feedback indicates faulty decisions

¹ Philip Babcock Gove and the Merriam-Webster Editor, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (USA: GBC. Merriam Company Publishers, 1971), p.1912.

² Hugo F. Reading. *A Dictionary of Social Sciences* (London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p.17273.

³ Roger Scruton. *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1984), p.398.

and policies and positive feedback indicates the resources mobilized fulfill the objectives of policy-decisions. Through this process the political system 'authoritatively allocated' the values of a society.⁴ Values are directly or indirectly interlinked with society. Politics also link people, society and state with multiple interactions at various levels.

According to Aristotle, man is a social animal by nature. "Politics exists because people disagree. They disagree about how they should live? Who should get what? How should power and other resources be distributed? Should society be based on cooperation or conflict? And so on. They also disagree about how such matter should be resolved. How should collective decision be made?"⁵ These are the questions that warrant a fair play in politics of the region. Politics in its broadest sense is the activity through which people make pressure and amend the general rules under which they live.⁶ The term "regionalism" represents the regional idea in action as an ideology, as a social movement, or as a theoretical basis for regional planning. It is also applied to the scientific task of delimiting and analyzing regions as entities lacking formal boundaries. Region thus appeared when national territories grew to large size, incorporated new domains, and began to adopt federal form of government. In a highly centralized country like France,

⁴ <http://social.jrank.org/pages/1878/David-Easton.html>, html dated 2/ 1/2011.

⁵ Andrew Haywood, *Politics* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), pp. 2-3.

⁶ Ibid.

the origins of regionalism can be traced back to differences between historic provinces. It also represents a movement towards decentralization.

Unification in modern Italy and Germany laid the basis for regionalism – a trend accentuated by the increasing importance of economic differentials. Russia as a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics faced most of the problems of ethnic, economic, and sectional differences. In Great Britain regionalism verges on localism, for it goes beyond the traditional differences between England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In its extreme form regionalism may result in separatism.⁷ In modern society, power, administration, social consensus, and policy determination appear inseparably linked to areas. Moreover, in the localization of resources, industry, and finance, and in the tie in of lines of transportation of economic centers, the economic order parallels the politics at all levels – from the international level to that of the component element of states and provinces. If territorial groups did not exist, political organization would have to call them into being in order to function. The sociologists develop, converge and are organized around interests – locality being a major interest. Society itself is seen as a group of sub-groups.⁸

Regionalism, however, recognizes the national authority and unity as more important than regional loyalty. It is based more on historical, ethnic, national,

⁷ David L Sills, Editor. *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Volume 13 (London: Collier – Macmillan Publishers, 1972), p.378.

⁸ Ibid.

linguistic and cultural peculiarities. It can be seen both as a force for integration and as a source of disintegration. At one and the same time it expresses the desire for collective action and identity and the desire for difference and distinctiveness.⁹ “Regionalism is a fissiparous tendency in larger plural societies, arising out of multi-linguism, multi-religious loyalties, disparities in the level of economic development, dominance of local or regional traditionalism or patriotism, ethnic differences or identities. Centering on such forces, there developed socio-political movements in different parts of the world”.¹⁰ The region of Multan reflects the same situation. Moreover, “to decentralize central government to an intermediate level between that of the state and the traditional units of local governments or sometimes even to advocate secession”,¹¹ also comes within the purview of regional politics.

Largely people are attached emotionally as well as rationally to their territory. Its way of life, institutions and culture instill a composite process that in the present context, one may call territorial socialization, a term that emphasizes the political socialization. It involves a process of learning about values, goals, political authority and political culture, folk art and entertainment. The existence of reward and punishments, as-well-as the existences of geographic boundaries are between their own territory and the external alien world.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ M.G. Gupta, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary International Affairs* (Agra: Y.K. Publishers, 1987), p.280.

¹¹ Ibid.

All territorial authorities engage in verbal, visual and symbolic propaganda to distinguish one's territory from that of the rest of the world. A continuous display and manifestation of territorial symbols – flags, flowers, trees, birds, uniforms, emblems, slogans and anthems – are meant to enhance local pride (and prejudice) and a sense of belonging forever to a given territory, be it a nation, state, a province or a city.¹² Regionalism as a movement may be defined as (a) cultural and political movement, seeking to protect and foster the indigenous culture and to promote autonomous political institutions in particular region; (b) an administrative political movement, aiming at the creation of a democratized and integrated governmental structure at an intermediate level between the state and traditional organs of local government alternatively, (c) regionalism may be taken to refer to the actual developments in public administration and public planning which have been and are occurring at this intermediate level.¹³

“All regional boundaries are man made, even those we customarily call ‘natural’. This is hard to accept, by a layman what after all could be more precisely given natural boundary than that of a land, the line where the land meets the sea. Even such lines have been carved out by the colonial powers into a

¹² IVOD. Duchacek, *The territorial Dimension of Politics With, Among and Across Nations* (USA: Westview Press, 1986), pp.16-17.

¹³ Julius Gould, William L. Kolb. *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., INC, 1964), PP. 583-584.

continental South though in nature there is no line".¹⁴ It is encouraging to see how, in a relatively short span of time, regionalism has gained ever greater attention of political scientists, economists and lawyers.

Politicians and governments in general are aware of the unabated growth of regionalism in order to solve various political, economic and social problems in different areas of the world. Europe in the last few years offers perhaps the most conclusive examples in this sense. Here the spread of regionalism has reached unbelievable parameters. At the same time, this process is largely propelled by the numerous regional sources of tension and conflict which have led to so many local wars after World War II. It will be appropriate to underline that this spill over of regionalism is due to the fact that it translates into political, legal and institutional terms the local preoccupations of security, stability and welfare.¹⁵

Regionalism is the practice and belief in regional government. The term regionalism is therefore better applied to regimes in which there are, or might be, regions, but the region created by central government, may be as easily destroyed as created. A region is a homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of neighbouring areas. As a part of national domain a region is sufficiently unified to have consciousness of its customs and

¹⁴ Robert I. Crane (Edited), *Region and Regionalism in South Asian Studies: An exploratory Study* (Duke University: 1966), p.93.

¹⁵ Romanian Institute of International Studies, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, *Regionalism Concept and approaches at the turn of the century* (Bucharest: 1995), pp.25-26.

ideals and thus possesses a sense of identity distinct from the rest of the country. The term “regionalism” is used as an ideology that leads to a social movement or can be applied as a theoretical basis for regional planning. It is also studied as a scientific task of delimiting and analyzing regions as entities lacking formal boundaries.¹⁶

“The tradition of Muslim rule in India, as indeed of political organization, the sub-continent, was monarchical and non-democratic. The political culture was a culture of power”.¹⁷ That is how the administrative system grown in India was in response to the need of the Empire. The same idea is a vast apparatus of modern government.

Regionalism flourishes under the following conditions: (i) Acute ethnic variations in the federating units for example: in Canada, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, India and Nigeria; (ii) Excessive centralization accompanied by authoritarian rule, (Pakistan is a good example of it); (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 one political unit. (the separation of East-Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) amply illustrates this point); (iv) Wide economic disparity between the regions as prevails in Pakistan and India, (v) Domination – political economic and administrative – of

¹⁶ David Crystal (Edited). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 929.

¹⁷ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Development 1947-97* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999), p.2.

one region or part over other units due to its size, population and richness in natural resources such as the Punjab in Pakistan, the Northern State in India, (vi) presence of regional-based political parties as exist in Pakistan.¹⁸

Pakistan, like India and Sri Lanka, was formed through the amalgamations of several “nations” – groups with distinctive languages, cultures, and ethnicity.¹⁹ Ethnic and linguistic groups, identified by cultural markers, often claim that they are a “people” or a “nation”. Some seek independence and want to form an ethnically or linguistically homogeneous state; some seek greater autonomy within a state or province and others move back and forth between these two goals or remain ambiguous.²⁰

The continued growth of centrifugal forces if not contained by political and constitutional means, would obstruct the process of development and threaten the administrative stability of the state. Regionalism involves such diverse problems as those of ‘minorities, administrative decentralization, local self-government and autonomy, the cult of home land and earth and local patriotism’,²¹ which very often lead to separatism. In a general sense it may be viewed as a reaction against any exaggerated or oppressive form of centralization.

¹⁸ Verinder Grover, *Pakistan Government and Politics* (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 2000), p.120.

¹⁹ Garg Baxter, Yogendra K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy, and Robert Oberst, *Government and Politics in South Asia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1988), p.185.

²⁰ Stephen Philip Eohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd, 2005), p.201.

²¹ Dr. R.N. Mishra, *Regionalism and State Politics in India* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House Punjabi Bag, 1980), p.9.

Growth of regionalism in Pakistan can be attributed to five factors:

- (i) Centralization accompanied by political authoritarianism;
- (ii) Ethnic and linguistic differences;
- (iii) Wide economic disparity amongst the regions;
- (iv) The sway of one province over others; and,
- (v) The absence of a nationally – based political party having roots in all the provinces”.²²

The wariness of small regions about the big units is not an uncommon phenomenon of a pluralist society. It is present in varying degree in all federal societies e.g. in Canada, the English versus the French Canadians, and in India – the North versus the south. The system’s stability is threatened 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 within 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 units. 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?²³

²² Verinder Grover, (ed) *Pakistan Fifty Years of Independence* (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1997), p.118.

²³ Ibid.

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 could provoke resistance. The separation of former East Pakistan in 1971 (Now Bangladesh) is an example. The case of Baluchistan is also a part of regionalism. A region is a reservoir of energy, the development of which depends upon man.

What is needed in the pluralist society is the recognition of this force and its reconciliation under a genuine democratic federal set up. This with the aim of ensuring effective constitutional guarantees against center's encroachment in the provincial domain and unequal participation of the units in the country's administrative, political and economic setup. It is duty of every government to create opportunities for participation of all the regional groups in the national main stream politics and recognize their identity in administrative political and economic setup.²⁴ Regionalism has the following attributes:

- i. Regionalism is a man-land relation.
- ii. Regionalism is a matter of politics; however regionalism recognizes the distinct features of a geographical region within a country.
- iii. Regionalism recognizes the national authority and unity more important than regional loyalty.

²⁴ Ibid.

After the creation of the new state of Pakistan in 1947 the people of Multan region hoped that the new state may restore its old historic position. But the following political policies and events pushed the historic Multan region towards regionalism.

- i) In 1948, government declared “Urdu” as national language; Bengalis who were in majority of the population (53%) opposed it. It was the start of regionalism.
- ii) In 1949 government adopted quota system based on regional proportionality of population for all entrants to the superior civil services, so it was policy of regional identity.
- iii) In 1955 – 1970, Pakistan’s four western provinces were merged into one administrative unit with its capital in Lahore. This step was opposed by all the regions, and provinces.
- iv) During 1955 – 1970 Pakistan had two provinces i.e. West Pakistan and East Pakistan. Population of West Pakistan was 47% while East Pakistan 53%, which should have been dealt with at equal level, East Pakistanis (Bengalis) were in majority and they thought it a threat or an effort to convert the majority into minority so it increased tendencies of regionalism.
- v) In October 1958 Mr. Ayub Khan (military general) imposed Martial Law and the people felt deprived of protection and security. The people and

politician started agitations against Ayub Khan for a change. Another military General Yahya Khan took-over the government on 25th March 1969.

- vi) General Yahya Khan divided West Pakistan into four provinces, Punjab population (60%), Sindh (23%), NWFP (14%) and Baluchistan (05%). This situation resulted in certain grievances among all the regional and ethnic groups. Multan region was merged in Punjab.²⁷

All the policies and political process increased the regional political activities when Yahya Khan restored the provinces in November 1969 and merged Multan region into Punjab. It was the desire of the people of the Southern Punjab that Multan region should be restored as a province with in the federation of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan tried to satisfy the people by setting up a university in 1974 and during Zia period 1977 – 88 a Bench of High Court in Multan.²⁸ But these arrangements could not work; instead it injured the feelings of the people of Multan.

1.3 RELEVANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of regionalism has been a universal phenomenon since the end of 2nd World War. The present study on Multan region quite fairly relates to the

²⁷ G.W. Choudhry, *Pakistan Transition from Military to Civilian Rules* (England: Scorpion publishing, 1988), pp. 231-237 and K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947 – 1958* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), pp. 32-36.

²⁸ Taj Muhammad Langah, *Siraiki Qaumi Jadojehad Ek Nazar Main* (Multan: Central Secretariat Pakistan Siraiki Party, 2005), pp. 2 – 5.

worldwide problem of regionalism. Neo-functionalists are of the view that “partially integrated states experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in related areas. This inevitable hand of integration phenomenon was termed ‘spill-over’ by the neo-functionalist school. Although integration can be resisted, it becomes harder to stop integration reach as it progresses”.²⁹ This means that different economic sectors or areas and governance models cannot stand isolated permanently instead they spill over gradually in response to call of the time and urgency.

Zeki Kutuk comments on Haas’s theory of ‘Neo-functionalism’ that: “spillover is a situation in which a given action, renamed to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn creates a further condition and a need for more action, and so forth”. The concept of ‘spillover’ has been used by Haas to show that integrating one sector of the economy for example, coal and steel (European Coal and Steel Community) will inevitably lead to the integration of other economic activities. “As a result of this process, economic integration starting in a limited sector will spread primarily to other sectors of the economy and will eventually cover all spheres of the national economies”.³⁰

²⁹ www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/functionalist in International Relations dated 24.11.2010.

³⁰ Zeki Kutuk Turkey’s, *Integration into the European Union: The Dynamics and Determinants of Dilemma*, 1953, p.33.

Economic factor is the crucial one whether it is a matter of integration or division. The integration of certain areas of interest spreads to all spheres of economy. Ernst B. Haas is the exponent and founder of the theory of 'neo-functionalism'. His theory is a realistic approach to the study of integration that says "neo-functionalism recognizes the importance of national states but also stresses the role of regional interest groups and the bureaucracy of regional organizations...and national governments increasingly solve conflicts of interest by conferring more authority on the regional organizations, and citizens increasingly look to the regional organization for solutions to their problems."³¹ The exponent of another theory of 'territorial imperative', Robert Ardrey is of the view that instinctive bent of territorial groups is self-defence, which may lead to amity or enmity reflecting and reacting to the treatment of central government.³² This also leads to integration or disintegration of a state.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis is based on the assumption that the population of Multan region wants the Saraiki province. The purpose of this study is to know about the political behaviour of the local people of Multan region, in terms of regionalism. Research focuses on the politics of the region; the study also covers the type of

³¹ www.en.wikipedia.org/wuju/functionalism in International Relations dated 24.11.2010.

³² David L Sills, Editor *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Volumes 13 and 14 (London: Collier – Macmillan Publishers, 1972), p.378.

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 the study is to see the political aspirations and role of the people of the region with reference to the political policies adopted by the government from time to time (one unit scheme and abolishment), what are their losses and gains through this experience. Another main aim of the research is to analyze the region's role and its attitudes towards the movement started for a separate province with its capital in Multan (Saraiki movement). The research also looks into how the movement is affecting the politics of the region.

The major hypothesis of the research is that the people of the region are not happy being part of the Punjab province and the majority of the people of Multan aspire for a separate province. This will be interrogated in the research tools, i.e. interviews, questionnaires/opinion survey, applied in the study. The main thrust of this study is to find out the actual aspirations of the people of Multan towards the political movement in an unbiased way and to determine the features of regionalism.

1.5 DEFINITION OF CONCEPT

In some countries, the development of regional politics may be a prelude to further demands for greater autonomy or even full separation, especially when ethnic and cultural disparities are present. This has been demonstrated in the late

1980s in Yugoslavia, among other examples. Internationally, Regionalist Action Party (RAP) of Chili (in northern areas of Chili) the Savoy Region Movement in France (Sovoy), the Friesen and South Schleswig Voter Federation in Germany (Friesland) and Telugu Desam Party in India (Andra Pradesh) are main examples of Regionalism. Similarly, two main factions i.e. Pakistan Saraiki Party and Bahawalpur Movement in the Punjab Province of Pakistan exist. Pakistan Muslim League, Jamat'i-Islami and Pakistan People's Party obviously develop links at the time of election with them at national level.

Likewise, at provincial level, certain political parties seem dominant, e.g. Jiya Sindh Movement (Sindh), ANP in NWFP (Now Khyber Pakhtoon Khaw Province), Baluchistan National Front (Baluchistan). Regional Party is a regional political party promoting autonomy for its region, with its base almost entirely in a single region. However, regional parties often cannot receive enough votes or legislative (lawmaking) seats to be politically powerful however; they may join political alliances or seek to be part of a coalition government.

1.6. CENTRAL QUESTION OF STUDY

Central question of the study is "How regional interests affect political scenario?" In fact, the entire study is revolving around this very question. This trend may envious and empower both the region and federation and their contradictions need to be resolved in the light of constitution. Ultimately, this

strengthens loyalty for the federation. The aspiration of the people of Multan is restoration of its status as *Saraiki* Province in the light of its historical perspective. Otherwise this may prove a permanent 'threat' to the central government and a source of integration or disintegration, as well.

The main thrust of the study is to explore whether the creation of 'Saraiki province' would lead to integration or disintegration in Multan. Then in case of fulfillment of the people's desire, on what direction the politics of the region might lead the public. At the same time, who may lose and/or gain, general masses or feudals/shrines. Moreover, the action and reaction of the central government with reference to creation of Saraiki province are also of vital importance. All these aspects have been touched upon wherever needed throughout the study.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The canvas of history is replete with pragmatic strategies to solve the issue of differences. What is common to all human-being, is not so important in the world of politics, as are disparities that matter a lot. The fact is that territorial imperative motivates regional groups to develop unity for collectively converging interests in the light of political realism; states/regions seek to enhance their power. Similar is the case of disgruntled intra-state regional groups. Apparently an uneven state of affairs in development ever created conditions of centre and periphery. So in Pakistan warring factions of ethnic elite have been acting and reacting for their survival against the state-elite. Admittedly, the state-elite cannot

avert such a situation as the idea of basic units of internal relationship is rooted in human nature. At the same time whatever the circumstances are an ideal regional unit is just a utopia. In Pakistan, another possibility is that in case of becoming an independent unit, the inhabitants of the region may have a better chance to survive.

The theory of balance of power is as old as the history of mankind. As naturally things are in a state of flux so, emergence of certain inter/intra state movements is no exception. Equilibrium or, balance, signifies stability within a system composed of a variety of autonomous forces and this stability may be guaranteed in presence of a proper balance between different geographical regions. The point to be noted is that maintenance of only stability will not suffice as it can be achieved by allowing some overwhelming group to destroy the weaker one. The aim of the system is stability as well as preservation of all the elements of a system. Whenever policies of the state elite in social, political and economic spheres prove unjust, the edifice of a community is bound to crumble down. At the same time justice and force go side by side. According to Pascal justice without force is impotent and force without justice is tyrannical.

1.7.1. Functionalism

In addition to Ardrey's theory of amity enmity relationship, the application of neo-functionalism and new realism are quite appropriate to the present study

where conflict and cooperation in social fabric have been focused. In recent years functional integration has received the greatest theoretical attention. Professor Rai³³ says that the basic statement of functionalism comes from David Mitrany who argued that “federalism would not be the best framework for such a new international system to replace the one whose breakdown had led to two world wars”. He is of the view that federalism cannot overcome the forces of nationalism and ideology. For example if a sufficient number of federal units could be established, this scheme would leave the world still divided on the competitive grounds. For a sustainable, pragmatic and global solution, Professor Rai³⁴ comments on the case put-forward by Mitrany.

Peaceful exchange would come not through a shift of national boundaries but by means of actions taken across them. States would not surrender formal sovereignty which they certainly remained reluctant to do in any case but would transfer executive authority for specific ends. World peace would best be promoted if international activities were to be organized around basic functional needs such as transportation, health and welfare necessities, scientific and cultural activities, trade and even production.

Functional aspect of international organization is really promising. In functionalism, some expectations with universal approach were: (i) Though the immediate outlook was not favourable for political union yet functional union would allow all states to work together, (ii) the successful performance of

³³ Hamid A. K. Rai, *International Relations Theory and Practice* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1983), p. 261.

³⁴ Ibid.

functional activities by the bodies and authorities concerned would bring nations closer together and build a common interest in peace, (iii) instead of engaging in controversies over political schemes, states could easily take part in practical works.

Moreover, Ernst B. Haas (1924-2003 German-American political scientists) developed a modified version of Mitrany's functionalism while studying the operation of the European Coal and Steel Community. For Haas, the essence of functionalism was that economic decisions at micro level were better to crucial political choices. He held that the operation of growing controversial policies would ultimately bring about the establishment of a new supranational authority regardless of the wishes of the individual actors. Hence Haas' functionalism assumed that economic self interest was more important than political commitment. At the same time incremental decision making were more effective towards integration than purposive behaviour with regard to elaborate grand designs.

That is how the notion of functionalism rests on a pluralistic thesis, whereby a larger political community can be developed. This supranational bureaucracy further develops to deal with increasing number of economic activities. Perhaps Haas' chief finding is "pressure groups begin to organize across national boundaries in order to be able to influence policy decisions that were once

the monopoly of national governments, but now come under the purview of supranational institutions,, groups pressures “spill over into the federal sphere and thereby add to the integrative impulse”.³⁵

The functionalist theory of integration developed through the postwar experience of Western Europe. Haas himself has cautioned against applying the European model to less developed areas of the world because of substantial differences in key social and economic structures. When functionalist theory of regional integration is actually applied to less developed areas, it produces mostly gloomy conclusions about the likelihood of success in integrative efforts. A rapid integration is certain when it constitutes a response to socio-economic demands.

The factors conducive to regional integration include a pluralist social structure, economic development, and a low level of ideological politics. However, these elements are not generally found in under developed regions where there is authoritarian leadership, a one party political structure and an emphasis on centralization. Pakistan is a good example of the same sort of politics.

Apparently in a non-European context these considerations seem to rule out regional integration. Such pessimism as is attached to functionalism is not limited to any one particular approach. Most theories when applied across the boundaries of Europe, invite attention to some unfavourable factors, e.g. national domestic preoccupations, low degree of administrative skills, lack of sufficient national

³⁵ Ibid. p. 263.

integration, the absence of pluralistic social structures, premature politicization, the highly emotive and symbolic nature of welfare politics and the excess of domestic loads over capabilities for handling them. Here the question arises, then why are all such theories inevitably applied to the studies purely limited to the regions of 'sub-continent' and particularly 'Pakistan' with reference to the study in hand. Possibly our own ideas stand no where and that is why (I, we) which means the researcher himself is not clearly seen in the research work in Pakistan.

Functionalism correctly predicts international and interest group behaviour. Professor Rai³⁶ quotes Haas that: "in the absence of a statesman (a Bismarck or a Cavour) with the vision to weld desperate public together, we have no alternative if we wish to integrate a region, but to resort to gradualism, to indirection of functionalism". It means satisfaction of disgruntled regional group, gradual development and integration is possible through functioning of regional politics and their concerted efforts and not mere planning. So, functionalism offers a useful means for making sense of the complex and sprawling integrative enterprise. Professor Rai³⁷ comments that "Functionalist theory has viewed depoliticization and a technical treatment of issues as the most promising route to ultimate political integration." The preceding consideration shows that this

³⁶ Ibid. p. 267.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 268.

integration is limited to European model. The next theoretical stage is Neofunctionalism.

1.7.2. Neofunctionalism

Neofunctionalism is a theory and a strategy of regional integration as well. Neofunctionalist focused their attention in the process of integration among states, i.e. regional integration. At the outset states integrate in limited functional or economic areas. Thereafter, partially integrated states experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in different related areas. This invisible hand of integration phenomenon was termed 'spill-over', by the neo functionalist school of thought. Integration can be resisted but harder to stop. Neo functionalists are of the view that there are two kinds of spill-over: (i) functional and (ii) political. In other words 'functional spillover is the interconnection of various economic sectors or issue areas, and the integration in one policy area spilling over into others. Political spillover is the creation of supranational governance models.

Ernst B. Haas is one of its protagonists. Jean Mounet's approach to European integration, which aimed at integrating individual sectors in hopes of achieving spillover effects to further the process of integration, followed the neo functionalist school's course of action. Unlike previous theories of integration, neo functionalism declared to be non-normative and tried to describe and explain the

process of regional integration based on empirical data. Integration was regarded as an inevitable process, rather than a desirable state of affairs that could be introduced by the political or technocratic elites of involved states' societies. Its strength however, was also its weakness. While it understood that regional integration is only feasible as an incremental process where as its conception of integration as a linear process made the explanation of setbacks impossible.

1.7.3. Realism

The realist theory of power politics survived as a relatively simple, persuasive and comprehensive explanation of international politics in a conceptual environment. Professor Rai³⁸ says, "In its pure form it is based on proposition that states seek to enhance their power". The major assumptions of realist thought are implicit in this statement. The idea can be further illustrated that all the unit of the system behave essentially in the same manner which means that their goal is to enhance if not to maximize their power. In the light of realism, a theory consists in ascertaining facts and giving them meaning through reason. It assumes that the character of a foreign policy can be ascertained only through the examination of the political acts performed and the foreseeable outcomes of these acts. Thus one can find out what statesmen have actually done and what their objectives might have been. Some principles of political realism seem essential for better illustration:

³⁸ Ibid, p. 46.

- a. Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. In order to improve society it is first-necessary to understand the law by which society lives. A theory of politics must be subjected to the dual test of reason and experience.
- b. The main signpost that helps political realism to find its ways through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. History shows no exact and necessary correlation between the quality of motives and the quality of foreign policy. How often have the statesmen been motivated by the desire to improve the world, and ended it by making it worse? (The circumstances in Afghanistan and Iraq are self-evident). How often have they sought one goal, and ended by achieving something they neither expected nor desired? Salisbury's remark that the only bond of union that endures among nation is the absence of all clashing interest.
- c. Admittedly, interests not ideas dominate directly the actions of men. The realist indeed believes that interest is the perennial standard by which political action must be judged and directed.
- d. Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. Realism maintains that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the

- actions of states in their abstract universal formulation; instead they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place. The individual may say for himself, let justice be done, even if the world perish.
- e. Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. Moderation in policy cannot fail to reflect the moderation of moral judgment.
 - f. The difference then, between political realism and other school of thought is real and profound. The political realist asks: 'how does this policy affect the power of the nation as the economist asks how this policy affects the wealth of society?'³⁹

Precisely, political realism is based upon a pluralistic conception of human nature. Real man is a composite of economic man, political man, moral man, religious man, and so forth. A man who is nothing but a 'political man' would be a beast (in Pakistan there is a variety of beasts in the world of polity). Similarly, a man who is nothing but a 'religious man' would be a saint as he may lack in worldly desires.

It is in the nature of things that a theory of politics which is based upon such principles, will not meet with unanimous approval. Theory and policy alike run counter to two trends in our culture which are not able to reconcile themselves to the assumptions and results of a rationale and objective theory of politics. One

³⁹ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 6th Edition, (New York: Knopf, 1985), pp. 7-12.

of these trends disparages the role of power in society on the grounds that stem from the experience and philosophy of the nineteenth century. The other trend, opposed to the realist theory and practice of politics, stems from the very relationship that exists and must exist, between the human mind and the political sphere. The human mind in its day-by-day operations cannot bear to look the truth of politics straight in the face. It is inevitable that a theory which tries to understand international politics as it actually is and as it ought to be in view of its intrinsic nature, rather than as people would like to see it.

1.7.4. Neorealism

Neorealism is a philosophy expounded in the early 20th century by Edwin Bissell Holt and others (US based scholars). The central feature of the new realism is a rejection of the epistemological dualism of John Locke and the older forms of realism. In 1979 Kenneth Waltz (b. 1924) attempted to reformulate realism in a new and distinctive way. His aim lets to cure the defects with earlier theories of international relations, including classical realism, by applying a more scientific approach, classical realists saw international politics in terms of the characteristics of states and their interaction with each other, Waltz believed that there was a level above this state of affairs. According to Waltz “The idea that international

politics can be thought of as a system with precisely defined structure is new realism's fundamental departure from traditional realism".⁴⁰

Waltz avoided the need to make assumptions about human nature, morality, power and interest with regard to the nature of system level structure. In this way new realists were able to see power in a different way. For the classical realists power was both a means and an end rational state behavior was simply accumulating the maximum power. Neorealists assumed that the ultimate state interest was in security and in some cases it merely provoked on arms race. Waltz's new realism or structural realism is "a theory of International Relations which posits that state's actions can often be explained by the pressures exerted on them by international competition, which limits and constrains their choices. Neorealism thus aims to explain recurring patterns of state behavior, such as why the relations between Sparta and Athens resembled in important ways the relations between the US and the USSR."⁴¹

Neorealism was Waltz's response to what he saw as the deficiencies of classical realism. Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, new realism and realism have a number of fundamental differences. The main distinction between the two theories is that "Classical realism puts human nature or the urge to dominate, at the centre of its explanation for war, while neorealism

⁴⁰ [http: 11 www.google.com.pk](http://11 www.google.com.pk) dated 16.03.2011

⁴¹ [http: 11 www.google.com.pk](http://11 www.google.com.pk) dated 16.03.2011

stakes no claim on human nature and urges instead that the pressures of anarchy shape outcomes regardless of human nature or domestic regimes.”⁴²

Thus Waltz’s theory is not a theory of foreign policy and does not attempt to predict or explain specific state actions, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the theory explains only general principles of behavior that govern relations between states in an anarchic international system, rather than specific actions. The principles of behavior also include balancing of power. In “Theory of International Politics” Waltz suggests that explanation rather than prediction is expected from a good social science theory.

Behaviouralism is the scientific foundation is the study of human behaviour objectivity and empirically is called “Behaviouralism”. Realists recognize that human desires range widely and are remarkably variable. They emphasize, however, ‘the limitations which the sordid and selfish aspects of human nature place on the conduct of diplomacy’. Ultimately, conflict and war are rooted in human nature. Classical realists also often emphasized the role of statesmanship and the analysis of the attributes of state power.⁴³

On the contrary, the Neorealism is structural and states outcomes depend not only on the qualities of states, but also on variation of the structure within

⁴² [http: 11 www.google.com.pk](http://11www.google.com.pk) dated 16.03.2011 and Kenneth N. Waltz “Structural Realism After the Cold War” *International Security* 25 No.1 (2002): 5

⁴³ Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater 4th ed. *Theories of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp.32-33.

which their actions occur. The most common criticism of structural theory is that it fails to include consideration of the effects of policies and behaviors of states on international policies. Neorealism is after all a theory about international politics and not a theory about foreign policy. The theory of international politics explains how external forces shape states' behavior but says nothing about the effects of internal forces. One may however wonder which version of realism 'offensive' or 'defensive' is the more useful one. Offensive realism asserts that more (power) is always better. States want more power, and they always need more power, in order to feel more secure. Realist theory, properly viewed is neither offensive nor defensive. States have to take care of themselves by combination of internal efforts and external alignment.⁴⁴

The present study largely corresponds to Robert Ardrey's (1908-1980) theory based on the amity-enmity relationship. Ardrey very aptly coined the phrase, "an amiable xenophobic whole" with reference to his observation of rhesus monkeys and their instinctive tendency to establish proper hostility to neighboring groups, largely applies to human territorial group behaviour. Here Ardrey expression needs to be explained, where hostility is the result of neighbours' exploitation and denial of basic rights to their counterparts. On the other hand

⁴⁴ John J. Mearshiemer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 1st Edition (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 4-8.

friendship develops among the neighbouring regions/groups in response to good relationship.⁴⁵

Ardrey as quoted by Duchacek presented the amity-enmity relationship in a mathematical formula, “ $A = E + h$, in which amity (A) is equal to the sum of the force of enmity (E) that originate in human associations plus the forces of hazard (h, natural and supernatural dangers”. Again the forces of amity and enmity react according to the prevailing relationship among the species and their regions. In fact disputes emerge where the central government violates some theoretical basis of regional planning. Some evolutionary biologists and psychologists have had various views about the man-land relationship where Aristotle’s dictum proves true with reference to man-land relationship that man is political animal.⁴⁶

Ardrey’s theory is further underpinned by certain biological studies. Sills quotes that “Ardrey basis his theory of the ‘territorial imperative’ on the hypothesis that lower species have an instinct to defend definite and precise boundaries. He then extends the hypothesis to explain the foundations of national state, patriotism and universal prevalence of war”.⁴⁷ So self-defence is an instinctive urge which cannot and should not be suppressed otherwise hostility is certain. The importance of existence of the territorial groups has been reiterated by

⁴⁵ IVOD. Duchacek, *The Territorial Dimension of Politics With, Among and Across Nations* (USA: Westview Press, 1986), p.25.

⁴⁶ David L Sills, Editor. *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Volumes 13 and 14 (London: Collier – Macmillan Publishers, 1972), p.378.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Sills, "If territorial groups do not exist, political organization would have to call them into being in order to function... These groups converge and organize around interests-locality being a major interest. Society itself is seen as a group of groups". In the light of this idea, it is the responsibility of the state to see and ensure proper functioning of all regional/provincial groups. This study of Multan region definitely falls within the purview of Ardrey's theory of 'territorial imperative'.⁴⁸

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study is based on deductive approach as general ideas of regionalism are already present, which have been tested with specific variables of Multan region. Moreover, there is a triangulation of research methods as both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used wherein they often overlap each other. The researcher was personally involved in administering, observing and collecting of data through different research tools. The cross examination of the collected data helped in deriving the most wanted things with reference to the regional politics of Multan.

The methodology adopted during the research was historical and analytical, primary and secondary sources were consulted in this regard. Major portion of the research is library based. The primary sources were the interviews, private papers,

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 378-379.

files, historical record, confidential reports and questionnaires. The other primary sources used in this research have been collected from various private and public libraries. These include diaries, personal notes, letters, speeches and statements of the key political actors.

The available secondary sources, related to the topic, were consulted. Articles published in journals, magazines and newspapers were also taken into accounts. For field work personal interviews were conducted with local leaders for local political opinions and public to have an idea of inner political aspirations. Interviews of four leaders of different political parties were conducted. At the same time, a questionnaire/opinion survey was developed and got marked by the political leaders of the region. Thereafter, the interviews and opinions were analyzed.

Shrines of Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani, Shah Yousaf Gurdaiz, Shah Rukn-e-Alam, Baba Farid-ud-Ganj Shakkar (Pakpattan Sharif) and Makhdoom Rasheed were personally visited to have their sketches, which have been placed on relevant pages. General Election result-data of the region was collected right from 1970 to 1997. Following types of tables were developed to display the data as under:

- District-wise comparative statement of the geographical area, population and density;

- District-wise breakup of rural and urban population pertaining to two census period;
- District-wise comparative statement of crops area and production of wheat and cotton of Multan region for the period 1995-98;
- District-wise comparative statement of fruit production (mango and banana) for 1995-1998;
- Statement of Canal length/Irrigated area in Multan Region; Major Industrial units;
- District wise road length and percentage of Population by Mother Tongue and Rural/Urban Area (1981 and 1998).

Major objectives of this study were to see and analyze political aspiration of the masses and role of the political leaders in the region. The format of presentation in this regard is as follows:

- Population
- Sample
- Delimitation
- Tools of Research
- Data Collection
- Data Analysis

1.8.1. *Population*

All Local leaders of political parties residing in Multan Region were included in the population.

1.8.2. *Sample*

Sample of study was selected by using purposive sampling techniques. Therefore, four prominent leaders related to major parties at National level were selected for interview. Similarly sixty political leaders from six districts of Multan region were selected from each district. Ten political leaders were taken as sample. The detail is given in the table, on the left side.

1.8.3. *Delimitation*

Geographical Boundary of the region changed from time to time by the ruling elites. So Multan region/division existed at the time of its devolution in 1999 included in the study.

Only elected leaders were selected for interviews. Ten political leaders were taken from each district of Multan region as a sample for data collection through questionnaire.

1.8.4. *Tools of Research:*

Data was also collected through interviews of four elected members of national and provincial assemblies. A combination of structured and un-structured interviews was used. Related literature, *official* documents and historical record were consulted for collection of data. Possibly maximum available historical books, journals, magazine, articles relevant to the study were also consulted. The researcher personally conducted the interviews of the selected political leaders. It enabled the researcher to cross-question the interviews.

1.8.5. Data Collection

Documentary information was obtained from the printed official documents, confidential reports, diaries, books, articles in different journals and magazines. Information was collected from the local leaders after conducting interviews to have an idea of political aspiration in Multan region. At the same time data was also collected through questionnaires to get reliable and useful information about the political scenario. The items in the questionnaires were close ended, based on three point Likert's scale.

1.8.6. Data Analysis

Data was collected and tabulated to convert it into significant results using various statistical tools. For this purpose, data was edited and classified so that it should serve worthwhile results. Percentage method was used to identify the difference between responses of the political leaders. The responses of respondents were displayed on bar-graph to identify the association between the responses.

In interviews, political leaders of Multan region criticized the Government that people of this area were deprived of their genuine rights towards socio-economic development sector of the region. That is why, creation of new province to get the political momentum in the region was demanded. Local politicians are of the view that the election can be won on the basis of wealth, industry, land, bureaucracy and shrine influences. It is the need of the hour that Government

should take such serious steps for development and uplifting of the region so that all serious issues and problems may be resolved through negotiation to facilitate a common man.

1.9. AN OVER VIEW OF LITERATURE

Multan is an important region of Pakistan since the dawn of history. Multan has been in the limelight in the subcontinent. On the regional politics of Multan it is inevitable to determine pros and cons of the study. Some bits of research material are available which definitely highlight the existing regional situation but all this is a partial attempt. Unfortunately no specific and systematic research has been done on the politics of the region.

The available material and books are mostly concerned with the history of rulers, Nawab and their lives – sketches of different invaders who dominated the region during different periods. Most of the available articles and books on the politics of the region are written by local writers in Urdu. These books are written in typical oriental style and their utility is quite limited. They are helpful and provide basic information with reference to the cultural and ethnic point of view, but no writer deals with political aspect.

Some literature is available in offices of the local parties in local or Urdu language on this topic. In particular, no research paper on the regional politics is available. Articles in newspapers were attempted in local and Urdu language with

a little focus on politics of the region. Two books of Ahmed Nabi Khan are: On History and Architecture of Multan and Uch,⁴⁹ which focus the architectural design of different buildings and tombs of the area.

1.10. ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is about the introduction, which explains regionalism, its demand, merits and demerits. This chapter also covers statement of the problem, objectives of the study, organization of chapters, overview of literature and sources for the research work. The second chapter is an introduction of land and basic features of Multan. This section provides latest and up-to-date data about the region and its features. Firstly, it is of the Archeological importance, geographical position and location of Multan region, which is also a division of the present Punjab province. The position of the Multan region to the longitude and latitude, areas, places and geographical border has been explained in this chapter. District-wise comparative statement, geographical area, population and density given are the other features. Secondly, there is the demographic composition about various castes and tribes living in the Multan region. It also includes the short history of Islam in this region.

⁴⁹ Ahmed Nabi Khan, Uch History of Architecture, (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University, 1988) & Multan History and Architecture (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and civilization, Islamic University, 1980)

Agriculture is one of the important element and the back-bone in the economy of Multan. The discussion on agriculture in detail includes the role of agriculture, water resources, various factors leading to the increase in agricultural production in the region, the introduction of chemical fertilizers, modern cultivation with the help of machinery that increases crop production has also been discussed. Major crops of the region are cotton, wheat, fruit and mango. Another economic feature is industry, role of industry and its impact on economy, agriculture and other sectors. Forest and communications are its additional merits.

Chapter three describes history of the rulers of Multan and major issues under successive regimes:

- (i) History of Multan is discussed in detail since Alexander the Great who conquered Multan in 327 BC after which different rulers exercised dominion over Multan. The rulers included Hindus, Arabs Muslims, Turkish, Sultans of Delhi, Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and British.
- (ii) The advent of Islam and role of different spiritual religious leaders in the region who introduced Islam.
- (iii) British policy in Multan region till the creation of Pakistan and role of the region in Pakistan movements:
- (iv) People's aspirations towards the new Islamic state of Pakistan.

Chapter four deals with the nature of politics in Multan till 1970. This covered an era from the creation of new independent Islamic state of Pakistan till the first general election of 1970. During this period different political policies were adopted. Pakistan passed through different political processes and crises e.g. the consequences of one unit, martial law and people's participation. The roles of different political leaders and parties have also been discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five has been given over to the origins of political movement in Multan region and also in all the southern Punjab including Bahawalpur division. This is called Saraiki movement. The movement was for the creation of a province in Multan region including the Bahawalpur region, with its provincial headquarter in Multan.

Chapter six comprises the politics of shrines and feudals (landlords). This chapter also throws light on the spiritual role of different spiritual personalities of Multan before the creation of Pakistan and their religious role and its effect on the people during different ages; the role of the spiritual leaders in the politics of the region. Political role was played after 1955 by the one unit administration.

Chapter seven deals with the role of different political parties, (both national and regional); the role of the major political parties, their working and influence on the politics of the Multan region; the role of local politicians, their behaviour, political culture, ideas and feeling have also been interrogated.

Finally, chapter eight is the conclusion of the research. Then relevance of the problem has been highlighted in the light of Robert Ardrey's theory of "territorial imperative". The concept of regional politics has been further elaborated in view of the central question of the study. Thereafter quite fairly relevant theoretical framework and methodology determine the pros and cons of the study. An attempt has been made to respond to the central arguments and hypothesis raised in this study.

Chapter - 2

THE LAND OF MULTAN

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

Multan is like a shining star on the sky of history. For over a millennium Multan played an important role in the affairs of South Asia. It was important for invaders since B.C.E. till the 20th century AD. Multan lies astride the major trade and invasion routes between Central Asia and Hindustan (India). From Ghazni, Kandhar crossed the river Indus through Multan to upper India in the Indus Valley the north-south line of communications ran through Multan. Laing at the nexus of a web of land and water routes the region possessed great commercial and strategic importance.¹

“Through the ages it underwent a number of revolutions, but never lost its importance in the fields of learning, fine arts and crafts, industries, agriculture and commerce”.² It was under Malva Tribes at the time of Alexander the Great invasion in 326 BC and a province of Mughal Empire during 1526-1857. It was occupied by British from the Sikhs in 1849 and merged it with Punjab province.

After the creation of Pakistan it became an administrative Division of the Punjab province with Multan city as its Headquarters. The region consists of six civil Districts namely Multan, Vehari, Sahiwal, Lodhran, Khanewal and Pakpattan

¹ J. Royal Roseberry III *Imperial Rule in Punjab* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt.) Ltd., 1988), p.1.

² Humayun Faiz Rasul *The Multan Review* (Multan: Commissioner Multan Division, 1974), p.1.

covering an area of 21136 square km between latitude 29°22' to 30.45 north and longitudes 71°04 to 72°45' east.³ Multan has a size equal to Denmark and is part of southern Punjab. It is bounded by Sutlej River, which separates it from Bahawalpur District in the South and Bahawalnagar District from south east. From the north the Ravi River separates it from District Faisalabad and Jhang. In the west, there is Chenab River forming its boundary between District Muzaffargarh. In the east District Okara and in the north-east District Kasur are located.⁴

Multan may be called the land of rivers which flow through its different parts. Sutlej and Chenab are sandwiching the region. Through years of inundation, these rivers have been depositing fertile silt on the land in the river areas, enriching its soil.⁵ The land shows a general slop from north to south. Different types of soils varying from stiff clay to sandy, which swells on wetting and cracks badly on drying occur throughout the region. Bara (lush) loams are found in parts of Sahiwal, Multan, Shujabad and Vehari Teshil while clay lands commonly exist in different parts of Okara, Pakpattan, Kabirwala and Khanewal. Along the river banks salty loams are met within the areas of overflow by the rivers. These soils remain, generally, in good physical condition and are very fertile wherever water for irrigation has been sufficient. The soil of Multan is of an alluvial character and sand is every where met at a short distance below the surface.⁶

³ M. Hanif Raza, *Multan Pass & Present* (Islamabad: Colorpix, 1988), p.15.

⁴ Humayun Faiz Rasul, *The Multan Review* (Multan: Commissioner, Multan Division, 1974), p.33.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.* p.33.

2.2. AREA AND POPULATION

Multan region's total area is 21136 sq km and total cultivated area of Multan division is 4043656 acres (Hectors).⁷

Table showing District wise comparative statement of the geographical area, population and density is given on the left side.

As per 1981 census, the total population of Multan Division was 7.53 millions, which increased to 11.57 millions in 1998. District-wise breakup of rural and urban population pertaining to two census periods is indicated in the table on the left.

2.3. CLIMATE

Climate of Multan region is mostly hot and dry in summer and cold in winter. The hottest months are May, June, July and August. The heat and dust of Multan are proverbial. The best known reference to Multan is the following Persian couplet:

“chahar cheez hast toohfajat-i-Multan;
gard, gada, garma wa goristan”

The four gifts of Multan are dust, beggars, heat and cemeteries.⁸

Winter is pleasant, and the coldest months include the later half of December and January, during which temperature ranges between 4.5 °c to 21.0 °c.⁹

⁷ *Agriculture Census 2000* (Lahore: Govt. of Pakistan, Statistics Division, Agriculture Census Organization, 2001), p.214.

⁸ J. Royal Roseberry III, *Imperial Rule in Punjab*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1988), pp.1-6

⁹ Ibid.

Wind storms have been one of the chief characteristics of Multan in olden days. In recent times however the frequency and the intensity of the wind storms has considerably decreased on account of the extensive agriculture development in and around the region. The normal annual rainfall is about 186 millimeters most of which fall during the monsoon season from July to September. Winter rain is very rare.¹⁰

2.4 ETHNIC COMPOSITION: CASTES AND TRIBES

The old region was spread between Kashmir hills and coast along with both sides of River Indus. The nature has gifted the region with potential environment conducive to the creation of life in different forms. The steady process of growth of living organism continued consecutively over millions of years. Punjab is whispered, on the basis of archaeological facts, to be the first motherland of the earliest generation of mankind in Asia. The valleys of Haroo and Soan Rivers, in the Potowar are location of survival of the earliest human in the area.

Harappan civilization in the region flourished near the bank of River Ravi (near Harappa). This shows that the region had remained a centre of great ancient civilizations i.e. Harappan civilization is famous as the oldest civilization of ancient world. It extended over an area of around 800,000 square kilometers from Arabian shores to Nihang Khan in Rupur district in East-Punjab. The entire length of over 1600 kilometers was thickly

¹⁰ Ibid

inhabited by people living in large and small settlements. The major centers of this civilization were Mohenjo-Daro on the river Indus. Excavations in the Indus valley and adjoining regions have revealed more than 150 towns and villages of late Harappan culture. The majority of the local incumbents are settled in this region probably 600 to 700 years ago.¹¹

At the time of the partition of India in 1947, the Hindus started migration to India and many Muslim migrants came over from East Punjab and from various parts of India to settle in Multan region and other parts of Pakistan. The Multan majority came from Panipat, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar districts of India, a considerable number came from Amristsar, Jullandhur and the former united and central provinces of India; amongst these were mostly Rajputs, Jats, Arains, Qureshis and Syeds. The various castes and tribes settled in Multan region are:

2.4.1 *Syeds*

Basically, Syeds claim to be Quresh Tribes of Arab. They have different casts and groups. Some Syeds are the descendants of Ali; the son-in-law of Muhammad (Prophet of God). The word properly includes only those descended from him by Fatima (Hazrat Muhammad's daughter). There are Alavi Syeds who are said to be descends through other wives of Ali. It is impossible to say how many of these are of true Syed stock.¹²

¹¹ *Provincial Census Report of Punjab 1998* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, 2001), p.21.

¹² Denzil, Ibbeston, *Punjab Caste* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), p.222.

A number of Syeds are land-owners, who came to India with the Muslim conquerors and were Muslim rulers granted land which their descendants are still holding and enjoying. The way the land now held by them were originally acquired in most cases by gift. Now-a-days, they are speaking local language and by appearance, they are hardly distinguished from the people among whom they live.¹³ Many of them, recorded as Syed, have no real claim to the title.

The Syeds are primarily divided into Hassani, descended from Hasan and Husaini, descended from Hussain, the sons of Hazrat Ali^{AS}. The Syeds in Multan mostly belong to the most important families (the Gilani and the Gardezi). In Multan the ancestor of Baghdadi Syeds was Shah Habib who founded a village Baghdad in Tehsil Kabirwala. His shrine is still exists and annual celebration (*urs*) is held in the month of August. His family is also called as *Hasan Hussaini* or *Gilani*. Musa Pak Shaheed (son of Muhammad Ghaus); who was 10th in descent in ranking, from Abdul Qadir Gilani; migrated from Baghdad to "Uch" in the middle of the 15th century. The head of the family used the title of "Makhdum".¹⁴

2.4.2 *Qureshi*

The Qureshi family belongs to be the tribe of Quresh of Arabia. The Qureshis of Multan claim descent from the tribe of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Baha-ud-Din Zakaria alias Baha-ul-Haq (the renowned saint of Multan); who is directly descended from the Quresh tribe. His grandson Shah Rukan-e-Alam was

¹³ Denzil Ibbeston, Edward Maclagan and H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier province, Vol. III* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), pp.391-392.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 392.

also a great saint and both have beautiful shrines on the fort of Multan. The Qureshis adopted the title of Makhdum. They are guardians of the shrine at Makhdum Rashid and Multan city. The number of other Siddiqui, Farooqi, Daudpota, Alvi, Nohani and Chishti also claim to be Qureshi. Most of them entered Multan in 13th century AD.¹⁵

2.4.3. *Arain*

“The word *Baghban* is the Persian equivalent of the Hindi word Mali (Gardner). It is commonly used for Arain”.¹⁶ They are admirable cultivators, skilful and industrious. They came from the neighbourhood of Multan. They claim to be immigrants from “Uch”, which is a well known village in Bahawalpur division at a distance about 100 km from Multan. They were evicted four centuries ago by Syed Jalal-ud-Din of “Uch” and then they started settling in areas around Ganges and then further to Bareli and Rampur.¹⁷ Most of Arain came in Multan at the time of partition of the Sub-continent (India) in 1947 and settled in the different parts of the region.

2.4.4. *Kamboh*

The Kamboh family is one of the cultivating castes in Punjab. The majority is engaged in market-gardening business. They are industrious and skilful. They are found in the upper Sutlej valley, in Sahiwal and Pakpattan Districts throughout

¹⁵ *Extracts from the District & State Gazetteers of the Punjab, Pakistan, Vol. II* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1977), P.129.

¹⁶ Danzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001) p.189.

¹⁷ Denzil Ibbetson, Edward Maclagan and H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the tribes and castes of Punjab & NWFP, Vol-II* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), pp.13-14.

the northern portion of the eastern plains. The social standing of Kamboh is fine. They always adopt service in army or in offices.¹⁸

2.4.5. Pathan

In the North-West Frontier of India and in Multan the term Pathan is used for Pashto speaking. They settled in Multan during the Muslim rule.¹⁹ The major Pathan or Pashtun tribes settled in Multan are Badozais, Bamozais, Saddozais, Khakwanis, Alizais, Makus and Nurzais. Their settlement encouraged during the reign of the emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb to recover Kandhar from Persia (1649-53 AD). Many of them were awarded royal grants when Zahid Khan occupied post of Naib Nazim (Administrator) of Multan. Afghan influence was predominant throughout Multan. When Multan fell before Ranjit Singh in 1818, many Pathan left Multan. During the British power efforts were made by them to be reinstated in their former position.

“The Multani Pathans came from Afghanistan around Qandhar belong to the clan of Abdali or Durrani”,²⁰ They live like locals and commonly addressed by the peoples as ‘Khan’. Among the settled Pathan families in Multan very few have any knowledge of Pashto. Some of them do work as ‘labourer’.

2.4.6. Bloch

Bloch settled in the Multan region during the later half of the fifteenth century. The Bloch are chiefly Rinds and Korais. Majority of them confined

¹⁸ Danzil Ibbeston Edward Maclagan & H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the tribes and castes of Punjab & NWFP*, Vol.III (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), p.205.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.205.

²⁰ *Extracts from the District & State Gazetteers of the Punjab, Pakistan, Vol. II* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1977), pp.132-133.

mainly to Lodhran district and its immediate neighbourhood. For all practical purposes, Baloch have lost their original characteristics and become part of the indigenous Jats through free inter-marriages. Some of the Bloch men still have long hairs, and amongst the Rinds the married women wear white clothes only. The Daudputras although claiming a separate origin, is commonly looked upon as Bloch.²¹

2.4.7. *Jats*

The Jats are the most significant family in the Punjab province. They are spread over the regions on the north by the lower ranges of the Himalayas, on the west by the Indus on the south from Hyderabad Sindh to Ajmair and in the east by the Ganges. They are the backbone of agriculture.²² A famous historian 'Tod' assumed them coming from the 'Jaxartes', in Central Asia. They occupied the Indus valley, as far as Sindh, in the beginning.²³

Ethnologically Jat is the peculiar and most prominent product of the plains of the five rivers. From an economical and administrative point of view he is the husbandman, the peasant and the revenue-payer. He is the honest, more industrious; more sturdy and patient vigorous labourer.²⁴ In Multan the various branches of Jats includes Sial, Tammun, Truggar, Wain, Bosan, Khokhar and Marral settled where they hold an imperative position.

²¹ *District Census Report of Multan 1998* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, 1999). P.4.

²² Kalik aranjn Qanungo, *History of the Jat* (Calcutta: M.c. Sarkar & Sons, 1925), pp.1-2.

²³ Dr. Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch and Heinz Westphal, *The Jat of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Lok Virsa Publishing House, 1987), p.95.

²⁴ Denzil Ibbetson & others, *A Glossary of the tribes & Castes of the Punjab & NWFP, Vol. II op. cit.*, p.366.

2.4.8. Rajput

In the Vedic literature the term "*Raja-putra*", is used for son of a king.²⁵ Thus, the Rajput literary means king's son. They also claim to be descended from the ruling race. The status of many of Rajput tribes within British territory is much lower than that of the princely families of the west.²⁶ The Rajputs of the Punjab are brave and retain the feudal instinct more strongly developed than any other non-menial cast. The tribal heads exercise extraordinary authority. They are very persistent of the integrity of their communal property in the village lands, rarely admitting strangers to share it with them. Pride of blood is their strongest characteristic. They are lazy and poor husbandmen and much prefer pastoral to agricultural pursuits, looking upon all manual labour as derogatory and upon the actual operation to plough in the fields; and it is only the poorest class of the Rajput, who plough in the fields.²⁷

In Multan and Shuja Abad the predominant clan is that of Noon family, who are said to be a sub-division of the Bhatti Rajputs and migrated from Thanewahan in the direction of Delhi.

The Marrals claimed themselves as Rajputs and were the founders of village "Kasba", in Multan Tehsil. Abdul Nabi, Rai Baman and Rai Khair

²⁵ Denzil Ibbeston & others, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and NWFP, Vol. III*, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978). P.272.

²⁶ W. Crook, *Races of Northern India* (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1973), p.88.

²⁷ Denzil Ibbeston, *Punjab Castes* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2001), p.132.

Mahmood came from Karnal (India) four hundred years ago. They are now called Chaudharis, and Landlords (Zamindars) of the District.²⁸

2.4.9. *Honorary Titles*

In connection with the tribal constitution of the region, it is interesting that the honorary titles of respect affixed by the people to the name of more prominent men. The Bablas of Shuja'abad, Aroras and Marrals are called Chaudharis. Similarly, the Hirajs are called Mahr; Khokars and Jakkars are called Maliks and Nuoons are called Ranas; Samejas, Mohars, Jam and Pathan are called Khan and the Syed are called Shah respectively. The title 'Makhdum' is applied to the guardians of shrines.

2.5. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy. Majority of the population has adopted as main occupation. From time immemorial the people have lived in small villages, the mud houses, which are huddled together in more or less a compact areas situated in the midst of the fields which provide the means of livelihood to their occupants.²⁹

In agriculture the main crops are wheat, cotton, rice, sugarcane, oilseeds etc. The crops of Rabi (period November to April) are wheat, gram rape, mustard and barley. The kharif crops (May to November) are cotton, rice, jawar, maize and sugarcane. The major vegetables grown in the region are sweet potato, chilies, garlic, cauliflower, tomato, radish, turnip, peas and lady finger.

²⁸ *Extracts from the District & State Gazetteers of the Punjab, Pakistan, Vol. II* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1977), p. 137.

²⁹ Dr. Ali Asghar Khan, *A Text Book of Pakistan – Agricultural Economics* (Lahore: The Carvan Press, 1978), p.244.

The region is the best grower of wheat; about sixty-five percent population lives in rural areas. Wheat is the main food crop of the people. The process of increasing yields through using improved varieties and fertilizers is achieving its climax. Wheat yield is increasing through cropping, timely harvesting, threshing, transportation and storage.³⁰ In production of wheat Multan is the best region in the Punjab and as per ratio of production, it is first in the Punjab. Table of District wise area and production of wheat for three years is given on the left.

Cotton is a major crop of the region. Cotton plays a vital role in the economic development. It is the most important cash crop. Besides contribution to the textile industry cotton also fulfils almost half of the domestic edible oil requirements of the people. The significance of cotton can be viewed from the fact that it provides fiber, food and fuel all at a time to urban and rural populations of the country.³¹ The region is best in Punjab for the production of cotton bales. Three years comparison of cotton production is given on the left.

Thus, Multan is the second best region in the Punjab for growing cotton. Keeping in view the high significance of cotton in economy, the researchers and planners direct all of their efforts to enhance the production and maintain quality of the fiber. Due to these efforts, Pakistan now comes at number 5 in ranking towards cotton production in the world.³²

³⁰ M. A. Farooq, *Mechanization of wheat Harvesting in Pakistan* (Multan: Agricultural mechanization Research Institute, 1981), p.2.

³¹ *Cotton Production Plan 1992-93*, (Karachi: Pakistan Central Cotton Committee, 1992), p.1.

³² *Cotton Production Plan 1992-93*, (Karachi: Pakistan Central Cotton Committee, 1992), pp.1-2.

Cotton has been enjoying very important position in crop production ever since the dawn of civilization. The earliest cottons grown and spun in the fabrics, were in the Indus valley as displayed by the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro dating back to 3500 BC seed about 9000 years old, the oldest in the world so far have been found at the foot of Bolan pass in Baluchistan.³³ The evidence shows the region is the oldest in cotton growing.

Multan region is famous for the production of fruits. The main fruits grown in the region are mango, malta, orange, sour-lemon, sweet lemon, pomegranate, guava, bananas and dates. Some good varieties of mangoes have been developed and the most well known of these are Anwar-lator, Dasehri and Langra. The orchards generally scattered all over the region. Multan and Shujabad have the large area under gardens Shujabad is particularly famous for its mango gardens. The region is second best in production of mango & banana and table is given on the left.

Prior to 1950, chemical fertilizer was not used by the farmer. 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. There are several branches of agricultural development Banks at suitable places to advance loans to farmers. Mechanized cultivation is gaining popularity amongst the growers in this region as it is economical, time saving and effective.

³³ Akhlaq Hussain and others, *Cotton Varieties of Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Federal Seed Certification & Registration Department, Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Livestock, Govt. of Pakistan, 2005)p.11.

2.6. IRRIGATION

The total length of main canals and branches in Multan region is 775 canal miles (one canal mile = 5000 feet) total length of major and minor distributaries is 4300 canal miles. The detail is given on the left.

Multan District is irrigated by Haveli canal system. 'Chag' and Darkova are sub-canals of Haveli canal system. Multan is also irrigated by Sidhnai canal system. Fazal Shah is sub-canal of Sidhnai canal system. These irrigation schemes are taken from the River Ravi at Sidhnai Headwork. Tehsil Shuja'abad and Jalalpur Pirwala are irrigated by Mailsi canal system. Canal-wise Command and Irrigated Assessed Areas' detail is given on the left.

Khanewal District is irrigated by Sidhnai canal system. Main water source of the district is Ravi and Chanab Rivers. In Sahiwal district the lower Bari Doab canal is the main source of irrigation. It runs through out the Sahiwal and Chichawatni tehsil parallel to Pakistan Railway main line connecting Lahore with Karachi. It is fed by a link canal from the Chenab River. In Pakpattan, Vehari and Lodhran districts the main source of irrigation is Pakpattan and Mailsi canal.

Prior to the inauguration of Sutlej valley project irrigation of Pakpattan, Vehari and Mailsi Tehsil depended on wells, inundation canals and river floods. In 1920-21, a project was finalized, known as Sutlej valley project, which could irrigate the area near River Sutlej. According to this project four headworks were to be constructed, out of which, one was to be built in District Ferozpur (at that time in sub-continent – India) and the rest three headworks were at Sulemanki,

Islam and Panjnad (presently in Pakistan). In 1930-32, all three headworks were completed, which were designed for perennial and non-perennial irrigation six canals taken off from these headworks.³⁴

Near the border between India and Pakistan is the Sulemanki headwork. Out of the three canals which flow from this headwork Pakpattan canal irrigates district Sahiwal. The other Headwork is near Khairpur Tamawali at Islam, from where two canals irrigate district Vehari, Multan and Bahawlpur. The third headwork lies one mile below where Sutlej and Chenab meet. It is near 'Uch'. Two canals flow from this Panjnad headwork which irrigate district Rahim Yar Khan.

The other main source of irrigation in Multan region is tube well especially where under ground water is available. Number of Diesel and electric tube-wells, installed by ownership in Multan region as per report for the year 1999-2000, are 76811.³⁵

2.7. FOREST

The significance of forest cannot be denied in micro-global ecological effects on environment and economic life. The forest area in Multan region is about 1% of the total area of Pakistan. The main forest area under control of the government forest department is in Tehsil Chichawatni - District Sahiwal. In Pakpattan district the forest area is dul Waryam. Artificial forests have been

³⁴ *Report on the Administration of Bahawalpur State 1945-46* (Lahore: The civil and Military Gazette, 1947), p.5.

³⁵ *Punjab Development Statistics 2001* (Lahore: Bureau of Statistics, Government of the Punjab, 2001), p.47.

successfully grown in Miranpur in Lodhran District. Other than these forests, trees have been planted alongside canals, roads, and railway lines in rows, which include Shisham, Kiker, Jal and Neem trees. These plantations of forests have been made possible after the development of canals in the region. Along both sides of the roads, canals, and even water courses trees of different kinds and shades are visible throughout the region.

The government is trying to encourage the people for plantation. Forest Department has undertaken a number of development schemes in the region. When season is pretty in monsoon the farmers are encouraged to plant more and more trees to increase the wealth of vegetation.

2.8. INDUSTRIES

Presently, in Multan region most of the industries are related to agricultural products are. Industrial development promotes agricultural change in several ways. It makes available new inputs such as machinery, chemicals, fertilizers, insecticides, improved seeds. The use of these things brings a fundamental change in agriculture.³⁶ Industry promotes the development of an infrastructure such as road, electricity, repair facilities, the credit system and a favourable environment for capitalists.³⁷

³⁶ Ijab Nabi, Naved Ahmed and Shahid Zahid, *The Agrarian Economy of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.14-15.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.16.

Nearly in every district there are industries related to cotton, sugar-cane, wheat, rice and oil seeds. Cotton ginning mills are in every Tehsil. Under cottage industry, there are lots of handlooms in all areas. Now a number of textile mills have also been set up in the region. Due to abundance of seeds of cotton, lot of edible oil mills are presently functioning. Amongst the rich classes of Multan, the trend towards setting up industry is not very impressive; so as to encourage industrialization the government has set up an industrial area in the region where various incentives are given to establish industries. Table indicating major industrial units, functioning in the region is given on the left.

Government is trying to provide basic infrastructure in less developed areas and to subsidize some of the inputs like gas and electricity to overcome initial local disadvantages.³⁸

2.9. COMMUNICATION

(i) Railways:

Railways are an important source for traveling and communications in the region. The railway forms the life line of the region by catering to all its needs for large scale movement of freight as well as passenger, traffic.³⁹

All district Headquarters are connected with railway's network. The main railway-line from Peshawar to Karachi passes through Sahiwal, Chichawatni, and Khanewal. Multan district is also connected by two railway lines with other

³⁸ *The Five Year Plan 1988-93 and Perspective Plan 1988-2003, Vol.II.*(Islamabad: Planning Commission Government of Pakistan 1988), p.47.

³⁹ *Pakistan Railways Year Book 1989-90*, (Lahore: Pakistan Railways Headquarter, 1990), p.3.

districts; Faisalabad- Multan branch railway line and Lodhran – Shuja’abad – Multan railway line. The foundation for a Railway system in this part of subcontinent was laid in 1861⁴⁰ during British period on the 13th May 1861, when two cities Karachi and Kotri 169 km apart were linked through rail, while on 10th April 1862, the line was opened from Lahore to Amritsar a distance of 58 km. After that it extended in all areas. In 1961 the railway was given a name Pakistan Western Railway and in May 1974 it was named as Pakistan Railway.⁴¹

(ii) Roads:

There is a network of metalled and un-metalled roads in the region. All districts and tehsil headquarters and important towns are connected through metal road.

The roads in Multan region come under four different categories.

- (a) National Highway.
- (b) Provincial Highways.
- (c) Roads under irrigation Department.
- (d) Roads under District Government (Local Bodies).

The national highways from Peshawar to Karachi pass through the region. Under the provincial highways are the roads, which link all the six district headquarters at various places are linked with national highways. The irrigation department built a road along the canal banks. A large number of roads from farms to market have been constructed by local bodies/ local government. Table indicating District-wise road length is given on the left.

⁴⁰ Syed Abdul Quddus, *What Ails with the Railways* (Lahore: progressive Publishers, 1992), p.5.

⁴¹ *Pakistan Railways Year Books of information 1982-83* (Lahore: Pakistan Railways Headquarters Office, 1983), p.7.

(iii) Airways:

Domestic airport for commercial flights is functioning at Multan. The region is linked by Airways with other major cities like Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar. There are daily flights from here to major cities of the country.

2.10. LEGACY OF MULTAN

“Multan is noted for its antiquity, its spiritual and cultural traditions, elaborately decorated shrines and attractive handicrafts. With its rich history, Multan has received mention in the chronicles of Alexander’s time”.⁴² Although the direct effects of Alexander’s expedition on the region appear to have been small, his proceedings had an appreciable influence on the history of the country. He broke down the wall of separation between west and east and opened up four distinct lines of communication, three by land and one by sea. The land routes which he proved to be practicable were those through Kabul, the Mulla pass in Baluchistan and Gedrosia. Alexander had intended to annex permanently the Indian provinces in the basin of the Indus and to include them in his vast empire extending across Asia into Greece. The arrangements which he made to carry out his intention were suitable and adequate, but his premature death rendered his

⁴² Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Pakistan Culture People and Places*, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1970), p.228.

plans fruitless.⁴³ All the territories that Alexander had overrun, the Indus valley alone escaped from his successors.⁴⁴

Immigrants from the various cultural and intellectual centres of Central Asia and Iran came to Multan. This gave a cosmopolitan colour to the local society, which produced eminent litterateurs, saints, savants, soldiers, poets, architects, masons future kings and rulers while caravans of people belonging to different trades and traits from different lands came to Multan in search of spiritual solace or worldly gains, many enterprising Multanis visited centres of excellence and trade in the Islamic world. A completely new vista of social, cultural and political traditions thus dawned here to distinguish it from the other geo-political units of the subcontinent.

The presence and influence of these spiritual luminaries in the areas resulted into creating an atmosphere of international brotherhood where came and lived foreign travelers and immigrants. The local people with ambition and resources also paid frequent visits to the centres of piety and excellence in the western as well as central Asia.⁴⁵ Immigrants from Central Asia, Arab and Iran came here.

“West Iran” and “Khurasan” were benefited a lot with this part of Pakistan many pious and noble families settled here. Amongst them “Gurdez”, Syed and Qureshi are eminent ones, who came from Khawarzam. Form these families

⁴³ Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India 4th Impression* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.90.

⁴⁴ Toynbee J. Arnold, *A study of History Volume, VIII* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p.410.

⁴⁵ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture*, op.cited. p.13.

“Baha-ud-Din Zakariya” was famous saint. His son-in-law, Iraqi was a famous saint living in Multan for a long time. In the meantime “Pir Shams Tabrez” from “Sabzwar” and “Qazi Qubuddin” from “Kashan” came to Multan. “Baba Farid – Ganj Shakar” was settled in Pakpattan. “Khawaja Bakhtiar Kaki” went to Delhi through Multan. Syed Jalal who was spiritual leader of many families of Multan went “Muzaffargarh” and then to “Uch” through “Bahawalpur”. “Sultan Sakhi Sarwar’s” father also migrated from “Bukhara” to “Sakat” a city in the district Multan. These outstanding personalities served “Islam”.⁴⁶ They came to the subcontinent at different times over a period of some ten centuries, and many of the later saints were born there, each with his own contribution to human perception of the divine. They had many characteristics in common. They were Pirs (saints), faqirs (wandering mendicants) and dervishes. Different saints approached their message from different premises. Each perceived his own moment of comprehension and communicated to his disciples his own message of divine love.⁴⁷ All these men preached the message of Islam among the people of the region and within the thousand years of Muslim rule in this region, Islam spread in its width and length.

⁴⁶ S.K.S. Haj Syed Javadi, *Eternal Heritage*, Vol. I, Punjab Province (Islamabad: Cultural consulate of Islamic Republic of Iran, 1991), p.549.

⁴⁷ Samina Qureshi, *Legacy of the Indus* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974). pp.42-43.

Chapter – 3

RULERS AND POLITICS

3.1. HISTORICAL SETTING

Multan has been the cradle of several civilizations. Different rulers gave it different names. Hindus called it “navel of the Hindu world”. The Arabs called it “*Baitul-Zahab*” (House of gold). The Mughals called it “*Dar-ul-Aman*” (House of peace). Multan is a place of great antiquity. According to the evidence collected and studied by archaeologists, the territory of Multan region possesses unmistakable imprints of the cultural patterns evolved in the period of the so-called Indus civilization.¹

The Indus valley civilization flourished in a wide area extending from Makran in the west to Ruar on the Sutlej (river) at the foothills of the Himalayas in the north and Lothal in Gujrat in the south. Its most important cities were Harappa in Multan region in western Punjab and Mohenjo-Daro on the lower Indus in Sindh.²

Multan has the distinction of possessing an almost uninterrupted history of religio-political activities spread over a period of not less than five thousand years.

¹ Dr. Ahmed nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University, 1983), p.1.

² Shanti Swarup, *5000 years of Arts and Crafts in India*(Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1968), p.2.

The area where ancient Multan is located once possessed a number of pre-or- proto-historic settlement sites and towns of the Indus civilization.

River Indus has given its name to the vast country laying to its east. The foreign invaders from Persia, Greece and China could not proceed very far from the basin of mighty river, and they called the country the land of the Indus or India. The Greek historian Herodotus and the historians, who came with Alexander, used this name and subsequently the name of the best known country has been applied to the whole country.³

The first recognized cultures based on agriculture, domestic animals, the production and exchange of pottery and other artifacts date from around 7500 BCE. The earliest literate city states implying sophisticated political and economic systems can be traced to about 3000 BCE. The Harappan or Indus valley civilization, as the best known of these is called lasted between about 2500-1750 BCE. Over the next two thousand years settled cultivation expanded considerably across the north Indian plain.⁴

The ancient city of Harappa, 24 kilometers away from the city of Sahiwal in the Multan region (Punjab), was a large centre of the Indus civilization. It had a population of about 150,000. If we look at the excavated ruins, the very first thing that fascinates us is the systematized architecture. All is orderly and regulated; and

³ Upendra Nath Ball, *Ancient India*, Second Edition (Calcutta: Sudha Bindu Biswas, 1928), pp.1-2.

⁴ Peter Robb, *A History of India*(London: Palgrave, 2002), p.5.

the uniformity of design is indeed praiseworthy. Burnt bricks were used for building houses and drains.⁵

The main occupation of the Harappan people was agriculture. Wheat, barley, date palm were cultivated, evidence of which has been found at Harappa. Apart from this major occupation people made tools of copper and bronze. The most flourishing industry was pottery. It exhibits a large variety of jars and vases of all sizes and shapes intended for storing things like grains and cosmetics. The dress of the Harappans was not gaudy. Cotton cloth was in use. Harappans were fond of ornaments, which were made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, ivory and shells. Some ornaments, however, appear not to be made of indigenous material. This shows that the people were indulged in commerce and trade with foreign countries.⁶

“According of G.R. Hundter, Indus valley prior to the arrival of the Aryans was inhabited probably by Dravidians”.⁷ It is evidence about people of the area. According of famous historian (B.C) it is opined that these cities; Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were built by the Dravidians.⁸ The Aryans are not believed to have entered India before 1200 BC. The Dravidians appear to have been a highly civilized people. They knew agriculture and had learnt the use of gold, silver and

⁵ Mohd Shafi Sabir, *Pakistan Culture People & Places* (Peshawar: University Books Agency, 1970), pp.284-85.

⁶ *Ibid.* p.85.

⁷ G.R. Hundter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its Connection with the other Scripts* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publisher, 1993), p.12.

⁸ H.C. *A Brief Survey of Indian History* (Madras: Longmans Green & Co. Ltd, 1941), p.11.

copper. They lived in villages under chiefs, who used to lead them to battle. They were skilled architects and erected great temples in honour of the gods, they worshipped. They were related to the ancient Sumerians of Babylon in race, culture and had settlements in the north-west of India. They buried their dead and worshipped gods and goddesses.⁹

The Brahuīs, a tribe in Baluchistan, speak a language which is similar to that spoken by the south Indian Dravidians. These and other such groups are earliest Indians. They are living evidence for the study of past towards racial classification of the pre-Aryan stock.¹⁰

The distinctive features of the Harappan civilization have also become clearly defined unlike Mesopotamian, there is remarkable uniformity in the artifact assemblages at given time period from Harappa dated from 2300 BC to the later Mohenjo-Daro period from about 2000 BC. There are no pyramidal or large temple structures as in Mesopotamia.¹¹

Mohenjo-Daro, mound of the dead, is 320 km north east of Karachi a site 27 km from Larkana, Sindh and Harappa a site 24 kilometers from the city of Sahiwal in Punjab beside a former course of river Ravi in spite of a distance of 650 km between them. The art of living in civilized cities had taken effect and co-ordinate human efforts on a geographical scale un-approached in pre-historic

⁹ *ibid.* p.11.

¹⁰ Francis Watson, *A Concise History of India* (Great Britain's Thames and Hundson, 1985), p.21.

¹¹ Gordon T. Bowles, *The People of Asia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), p.128.

times. Since its discovery famous Indus civilizations has rightly ranked amongst the great civilization of the ancient world.¹² The dominant impression after a survey of the sites and the remains of Mohenjodaro and Harappa and especially of the inscribed objects is that this civilization was independent.¹³

According to V.Gordon (a well-known historian), the Aryans were next to the Dravidians who entered the region. Aryan first emerged from the gloom of pre-history on the northern borders of the fertile crescent of the ancient east. They came to Babylonia, Egypt and Cappadocia.¹⁴ They came here through Iran and Afghanistan about 3500 years ago. The Aryans along with their flocks of sheep and goats arrived in the Indus valley. The local people had nothing to grudge against them as there was ample space to accommodate the new comers. As the Indus valley people belonged to an agrarian society, the trouble arose only when the large flocks of the Aryan nomads began to forage their cultivated fields.¹⁵ Some factions of the Aryan nomads preferred to settle themselves and live peacefully with the local people. Some after battle with the local people; drove them out towards the Gangetic plain.¹⁶

¹² Wheeler R.E.M., *Five Thousand years of Pakistan: An Archaeological Outline* (Karachi: royal Book Company, 1949), p.24.

¹³ G.R. Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its Connection with other Scripts*, op. cit. p.12.

¹⁴ V. Gordon. *The Aryans* (Reprint) [London: Rutledge, 1996], p.16.

¹⁵ Anul Haq Faridkoti, *Pre-Aryan Origins of the Pakistani Language* (Lahore: Orient Research Centre, 1992), pp. 20-21.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Among the various races which came to India from time to time, the Aryans occupy a unique position. They lived in Punjab for a long time. Their earliest literary work the Rig-Veda, mentions the rivers of the present day Pakistan: Sindhu or the Indus, Vitusa or the Jhelum, Askiri or the Chenab, Aravati or the Ravi, Vipasa or the Beas, Chutardri or the Sutlej.¹⁷ The historical process of social intermingling in the national pattern began with the Aryans displacing the established Dravidian inhabitants partly by conquest and partly by the quiet acceptance of many of their beliefs.¹⁸ Before the coming of the Aryans, the Dravidians in the Indus valley had evolved from a Neolithic farming people to an urbanized flock living in cities surrounded by supporting villages. The Aryans although destroyed most of these settlements when they entered the region, they adopted the principles of a settled civic order from their racial predecessors and transformed themselves from nomadic herdsman in to farmers. They in turn built their own cities but farming remained the basis of economic life and the village the unity of society.¹⁹

Multan is one of the ancient cities of the world. It is situated at the distance of 6.5 kilometer on the left bank of the river Chenab. The city and the fort are forty feet higher than ordinary surface of the land, old course of river Ravi was

¹⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Punjab – The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Lahore: Royal book Company, 1972), p.32.

¹⁸ Shanti Swarup, *5000 years of Arts and Crafts in India and Pakistan* (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1968), p.2.

¹⁹ Samina Qureshi, *Legacy of the Indus* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), p.33.

near the city.²⁰ The history of the formative stages of Multan is shrouded in mystery. There are several views about the historical background of Multan's name. The city has been known by a number of different names during various periods and with the passage of time each has changed its form and pronunciation.

“Multan was originally called Kasyapapura, then Hamsapura, then Bagapura, then Sambhapura, then Mulasthana and then Multan. The last name has been used as Mo-la-sa-polo by Hieun Tsang, the famous Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim who visited the place in 641 AD”.²¹ Mo-la-sa-polo which is said to be a translation of Mulasthana i.e. *mula* means root origin and *sthana* means place.

Multan stands at the height of 125.88 meters above the sea level. *Al-Idrisi*, writing about Multan in the beginning of the twelfth century, describes it as a large city commanded by a citadel which has four gates and is surrounded by a moat. The fort had four gates, but only none survives today except the one, which is recent constructed and is known as Qasim gate. The four gates which the fort had were known as Khidri Gate to the north, called after Khidr Khan Governor of Multan at the time of Timur's invasion. To the west there is De-gate to the south Rahri Gate and to the east Sikki Gate respectively. The walled city of Multan had six gates separately from the fort. They were known as (1) Delhi Gate (2) Daulat

²⁰ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareek Multan Zamina Kadeem Say 1947 AD* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2007), p.12.

²¹ Ihsan H. Nadiem, *Built Heritage of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002), p.81.

Gate (3) Lahouri Gate (4) Baubar Gate (5) Harem Gate (6) Pak Gate²² of which the Bohar gate is on the southwest, Lahouri gate on northwest, Daulat gate on the north, Delhi gate on the east and Harem gate on the south. In the beginning, the walls were forty to fifty feet high but were reduced during the British period.²³

In the city there are now about 15-20 temples still standing, some of which have been closed publicly, while others are being used for public interest. Among all the temples the fame of Multan rested mainly on its wonderful sun temple with its colossal 'sun' statues and enormous wealth unfortunately, this temple no longer exists.²⁴

Multan was strong centre of sun-worshippers and its temple attracted people from great distances, and as per Arab accounts pilgrims came from Sindh, Gujrat and Punjab for offerings to the temple. The city was mainly characterized by its religious nature. As late as 1665 AD, when Thevenat paid a visit, he speaks of "a pagoda of great consideration because of the affluence of the people that came there to perform their devotion their way and from all places of Multan, Lahore and other countries they came thither in pilgrimage. I know not the name of the idol that is worshipped there; the face is black, and it is clothed in red

²² Syed Abdul Quddus, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), p.362.

²³ Abdul Rehman, *Historic Town of Punjab, Ancient and Medieval Period*(Karachi: Ferozsons Ltd., 1997), p.70.

²⁴ Tariq Jamil, *Crafts of the Punjab – Multan*, Vol. II (Lahore: Punjab Small Industries Corporation, Government of the Punjab, 1988), pp.45-46.

leather; it hath two peals in place of eyes; and the Emir or Governor of the country takes the offerings that are presented to it”²⁵.

The old trade of Multan was also linked with the popularity of the sun-temple. The Arab writer Istakhri remarks the temple of the idol is a strong edifice situated in the most populous part of the city in the market of Multan below the bazar of ivory dealers and the shop of copper-smiths. The idol temple and the worship of sun god continued even after the city was conquered by the Muslims and so flourished the trade. However, there was a cultural change; such a change can be noticed in the first mosque that was built in Multan by Muhammad Bin Qasim.

Multan after 10th century AD transformed itself into another spiritual system - that system, which later had the blessings of Suharawardi order, flourished more and more and matured in the time of the Mughals who extended their patronage to the city and the Muslim saints. The development of the city of Multan has been gradual since the time of the Hindus, when there was the temple of sun-god²⁶. The accounts of the old writers abundantly make it clear about the religious and commercial nature of the city. Multan, par excellence, was the city of *saints* and *dargahs* (holy place) and that character of the city distinguishes it from Lahore and Peshawar. As a place of religious attraction even today people (from

²⁵ Dr. Ahmed Hasan Dani, *History of Pakistan Through Ages* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2008), p.261.

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp.62-63.

far and near) come to the city. It is with this nature of the city that its trade and commerce are inseparably linked.

Political history proper starts with the emergence of great kings known definitely from their inscriptions, remains of palaces and chronicles. Apart from the small tribal chiefs, whose names per chance occur in the religious legendary literature? Ashoka is the first such king of India. Before Alexander the great one part of the country (India) was occupied by the Achaemenids (Iranians). There is some evidence for the fact that Alexander as well as the Achaemenids paved the way for Ashoka and his grandfather Chadragupta Maurya, thus the history of India may be traced from the time of the Achaemenids.

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 as the wealthiest and the most populous satrapy of the empire. Its tribute alone consisted of three hundred and sixty embolic talents of gold-dust which is an enormous amount and perhaps equivalent to over a million pound sterling.²⁷ It formed about one third of the total amount received as tribute from Asiatic provinces. This province included the course of the Indus from Kalabagh

²⁷ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History and Civilizations, Islamic University, 1983) p.19.

to the sea including a portion of the Punjab east of the Indus and whole of Sindh. Multan was located within the boundaries of this 'richest satrapy'.²⁸

The Achaemenid (Persian, Iranian) empire was established up by Cyrus the great (c. 558-529 BC) starting his career as a petty chief in the district of Susiana. This wonderful military genius conquered three empires. He brought under him almost the whole of western Asia. He even annexed some territories in the west as well as in the east, and at last he thus created an immense empire from Greece in the west to the regions far beyond Persia in the east, such as Bacteria, (Bakhtrish), Sodra (Suguda) and Massagelae (Saka) in the north; and Aria (Haraiva), Arachosia (Hauravatish) and Gedrosia (Maka) in the south.²⁹

Darius I (C- 522-486 BC) was the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty. Herodotus tells us that 'India', constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest, - 360 talents of gold dust equivalent to £1,290,000 of the pre-war period.³⁰ The exact limits of the twentieth satrapy cannot be determined; it must have included the course of Indus from Kalabagh to the sea and considerable portion of the eastern Punjab and the whole of Sindh. It is evident that Multan was located within the boundary of this richest satrapy.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ K. C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India* (Allahabad: Gyan Prakashan, 1968), p.9.

³⁰ H. Rachaudhuri, *Political History of ancient India*, Sixth Edition (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1953), p.241.

3.2. THE GREEKS (ALEXANDE THE GREAT 356-323 BC)

3.2.1 Multan under Greeks

“The Achaemenian domination lasted for about two centuries or until 326 BC when Greek troops under Alexander the Great overran these areas”.³¹ Among these the Malwas (tribe) were the most powerful and occupied the fertile valley of the Hydraotes (River Ravi) on both the banks of the river. Multan was the capital of the Malwas.³² The most formidable opposition to the Greek invaders was offered by a confederacy of the Malwas,³³ and other tribes dwelling along the river Ravi and Bias.

The confederate forces, 80,000 well equipped infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 800 chariots, should have sufficed to destroy the Macedonian army but the superior generalship of Alexander, as usual, gave him decisive victory.³⁴ Alexander himself was wounded, inspection showed that Alexander’s wound was extremely serious.³⁵ However he never recovered fully well after this battle and died on his way back³⁶ in June 323 BC.³⁷ At the confluence of the five rivers,

³¹ A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1978), p.233.

³² *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab Vol.I* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), p.18.

³³ Dr. A.H. Dani says Malwa, some writer Says Malloi.

³⁴ Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 4th Edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.24-27

³⁵ Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander The Great* (Reprint) [London: Longman, 1974), p.381.

³⁶ M. Hanif Raza, *Multan: Past and Present* (Islamabad: Colorpix, 1988), p.29.

³⁷ Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (4th Edition) op. cit., p.89.

Alexander founded a new city, possibly the modern Uch Sharif which was a part of Multan region.³⁸

After the defeat, survivors of the Malwas submitted. The presents offered by the envoys of the Malwas and their allies signified the wealth of this community and the advanced state of their material civilization. The gifts comprised 1030 four-horsed chariots; 1,000 bucklers; a great quantity of cotton cloth; 100 talents of white iron, probably meaning steel; the skins of crocodiles; a quantity of tortoise shell; and some tame lions and tigers of extra ordinary size.³⁹ This is evidence which proves the importance of the region in history.

With the dawn of the fourth century we enter a changed world. Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) stands at the close of an old, and beginning of fresh chapter in world-history. The Achaemenian (now Iran) domination lasted for about two centuries or until 326 BC. The conquest of Persian Empire by Alexander had opened between east and west.⁴⁰ Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush in May 327 BC. In 326 BC he crossed the river Indus at Ohind or Hund and entered independent India at the beginning of spring in the month of February or March. Ambhi (Omphis) king of Taxila welcome the invading army and sent embassy with valuable presents to meet Alexander and contributed a contingent of 700 men to swell his force. The submission of the ruler of Taxila is explained by

³⁸ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series Punjab, Vol.I, op.cit. p.224.*

³⁹ Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India, op.cit. p.89.*

⁴⁰ W.G. DE Burgh, *The Legacy of the Ancient World, Vol.I* (London: Penguin Books, 1953), pp.189-90.

the fact that he sought Alexander's help against his enemies in the neighbouring states.⁴¹ At Jhelum Alexander defeated the Porus and advanced towards River Beas, where his soldiers seem to be reluctant to cross that river.

When Alexander conquered Multan in 326 BC, the north-western India was divided into a number of small principalities.⁴² Among these, Malwa was the most powerful and occupied the fertile land of river Ravi and Chenab. The area where Chenab join the Indus in their territory,⁴³ Multan was the capital town of Malwa.

In the first recorded attack upon it by Alexander the great, Multan was able to offer very formidable resistance to his troops, He was seriously wounded in an assault which was led by himself personally and captured the citadel.⁴⁴ However, as soon as the Greek conqueror left the subcontinent his mercenaries mutinied against the governor and killed him.

Philippus one of the Governors of Alexander had made satrap of that province was murdered by his mercenary troops early in 324 BC and Alexander who heard the news in Karmania was unable to do more than an officer named Eudemons⁴⁵ temporarily appointed as commandant of garrison to head the local administration. He was supposed to stay there until the appointment of a new

⁴¹ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India – The Indian Empire*, Vol. II (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908), p.274 and see also Lubna Abid Ali's "Post-Revolutionary Iran: Foreign Policy", *Research Society of Pakistan* (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 2008), pp. 159-60.

⁴² J.B. Bury, *History of Greece*, Reprint (London: Macmillan and Co., 1938), p.422.

⁴³ H. Raychaudhary, *Political History of India*, op. cit. p.254.

⁴⁴ Abdul Rehman, *Historic Town of Punjab Ancient and Medieval* (Karachi: Ferozsons, 1997), p.66.

⁴⁵ Vincent A. Smith, *Ashoka – the Buddhist Emperor of India*, 3rd Edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1919), p.12.

satrap. Alexander was willing to retain the conquered territories in to his world wide empire with the strategy of forming conquered land in to his provinces and appointing governors over them.⁴⁶ But revolt in the Indian provinces and the sudden death of Alexander in 323 BC made the Macedonian position in India untenable and the last of Alexander's general Eudemus left the north-west in 317 BC.⁴⁷ This even showed the socio-political activities in the area especially the part played by the people of Multan. It appears that the city was yet to gain importance and was most probably, an insignificant town of the Malwa Chieftain. It was not in any case the metropolis of the local rulers subdued by the Macedonian army.

Multan has always been the capital of the lower Punjab since 1200 AD and it is the four times big in size of any other place and cannot be denied to consider the strongest fort in this area. All these properties belonged to Malwa (tribe). Multan was the capital of the country. According to *Arian*, Malwa had 50,000 strong defenders "for better security."⁴⁸

3.3. CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND ASHOKA

"After the death of Alexander the Great, the Greek commanders too could not hold the area".⁴⁹ The local chieftains started re-occupying the tracts. This was also the time when northern India was being consolidated under the fast growing

⁴⁶ K.C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India* (Allahabad: Gyan Parakashan, 1968), p.30.

⁴⁷ A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1954), p.49.

⁴⁸ Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (Delhi: Ideological Book House, 1979), p.200.

⁴⁹ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture*, op. cit. p.20.

power of Chandra Gupta Maurya who had gradually occupied the vast prosperous satrapies of the Paropanisadue (Kabul) Aria (Heart) Aukhosia (Qandhar) and the eastern portion of Gedrosia (Baluchistan).⁵⁰ Multan was annexed by Chandragupta Maurya and became a part of Indian Empire. He was a courageous soldier and a capable administrator, both agriculture and commerce flourished in Multan under his rule. During the reign of Chandragupta's grandson Ashoka, Buddhism spread in the region.⁵¹

Alexander died suddenly after returning from India without any heirs. There ensued a fierce war of succession among his generals involving even Alexander's governors in India. The Macedonian officer and garrisons found it difficult at this juncture to hold themselves against numerous warlike principalities and freedom loving of India. Chandragupta Maurya working on the side of these principalities and later established his own rule of law over the entire region.⁵² Chandragupta Maurya captured Multan and annexed Greek province of Multan in 304 BC and for the first time Multan became part of the Indian empire. Seleucus, the successor and governor of Alexander the great, was forced to enter into a humiliating treaty. According to Appian, there was a matrimonial alliance between the two kings as a result of which Seleucus became the father-in-law of Chandragupta. Sheikh Ikramul Haq recorded that the marriage took place in the

⁵⁰ H. Raychaudhry, *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta, S. Chand :publishers, 1942), p.271.

⁵¹ Humanyun Faiz Rasul, *The Multan Review* (Multan: Commissioner, Multan Division, 1974), P.36.

⁵² K.C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India*, (Allahabad: Gyan Parakashan, 1968), p.47-48.

historic city of Multan and Magasthenes, the Ambassador-designate in the court of Chandragupta also attended the marriage ceremony in Multan.⁵³

It was about the time when northern India was being consolidated under Chandragupta Maurya who rose to power after a victory over Seleucus in 305 BC. The territories of Multan were included in his empire which comprised Afghanistan, Gandhara, the Punjab, Baluchistan, Sindh, Kashmir, Nepal and lower Himalaya and central India. The empire was divided into various administrative units, and each was given under the control of a viceroy. After a reign of twenty four years, he died. Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded, about the 300 BC, by his son Bindusara, who died after a reign of twenty seven years, his reign terminated about 273 BC.⁵⁴ Bindusara was followed by his son Ashoka who became one of the greatest kings of India. Ashoka became a very great patron of Buddhism. Resultantly Buddhism became a world religion through his activities.

The vast Buddhist literature spread over the whole of Asia which has preserved voluminous accounts of his era. These accounts are, however, legends fabricated by very late ecclesiastics, besides being celebrated in voluminous literature. Ashoka figures mostly in a number of rock and pillar inscriptions scattered all over India. In all, there are some thirty five records of varying length

⁵³ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *History of Multan from Early Period to 1849 AD* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1991), p.5.

⁵⁴ H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th Edition, op. cit. p.295 and p.301.

available in different versions. They are the earliest fully trustworthy historical records of India and they supply the most reliable information for the history.⁵⁵ During Ashoka's reign, Buddhism became the state religion.⁵⁶

After the Mauryas Indian history entered a dark period of five centuries. Many foreigner dynasties came from the north-western passes into the plain of the Punjab. The most remarkable of all was that of the Kushans who belonged to a Central Asian tribe Yuch-Chi. Kanishka, a great figure in Buddhist history was their greatest ruler.⁵⁷

The most celebrated king of the Kushanas, Kanishka annexed Punjab and Sindh to the Kushana Empire. The ruins of a monastery and a tower erected at 'Sui Vihara', a place not far from Multan show that the people were Buddhists and that the areas were included in the vast kingdom of Kanishka.⁵⁸

After reigning for nearly forty-five years, Kanishka died in about 160 AD. His successors were Huvishka and Vasudeva who ruled for a considerably long time.⁵⁹ In the middle of the fifth century India including Multan suffered heavily from the invasions of the white Huns. The Punjab like other parts of the subcontinent was divided into small principalities.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ K.C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India*, op.cit. p.54.

⁵⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial Series, Punjab*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Government Printing, 1908), p.19.

⁵⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Punjab: The land of Beauty Love and Mysticism*, op. cit. p. 34.

⁵⁸ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture*, op. cit. p. 21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p.21.

⁶⁰ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Punjab The Land of Beauty Love and Mysticism*, op. cited. p. 34.

Sometimes at the close of the 3rd century BC, the Mauryan Empire disintegrated and a struggle started among the rulers until the arrival of Kushanas on the political scene somewhere in the beginning of the first century AD. The Kushanas built up a mighty empire extending into three great river valleys of Asia – the Oxus, the Indus, and the Ganges.⁶¹ The most celebrated king of Kushanas was Kanishka. During his rule the Kushana Empire covered a vast territory from Bactria to Benares and from Kashmir to Sindh. Kushana coins have also been found in Chorasmia, Khotan and eastern Iran, which indicates the extent of the Kushana Empire.⁶² The ruins of a monastery and a tower erected at Sui Vihara (a place near Multan) show that there were also Buddhism in the area. It is evident that the area was included in the vast kingdom of Kanishka. After reigning for nearly forty five years, Kaniska died in about 160 AD. His successors were Haviskka and Vasudeva who ruled for a long time.

In the fifth century AD a new ruling family known as the Rai dynasty emerged in Sindh. In about 485 C.E. Raja Diwaij founded this new ruling dynasty with its capital at Alvor. Soon the founder extended his realm on the east to Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to port of Debul and on the north to the mountains of Kurdan and Qiqaran. The kingdom was divided into four

⁶¹ Ahmed Hasan Dani, *The Historic City of Taxila* (Lahore: Sange-e-Meel Publications, 1999), p.71.

⁶² Janos Harmatta Editory, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol.II (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), pp.249-50.

provinces i.e. Brahmanabad, Siwistan, Askalanda and Multan.⁶³ Multan was then an important fortified metropolis. History reveals that five rulers of the Rai dynasty reigned over this vast territory.

Kufi, a historian, gives detailed account of his service and his love affairs with Queen Sohandi Devi⁶⁴ and events which followed culminating in his seizing power. He then married the Queen. Chach died at Alvor (a city of Sindh) 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. The kingdom was again united in 670 C.E. when Daharsiya died and Dahir became the ruler of the whole kingdom.⁶⁵

The history of ancient Multan remains shrouded in mystery until the close of fifth century AD. Then a new ruling family known as the Rai dynasty emerged in Sindh. Raja Devaj founded this dynasty with its capital at Alor in 485 AD or thereabout. The king had divided his kingdom into four provinces Iskalanda, Multan, Siwistan and Brahmanabad. Multan was then an important fortified metropolis. Five rulers of Rai dynasty reigned over this vast territory.⁶⁶ After that the area was ruled by the Chach and after a glorious and successful reign of forty

⁶³ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchchh History and Architecture* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), p.7.

⁶⁴ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture*, op. cit. p. 22.

⁶⁵ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchchh History and Architecture*, op. cit. p .11.

⁶⁶ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilizations, Islamic University, 1983), p.21.

years Chach died and his brother Chandra ruled over the area. After his death Chach's son Dahar and Daharsiya divided the kingdom among themselves with Alor and Brahmanabad as their capitals. The kingdom was again united in 670 AD when Daharsiya died and Dahar became the ruler of the whole kingdom. It was during the later period of Dahir's rule that Sindh and Multan were conquered by the Arabs. The event had a great political and social impact on the local society.

3.4. MULTAN UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE (711-1818 AD)

3.4.1. The Arabs (711-1000 Ad)

The main reason for the invasion of Sindh was not a desire for expansion but revenge. The pirates of Debal (sea port) had plundered some Arab ships coming from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and had captured Muslim women and children, Hajj, the Governor of Iraq, demanded from the contemporary ruler of Sindh; chastisement of the culprits. Dahir (the ruler of Sindh) disowned the responsibility saying that it was done by the pirates who were not under his control. Hajaj sent three generals in succession but the first two were routed by Dahir, the third general Muhammad bin Qasim was a nephew and son-in-law of Hajjaj. Muhammad bin Qasim headed with an army of 6,000 cavalry, an equal number of camel riders and additional 3000 camels for transport. Buddhists, Jats and Merhs were dissatisfied with the Brahman rule of Dahir. They were ready to welcome a

foreign invader for the destruction of that dynasty. Dahir was so frightened that he evacuated the land west of the river Indus, and decided to wage a defensive war along the eastern bank. The enemy's morale went up as they got hold of the western part of Sindh without fighting.⁶⁷

Muhammad Bin Qasim appeared before Debal in 712 AD and conquered Debal, Nirun and Brahmanabad. Dahir was killed and Muhammad Bin Qasim occupied Alor. He then proceeded towards Multan, the chief city of upper Indus. Multan offered resistance for two months after which the Hindus were overpowered and defeated. The people of Multan, merchants, traders and artisans, together with the Jats and Meds who had suffered at the hands of native rulers, waited upon Muhammad Bin Qasim to do him homage. In conformity with Muslim practice he guaranteed to the conquered people the security of life, property and freedom of worship. "The temples" he said shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the Synods of the Jews and the altars of Magians.⁶⁸

Abdul Qasim, better known as Ibn Khurdadbih was the earliest known of the Arab geographers. His work "*The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*" describes the city of Multan by the name of "*Farj*" because Muhammad bin Qasim found vast quantities of gold in the city which henceforth was called by the Arabs the 'House

⁶⁷ Awadhi Bihari Pandey, *Early Medieval India* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1960), p.7.

⁶⁸ M. Kabir, *A short History of Pakistan, Book II Muslim Rule under the Sultans* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1967), pp.11-12.

of Gold'.⁶⁹ This huge treasure helped Hajjaj repay not only sixty million dirham, the expenses of the expedition, but doubled the amount to the caliph. The people of Multan merchants, traders, and artisans together with Brahmans, Buddhists, Jats, Meds and all others were spared their lives. The general settlement of the country followed. An Arab was appointed governor of the city and Arab officers were placed Incharge of important forts. Religious toleration was granted against payment of *jizya* (poll tax).⁷⁰

The fall of Multan laid the Indus valley at the feet of the conquerors. The tribes came in ringing bells and beating drums and dancing in token of welcome. The Hindu rulers had oppressed them heavily. The conquest, as often happened in India, was thus aided by the disunion of the inhabitants and jealousies of race and creed conspired to help the Muslims to such suppliants. Muhammad Bin Qasim gave the liberal terms. His governors were tolerant and economical. The citizens and villagers were allowed to furnish the tax-collectors themselves. The Brahmans were protected and entrusted with high offices for which their education made them indispensable; and the conqueror's instructions to all officers were wise and conciliatory honest. If there be distribution, distribute equitably, and fix the

⁶⁹ Abdul Quddus, *Punjab The Land of Beauty and Mysticism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), p.361.

⁷⁰ K.S. Lal, *Early Muslim in India* (New Delhi: Books & Books Publishers, 1984), p.25.

revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves, and wrangle not that the country be not vexed.⁷¹

Muhammad Bin Qasim settled the terms of agreement with the principal inhabitants of Multan and ordered the erection of a mosque in that city.⁷² It is significant from the cultural point of view as besides helping the exchange of ideas it facilitated the dissemination of the seeds of Indian culture in foreign lands. The Arabs acquired from the Hindus knowledge of Indian religion, Philosophy, Medicine, mathematics, Astronomy, folklore and carried it not only to their own land but also to Europe.⁷³

Conquest of Sindh and Multan by Muhammad Bin Qasim was the start of Muslim rule in India. There was a political and cultural change, which can be noticed in the first mosque that was built in Multan by Muhammad Bin Qasim. After that period for about a millennium Multan remained an important centre of Muslim culture and politics.

Muhammad Bin Qasim established the Arab administrative system during his two years of rule 713-715 AD.⁷⁴ He was recalled by the new caliph who had just ascended the throne back in the capital and put him in prison on his return,

⁷¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India under Muhammadan Rule AD 712-1764* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979) pp. 10-11.

⁷² Dr. Mumtaz Hussain Pathan, *History of Sind Arab Period*, vol. III (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1978), p.192.

⁷³ R.c. Majumdar, H. Raychaudhuri and K.K. Datta, *An Advance History of India*, 2nd Edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1950), p. 275.

⁷⁴ Awadh Bihari Pandey, *Early Medieval India*, op. cit. p. 9.

where he died later on. His premature end called a halt to further progress of Muslim armies in the subcontinent.⁷⁵

Soon after the victory on Multan Muhammad Bin Qasim was called by caliph Suleman, Yazid Bin Abe Kabashah was appointed as governor of Multan, then Habib bin Muhallab and Umber bin Muslim. All these were unable to control the revolt of local chieftains. The caliph Hashim sent Junaid bin Abdur Rehman to deal the situation. He died in battle with the local chieftains. In the meantime some religious groups, i.e. Khariji, Alvi, Ismaili and Karamathians gained the ascendancy there.⁷⁶ After the annexation of Sindh as a province, Muhammad Bin Qasim was followed by a succession of Ummayad and Abbasi governors. By about 872-873 AD the Abbasids lost political control of Sindh and the Arab Chiefs divided the country into several independent principalities.

Two of the most important of these were the emirates of Al-Mansura and Multan. The emirate of Multan extended from Alor to the confines of Kashmir and was held by a Qureshi family but Multan was under the direct control of the Baghdad caliphate which spanned about two hundred and seventy years (700-900 AD). During this period the city became strongly influenced by the Islamic faith and developed into the first centre of Muslim culture in the subcontinent.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ M. Kabir, *A short History of Pakistan* op. cit. p.12.

⁷⁶ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareek Multan Zamana Kadeem say 1947* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2007), p.33.

⁷⁷ Abdur Rehman, *Historic Towns of Punjab Ancient and Medieval period* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1977), p.67.

As time passed, the power of caliphate began to weaken and by the end of the 9th century Multan was for all practical purposes, independent of Baghdad. For almost three hundred years the city remained Islam's outpost in India. But beyond the caliphate's control passed through the period of instability. At the beginning of this period Multan was under the control of Qaramati (AD 970-1206) led by Abdullah the Karamat of Persia and a believer in the Ismaili faith. His followers appeared to have gradually pushed themselves and their doctrine into the Indus valley where towards the end of 10th century they seized Multan⁷⁸ and destroyed the Hindu sun temple and the mosque built by Muhammad Bin Qasim.

The activities of Karamatan were disliked by Sunni Muslims. In these circumstances Shaikh Hamid became the governor of Multan. It was during the period of Sheikh Hamid that a political conflict between the ruler of Multan and Ghaznavids began on the eve of military expeditions by Subuktigin (slave ruler of Afghanistan) who planned to extend his territories further east. After Shaikh Hamid, his son Nasir becomes Governor and then his son-in-law Abul Fetha Daud bin Nasir was the governor of Multan. During the period of Abul Fateh Daud in 1006 AD, Sultan Mahmood Ghaznvi captured Multan.

⁷⁸ Tariq Jamil, *Crafts of the Punjab Multan*, vol. II (Lahore: Punjab Small Industries Corporation, Government of Punjab, 1988), p.17.

3.4.2. Sultan Mahmood Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori (1000-1206 AD)

Alptigin the founder of the Sultanate of Ghana was a slave of Ahmed bin Ismail, the Samanid ruler of Bukhara. On the death of his patron, he defeated its ruler, captured the fort and proclaimed himself sultan (king). He, however, did not live long and died in 963 AD. His successors soon became unpopular and were deposed. Abu Mansur Subuktigin became the new Sultan in 977 AD. He was a slave of Alptigin. Before his death he appointed his younger son Ismail to succeed to his possessions of Ghana. Mahmud his elder son threw himself in the contest for power and ascended the throne after defeating Ismail in 998 AD.⁷⁹

Sultan Mahmud who carried to fruition the policy of his father Subuktigin was undoubtedly one of the greatest military leaders the world has ever seen. The Ghaznavids occupation of the Punjab served as the key to unlock the gates of the Indian interior. They paved the way for that final struggle which overwhelmed the genetic kingdom some two hundred years later.⁸⁰ The story of Islam in India really begins with Mahmud of Ghana who made many raids into India between 998 and 1030 AD.⁸¹

Biji Rai, the ruler of Bhatiya had good terms with Subuktigin when Mehmud attacked Jaipal, the ruler of Lahore; he expected aid from his father's friend Biji Rai. Being disappointed he marched in 1004 AD against him. After the victory, sultan stayed there for sometimes to subjugate the surrounding places and then he left for Ghana. He suffered great losses on the way, in the first place,

⁷⁹ Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hasmi, *Successors of Mahmud of Ghazna in Political, Cultural and Administrative Perspective* (Karachi: South Asian Printers & Publishers, 1988), pp.9-10.

⁸⁰ R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhuri and K.K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1950), p.276.

⁸¹ Harold C. Hinton and others, *Major Governments of Asia*, 2nd Edition (New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), p.272.

because the River Indus was in flood and secondly, Abul Fateh Daud the ruler of Multan blocked the passage of his army through his territories and augmented its sufferings. Sultan reached Ghana about the middle of 1005 AD.

Abul Fateh Daud entered into an alliance with the Raja of Bhatiya and attacked the Ghaznavids army on its return march after the conquest of Bhatiya. This enraged sultan Mahmud and in spring 1006 AD he launched his next expedition against the ruler of Multan. The direct route to Multan was risky, but neither safe to cross the Indus lower. Sultan proposed to pass through Anandpal's territories and cross the river Indus near Peshawar.⁸²

Anandpal moved to Peshawar to check the advance of sultan, but he was defeated and forced to flee. The sultan then marched straight across the Punjab to Multan. Daud fled to an Island in the river Indus. The garrison of Multan however shut the gate in the face of the sultan who invaded the fort and after a siege of seven days carried it by assault. The citizens craved protection and offered to pay a fine of 20,000,000 dirham. Sultan Mahmud accepted the offer and spared the inhabitants but he showed no mercy to the Karamatians, hundreds of whom died for their faith. Sultan Mahmood now proceeded to reduce the outlying parts of the

⁸² S.M. Jaffar, *Mediaeval India under Muslim Kings*, vol. II (Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan, 1940), pp.53-57.

province of Multan and Bhatinda. But before long he received news of irruption of Alak Khan in the Khurasan.⁸³

Imposing a tribute of 20,000 golden dirham per year on Daud and exacting promises of future allegiance, good faith and abjuration of heretical beliefs Mahmud went back to Ghana, leaving Sukhpal, Alias Nawasa Shah in-charge of the campaign against the outlying parts of Multan. Taking advantage of the invasion of Khurasan by Alak Khan and in the absence of Mahmud, Abul Fateh Daud, the ruler of Multan, renounced allegiance to the Sultan and declared his independence. Mahmud's next expedition was undertaken in October 1010 AD. This time Daud was taken prisoner, sent to Ghana and confined in the fort of Ghurak. Multan was completely subjugated and annexed to the Sultan of Ghana. After appointing a governor there Mahmud marches back to Ghana.⁸⁴ Thus Multan was now under the rule of Ghana.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghana died on 30th April 1030 AD at his capital. Before his death he had appointed his younger son Muhammad as heir apparent to the throne.⁸⁵ The governor of Multan was appointee of the Ghana ruler till 1040 AD. After that Multan came under the rule of Karamatians. After Sultan Mahmud

⁸³ Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1931), pp. 97-98.

⁸⁴ S.M. Jafar, *Mediaeval India under Muslim Kings*, vol.II, op. cit. pp. 56-63.

⁸⁵ Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, *Successors of Mahmud of Ghazna in Political Cultural and Administrative Perspective*, op. cit. p. 15.

Ghazni a new political power rose in Afghanistan in the area of Ghor that was Shihab-al-Din Muhammad Bin Sam of Ghor.

“Ghor was a petty hill-state. The power of its chiefs gradually increased. Ghiyasuddin Muhammad brought it under his permanent control in 1173 AD and appointed his younger brother Shihabuddin to rule over it”.⁸⁶ Having consolidated his powers in Afghanistan in the area of Ghor, (Shihab-al-Din Muhammad Bin Sam of Ghor), decided to attack the Karamatians (Ruler of the Multan).

The first Indian expedition of Muhammad of Ghor (1175 AD) was directed against his co-religionists. The Ismailan heretics of Multan were attended with success and he soon captured the strong fortress of Uch by a stratagem.⁸⁷ He first tried to reduce the chieftains of the Indus valley from Multan and Uch to Lahore.⁸⁸ Multan once again came under the administrative control of an orthodox Sunni Muslim. Muhammad Ghauri appointed Ali Karmani as Governor of Multan and went back to Ghor. He successfully ruled over the area till 1186 AD. After which period Amir Dad Hasan was made governor of Multan. He was an able administrator and ruled for eighteen years. He crushed and subjugated the Karamatians (Ismailis). His rule came to an end when he was treacherously killed by Aibak Baik, a clever servant of Sultan in the fort of Multan, in 1204 AD. He

⁸⁶ Awadh Bihari Pandey, *Early Medieval India* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1960), p. 34.

⁸⁷ R.C. Majumdar, H.c. Raychaudhuri and K.K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, op. cit. p. 277.

⁸⁸ Awadh Bihari Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire in India, 1451-1526 AD* (Calcutta: Bookland, 1956), p.10.

declared that he did it on the instruction of the Sultan. He showed a bogus document to the people in support of his action and assumed the charge of governorship. On hearing this news, Sultan kept quiet. He proceeded towards the Punjab and Multan and encamped near Jhelum where he was killed in 1206 AD by an Ismaili Dai at a place called Dhamyok (near Jhelum).⁸⁹

3.5. ADMINISTRATION OF THE DELHI SULTANNATE (1206-1445 AD)

3.5.1 Multan a state under Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha (1206-1228 AD)

Sultan Muhammad Ghori had left no son so his empire was divided among his Turkish slaves. His nephew Ghiyasuddin Mahmud succeeded him at Ghor. One of his slaves Taj-ud-Din Yeldiz held Ghana; another slave Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha was holding Uch and Multan while Qutb-ud-Din Aibek was in Lahore. He was elected sultan by the amirs.⁹⁰ Among these rulers Nasir-ud-din Qubacha proved to be more enterprising who after consolidating his position at Uch and its environs, extended his dominion up to Multan. Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha was one of the trustworthy and obedient slaves of Sultan who always played a leading role to face the enemies of sultan.⁹¹

He was a man of intellect and sound judgment and had acquired considerable experience of civil and military affairs in passing from humble to

⁸⁹ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareek Multan Zaman Kadeem say 1947 AD* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2007), pp.37-38.

⁹⁰ M. Kair, *A Short History of Pakistan book two Muslim Rule Under The Sultan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1967), p.31.

⁹¹ Masud Hasan Shahb, *Khatta Pak, Uch* (Lahore: Urdu Academy Bahawalpur, 1967), p.124.

high posts under Muizuddin. He was first appointed governor of Uch where he managed the affairs so well that in short time he was placed Incharge of Multan and Debal as far as the sea coast.⁹²

Multan under Qabacha progressed a lot and developed as a centre of social, political and literary activities. It attracted a large number of people who gathered here in search of religious education at the Madrassa (religious schools) founded by Hazrat Baha-ud-Din Zakariya on the fort. Qabacha patronized literary people. His court attracted different scholars and poets who came here from various parts of the Muslim world. Under the instruction of Qabacha, Ali bin Himid bin Abi Bakar al-Kufi translated chachnama's Arabic version into Persian.

Similarly several other literary works were undertaken under the patronage of Qabacha. From the very beginning, he commanded great respect in the eyes of his people as he had married one after the other two daughters of Sultan Qutb-ud Din Aibak. He was directly responsible to the sultan for the good administration of these areas.⁹³ Minhaj-al-Siraj Juzjani visited Qabacha's court at Multan in 1226 AD. He was appointed as chief of the Madrassa-e-Firuzia at Uch as well as the Qazi of his son's army. The study of history during Qabacha's period reveals several names of literary persons attached to Qabacha's court. Persons like Fazli Multani Zia-al-Din, Shams-al-Din and Muhammad Aufi contributed in different

⁹² S. N.H. Rizvi, *A History of Pakistan*, (Dacca: Tahir Rizvi Research Institute Firdaus, 1954), p.59.

⁹³ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *History of Multan from the early period to 1849 AD*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1991), pp.19-20.

fields. Multan became a centre of social, political, educational and religious activities in which the services of Hazrat Baha-ud Din Zakariya are unforgettable.⁹⁴

During this period the northern parts of the subcontinent had to face the menace of Mongol invaders who for the first time came here sometimes in 1221 AD. While chasing Jalal-ud-din Menkobarni, the last Khwarzam Shahi ruler, during his wanderings, Menkobarni planned to invade Qabacha's territories and sent an army towards Uch. Qabacha's army could not stand the sudden attack and dispersed while he himself fled to Multan. Menkobarni demanded a huge sum as tribute and return of the captured soldiers. Qabacha accepted the demand and the invader agreed not to molest Qabacha's territory further.⁹⁵

The exploits of Menkobarni came to an end in 1226 AD. But it opened the door for the Mongols' constant aggression. As a ruler of borderland territories Qabacha had to face the onslaughts independently. In 1222 AD the Mongols, under Turbei Tuqshin, attacked his territories and played havoc with Uch and Multan. Qabacha faced the situation with courage, ability and boldness. He helped the people as generously as possible to minimize their miseries.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchchh History and Architecture* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), p.17.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Qabacha faced another enemy who was awaiting the withdrawal of Mongols. He was Shams-ud-Din Altatmish the ruler of Delhi who instructed his governor of Lahore to march on Multan whereas he himself proceeded to Uch. After the loss of Multan and Uch, Qabacha fled to Bhakkar (Sindh) and fortified himself. Sultan issued instructions to capture Bhakkar. Qabacha was defeated and the fort was conquered. Qabacha tried to run away by boat but was drowned in river Indus in June 1228 AD.⁹⁷ The period of his rule in the land of Sindh, Uch and Multan extended twenty two years.⁹⁸ Thus came to an end the twenty two years rule of Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha and with that also ended the independent role of Multan in the socio-political activities of the subcontinent.

3.6. THE SULTAN OF DELHI

3.6.1. Multan as a province of Delhi Sultanate (1228-1445 AD)

Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghor had no male child. His empire of Ghor and Hindustan consequently developed upon his Turkish slaves known as *Muizzi Maliks*. Minhaj refers to a talk of a bold courtier with the sultan:

To a sovereign like you, sons are necessary to succeed your vast empire, other kings have only a few sons”, the sultan replied, “But I have several sons, namely my Turkish slaves, who will rule my kingdom in my name after I am dead and gone”.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Zabar Shafi Ghor, *Uch Sharif Tareek, Sakafat, Gisar-e-Kadamat wa Azmat* (Lahore: Azad Enterprises, 1999), p.30

⁹⁸ Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din, *Tabakat-i-Nasri*, vol.I, translated by Major H.G. Raverty (Lahore: Amin Publications, 1977), p.544.

⁹⁹ Agha Hussain Hamadani, *The Frontier Policy of the Delhi Sultans* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), p. 39

Qutb-ud-din Aibak was the most capable Turkish slave of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din Ghor who left Aibak as his representative in India when he returned to Ghor in 1192 AD. After capturing the Indian forts and strongholds Aibak reached the capital of Ghazi where his rank was raised above all other chiefs of the world. After the death of Sultan Aibak held supreme and undisputed power in the subcontinent in 1206 AD.¹⁰⁰ Thus first Muslim sovereign who ascended the throne of Delhi and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in India, was sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak.¹⁰¹ After the death of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Eltumash became the ruler of Delhi state. In fact he was a slave of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Eltumash raised his status step-by-step till he was made the governor of Badayun and was married to a daughter of Qutb-ud-din.

In recognition of Qutb-ud-din Aibak's services during the campaign of Muhammad of Ghor against the Khokars, he was, by the sultan's order, manumitted and elevated as Amir-ul-Umara. Thus the choice of the Delhi nobles fell on the worthy man. But, on his accession in the year 1210 AD, Eltumash found himself confronted with an embarrassing situation. Nasir-ud Din Qabacha had asserted his independence in Sindh and Multan. Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, who

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. pp. 40-41.

¹⁰¹ Muhammad Aziz Ahmed, *Political History and History of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi* (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1949), p.123.

had, in the meanwhile advanced towards Lahore, was expelled from that city by Eltumash in 1217 AD. He was completely subdued in AD 1228.¹⁰²

After the conquest of Multan; Eltumash streamlined its administration by making it a province subordinate to the Delhi sultanate. However its importance did not diminish altogether due to the reason that it had to face the menace of Mongols onslaughts which had then become almost a regular annual feature. Eltumash and his successors paid special attention towards the province and appointed their trusted generals and administrators to look after its administration. Eltumash appointed Izz-ud-Din Kabir Khan Ayaz to rule the new province along with its dependencies.¹⁰³ After the death of Eltumash in 1238 AD till the period of 1270 AD ten governors ruled over Multan. Some of them got importance due to their policy and military force and some ruled easily over Multan due to circumstances of unrest in the central government of Delhi. After the death of Kabir Khan Ayaz, his son Taj-ud-Din Abu-Bakar Ayaz became the governor of Multan but he died in young age.¹⁰⁴

After Abu Bakar's death, Hasan Qarlugh, ruler of the territories of Ghana and Kirman who was defeated and ousted by Mongols from his possessions, did a series of attempts to conquer Multan in 1245 AD. A Mongol invaded early in 1246

¹⁰² R.C. majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhuri and K.K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1950) pp.282-283.

¹⁰³ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, 1983), pp. 54-55.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareek Multan Ahdi Zamana Kadeem say 1947* (Multan: Bazmi Saqafat, 2007), pp. 41-42.

AD on Multan but next year the Mongols again invaded India and besieged Multan when the Saint Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya induced them to leave on payment of 100,000 diners. The repeated Mongol raids showed that the administrative control in Multan was unsatisfactory.¹⁰⁵

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban ascended the throne of Delhi in 1266 AD. He was a man of experience in matters of government. From the position of a Malik he became a Khan and from the position of a Khan he became Sultan. He brought the administration in order and restored the efficiency of institutions. The dignity and authority of government was restored.¹⁰⁶ He adopted a more vigorous policy to deal with the ever-growing menace of Mongol invasions. He appointed his son Muhammad Sultan as governor of Multan. The Mongols had made it a practice to invade the frontier towns of the subcontinent at least once a year to extricate men and money.

This time, when Mongols attacked Multan and adjoining territories they were repulsed by the joint forces of Multan and Delhi. Some time in 1283 AD the prince went to Delhi to see his father, Mongols again appeared before the gates of Multan with twenty thousand men under the command of Tamer a Chingez noble and governor of Harat and Qandhar. A fierce battle ensued between the two armies

¹⁰⁵ R.C. Majumdar Editor, *The History and Culture of the Indian People – The Delhi sultanate*, III Edition (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1980), p. 227.

¹⁰⁶ Zia-ud-Din Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* translated by H.M. Elliot (Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy, 1974), pp. 6-7.

When Ibn Battuta reached Multan in 1334 AD, Qutab-ul-Mulk was the governor (Amir). He gives the following account of the governor and his court.

“When I went up to him he rose to receive me and shook hands with me and give me a seat by his side. I presented him a slave and a Khurasani horse together with some raisins and almonds. These are some of the greatest presents that can be offered to the Indian Chiefs. Since they cannot be had in their country and are imported from Khurasan.”¹¹⁰

The governor sat on a large carpeted dais, having the *qadi* whose name was Salar, to the right, left of him was the commanders of troops and armed men stood at his back. When we visited this governor and saluted him, as we have related he gave orders for us to be lodged in a house outside the town belonging to the disciples of the devout Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din.¹¹¹

After Muhammad Tughluq his cousin Firuz ascended the throne of Delhi in 1351 AD, who appointed Ain-ud-Mulik Multani the governor of Multan, during whose last days Nasir-ul-Malik became the governor of Multan.

Firuz Shah Tughluq died in 1388 AD at the age of ninety.¹¹² This led to a tussle among the various groups. During this period of uncertainty the centre was unable to exercise effective control over the provinces, especially those situated near the frontiers. However these provinces provided help in the shape of men and money. The troops of Multan fought in 1389 AD under the leadership of Nasir-ud-

¹¹⁰ Fauja Singh Editor, *History of the Punjab AD 1000-1526*, vol. III (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972), pp. 155-156.

¹¹¹ H.A.R. Gibb translated, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, AD 1325-1354*, vol. III (London: Cambridge University press, 1971), pp. 605-606.

¹¹² Iqbal Salah-ud-din, *Tareek Punjab*, II Edition (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1988), p. 161.

Mulk governor of Multan, for Muhammad Shah who awarded him the title of Khizr Khan for his services.¹¹³ Later on, a conflict started between Khazir Khan and Sarang Khan the governors of Multan and Depalpur respectively. This conflict led to a battle, which was lost by Khizr Khan.¹¹⁴ Sarang Khan deprived him of Multan and imprisoned him. However, Khizr Khan escaped from the confinement and fled to Bayana. Here he allied himself to Amir Timur and contributed to the invasion of India.¹¹⁵

Amir Timur was born in 1334 AD at Desh near Samarqand. He was a great military adventurer and was fired with the lust of dominions. Moreover the gold, silver, jewels and pearls of India must have added to the attraction.¹¹⁶ Timur had appointed his grandson, Per Muhammad, whose age was sixteen when he became the governor of Kalva and adjoining territories. He crossed the river Indus in 1397 AD to reach Uch. He marched towards Multan which was then the strong hold of Sarang Khan. Sarang Khan's deputies did not seem too had offered any resistance.¹¹⁷

Timur left Samarqand crossed the river Indus in September 1398 and in two days he reached Jhelum. The local ruler came to face him but was defeated. Timur

¹¹³ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* op. cit, p. 67.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Agha Hussain Hamadani, *The Frontier policy of the Delhi Sultans* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), p.153.

¹¹⁶ Muhammad Tariq Awan, *History of India and Pakistan*, vol. I (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1991), p.334.

¹¹⁷ Fauja Singh, *History of the Punjab AD 1000 to 1526*, vol. III (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1972), pp.166-67.

then crossed river Jhelum and Ravi in October 1398 and encamped before Tulambah (Multan) and joined Per Muhammad. He captured and destroyed Multan, Pakpattan, Delhi and the whole of northern India.

After Timur's departure the whole of India was under indescribable disorder and confusion. Tughluq Empire was completely dissolved. This invasion paved the way for the Mughal's occupation of India.¹¹⁸ The sultanate of Delhi was completely discredited. Each provincial governor and every spirited chief established a local kingdom or estate for himself. This went on up to the death of Muhammad Tughluq.¹¹⁹

3.7. THE LANGHAS (1445-1525 AD)

3.7.1. Multan as State

When the Delhi sultanate fell in anarchy and disorder, the province of Multan, without a governor, became vulnerable to invasions. The inhabitants of Multan sensing the necessity of having a leader to direct their exertions and to protect the country from their troublesome neighbours assembled in the year 1443 AD and selected Sheikh Yousaf, a man of learning and high character from the tribe of Qureshi, to rule over the people of Multan and Uch. Among many other persons was Ray Sehra, the chief of town Secvy and its neighbourhood, who sent a

¹¹⁸ Muhammad Tariq Awan, *History of India and Pakistan*, vol. I (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1991), p.338.

¹¹⁹ Awaadh Bihari Pandey, *The first Afghan Empire In India 1451-1526*, (Calcutta: Book land, 1956), p.26.

in the twelfth year of his age he became ruler in the country of Farghana",¹²⁶ He, later on, became the founder of the Mughal Dynasty in India.

On the eve of Babar's invasion India was parceled out among numerous mutually warring states. There was not any paramount power in the country and a struggle for supremacy was in progress and India was not in a position to present a united front to any enemy who might possess the audacity and ambition to carve out an empire for himself. The Delhi sultanate was not strong and the Lodi dynasty founded by Bahlol was ruling a small territory. Daulat Khan Lodi, the Governor of Punjab, sent an invitation to Babar, the ruler of Farghana and then Kabul to invade India.¹²⁷ Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babar the founder of the great Mughal Empire in India established himself in India after the battle of Panipat (April 1526 AD) and that of Kanwaha (March 1527 AD).¹²⁸

After the fall of the Langah dynasty in Multan Lashkar Khan (Langar Khan)¹²⁹ had become a powerful governor. In February 1529 AD, when Babar placed Multan under the administrative control of Mirza Kamaran (the second son of Babar) Lashkar Khan acted as his Naib (Deputy) in Multan. After the death of Babar his son Humayun ascended the throne at Agra on December 30, 1530 AD at the age of twenty three. He faced great difficulties at the hands of his brother who

¹²⁶ Zahir-du-Din Muhammad Baba, *Babur Nama*, translated by Annettes Beveridge (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979), p. 1.

¹²⁷ V.D. Mahajan, *India since 1526* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1958), pp. 1-2.

¹²⁸ William Erskine, *A History of India under Baber*, vol.I (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.438.

¹²⁹ Some Historians write Langar Khan.

revolted against him when prince Kamaran annexed the Punjab and its adjacent areas.

Humayun, instead of punishing him, bestowed upon him the governorship of Hisar Firoza and the province of Multan. Lashkar Khan was running the administration of Multan very successfully since 1526 AD but as a deputy he was always afraid of Mughals. He was summoned to Lahore by prince Kamran. Prince Kamran received him with respect and gave him a piece of land in Lahore where he built his house. Prince Kamran wanted to have a trusted servant in Multan but failed. In the absence of Lashkar Khan Lawlessness prevailed in Multan as prince Kamran was busy in other affairs. During the struggle for power between Humayun and his rival Multan was ignored.¹³⁰

The kingdom had been hastily acquired and its province loosely knit. The administrative system was inefficient.¹³¹ Humayun found the throne of Delhi a bed of thorns. The Mughal Empire, which included the provinces of Balkh, Qunduz and Badakshan in Central Asia and the Punjab, Multan, the modern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Gwalior, Dholpur, Bayana and Chanderi in India, was an imperfectly reduced and ill-organized dominion.

Several powerful chiefs particularly the Afghans within the empire had been left un-subdued. Sher Shah Suri was on the look out for an opportunity of

¹³⁰ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *History of Multan From Early Period to 1849 AD* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1991), pp.48-49.

¹³¹ S.K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p.30.

welding the Afghans into a powerful community so as to carve out an independent kingdom with their assistance.¹³² He had been a careful critic and observer of the shortcomings inherent in the system of Babar and Humayun and finding now an opportunity to remedy them, addressed him to the task with characteristic earnestness and enthusiasm.¹³³

Sher Shah Suri selected Qanauj to give battle to the Mughals.¹³⁴ In May 1540 AD was fought the battle of Qanauj between Humayun and Sher Shah Suri¹³⁵ in which Humayun lost the battle. Sher Shah and his sons ruled over India from 1540-55 AD.

After an exile of fourteen years Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Humayun, the second Mughal emperor, returned to India in 1554 AD. The chaotic situation of Sher Shah Suri's successors, paved the way for Humayun's victory and re-establishment of Mughal Empire. He occupied Punjab without much resistance and appointed Shah Abdul Maali to look after its affairs. Multan was given to Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, an important and trusted courtier of Humayun. Humayun did not live long to strengthen his newly established empire as he died in 1556 AD.¹³⁶

¹³² Srivastava, *The History of India 1000 AD to 1707AD* (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., 1964), p.347.

¹³³ Dr. P. Saran, *The Provincial Governments of the Mughals 1526-1658* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941), p.51.

¹³⁴ Dr. Hussain Khan, *Sher Shah Suri* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1987), p. 211.

¹³⁵ V.D. Mahajan, *India since 1526* (Delhi's Chand & Co., 1958), p. 35.

¹³⁶ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilizations, Islamic University, 1983), p. 85.

His son Jalal-ud Din Muhammad Akbar ascended the throne at Kalanaur on February 14, 1556. He appointed Muhammad Said Shaibani, known as Bahadur Khan, Governor of Multan, who was succeeded by Muhammad Qasim Khan, Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and Said Khan.¹³⁷ During the period of Akbar, Multan's length was from Firozpur to Mekran 660 Kos; its breadth was from Khatpur to Jaisalmir 108 Kos. On the east it marched with the Sarkar of Sirhind, on the north with shore, on the south with the province of Ajmair and on the west with Kuch and Kekran.¹³⁸

The emperor Akbar died after a reign of fifty one at the age of sixty four in 1605 AD. Prince Salim assumed the power as Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir in October 1605 AD.¹³⁹ The great Mughals who reigned for the entire seventeenth century have, with good reason, become symbols of universal power.¹⁴⁰

Multan during the great Mughals was one of the important and largest provinces of the empire. It consisted three Sarkars: Multan, Depalpur and Bhakkar. Akbar had made Bhakkar and Swistan as parts of Multan in order to have a complete control over the highway leading to Qandhar. Multan was the largest agricultural unit of the Mughal kingdom; hence, they paid special attention

¹³⁷ Ibid. pp. 88-89.

¹³⁸ Abul Fazal-i-Allami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, translated by Colonel H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949), p. 329.

¹³⁹ James Burgess, *The Chronology of Modern India AD 1494-1894* (Lahore: Al-Biruni, 1975), p. 64.

¹⁴⁰ Stanley Wolper, *A New History of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 149.

to its internal and external security.¹⁴¹ At the time of Jahangir's death in 1627 AD Asif Khan was the governor of Multan.

Shah Jahan (prince Khurram) ascended the throne at Agra in 1628 AD. He appointed Asif Khan Yamin-ud-Daula as his prime minister. The provinces of Punjab and Multan remained as his jagirs; it was during the reign of Jahangir that Mir Abu-al-Baqa Amir Khan was his Naib (Deputy) in Multan.¹⁴² The emperor Shah Jahan granted Multan as a Jagir to prince Murad which remained under him during the period 1642-1646 AD. After that the emperor appointed Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb as the governor of Multan who remained there for the period of 1648-1652 AD. After this Dara Shikoh the eldest son of Shah Jahan was given the charge of Lahore and Multan.

Aurangzeb succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1658 AD. He appointed Lashkar Khan as governor of Multan who reached Multan to assume the charge of the territory and paid his attention to maintain law and order.¹⁴³ Emperor Aurangzeb died in 1707 AD, after whose death the decline of the Mughal Empire started.

Nadir Shah, one of the greatest warriors of Iran, succeeded in overthrowing powerful Safwid Dynasty of Iran in 1736 AD and proclaimed himself as the king

¹⁴¹ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *History of Multan From the Early Period to 1849 AD*, op. cit. pp.55-56.

¹⁴² Humair Faiz Dast, *Multan A Province of Mughal Empire: 1525-1751 AD* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998), p. 119.

¹⁴³ *ibid.* p. 314.

of Iran.¹⁴⁴ Nadir Shah when advanced towards India, there was no strong army to oppose him. He reached Lahore and defeated Zakariya Khan on the bank of river Ravi in 1739 AD. After levying a fine or tax of twenty lakh rupees from him, Nadir Shah reinstated him. Then he reached Karnal and defeating the Mughal army marched on Delhi which he occupied without much resistance. It exposed the military weakness and the Mughals ceded all the territories north west of the Indus along with Sindh and Thatta on the condition of payment of certain sum as annual tribute to the invader. Nadir Shah, before leaving Sindh in February 1740 AD, appointed Zakariya Khan's second son Hayat-ullah Khan as the governor of Multan.¹⁴⁵

3.9. THE AFGHANS AND MULTAN (1752-1818 AD)

In the mid of seventeenth century AD, a new political power rose in Multan that was the Saddozai Afghans. Shah Hussain migrated to Multan in 1652 A.D. Shah Hussain was the first Saddozai Afghan to take refuge in Multan. The event took place when Prince Aurangzeb was the governor of Multan. He received him with honour and granted him a Jagir (land) in Rangpur Muzaffargarh district. The Saddozai chief joined the Mughal service and performed his duties with distinction. Shah Jahan awarded him the title of wafadar Khan (faithful).

¹⁴⁴ S.N. H. Rizvi, *A History of Pakistan* (Dacca: Tahir Rizvi Research Institute, 1954), p.271.

¹⁴⁵ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Multan Under the Afghans 1752-1818* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 1981), p. 27.

During the reign of Aurangzeb Shah Hussain received further promotion and a Jagir (land) in Multan where he built a mosque, *shish mahal* and a garden. Shah Hussain spent the rest of his life at Multan. He was succeeded by his nephew Abid Khan.¹⁴⁶

Abid Khan served for a considerably long time and on his death, his son Zahid Khan succeeded him. Zahid Khan took steps to reform the administration for the benefit of his people. His work soon earned fame for him and Zakariya Khan, the then governor of Lahore and Multan, made him his deputy to carry on the administration of Multan. Later on the Mughal emperor promoted him to the governorship of the province (*suba*).¹⁴⁷ Zahid Khan was appointed deputy administrator of Multan in 1738 AD which was the start of Saddozai's rule in Multan.

“Ahmed Shah Abdali, who was born in 1722 AD at Multan, joined the army of Nadir Shah and soon became chief of Nadir Shah”.¹⁴⁸ Nadir Shah of Iran was murdered by Qizilbash soldiers in 1747 AD in his Kuchan camp. Ahmed Shah Abdali was crowned as successor of Nadir Shah. He appointed his own governor at Kabul, Afghanistan and Sindh.¹⁴⁹ Ahmed Shah Abdali then rushed towards

¹⁴⁶ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University, 1983), pp. 111-112.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Dr. Ashaq Muhammad Khan Durani, *Multan Under the Afghans 1752-1818* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 1981), p. 34.

¹⁴⁹ S.N.H. Rizvi, *A History of Pakistan*, (Dacca: Tahir Rizvi Research Institute, 1954), pp. 275-277.

Lahore in January 1748. He defeated Shah Nawaz Khan who was governor of Lahore and Multan.

Thus Ahmed Shah Abdali became the master of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan. He advanced and fought a battle in Sirhind in March 1748 AD. Ahmed Shah Abdali lost the battle and went back to Qandhar via Lahore, Peshawar and Khyber Pass. In the meantime the Mughal King Muhammad Shah died in April 1748 AD who was succeeded by his son prince Ahmed Shah. He appointed Mir Minu the governor of Lahore and Multan and Diwan Kura Mal as his deputy in Multan.

Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India for the second time in December 1748. He crossed the river Ravi and reached Lahore in January 1749 AD and demanded revenues of Chahar mahal (territory of Gujrat, Sialkot, Aminabad and Pasrur) which had been ceded to Nadir Shah in 1739 by Muhammad Shah, the then Mughal emperor. Mir Minu, the governor of Lahore and Multan with the permission of the Delhi Emperor, concluded a treaty in 1749 AD. Ahmed Shah Abdali then returned to Qandhar via Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India in 1752 AD and demanded revenue. On refusal he defeated Mir Minu, the governor of Lahore and his Deputy Diwan Kura Mal of Multan at Lahore. After defeat, Ahmed Shah Abdali included the territory of Punjab, Multan, Sindh and Thatta in Afghan Kingdom. A treaty was signed by the Mughal

emperor in April 1752 to leave these areas. After that, Ahmed Shah Abdali appointed governors in these areas.¹⁵⁰ Ahmed Shah Abdali appointed Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani, the governor of Multan, who governed the area till 1767 AD. Nawab Shuja Khan and Sharif Khan Saddozai governed the area till 1880 AD and the last Afghan governor Muzaffar Khan Saddozai was the governor of Multan from 1780-1818 AD when the Sikh captured Multan in 1818 AD.

Multan, where a large number of Saddozai Afghans were living was a stronghold of the Pathans. During the Naib Nazamat (Deputy Governorship) of Zahid Khan a large number of Jagirs (lands) were distributed among the Multani Saddozias. Since its annexation by the Afghan king, Multan became an autonomous Afghan territory as it stopped paying annual tribute to the Mughals.¹⁵¹ Soon after the departure of the Durrani King from Hindustan the conditions became more chaotic and the practical horizon darkened to the extent that every petty ruler of northern India tried to gain more and more for himself. In 1758, the visitation of the Marathas created havoc in the Punjab who moved to Multan and occupied the city as well as the fort and appointed Ramji and Shamji at Multan.¹⁵² The Governor of Multan, Ali Muhammad ran to Khairpur and left the people on the mercy of the invaders.

¹⁵⁰ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareekh Multan Zamina Kadeem say 1947* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat 207), pp. 143-49.

¹⁵¹ Dr. A.M. K. Durrani, *Multan under the Afghans 1752-1818 AD*, op. cit. p. 46.

¹⁵² Ahmed Nabi Khan, *A History of Saddozai Afghans of Multan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1977), pp. 8-9.

The news of disaster was conveyed to the Durrani king who hastened to the scene in 1759 with a long force and ousted the Marathas.¹⁵³ The episode of disintegration and vanquishing of Durrani power in Afghanistan is very well connected with the political circumstances prevailing in Multan during that period. After the death of Timur Shah (Afghan King) the Durrani influence on the territories outside Afghanistan had started diminishing.¹⁵⁴

3.10. THE SIKHS AND MULTAN (1818-1849 AD)

3.10.1 Multan as Province of the Sikh Kingdom

As a rule the fall of one power means the rise of another; and this actually happened in the case of the Sikhs. But the Sikhs had not suddenly appeared on the scene to take advantage of the weakness of the Mughals and Afghans. There had been a steady process at work leading to their slow and gradual development for many past years.¹⁵⁵ At the end of the 17th century AD, a new political power rose in the Punjab that was Maha Raja Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh's policy was expansion within the limits of the possible. The political limit was the power of the British. Ranjit Singh went first to his fellow Sikhs; having mastered all the Sikh beyond the Sutlej, he went on to take Kashmir in the north, Peshawar in the west and Multan in the south east.¹⁵⁶ Early in 1818,

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 33.

¹⁵⁵ Hari Ram Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Punjab* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1976), p. 34.

¹⁵⁶ Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India, 1740-1947* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 171.

the Durbar resolved to put whatever it has, into capturing Multan. The chain of small Muslim states round about the city had already been broken. Nawab Muzaffar Khan (the ruler of Multan) had planned to defend himself in three stages in the countryside, in the city and in the fort. The fort was, however, capitulated on June 02, 1818. The conquest of Multan ended Afghan influence in the Punjab and broke the solid phalanx of Muslim states in the south. It subdued the chiefs of Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Mankera. It opened up the road to Sindh. In addition to all these military and political advantages, Multan was a valuable acquisition. It yielded annual revenue of nearly rupees seven lakhs.¹⁵⁷

The whole of the Punjab soon acknowledged Ranjit Singh's sway. He had now welded together a compact kingdom embracing the Punjab and Kashmir and running up on the north-west to the base of the Afghan hills.¹⁵⁸ The military achievements were obvious. Ranjid Singh had begun his career as comparatively minor *misaldar*, leader of one of the Sikh warrior bands (*misl*s) inheriting the Shukerchakia *misl* from his father, Ranjit Singh had by the end of the eighteenth century conquered and absorbed all his rivals north and west of the river Sutlej and in 1801 he assumed the title of Maharaja.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh Maharaja of the Punjab, 1780-1839* (Bombay, George Allen & Unwin (India), 1973), pp. 123-27.

¹⁵⁸ P.E. Roberts, *History of British India under the company and the crown* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press), p. 310.

¹⁵⁹ Henry Steinbach, *The Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. vii.

“The ruler of Multan, Muzaffar Khan, accepted the terms of surrender and asked for a treaty to be drawn up. But when the draft of treaty was presented to the Khans in Multan, he was dissuaded from signing it. ‘It is better to die in honour than live in shame, said his soldiers; we will fight the Sikh to a finish’.¹⁶⁰ The Nawab assured the sardars that he would defend the fort at all costs and save the life and honour of his people. Some of the closest associates of Nawab who sacrificed their lives in the service of their master and for the cause of their homeland were his five sons, Shah Nawaz Khan, Shah Baz Khan, Mumtaz Khan, Haq Nawaz Khan and Aziz Khan and his nephews. The battlefield was littered with dead bodies. The honoured Mutawalliya (who look-after) of the tomb of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya came forward and started identifying the dead bodies of the Nawab and other martyrs.

The Nawab’s corps and those of his two sons could be traced out and buried in the courtyard of the Sheikh’s mausoleum. His two sons Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and Zulfiqar Khan were taken away to Lahore where they lived as political prisoners. Thus, with the death of Muzaffar Khan, having ruled Multan for thirty nine years ended the Muslim rule in the region.¹⁶¹ By this time the Sikh Kingdom had reached the pinnacle of its glory and progress. The fame and power of the lion

¹⁶⁰ Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh Maharajah of the Punjab, 1780-1839* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 125.

¹⁶¹ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture & Civilization, Islamic University, 1983), p. 134.

of Punjab was its zenith. He had conquered the Muslim provinces of Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar & had annexed them to his kingdom. He was acknowledged as the master of all the hilly regions and plains of Punjab.¹⁶²

Sukh Diyal Singh Khatri was appointed governor of the province of Multan towards the close of the year 1819; Ranjit Singh visited Multan to streamline the local administration where he was informed of the mal administration and cruelty of his governor. He dismissed the governor and put him in chains. The control was then entrusted to Bhai Badan Hazari while Sawan Mal a Khatri of Akalgarh was made Incharge of the treasury.¹⁶³

In 1821 Sawan Mal was appointed as Kardar of almost half of the province of Multan and in 1829 he was made the governor of the whole province. Diwan Sawan Mal was one of the best governors of Ranjit Singh. He, within short period, changed the appearance of Multan by introducing agricultural reforms of far reaching consequences. He induced the people to dig new wells and to restore old canals. He started the system of revenue remission to bring about improvement in the lot of the peasantry. Maharaja was always happy with Sawan Mal's services as sympathetic and benevolent administrator who died on September 29, 1844 and was succeeded as governor of Multan by his son Mulraj.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Sita Ram Kohli, *Muharaja Ranjit Singh* translated by Gurmukh Singh (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2002), p. 148.

¹⁶³ Dr. Ahmed nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* op. cit. p. 142.

¹⁶⁴ Radha Sharma, *The Lahore Darbar*, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2001), pp. 84-85.

Diwan Sawan Mal had five sons but after the death of Sawan Mal, the Sikh Durbar assigned the government of Multan to Mulraj, the eldest son of the deceased governor¹⁶⁵ at the old terms and conditions with an addition of a *nazrana* (donation) of thirty lakh rupees. Mulraj was not in a position to pay. He started using delaying tactics and in the meantime, political situation changed.¹⁶⁶

After the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 AD, there was anarchy in the Sikh kingdom. British occupied Sindh in 1843 AD and wanted to occupy Punjab.¹⁶⁷ The Sikh rule continued in the Punjab and Multan unchecked but thinking them very powerful, the Sikh crossed the River Sutlej and entered the British territory. They looted some of the villages there. This happened on December 8, 1845 AD. The outcome of this adventure was a fierce battle and a disastrous and ignominious defeat of Sikh army. A treaty was signed between the British and the Sikh in 1846 at Lahore. Under the treaty a council of regency was established at Lahore which empowered the British to intervene into many administrative matters. British resident introduced several measures in order to regulate the administration throughout the Sikh territories.¹⁶⁸

“The principality of Multan has, for a long time, been ruled by a viceroy who paid tribute to Lahore. The Diwan Mulraj was called on to pay up the arrears

¹⁶⁵ Munshi Abdur Rehman, *Aina Multan* (Multan: Maktaba Ashraful Muraf, 1972), p. 116.

¹⁶⁶ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* op. cit. p. 145.

¹⁶⁷ Dr. Asiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareek-i-Multan Zamina Qadeem say 1947* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2007), p. 285.

¹⁶⁸ M. Hanif Raza, *Multan Past and Present*, (Islamabad: Colorpix, 1988), pp. 43-44.

'of the tribute".¹⁶⁹ This is evidence about political situation. The resident of Lahore Mr. Henry Lawrence demanded thirty lacks rupees. The purpose of that was to see if he did not pay will be retired from the post of governor and his favourite governor will be appointed in Multan. Diwan Mulraj was not in a position to pay the amount. Thus, he submitted his resignation (on December 18, 1847) British were happy to achieve their goal. The resident then proceeded to make arrangements for the new government of Multan and Sardar Khan Singh Maan was selected for the post.¹⁷⁰

The resignation of Diwan Mulraj was not accepted by the Lahore Durbar or in other words by the British resident. Mulraj was persuaded by the resident to agree to continue to act as a governor for some more time. It was arranged that he would be relieved in March 1848. Later his resignation was accepted on March 24, 1848 and Sardar Kahn Singh was appointed as a new Diwan of Multan.¹⁷¹

For transfer of charge, the vice Royalty in due form, two British officers Mr. Van Agnew of Bengal civil service and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay European Fusiliers came to Multan with Khan Singh to take care of the administration. They were well received on their arrival by Mulraj and arranged their resident at Eidgah. At second day he went to the ceremony of handing the

¹⁶⁹ Johan Dunlop, *Multan During and After the Siege* (Multan: Beacon Books, 2002) p. 11.

¹⁷⁰ Dr. Asiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareek-i-Multan Zamina Qadeem Say 1947* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 2007), p.285.

¹⁷¹ Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry, *Multan Glimpses* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002), p. 30.

citadel over to the Khan Singh.¹⁷² Diwan Mulraj handed over the charge of the Multan fort to the British officer on April 19, 1848. British appointed Gorkha army in the fort and dismissed the army of Mulraj. The soldiers of the old army fell angry on this action.

The charge of the province having been formally transferred, the party set out on horseback to return to their camp. Now begins the sad drama which leads to the occupation of Multan followed by annexation of Punjab.¹⁷³ When the British officer coming back from the ceremony a guard named Amir Chand attacked the two British officers, they were wounded and later on murdered by Mulraj's army. Thus Mulraj revolting arrested Khan Singh.

The murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson took place in April 1848.¹⁷⁴ In the meanwhile commotion and agitation spread into the city. As such the helpless Diwan became a tool in the hands of the Sikh army. The rebelling soldiers gathered around Mulraj and declared him as their leader. This open rebellion infuriated the British Government at Lahore and they decided that Multan should be captured and annexed to the British territory. The British government collected forces right from Bannu to Bombay on priority basis in

¹⁷² Syed Abbas Hussain Gardazi, *Tareek Multan* (Multan: Gardazi Shah Gardaz, n.d.), p. 312.

¹⁷³ Nazir Ahmed Chaudhary, *Multan Glimpses* op. cit. p. 31.

¹⁷⁴ F.S. Aijaiddin, *Historical Images of Pakistan* (Lahore: Freozsons, 1992), p.85.

order to capture Multan and by the end of the year Multan was surrounded from all sides.¹⁷⁵

3.11. THE BRITISH (1849-1947)

After the fall of Multan city on January 2, 1849, Herbert Edwards senior political officer with company forces was made responsible for the administration of conquered territory.¹⁷⁶ Mulraj wrote to Major General "if you grant me my life and protection to my women, I surrender, otherwise it is better to die with honour than live with disgrace", the British General replied, "I have neither authority to give you life, nor to take it except in open war". On the morning of January 22, 1849, therefore, Mulraj came out of the citadel gorgeously attired in skill and riding on a fine Arab steed. He was kept a prisoner in the tent of the chief engineer. The garrison which consisted between 3,000 and 4,000 strongmen was surrendered. Thus the second siege of Multan was brought to an end and the supremacy of the British power was completely established. The British army looted the fort and the city to the maximum and nothing of value was left to the local population.¹⁷⁷

After the surrender of the fort and the imprisonment of Mulraj, the administration passed on formally to the British Government. Administrative

¹⁷⁵ M. Hanif Raza, *Multan Past and Present* (Islamabad: Colorpix, 1988), p.44.

¹⁷⁶ J. Royal Roseberry III, *Imperial rule in Punjab 1818-1881* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1988), p.137.

¹⁷⁷ Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University, 1983) p.154.

changes of far reaching effects were introduced. The whole territory was divided in to divisions, districts, tehsils and Multan was made Headquarter of a division and of a district. At the time of the annexation the suba (province) of Multan had as many as eighteen *kardars*.¹⁷⁸ Multan however, lost its very important position as soon as British stronghold over the sub continent grew stronger and stronger. Although peace prevailed in the region, but no real progress was made. When independence was achieved in 1947 Multan was a forgotten region.¹⁷⁹ The occupation of Multan was in the large interest of the British imperialism to keep Russia away even from Afghan borders.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 164.

¹⁷⁹ M. Hanif Raza, *Multan Past and Present* (Islamabad: Colorpix, 1988), p. 47.

Chapter – 4

POLITICS IN MULTAN REGION 1947-1970

4.1 Pre-partition Political Legacy in Multan

The modern period of politics in Multan region began after the war of national liberation 1857. This upsurge was mainly result of the destruction of the economy by the British and their introduction of the new system of government.¹ In this system all the powers were vested to the Deputy Commissioner, which exists with a number of amendments. Many of the chiefs and protected princes who had proved faithful in the mutiny received honorary titles and gifts of money and land. Some elite families of Qureshis, Syeds, Pathans, Rajpoots and Jats of Multan region were the main beneficiary of titles, land and cash awards. By 1860, the Multani Muslim elite appeared to be in most favourable position vis-à-vis the rival Hindu community. The condition of upper class Muslim improved. Government created the post of honorary magistrates, police officers and *zaildars* to enlist the services of ‘faithful leaders’².

“The supremacy of India in the industrial field reached its height towards the end of the 17th century due to demand for Indian cotton goods in England”.³ Europeans had been familiarized well to the Indian political scenario ever since the early 17th century trade and commerce of India through her excellent manufacturers of cloth and silk, her agricultural raw materials, chiefly indigo,

¹ Zafar Imam Edited, *the Musalmans of the Subcontinent* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1980), p. 23.

² P.E. Roberts, *History of British India*, 3rd Edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 389.

³ Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1961), p. 308.

pepper, cardamom and other spices.⁴ The British had their eye on the resources of India. The British Indian strategy may be summarized as follow:

- (i) Concentrate resources within India.
- (ii) Combine strict military control with good government.
- (iii) Maintain British Prestige.⁵

Multan commanded an equal importance in the southern part of the province. It controlled the waters of the rivers of Punjab and also the roads leading to Delhi via Manot, to Lahore and Sirhind via Dipalpur and to Jaisalmer via Derwar, including the routes from Tochi, the Gomal and the Bolan passes. Besides this, Multan was connected with all the important places through the rivers. Its geographical position, therefore, made it the most important centre of trade in the south, where goods from Punjab were brought through rivers and where they were exchanged by caravans for the commodities of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Iran.⁶

The industries, for which the town was noted, were: silk fabrics, glazed pottery, various enamel ornaments in silver, cotton and woolen carpets and metal works. Multan was the only town in the province which could claim woolen carpet weaving. The silk industry was the primer industry of Multan. For a long time Multan has been a great importing centre of raw silk from China, Kashmir, Bengal, Yarkand, Khojand and Bokhara. The city has also been noted for its silk manufactures of various colours and varieties. Its fabrics were higher priced and

⁴ Murari Lal Gupta, *History of British rule in India* (New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, 1993), p. 218.

⁵ M.E. Yapp, *Strategies of British India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 586.

⁶ Bakhshis Singh Nijjar, *Punjab under the Later Mughals* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1972), p. 30.

excellent than Amritsar ones in some respect. The main theme of the British was to improve trade. The demand of Multani and Indian silk, cotton cloth was very high in British market. Prices of the Indian cloths were fifty percent less than the cloths manufactured in England. The British government proposed more and more tax to reduce the import of Indian cloths into England. The gradual reduction of Indian cloths in Britain was £3245745, £1797345, £978317 and 181273 for the years 1973, 1898, 1805 and 1810 respectively.⁷

Indian goods were exported to different countries through ships. So the ship-building industry of India started growing. When trade between Europe and India decreased, it affected the ship industry.⁸ Multan was one of those fortunate South Asian cities which retained its pre-colonial economic importance by re-direction of energies. Multan city became one of the chief mercantile centres of Punjab. The main exports were cotton, wheat, wool, oilseeds, sugar and indigo; the main imports were European cotton textiles and other European manufacturers. Multan also imported fruits, medicines, raw-silk and spices from Afghanistan, while exporting to that country, indigo, European and Indian cotton fabrics, sugar and shoes. Multani merchants had agents in every major city of the Punjab and the large firms of Lahore, Amritsar, Peshawar, Jalandar and Delhi resided representatives at Multan.⁹

⁷ Ibid., p. 228.

⁸ Bari, *Company Kee Hakoomat*, IV Edition (Lahore: Naya Addara, 1969), pp. 290-91.

⁹ J. Royal Roseberry III, *Imperial Rule in Punjab, The Conquest and Administration of Multan 1818-1881* (Lahore: Vanguard Books 1988), pp. 220-222.

In fiscal year 1880-81, the trade of Multan was the 3rd largest in value after Amritsar and Delhi but ahead of Lahore. See detail in the table on left side.

In 1882-83, Multan city ranked at 4th in the value of its trade behind Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore. See detail in the table on left side.

With the passage of time Multan region lost its political and trade importance. Administratively, it lost its separate status of province after 1857 war. The area was merged in Punjab Province. Muslim economic grievances combine with religious animosity to generate communal disorders. It was a Muslim majority area. A possibility also existed that Muslims would grow disaffected towards a regime whose legal system permitted Hindus to exploit them. A faithful class of feudal and religious elites was created by the British for new political era.¹⁰ In 1888 Major Hutchinson, Deputy Commissioner of Multan, reported to government.

....Mortgages of land by Zamindars in Mooltan district to moneylenders are proceeding at an increased rate, in this way many old Muhammadan families are gradually losing all their land. I am not at all convinced that the result involves any political danger.¹¹

The above statement shows that dispossession of the “old fighting races” was free of political risk.¹² The advent of the British Raj on the Multan region scene disrupted a balance of political and economic power that had enabled Muslims and Hindus coexists with one another for centuries. They controlled the economy of the region to control the politics predominantly.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid

¹² *Ibid.*, p.233.

Muslims to refrain from joining congress. A large number of people accepted his advice. The detail regarding strength of Muslim delegates in annual congress session between 1885-1894, is given in the table on the left.

By 1905, the congress had become a formidable organization though it remained mainly a Hindu organization; its membership had grown considerably. In Multan region the membership of congress was rare. No delegates from Multan region participated in the annual session of congress from 1885 to 1905. These sessions were held in different cities of India, but no session was held in Multan. Only two annual sessions of congress from 1885 to 1905 were held in Punjab at Lahore. It is strong evidence which show the political position of congress in the region.¹⁷

The Indians embarked on their real political life after the establishment of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885. Before there were associations and groups of thinkers who were concerned about local affairs or had provincial or local affiliations, but actually none had any political programmes or political aspirations on all Indian basis.¹⁸

Though the congress was non-communal yet its leadership – men like Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Mr. Tilk of both the moderate and extreme wings was pre-dominantly Hindu.¹⁹ The Muslims were convinced that it

¹⁷ Syed Razi Wasti, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement 1905-1910* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976, p. 21.

¹⁸ Verinder Grover, Editor, *Pakistan fifty years of Independence Towards the Independence the Pre-1947 period* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publication, 1997), p. 19.

¹⁹ H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*, Edition-iv (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 14.

would be wrong to expect any justice or fair play from the Hindu majority. Naturally the Muslim leaders were convinced that they must have their own party which should project Muslim interests and speak for the community on all important occasions.²⁰

It was on December 1906 that “All India Muslim League” a new political party was established in Dacca, the main political demand of which was separate electorates for Muslims. The opinion of the bulk of the community was opposed to participation in joint electorate. Separate electorates were given constitutional recognition in the Indian Council Act of 1909. Muslims were accorded not only the right to elect their representatives by separate electorates, but also the right to vote in the general constituencies.

In addition they were given weightage in representation. In spite of these concessions, Muslims could see how politically weak they were in the composition of legislative council Act of 1909. Multan was a Muslim majority area as that of the whole of Punjab. There were eight elected members, out of whom there was not a single Muslim from Punjab including Multan.²¹ This shows the political position of Multan and Punjab at that time.

To settle the political problem the joint scheme of reforms, popularly known as “Luknow Pact” adopted by the Indian National Congress (INC) and All India Muslim League (AIML) at their session at Lucknow, in December 1916. It

²⁰ Justice Shamim Hussain Kadri, *Creation of Pakistan* (Lahore: Wajidalis, 1982) pp. 15-16.

²¹ Kahalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1948*, 2nd Edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 30-31.

was decided that in provincial legislative council Punjab – one half will be the elected Indian members.²² It was a time when First World War (1914) was in progress Mr. Naib-Ullah Chairman of the reception committee of AIML session 1916 Lukhnow said about the war.

“The greatest war in history which began more than two years ago is still going on with unabated fury of destruction and carnage and no one can as yet set limits to its duration. It is a life and death struggle for the British Empire, and that all the resources of this vast empire in men, money and material will have to be mobilized. Through the supreme and searching test of this war, the loyalty of India has emerged untarnished and proved to be one of the greatest and most precious assets of the empire.”²³

Before the end of war, India’s contribution in money exceeded £113,000,000.²⁴ All the feudal families of Multan region i.e. Pathans, Qureshis, Dahas, Daultanas, Gilanis and Bosans helped the government in the First World War through money, men and materials and got great rewards of agricultural land, certificates of honour and cash rewards, which provided them a strong political support in politics.²⁵

Muslim League had not strong political hold in Multan region from its creation in 1906 till the “Pakistan Resolution” passed by AIML in 1940 at Lahore. During the period 1920-40 a new political party named “Unionist Party” had strong political hold in the Multan region and Punjab. The government of India

²² Jamil-ud-Din, compiled, *Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1970), p. 58.

²³ A.M. Zaid, *Evolution of Muslim Political thought in India* (New Delhi: S. Chand and Company, 1988), pp. 538-39.

²⁴ Sir John A.R. Mariott, *The English in India – A problem of Politics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 265.

²⁵ Javid Hashmi, *Haan Main Baghi Hoon* (Lahore: Saghar Publishers, 2005), pp. 247-75.

Act, 1919 usually known as “Montague Chelmsford Reforms” introduced major changes. According to this act, a majority of the members of the provincial legislative council would be elected, while the principal of executive responsibility to the council was not granted.

The council would have extended control over executive. Additionally, the executive departments were divided into two categories; one group concerned with fiscal, law and order matters, would remain under the jurisdiction of governor and would be administered by officially appointed executive councilors; the second, concerned primarily with “nation-building” subject would be transferred to minister appointed by the Governor from among the elected members of the council. Constituencies were divided into general (i.e. territorial) and special, the latter including seats for such groups as landholders, university graduates and industrial and commercial interests.²⁶ This system was called diarchy.

The first political organization of stature in Punjab was the “Unionist Party” formed in 1924. The founder and principal mover behind the party was Mian Sir Fazal Hussain (1877-1936). The unionists were essentially large landholders whose rural constituencies were in many cases totally dependent on their moral and material support. This superior – inferior relationship pre-dated British rule and was eventually co-opted by the colonial administration. The landlord’s relationships improved rural control. It was relatively cheap and highly effective.

²⁶ J. Henery Korson edited, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Netherland; Leiden E.J. Brill, 1974), p. 7.

The landlords were rewarded for their cooperation by having local government reforms tailored to suit their needs. They were also made the recipients of protective legislation and guaranteed ready access to British officialdom. Under this policy Multani landowner elite expanded their influence and enhanced their tribal kinship (*qabaili* or *biradari*) relationships in the region. The unionist sought to prevent Muslim League from challenging their authority. It was a non-communal party and its primary leader, Fazl-i-Husain was the most astute politician in the Punjab prior to his death in 1936. He dominated the political life of the province.²⁷

Majority of the politicians of Multan region were part of the unionist party. The number of eligible voters in general constituencies was only 3.4 percent of the population in the 1926 election in Muslim rural constituencies, the territory which was to become part of Pakistan. This situation continued till 1935 Elections were held for the council in 1920, 1923, 1926 and 1930. Four members were elected in each of the four elections. Two of them, Syed Reza Shah Gilani and Nawab Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari were from Multan region. Seven more were elected three times while another thirteen were elected twice.²⁸

In Multan region, persons from elite and feudal families were part of politics. The Daultanas, Gilanis and nine others have held seats from 1921 through 1958. Dahas (Khan Habit Khan), Qureshis (Murid Hussain, Ashiq Hussain),

²⁷ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan the Enigma of Political Development* (England: Dowson and Sons, 1980), pp.137-38.

²⁸ J. Henry Kroson edited, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 8-9.

Gardezis (Syed Ali Hussain Shah) and Khaggas (Pir Budhan Shah) of Multan; Gurmainis (Mushtaq Ahmed, Ghulam Jilani) and Dastis (Abdul Hamid Khan) of Muzaffargarh and Legharis (Sir Jamal Khan), Drishaks (Allan Khan, Bahadar Khan), Mazaris (Balakh Sher, Sher Baz and Pirs of Taunsa Sharif in Dera Ghazi Khan.²⁹

There are three families who were important in the unionist period 1924-1936 and which were members of the families still active in the legislative bodies in Pakistan – one of them are Daultanas of District Vehari in Multan region (the other two are Hayat of Wah District Attock and the Noon-Tiwana group of Sargodha district). Four Daultanas sit in the legislative bodies; the first was Nawab Mian Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana (d.1940) along with Mir Maqbool Muhammad, one of the closet political associates of Sikandar. He was a parliamentary secretary and chief whip of the unionist party in the assembly. Ahmed Yar was member of council in 1921-1923, 1926-1936 and of the assembly from 1937 until his death. His cousin and brother in law Mian Allah Yar Khan won the seat in by-elections in 1940 and was re-elected in 1946 remaining in the Assembly until his death in 1947. At that time Allah Yar's son, Mian Riaz Ahmed Khan, occupied seat until the Assembly was dissolved in 1948.³⁰

The principal member of the family, however, has been Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana (b.1916). Returning to Lahore after an academic

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

career in England, Mumtaz was elected to the Assembly in by-elections for the west Punjab landholder seat following the death of Muhammad Hayat Khan Noon, who was elected as a Muslim Leaguer in 1946 from the seat formerly held by his maternal uncle, Chaudhary Sir Shahabuddin, in Sialkot district, leaving the family's home constituency for Allah Yar. He was also elected member of the constituent Assembly and was re-elected in 1955. In 1951 he was elected to the provincial Assembly from Multan district and became chief Minister of the Punjab, holding that post for two years. He was briefly a member of the first Khan Sahib cabinet in West Pakistan and was Defense Minister in the short lived Chundrigar Cabinet in 1957. Like Sir Firoz Khan Noon he was disqualified from electoral politics under Elective Body Disqualification Order (EBDO), but he became president of the party (Council Muslim League) when the EBDO restrictions were removed in 1967 and held office until after the 1970 elections in which was returned to the National Assembly from his home constituency.³¹

In 1935 the Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament. The Act widened the franchise and gave the provinces of British India a large measure of self-government. Diarchy was abolished and Indians were given the right to be associated with decision-makings in every department of the provincial government.³² Political position of Muslim League was not strong in the Multan region till 1936.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, The Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.15.

“Elections to the legislatures of autonomous provinces were held in February and March 1937”.³³ Punjab legislative Assembly, as a new body, had 175 seats of which 157 would be elected from territorial constituencies. All the dignitaries of Multan division namely Nawabzada Major Ashiq Hussain Qureshi, Makhdumzadah Syed Willayat Hussain Gilani, Makhdumzada Syed Raza Shah Gilani, Syed Nasir-ud-Din Shah, Khan Bahadur Haibat Khan Daha, Mian Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana and Nawab Muhammad Mushtaq Khan Gurmani contested the Provincial Assembly elections on the ticket of the Unionist Party in February 1937 and succeeded.

It is also strong evidence that the Qureshis, the Gilanis, the Bosans, the Gurmanis, the Khakwanis, the Dahas and the Daultanas were with the Unionist Party. Other political parties the Indian National Congress (INC), the Hindu Mahasbha, the Ahrar party, the Khaksar Party, the Unionist Party and the Zamindar League had their branches in Multan. Due to the opposition of local landlords (Zaminadar) Muslim League failed to attract the masses in the beginning.³⁴ In 1936-37 election, Unionist Party had a win by sweeping in the Punjab and won 96 seats and could count on the support of twenty Sikh members elected on Khalsa Nationalist ticket.

After the death of Fazl-i-Hussain, the Unionist Party came under the leadership of Skindar Hayat Khan, who proceeded to ignore the reorganization

³³ Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 215.

³⁴ Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *History of Multan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2007), pp. 203-4.

plan that Fazl-i-Hussain intended to initiate. The Unionists weakened their position by first including the National Progressive (Mahasabha) Party in their coalition government³⁵ and thus in October 1937 on the eve of AIML Session at Lucknow, Sikander Hayat had entered into a sort of agreement with Muhammad Ali Jinnah which permitted Muslim members of the Unionist party to join Muslim League without changing the designation of the former.³⁶ The pact put the League in a position from where it could convince the Multani and Punjabi Muslim landlords to join the movement of Muslim League. The landlords continued in their pre-eminent position.

After the 1936-37 elections, congress party's rule in eight provinces proved to be against the interest of the Muslims of the sub-continent. During the rule of the congress regime, Hindus tried to establish Hindu Raj and hoisted the tricolour flag of the congress party. They introduced Wardaha (educational) scheme and tried to establish the concept of one nationality and one ideology for the entire population of the Indian subcontinent. These schemes of the Hindus were opposed and rejected by the Muslims. Having experienced the aggressive policies of the congress during its short lived rule from July 1937 to October 1939, the Muslims started gathering under the banner of Muslim League. In these circumstances Syed Zain-al-Abidin Gilani of Multan joined Muslim League in 1939.

³⁵ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan The Enigma of Political Development* (London: Dawson Westview, 1980), pp. 138-39.

³⁶ Prof. Muhammad Munawwar, *Dimensions of Pakistan Movement*, (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1987), p. 223.

Elections for Multan branch of AIML were held and Syed Zain-al-Abidin was elected its president. Ahmed Shah Bokhari was elected General Secretary. People from other areas also started joining the party. The family of Sahibzada Nusrat Ali advocate and his younger brother Sahibzada Nawazish Ali advocate who were residing in Sahiwal also joined the party. Muslim League soon became a popular party in all parts of Multan region.³⁷

AIML's, 27th session held in Lahore from March 22-24, 1940. Mr. Fazl ul Haq moved the resolution which came to be known as the 'Lahore Resolution' and later on was also known as 'Pakistan Resolution'. He demanded the independent state in Muslim majority areas.³⁸ After that resolution a political movement for Independent Muslim state started by the Muslim League which is known as Pakistan movement.

A delegation from Multan under the leadership of Makhdoom Alamdar Hussain Gilani, Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi, Khwaja Abdul Karim Qasif and Muhammad Bux joined the session in Lahore and signed on the 'Pakistan Resolution'.³⁹ Gilani family remained faithful to Muslim League. Syed Zain-al-Abidin Gilani and Ghulam Nabi Shah Gilani remained president of AIML, Multan district and city branches, respectively till 1949.

The following personalities joined the Muslim League and worked in Multan region:

³⁷ Dr. Ashiq M. Khan Durrani, *History of Multan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2007), pp. 205-06.

³⁸ A.M. Zaidi, *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India* Vol. V, (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1978), pp. 214-215.

³⁹ Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Cahh-i-Yousaf Say Sadda* (Lahore: Nigarshat Publishers, 2008), p. 21.

- Syed Baha-ud-Din Gilani from Multan district.
- Mian Mumtaz and Allah Yar Daultanas from Vehari district.
- Syed Nobahar Shah and Syed Budhan Shah from Khanewal district.
- Rana Abdul Hamid Khan from district Pakpattan.
- Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani from Lodhran district.
- Nawazish Ali from Sahiwal district.
- Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi, Mubarak Hussain Gardezi and Sahib Ali Gardezi from Multan.
- Ch. Zafarullah, Ch. Nasrullah and Ch. Attaullah of Jahaniya.
- Sufi Abdul Ghafoor and Ch. Muhammad Akram of Mian Chunnu.⁴⁰

These efforts popularized Muslim league among the Muslim masses of Multan. In the meantime a seat of provincial Assembly fell vacant in the by-election from Mailsi Tehsil on which Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, a Muslim Leaguer was elected in 1943. It was the first victory of Muslim League in Multan region.

4.3. ROLE OF MULTANI PRESS IN PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

During Pakistan movement, the press of Multan contributed its active role. In 1934 Mr. Muhammad Akram Khan issued a daily (Urdu) newspaper "Shams" from Multan which continued till 1954. Shaikh Muzaffar issued the weekly newspaper named "Zamindar Sudhar". The Muslim journalist of Multan Asad Multani, Muhammad Akram, Wahid Nadvi, Shaikh Muzaffar-ud-Din, Munshi

⁴⁰ Munshi Abdur Rehman, *Tareekh-i-Multan* (Multan: Ilmy Idara Ashiat Allum-i-Islamia, 2000), p.204.

election 1946, Muslim League won 75 out of 84 Muslim seats, but the British Governor Bertrand Gelancy did not invite Mr. Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot of Muslim League to form government in the Punjab. Malik Khyzer Hayat Tiwana formed government in the Punjab in February 1946.

It was a coalition government of the Unionist, Congress, Hindu and Sikh members. An agitation started against the Punjab government in different cities of Punjab. As a result Mr. Khyzer Hayat resigned from the post of Chief Ministership of Punjab in March 1947.⁴⁶ Hindu and Sikh leader Master Tara Singh, Dr. Gobi Chand Bhargo and Lala Bheem Sen, announced to oppose the formation of Muslim League government in Punjab. They organized rallies in Lahore.

Agitation started in Lahore, Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Multan. Multani people were part of it and Syed Sher Shah Gilani, Syed Zain-al-Abidin, Nabi Shah Muhammad Azeem Khan Sadozai, Abdul Karim, Syed Willayat Shah, Muhammad Arshad Chaudhry and many other leaders were arrested and put into prison.⁴⁷

India was divided in two sovereign states; India and Pakistan. A new Muslim state Pakistan came into being in August 1947. On 14th August 1947 at Karachi in the Sind Assembly the first constituent Assembly of Pakistan met to hear a message from Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy. Lord Mountbatten first delivered a message to Pakistan and then addressed the assembly as follow:

⁴⁶ Zahid Chaudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareekh*, Vol. V, compiled by Hasan Jafar Zaidi, (Lahore: Iddara Muttaleya Tareekh, 1991), pp. 384-87.

⁴⁷ Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareekh-i-Multan*, (Multan: Bazm-i-Saqafat, 2007), pp. 339-40.

“I am speaking to you as your viceroy. Tomorrow the Government of Pakistan will rest in your hands..... The birth of Pakistan is an event in history.”⁴⁸

Quaid-i-Azam (the great leader), expressed his thanks and appreciation of Pakistan. In a brief reply he said: “we are parting as friends, and I sincerely hope we shall remain friends”.⁴⁹ He took oath as the first Governor General of Pakistan.

The Quaid on this historic occasion praised the services and sacrifices made by the Muslims to achieve their goal and announced: “my thoughts are with the brave fighters in our cause who readily sacrificed all they had, including their lives, to make Pakistan possible”.⁵⁰ The politicians failed to run the country successfully. Firstly; they failed to give a constitution to the newly created country for a long time and secondly; justice was denied which, resulted in the imposition of Martial Law again and again in the country.

4.5 CREATION OF PAKISTAN

The political role of Indian National Congress (INC) and Unionist Party (UP) ended in Multan and Punjab, with the creation of Pakistan in August 1947. The government of India Act 1935, with certain amendments became the working constitution of Pakistan.⁵¹

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) [the great leader] father of the Nation, on his election as Governor-General of Pakistan on 11 August, 1947

⁴⁸ Justice Syed Shamim Hussain Kadri, *Creation of Pakistan* (Lahore: Wajidalis, 1982), pp.399-400.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Richard Symonds, *Making of Pakistan*, 2nd edition (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1977), p. 93.

delivered his presidential address to the first Constituent Assembly in Karachi He said:

“I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and partition of Punjab and Bengal. Now if we want to make this state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor... You are free, to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or cast or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state.⁵²

The great leader stressed on two points: firstly, he stressed on the need of the well-being of the people, especially of the masses and the poor; secondly, he said that everyone is free to following his religion. This was policy statement, which shows the desire of the greater leader to take ahead the nation to successes.

4.6 THE PARTITION OF PUNJAB

4.6.1 *Community and Group Interests*

The united Punjab had five divisions. The division and districts included in them were as under:

<u>Division</u>	<u>Districts</u>
Lahore	Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhpura, Amritsar and Sialkot.
Rawalpindi	Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur.

⁵² S.M. Burke, *The Millennium Series Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000 printed in Pakistan, Karachi: oxford University Press, 2000), pp.27-28.

- Multan Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur (now Faisalabad), Montgomery
 (now Sahiwal), Multan and Muzaffargar.
- Ambala Gurgoan, Rothak, Hissar, Karnal, Ambala and Simla.
- Jalandar Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Kangra.

Punjab was divided on the basis of majority areas of Muslim and non-Muslims. There were Hindus and Indian National Muslims as main groups, while another community, although in minority but of great importance, was the Sikh community. To settle the problem, Boundary Commission was constituted. Coming to the theme of special position of the Sikh community (Harnam Singh) insisted; if India was the homeland of Hindus and Pakistan was the homeland of Muslims then the area between Chenab and Beas rivers was the homeland of the Sikhs. The Sikh counsel asserted that the whole of Punjab Province did not speak Punjabi. People in Karnal, Rothak, Hissar did not speak Punjabi. Similarly people in Dera Ghazi Khan, Isakhel, Mianwali and Multan did not speak Punjabi but Multani (currently called Saraiki). Likewise in Kangra a different language was spoken. Punjabi was spoken in the central region of the province – that is in Lahore and Jalandar Division and in canal colony area.⁵³

The Sikh memorandum states that the district of Montgomery (now Sahiwal) Khanewal and Mailsi in Multan division were irrigated by the Lower Bari Doab Canal and the Pakpattan Canal. The migrants numbering 170,000

⁵³ Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, edited, *Region and Partition, Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of Subcontinent* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 132-138.

consisted mainly of hard working peasant-proprietors whose families had originally migrated from central and eastern Punjab. The trade commerce and industry of these areas are almost entirely in the hands of non-Muslims, so to consolidate the Sikh community in East Punjab. They claimed the following areas of eastern Punjab including the area of Multan division.⁵⁴

1. Ambala division
2. Jalandar division
3. Lahore division
4. Multan division, the District Lyallpur (now Faisalabad), District, Montgomery (now Sahiwal), Tehsil Khanewal and Vehari (now district) and Tehsil Mailsi Multan division.

Such a division would mean the consolidation of 34 lakh Sikhs in eastern Punjab.⁵⁵ Muhammad Zafrullah Khan who belonged to Jehanian of Multan region and was a Muslim Leaguer argued: The Muslim League demanded the division of India on the sole basis of Muslim majority in some regions of the sub-continent.

The greatest losers in the partition of Punjab were, of course, the common people who lost hearth and home through force migration. More than half a million men, women and children lost their lives. The area of Multan region, Montgomery and Pakpattan, made geographical boundary with India.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

The Indian states numbering 562 comprised roughly a third of India's territory and a quarter of population. Most of them were small and exercised limited power and jurisdictions but there were 140 fully empowered states, the largest of them such as Hyderabad and Kashmir were comparable with British Indian provinces in the extent of territory and population. Of these 562, states Pakistan were contiguous with only fourteen.⁵⁶

To settle the problem of the partition of Punjab, Punjab Boundary Commission was constitute on the following:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Sir Cyril Red Cliff | Chairman |
| 2. | Justice Din Muhammad | Representatives of Muslim League |
| 3. | Justice Muhammad Munir | Representatives of Muslim League |
| 4. | Justice Teja Singh | Representatives of Congress & Sikhs |
| 5. | Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan | Representatives of Congress & Sikhs |

As per decision of the commission, Multan division was part of the Punjab and included in Pakistan. The government of the new state 'Pakistan' gave it the status of a division.

Refugees from the Eastern Punjab settled in Pakistani Punjab (Western Punjab). The trauma of migration in Punjab had involved sacrifices of life and property and, therefore, a relatively enhanced consciousness about national

⁵⁶ Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan 5th impression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967 reprinted Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1985), p. 220.

security.⁵⁷ Many of them settled in cities and village areas of Multan region. The Pakistani government estimated that in exchange of population approximately 6,500,000 refugees entered in Pakistan, of these 5,200,000 came from the East Punjab and the East Punjab states.⁵⁸ Multan region had inherited the great canal colonies in the districts of Multan, Montgomery (now Sahiwal) and Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) a large part of which had been vacated by the Sikhs.

Here each refugee cultivator who was settled with his dependents was granted between five and eight acres (Hectors). In the western districts Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali and outside the canal colonies the refugees settled and received more land up to twelve and a half acres.⁵⁹ Mian Iftikahr-ud-Din, Minister for Rehabilitation of Refugees in the west Punjab government, came out with the revolutionary proposal that the only proper way of rehabilitating of refugees was through land reforms. He suggested breaking up the large estates in the Punjab with a view to distributing land among the refugees.

This was turned down by the provincial government which was dominated by landlords like Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, (Chief Minister), Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana (Finance Minister) and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan (Minister for Revenue). Mian Iftikharuddin resigned when he found that the provincial ministry was not willing to take speedy measures to rehabilitate the

⁵⁷ Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, edited, *Region and Partition, Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of Subcontinent* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 217.

⁵⁸ Richard Symonds, *Making of Pakistan*, 2nd edition (Islamabad: National Book foundation, 1977), p. 87.

⁵⁹ Khalid bin Saeed, *Pakistan The Formative Phase, 1857-1948*, 2nd Edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press), pp. 265-66.

refugees.⁶⁰ This is a evidence that feudals have been having strong hold in the politics who always opposed the land reforms.

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana as Chief Minister Punjab said in his speech:

“Muslim League fulfills its promises. Government of the Punjab did not suspend the land which awarded due to military or religious services. These lands will stand ‘as it is’”.⁶¹

With this the landholders were given the constitutional cover. Later on government of the Punjab decided that ‘inheritance Muzzareen’ (land cultivators) who pay annually as lease money⁶² can get property right of their land after paying an amount of ‘twenty time increase’ which they pay annually as lease amount. Government also decided some terms and conditions for this policy. Landholders also got benefit through this policy. The condition of common man did not change.

4.7 POLITICS OF ONE PARTY

Before the emergence of Pakistan the Muslim League had a lofty mission and a positive programme. It rallied the Muslim masses and mobilized their energies for the achievement of their common goal. After partition in 1947, the league became a ruling party. Gradually, it lost contact with the common man and deeply involved itself in power politics.⁶³ The first Governor General of Pakistan and father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah died in 1948 but up-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Roznama Zamindar Suddhaar* Multan, February 4, 1952.

⁶² *Roznama Karzar*, Multan, June 11, 1952.

⁶³ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development* (Lahore: A.H. Publisher, 1994), p.228.

to 1954 Muslim League completely dominated the politics of the country and the chief ministerial posts in the centre and in the provinces were held by its representatives. It also had an absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly of Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan (August 1947-October 1951), expressed the real state of affairs when he said:

“I have always considered myself as a prime minister of the League. I never regarded my self as the Prime Minister chosen by the members of the constituent assembly.”⁶⁴

The leadership of the Muslim League was in the hands of big semi-feudal landlords, primarily Punjabis and a few Sindhis and rich Muslim entrepreneurs, mostly businessmen. The members of these two social groups were closely bound together by both community of interests and personal ties. K. Callard, a well known Canadian author, who visited Pakistan several times and has acquired a good knowledge of its political life writes, - “Jagirdars and Zamindars, Pirs and Mirs, Makhdooms, Khans and Nawabs retain vast political influence. A glance through the lists of members of ‘L.A.’ shows how many such hereditary leaders or their relatives are active in political life.”⁶⁵ The big landlords and bourgeoisie also kept firm hold on the control levers of the government machinery in the region.

The big landlords from Punjab and Multan, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Syed

⁶⁴ Y.V. Gankovsky, L.R. Gordon Polonskaya, *A History of Pakistan* (Moscow: Nauka Publishing, 1964), pp. 113-114.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Ahmed Nawab Shah Gardezi and Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot⁶⁶ using political power monopolized first and foremost as a means safeguarding the existing system of agrarian relations, especially in the country (Multan region and Southern Punjab) and defending it against any change for it provided them with huge incomes at the expense of the exploited millions of peasants, who were poverty-stricken and deprived of all rights and allowed them to exercise a decisive influence in all spheres of social life.

An anti feudal peasant movement began to spread across the country at the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950. Muslim League formed an agrarian committee, which reported in 1949, the landlords' estates were rewarded by British Imperialist for services rendered to them. Services rendered to Imperialism were mostly against the interest of the nation. The committee went on to recommend that, the birth of freedom must abolish this stigma of the past. The landlords were virtual masters of the great majority of 33 million population of West Pakistan in 1947⁶⁷ eighty two percent of the people were directly dependent on agriculture. The Muslim League committee headed by one of the landlord of Multan region Mian Mumtaz Daultana prepared the report.⁶⁸

South Punjab has been neglected since partition and large landholders have strong political hold.⁶⁹ The politicians of the region tried to get power after

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Kalim Siddiqui, *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan* (London: Macmillan Press, 1972), pp. 60-62.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Soofia Mumtaz and others, *Pakistan the Contours of state and society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 80.

partition in 1947. Mr. Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot formed the government in Punjab; Mian Mumtaz Daultana of Multan was included in his cabinet. Factionalism grew to such an extent that Mamdot was unable to carry on, and he resigned in 1948, as no one then was able to form a new ministry. The governor assumed the powers of the ministry and the assembly.⁷⁰

One of the principal actors in this feudal infighting was Mian Mumtaz Daultana of Multan, who emerged as the chief Minister after the provincial elections in Punjab in 1951. The 1951 provincial elections in Punjab were won by the Muslim League not because it offered a coherent political program but because Daultana, as the leader of a government backed party, could attract the support of the leading landlords in each district.

The normal practice in Punjab on the part of a winning coalition was to prepare a list of leading notables in each district and offer party tickets to the most influential of them, thereby ensuring their success even before the elections were held. These notables were feudal landlords who in districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghanzi Khan and Sahiwal also held the titles of Pirs and Sajjada Nashins (custodian of shrines).⁷¹ This meant that the landowning notables commanded almost complete monopoly of political support through their tenants and even smaller landlords who were tied to them through bonds of land and religion.

⁷⁰ J. Henry Korson, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Netherlands: Leiden E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 20-21.

⁷¹ Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), pp. 36-37.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana was a superb craftsman in compiling lists of notables who had political support in each district. Prior to the elections of 1951, he had been able to entice the notables through highly intricate network of pacts and alliances. Thus the Daultana-Gilani and Gardezi-Gilani pacts were promoted by Mian Mumtaz Daultana in order to maximize his support in the important region of Multan. In order to lend solemnity and religious sanctions to these pacts; there was calligraphic script of Qur'an on a leaf and the signatories declared they would support each other as God fearing Muslims.⁷² Through this tact Muslim League won 143 out of 197 seats.

During the period of Daultana's Chief Ministership 1951-53, landlords were against the Land Reform Policy of the Punjab Government. They tried to create shortage of food. A political party named '*Majlis-e- Ahrar*' tried to win its lost identity and supported the landlords. In the meantime '*Ahrar*' party started a movement against a religious group '*Ahmadis*'. An agitation started in Multan like other parts of the country. Daultana government was unable to control the agitation and he was replaced by Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1953.⁷³

Mian Mumtaz Daultana had not adjusted the Gilanis in the Punjab Cabinet. However, Feroze Khan Noon adjusted the Gilani Group and Mr. Alamdar Hussain Gilani was given Health Ministry in his cabinet. During this period, District Headquarter Hospitals were constructed in Multan, Mianwali and Dera Ghazi

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Cahha-i-Yousaf Say Sadda* (Lahore: Nigarshat Publishers 2008), pp. 26-28.

Khan. He also played an important role in establishing the Medical College and a library in Qasim Bagh, Multan. He also established a library in every district in Multan division.⁷⁴ Muslim League lost its political position in 1954 elections in East Pakistan; it won only 10 out of 309 seats.

In 1955 government announced one unit scheme. Whole of the West Pakistan was united in a single province with Lahore as its capital. The new province was split into ten divisions: Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Quetta and Kalat – without taking into consideration the distribution of the national and ethnical groups that inhabited these divisions and the economic and cultural ties that had grown up in the course of history.⁷⁵ In 1956 constitution of Pakistan was framed, but no elections were held under the constitution. All political groups in assembly fought for power while Muslim League had lost its political grip at all levels.

On October 7, 1958 President Iskandar Mirza proclaimed martial law, abrogated the constitution, abolished legislative bodies and appointed Military General Ayub Khan to be Chief Martial Law Administrator. Three weeks later Ayub ousted Mirza and assumed the presidency himself. Ayub government issued EBDO.⁷⁶ The political activities of leaders were banned. Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani, and majority of the leaders in Multan region were banned under the EBDO. The ban lasted until January 1967.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Y.V. Gankovsky L.R. Gordon Polonskaya, *A History of Pakistan* (Moscow: Nauka Publishing, 1964), p.222.

⁷⁶ J. Henry Korson, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Netherland: Lieden E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 22-23.

The second step was the introduction of Basic Democracy which allowed 80,000 Basic Democrats or union councilors, each elected from a union of village consisting approximately 1,000 adults as voters, the privilege to choose members of provincial and central legislatures and to elect the president. For Ayub this was indeed, a 'manageable' system with a focal point of power with himself 'in a position of control.'⁷⁷ Ayub Khan wants to be a symbol of power.

In 1962 he formed the political party Muslim League Convention. All the Multani politicians including Gilani and Qureshi Group joined the Muslim League convention. Those Leaguers who did not join the new party formed the 'Muslim League Council' thus Muslim League was divided into two groups.⁷⁸ Ayub won the presidential elections of 1964-65 and defeated his opponent Miss Fatima Jinnah and ruled over the country till 1969.

From 1947-58 not a single national election was held because most of the politicians knew that they would be disowned by the electorates. Between 1958 and 1968 two indirect elections were held which were not free from official interference. Thus, the people were deliberately kept out of the political picture.⁷⁹

After the creation of Pakistan Multan region was neglected. Big Landholders in central and South Punjab managed to retain their power. The condition of a common man did not change. At the end of 1970, there was not a

⁷⁷ Verinder Grover, edited *Pakistan Fifty Years of Independence 1947-97*, vol.2 (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1997), pp. 101-102.

⁷⁸ J. Henry Korson, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan*, (Netherland: Lieden E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 22-23.

⁷⁹ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development* (Lahore: A.H. Publishers, 1964), p. 236.

single university in the region. This economically deprived region had the lowest education rate according to the 1981 census.

Till the end of 2008, there was no medical, engineering and agriculture university in the region. The area had not been industrialized, and bases on agriculture. Some feudal lords, shrines and businessmen families have strong hold on politics. The sense of hopelessness was channelized for some time into nationalist sentiment (*Seraiki* or regional identity). People felt that they had been colonized economically and also psychologically which resulted in a deep sense of alienation.⁸⁰ Too much concentration of power in few hands without checks on its misuse prevented the emergence of a national sentiment, not only at the provincial level, but also at the individual levels.

⁸⁰ Javed K. Bashir, *Power and the crisis of Unity in Pakistan* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers n.d.), p. 19.

Chapter – 5

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE REGION

5.1 SARAIKI MOVEMENT

After 1947 two political movements initiated in southern Punjab, one in limited area of Bahawalpure, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan (1955-1972) called 'Bahawalpur movement' it ended in 1972. Other is called 'Saraiki movement' (1960 still continue) in 'Multan region and Southern Punjab which is Saraiki language area.

“Language is an important cultural identity and a source of political mobilization”.¹ Saraiki is one of the oldest languages of the subcontinent and Multan is the central place of Saraiki language,² which is one of the major regional languages of Pakistan and mother tongue of the people of Saraiki region or southern Punjab (Multan and Bahawalpur).

The area where Saraiki language is spoken lies in the central part of Pakistan, on either side of the river Indus including the lower reaches of the river Chenab and Sutlej. This corresponds to the south-western part of Punjab province and the adjacent area.³ This is evidence about area of language.

¹ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1999), p. 25.

² Professor Sajjad Hiader Pervaiz, *Saraiki Zaban wa Adab ke Mihtasar Tareek* (Islamabad: Muqtadra Qumi Zaban, 2001), pp. 7-8.

³ C. Shackle, *The Saraiki Language of Central Pakistan* (London Scholl of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1976), p. 1.

Saraiki is an ancient and widely spoken language of Pakistan. It exists as a regional language in almost all the provinces of Pakistan.⁴ Territory of the thirty million Saraiki speaking people,⁵ comprises the districts of Multan, Bahawalpur, Sahiwal, Vehari, Rahim Yar Khan, Khanewal, Lodhran, Bahawalnagar, Jhang, Sargodha, Muzaffargarh, Leiah, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajan Pur in the Punjab province; Dera Ismail Khan of N.W.F.P. province; Sibi and Kachi districts of Baluchistan and Sukkar, Khairpur and Jacobabad district of Sind province of Pakistan. This territory lies in the centre of Pakistan.

This language is spoken on the western edge of the Indo Aryan language area. Its boundaries between the Persian and Balochi languages are well defined by the Suleman range, in the west; to the south east the natural boundaries of the Thar Desert, re-enforced by the political frontier between Pakistan and India, separate Saraiki from Marwari dialects of Rajasthan. Somewhat less clearly marked are the boundaries of Saraiki with Sindhi at the narrowing of the Indus valley between mountain and desert near the present provincial boundary between Punjab and Sindh and similarly with northern Lahanda dialects along the southern edge of the Salt range. To the east there is no natural boundary between Saraiki and Punjabi.⁶

⁴ M. Bashir Ahmed Zami Bahawalpuri, *The Saraiki Language* translated by M. Jalal-ud-Din (Bahawalpur: Markez Saraiki Zaban-Te-Adab, N.D.), p. 1.

⁵ Dr. Mehr Abdul Haq, *Siraiki Zaban aur iske Hamsaia zabanain* (Multan: Siraiki Adbi Board, 1977), p.9.

⁶ Ahsan Wagha, *The Saraiki Language*, (Islamabad: Derawar Publications, 1990), pp.23-24.

“The neighbouring languages of the Saraiki region are in the western edge the Iranian Pashto and Baluchi, to the east the Punjabi language, to the north the northern Lahnda dialects of the salt range, to the south the Sindhi and to the south-east the Marwari dialects of Rajasthan”.⁷ This shows lingual link with other area.

Language, whether written or simply spoken is more significant in the establishment of human consciousness than the life's phenomena. Language enables human kind to relate and pass on historical traditions that embody religion as it does in politics, art, music and a host of other expressions. Language links the past with the present and separates one people from another. Language is at the heart of ethnicity and nationality. It causes people to merge into cultural union, to address common values and to assert exclusive interests as well as to distance themselves from the outsider. Linguistic ethnicity gives rise to cultural nationalism. Love of ethnic group or nationality, suggests high emotion involving fondness, sympathy, fidelity and loyalty coupled with familiar ideas and usages.⁸

Language is a system for expression of thoughts and feelings, which plays a significant role in imparting knowledge, skill and transmitting ideas within community or cross communities. Punjab is a multi-lingual region and 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 Hindku pronunciation in Potohari style, while in the central Punjab; pure

⁷ C.Shackle, *The Saraiki Language of Central Pakistan* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1976), pp. 1-2.

⁸ Muhammad Aslam Syed edited, *Islam and Democracy in Pakistan* (Islamabad: national Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1995), p. 91.

Punjabi is spoken with varying pronunciation.⁹ In southern and south western Punjab, Saraiki is the most common language. Other languages are also spoken within the limited circle of society.

Urdu serves as medium of communication between various ethnic groups residing in different areas of the province. Being the national language, it is also the medium of instruction throughout the province at school level. According to the population census 1998, Punjabi language represents 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. The Saraiki speaking people mostly live in the districts situated in the south-west of the province. 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 the people speaking Punjabi has decreased from 78.7 percent in 1981 to 75.2 percent in 1998. Whereas percentage shares of Saraiki speaking and other languages like Urdu Pushto etc. have increased over this period.¹⁰ Pakistan is a multilingual land, where Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Brahvi, Balochi, Saraiki and Gujrati are mother tongues of a large population.¹¹

⁹ *Provincial Census Report of Punjab 1998* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, 2001), pp. 33-34.

¹⁰ *Provincial Census Punjab 1998* op. cit. pp. 121-122.

¹¹ Anwar S. Dil, *Studies in Pakistani Linguistics* (Lahore: Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan, 1965), p.115.

The table is given on the left, shows details on percentage of population, by mother tongue, being spoken in rural and urban areas in 1981 and 1998. It was the population census held in 1981 in which for the first time Saraiki was taken as distinct language. As for as previous Multani and present Saraiki is concerned, it was called 'wuch' in the first published account 1819 by Serampore Mission Calcutta and a hundred year after it was called southern Lahnda in 1919 by G. Grierson in the linguistic survey of India. In different period of history it was called Multani Lahnda, Derawel, Jugdalli Jatki, western Punjabi etc. which are all considered to-be the different dialects of the language; O. Brein gave her the name of Multani the central dialect of Saraiki.¹²

Multani/Saraiki is spoken by a population spread over an area of 26,000 square miles. As mentioned before it is usually called Hindi or Jatki and in the Baluchi speaking parts of Dera Ghazi Khan it is known as Jagdalli, or the language of the Jagdals or Jats.¹³ The Jats are quite an inoffensive class whose occupation is agriculture and, they live with their camels.¹⁴ H.T. Lambrick called it the language of camel-driving Jats who settled in Sindh.¹⁵

Regarding the word Saraiki different views prevail. 'Sarai' is a tribe in the area of Multani language. The centre of the Sarai is in the south-east of Dera Ghazi Khan District, where the tomb of Hazrat Sahib Sarai (a spiritual leader)

¹² E.O. Brein, *Glossary of the Multani Language* Reedited by Shaukat Mughal (Multan: Saraiki Adbi Board, 2002), p. 11-15.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ G.A. Allana, *Sindhi Culture* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1986), p. 4.

¹⁵ H.T. Lambrick, *Sindh A General Introduction* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 212.

exists. Every year, thousands of followers from Sindh and Baluchistan pay homage to the tomb. The family providing the services to the followers is famous as 'Sarai'.¹⁶

According to another observation the word 'Saraiki' originated in Sindh, where Saraiki language is spoken by a large section of population. The word 'Sera' is related to 'sero' which means 'head' and in its geographical sense used for north in the Sindhi language. The background of this 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 the Saraiki word means the language of the people of the north.¹⁷

Another view about Saraiki relates to the word 'Serai' which was popular because of its association with Kalhoras (a ruling dynasty as an honorific title. Kalhora were called 'Serai' because they originally belonged to Multan and Bahawalpur.¹⁸ A quite different approach is that 'Serai' is derived from 'Aserki' or 'Ausurki' – in turn, taken from surya which is Sanskrit word meaning the 'sun'. 'Asury' were the people who worshipped the sun. They were the ruling people of Multan some 3000 years ago. Suraj Mayani and Suraj Kund, two towns and Parahalad Mandir a temple of sun-god still exist in Multan as remnant of the Ausry people of Multan who seems to be the ancestor of the Saraiki people of today.

¹⁶ Dr. Mehr Abdul Haq, *Multani Zaban Aur Ais Ka Urdu Say Talak* (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1967), p.113.

¹⁷ Ahsan Wagha, *The Saraiki Language, its growth and development* (Islamabad: Derawar Publications, 1990), pp. 2-4.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Saraiki area of Sukkhar and Nawab Shah District was attached with Bombay presidency.²⁶

River Indus flows from north to south and enter into plan area at the place of Kala Bagh in Mianwali district that is the start of Saraiki speaking area. The land between the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and the Indus Rivers is known as the Sindh Sagar Doab. In the Central region of Sindh Sagar Doab, covering portions of Khushab, Mianwali, Bhakkar, Jhang, Layyah and Muzaffargarh districts, lies the Thal desert. In 1949 the Thal development authority was established which resulted in the construction of Thal canal along the left bank of the Indus. It promotes irrigation, agriculture and other economic activities in the Saraiki area at limited level.²⁷ A large area of Thal is still without irrigation. On both sides of the River Indus lies the Saraiki area from Kalabagh to Sukkhar. Its length is about six hundred kilometer and its width is about 100 to 150 Kilometers.²⁸

The Saraiki area has always had geographically, culturally, economically and even racially, more in common with Sindh than with the Punjab. Population was sparse and the river Sindh (Indus) provided fish and agricultural goods. Farming required the presence of all the available persons as did the semi-nomadic ways of life in the desert regions. Thus, Saraiki culture, like the Sindhi one

²⁶ Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq, *Saraiki Zaban Aur Ais Kee Hamsaia Alaikee Zubanai* (Multan: Saraiki Adbi Board, 1977), pp. 12-13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Personally visited the area from 10.7.2008 to 25.7.2008.

discouraged travelling. The British created great feudal lords in this area so that the common people would be controlled.²⁹ This evidence shows British policy.

As is the case nationally, it appears that there is north-south developmental divide in Punjab as well. The case of southern Punjab deserves attention as its high deprivation level emerges quite clearly. The entire lower half of the most deprived districts in Punjab are in the southern part of the province, while with the sole exception of Multan none of the southern Punjab districts appear among the upper half of the least deprived districts. Multan district, home to the largest city of the southern Punjab ranks as the 13th least deprived. So, twelve other districts are relatively more developed than Multan.³⁰

Extreme poverty in Saraiki region (southern Punjab) is coupled with illiteracy and population explosion. This economically deprived region had the lowest education rate. Large land-holders in central and south Punjab have managed to retain their power. To escape land reforms, they converted their estates into orchard which were exempted from the limits on holdings. This was accompanied by a marked increase in mechanization, which created unemployment and semi-employment. Landlords did not allow the establishment of schools because it carried the threat of alienation; educated people would likely leave the village.

²⁹ Tariq Reham, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 179.

³⁰ Sikander Brohi edited, *Resource distribution and Poverty in Pakistan* (Karachi: Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology, 2004), p. 16.

The survey of 'Ghost School' conducted in 1998 by the army showed that. There were over five thousand such schools in Multan division, the buildings being used by feudal as cowsheds.³¹ Out of total 2512 registered Madaris (religious schools) in Punjab, 1619 were located in south Punjab. In the feudal environment, for the poor, Madaris are the only means of social advancement and hope for a possible career in the future.³² The market towns are in the hands of Punjabi immigrants (from East Punjab) who control most of the trade of the region. Saraiki area depends on agriculture.

The district of Rahim Yar Khan has witnessed the development of agro-based industries; the traders have invested but certain landlords have resisted the growth of industry which they see as the threat to their vested interest. The Pakistan People's Party was the main beneficiary of the discontent but its image of defender of the down-redden suffered a lot, after it allied itself with the feudals of Multan. The sense of hopelessness was channelized into nationalist sentiment of Saraiki identity³³. The local felt that they were left out of power structure.

The distribution of rewards is always a potential source of political and social instability.³⁴ The competition for economic resources and political powers divides the peoples; their views too have differed from one another regarding the distribution of water, energy, finance and national authority. It means different

³¹ Sofia Mumtaz, Jean Lue Racine and Imran Anwar Ali edited, *Pakistan the Contours of State and Society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 80-82.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Frank-Parkin, *Class Inequality and Political Order* (London: Paladin Granda Publishing, 1985), p. 48.

things to the people of different ethnicities regions and social classes. Consciousness is heightened in contrast with others. It came to the surface when a group or an individual competes with other for economic resources, political power and cultural or linguistic autonomy.³⁵

One of the major grievances of the local Saraiki is the settlement of the people from other areas into Saraiki region. In the Punjab this scheme was started on a large scale twice during the British period when they introduced the canal colonies and irrigation system from rivers: First in Multan during 1886-1888 canals were dug and a vast area was irrigated with the water of river Sutlej and new settlements of people were made.³⁶ Second time, in 1925 with the introduction of Sutlej valley project again by the British, many people from other areas including Punjab settled in Multan and Bahawalpur Canal colonies. This practice is still continuing which is disapproval of the Saraiki people.

Scheme of settlement increased the income of British during the years 1929-30. That was 490 million so they introduced in Punjab a new scheme in 1949 in "Thal" desert the area of Punjab. Thal canal was dug by the government acquiring land for Thal development scheme and people from other areas settled in Thal.³⁷ The local people have grievances that as per requirement of the scheme, their due share of land which was about twenty three percent was not given to them properly.

³⁵ Muhammad Abdul Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformation in a Muslim Nation* (London: Rutledge, 2006), p. 74.

³⁶ Akram Marani, *Greater Tha*, (Multan: Jhok Publishers, 1994), p. 31.

³⁷ *ibid*, p. 62.

Lack of development is another cause which initiates the feelings of separate identity in the Saraiki region after 1960s. Two economists named R.W. Helbock and S.N.H. Naqvi, carried out a comparative study about the development of the districts in the Punjab noted Saraiki speaking areas are less developed than the Punjabi ones.³⁸

Cultural activities in Saraiki area started in 1950. In 1960 a lawyer from Muzaffargarh celebrated Jashn-e-Farid (a fair in honour of Saraiki poet Ghulam Farid). This was a symbol of the distinctive cultural identity of the Saraiki people. This celebration helped to create a sense of identity. In 1961 Riaz Anwar formed Bazme-e-Saqafat (cultural organization) which arranged conferences such as Khawaja Ghulam Farid Conference in Multan and in 1963 a Saraiki conference was held in Hyderabad Sindh.³⁹ It proved political and cultural mobilization in future.

A number of literary and cultural forums began functioning in Multan and Bahawalpur in the sixties. Saraiki Academy of Multan began publishing a weekly news letter called 'Akhtar'. The monthly "*Saraiki Adab*" was published from Multan and Bahawalpur. Saraiki was also distinguished from Punjabi and this consciousness led to the formation of a separate Saraiki identity. The rights of the western Punjab were asserted in many forums. Muhammad Sajjad Makhdum of Multan a member of parliament said in the National Assembly on June 1963.

³⁸ R.W. Helbock and S.N.H. Naqvi, *Inter District Variations in Social Well Being in Pakistan* unpublished paper Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad, 1976.

³⁹ Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 180-181.

Multani/Saraiki is spoken in ten districts of West Pakistan and so far, there is no provision for a radio station in Multan. There is no road link between Karachi and Multan and Lahore.⁴⁰ This strip of 800 miles is lying without any modern means of communications.

Perceived injustice breeds ethnic nationalism. Some examples of this injustice are; less access to power, lack of development in the region and other living facilities. All these elements created momentum for Saraiki ethnic nationalist movement. The cultural and linguistic movement turned into a political movement. The economic deprivation of Saraiki region is of a distinct nature which gave rise to a political movement for a separate Saraiki province.

During 1950-60 the politicization of the Saraiki movement began with Bahawalpur province movement.⁴¹ The Bahawalpur province movement had fizzled out by 1972. Riaz Hashmi's Saraiki Suba Mahaz (Front for Saraiki province) was the first political organization which was formed in Bahawalpur the Saraiki area in 1973. In March 1975, *All Pakistan Saraiki Adbi Conference (APSAC)* was held in Multan which provided a collective form to all the organizations working for Saraiki cause. This conference was a mile stone in the history of Saraiki movement. Twenty three Saraiki cultural and literary organizations attended the conference. The conference passed the following resolutions and recommendations:

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Bahawalpur was a state which merges in Pakistan after 1947.

“The Government should develop the Saraiki area and improve the economic condition of the people through quota in services and through their due share in allotment of government land in Cholistan area of Bahawalpur. Saraiki people and language should be given due share at all level. They requested the members of national and provincial assemblies for speech in their mother tongue (Saraiki).”⁴²

A resolution was passed in favour of a separate Saraiki province. It was considered that Saraiki province Movement was more viable demand than Bahawalpur Suba Movement, which was only limited to a smaller region of Bahawalpur and was based on its being a separate state earlier. But it was in 1983 that the proper movement for a Saraiki province which was named ‘Saraikistan’ began.⁴³ This proposed province would include Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan Divisions.

In 1975 the lawyers of Lahore High Court belonging to Saraiki area decided to assert the cause of the Saraiki province. They held a meeting and decided to popularize the cause amongst the masses and also involved the public in the movement. In the meeting, Mr. Taj Muhammad Langah was made the president of the new established “Saraiki Forum” while on 6th April 1984 another organization named ‘*Saraiki Suba Mahaz*’ was established which later on turned into Pakistan Saraiki Party’ on 17th April 1989 and Taj Muhammad Langah became its president.⁴⁴ At the moment the various political organizations and parties working for ‘Saraikistan’ are: Asghar’s “*Saraiki Qaumi Movement*”,

⁴² Umar Kamal Khan translated *Report of First All Pakistan Saraiki Adbhi Conference held in Multan* from 14 to 16 March 1975 (Multan: Secretary Conference, 1975), pp.19-21.

⁴³ Dr. Umbreen Javaid, *Politics of Bahawalpur From State to Region* (Lahore: Classic, 2004), p.128.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Abdul Majeed Kanju's '*Saraiki National Party*', Manzoor Bohar's "*Saraikistan Qaumi Inqalab Party*". But practically, '*Pakistan Saraiki Party*' under the leadership of Taj Muhammad Lungah was the actual representative and effective party towards the case.

The main demands, aims and objectives of the '*Pakistan Saraiki Party*' as given in its manifesto include the following:⁴⁵

1. Creation of Saraikistan province comprising of Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sargodha Division and Jhang and Dera Ismail Khan District.
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.
3. Saraiki to be medium of instruction for the primary schools of the area.
4. The grievance is that Saraikiland is distributed among non-Saraikis.
5. The Saraiki area is economically exploited and it is believed that Bahawalpur produces much of Pakistan's cash crop of cotton that its budget was in surplus when it was amalgamated in West Pakistan but the budget allocation for the Saraiki districts are less than other Punjabi districts.
6. Saraiki leaders oppose the settlement of Biharis (Urdu speaking people from Bangladesh) in Saraiki speaking area.

⁴⁵ Manifesto of Pakistan Saraiki Party, Multan, p. 129.

7. Increase in the time given to Saraiki language programme on Radio and Television.
8. At primary level Saraiki should be the medium of instruction in schools of the Saraiki area.
9. Formation of a Saraiki regiment in the army.⁴⁶

Although the Saraiki parties claim as representative of the people; but in any elections, they could not have won any seat, in the national and provincial assemblies. People of Bahawalpur think if a new province “Saraikistan” was formed, Multan will get more importance and Bahawalpur and its people will lose its importance and will be placed in a subordinated position to that of Multan.

The Saraiki parties did not present a united forum. It is difficult to get the cause without unity. This is one of the reasons that Saraiki parties got very few votes and it seems that other political parties never took them seriously. The large number of Urdu and Punjabi speaking people living in the region also oppose Saraikistan which will be established on the basis of Saraiki language. They prefer division of the region on the administrative grounds.

⁴⁶ Dr. Umbreen Javaid, *Politics of Bahawalpur From State to Region*, (Lahore: Classic, 2004), p.129.

Pakistan had already faced the tragedy of the separation of the East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).⁴⁷ So it is a lesson for all the times to come, the government should give due attention to the under developed areas of Pakistan in all the provinces including the Saraiki region in the southern Punjab which is the root cause for the Saraikistan province.

The existing structure of the provinces of Pakistan is partly the result of circumstances attending the growth of the British power in the undivided India and partly a byproduct of the historic process of the integration of the former princely states. The division of India during the British period into provinces was itself fortuitous and had no basis in the history of the subcontinent.⁴⁸

Multan had a distinct identity as a state and province throughout history which was lost in 1849 when it was occupied by the British. Creation of a new province "Multan" with the name of Multan or Saraikistan or Saraiki suba in Southern Punjab on administrative grounds will be a positive step in the interest of people and the state of Pakistan.

5.2 BAHAWALPUR MOVEMENT

Bahawalpur was a part of Multan. In 1727 Nawab Hayatullah Khan, Governor of Multan⁴⁹ awarded a vast area (land) named "Chaudhry" in Jagir (land on ownership basis) on the eastern bank of river Indus to Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan-I and allowed him to live here. He got many achievements in the area. He

⁴⁷ Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan before December 16, 1971.

⁴⁸ Riaz Hashmi, *Brief For Bahawalpur Province* (Bahawalpur: Bahawalpur Suba Mahaz, 1972), pp. 1-2.

⁴⁹ Dr. Syed Zahid Ali Wasti, *Bahawalpur Kee Sarzameen* (Multan: Beacon Books, 1993), p. 43.

defeated Farid Khan Lakhwera (local ruler) and occupied the area of “Farid” now called ‘Chistian’. He also got the fort ‘Derawar’ from Rawal Aki Singh⁵⁰ who was ruler of the neighbouring area.

Now he made the fort his first capital. After his death Amir Bahawal Khan-I laid the foundation of a new city ‘Bahawalpur’ near the fort. It is situated at the left bank of river Sutlej, militarily safe and 70 miles from Multan, for political relation and help. River Sutlej is the boundary between the two centers. Bahawalpur as a state came into existence in 1727 AD and Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan was its first ruler.⁵¹ After his death the state was under the ruler of Nawab Sadiq family from 1727 till 1947. They had good relations with British and through some agreement; British did not disturb his autonomous status till the partition of India in 1947.⁵²

After the creation of Pakistan in 1947 it became a part of Pakistan. In 1956 it was made a part of one unit. Subsequently from 1969 with the breakup of one unit it had been a division of the Punjab province. Like many other regions and provinces, the people of Bahawalpur were against it and started a political movement known as “Bahawalpur Suba Movement” which at present is not active.⁵³ But it has been a deep rooted movement in the region which shows the aspiration of the people.

⁵⁰ Malik Muhammad Din *Bahawalpur State* (Lahore: Sange-Meel Publications, 2001) p. 53.

⁵¹ Masood hasan Sahib, *Bahawalpur Kee Siasi Tahreek* (Bahawalpur: Maktaba Alham, 1977), pp. 18-19.

⁵² Ibid. p. 22.

⁵³ Since 14th August 2001, the division has been abolished.

On 30th April 1951, the Pakistan Government and the ruler of Bahawalpur entered an important agreement. It was signed by Amir Sadiq Muhammad Khan-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 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 administered by the state will in future be treated as a province in the matter of grants and loans. Even after signing the document, the Ameer (ruler) of Bahawalpur will remain as the state's constitutional head.⁵⁴

It is a historic fact that before one unit Bahawalpur had a provincial status, and was merged with the status of a province with West Pakistan at the time of one unit. But when one unit was broken on 30th March 1970, Bahawalpur was made a part of Punjab province, even though at that time of Bahawalpur emphasized that whenever one unit will be broken Bahawalpur will be restored as a separate province.⁵⁵ This is one of the reasons from where the Bahawalpur province Movement begins. There are number of other grievances which are the major causes for the demand of a separate province.

As mentioned before, the financial and political deprivations became the major causes towards the demand. Bahawalpur is one of the backward areas of Punjab province. It comprises with three districts namely, Bahawalpur,

⁵⁴ Dr. Umbreen Javed, *Politics of Bahawalpur from State to Region* (Lahore: Classic, 2004), p. 133.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan, its total area is 18000 sq miles. Transport and Communication sectors play an important role in the development but these facilities are provided at limited scale in the region. The length of railway track in Bahawalpur division was three hundred miles in 1901 AD when the population density was 47 people per sq mile. After hundred years when the population has increased with a density of three hundred and forty four people per sq miles, the length of the railway tracks remained the same.⁵⁶ This is one of the evidence about the lack of development in the area.

Bahawalpur division's share in the federal government jobs is not as per its population. Choulistan is a vast arid of sand mass comprising about two-third of the Bahawalpur division. This area received little attention for its development. Choulistan area needs irrigation and drinking water facilities, roads, telecommunication, health services, education and village electrification for the people. The development work in this area may be accelerated to come up at par with other parts of the country.⁵⁷

Bahawalpur State's revenue, before it merged into Pakistan, was not only in balance but surplus. It is necessary to look into the previous budget of the Bahawalpur state of those years. The budget note dated 25th March 1955 presented by late Mr. A.R. Khan, Advisor to Ameer (ruler) of Bahawalpur: The total surplus budget after deducting the expenditure for the year 1954-55 was Rs.40,920,612

⁵⁶ S. Nasir-ud-Din, *Development Planning of Bahawalpur Division* (Lahore: Tarteeb Publishers, 1993), pp.10-12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 62-68.

(four crore ninety lack twenty thousand six hundred and twelve).⁵⁸ This is the evidence that Bahawalpur had been able to balance its budget in the past and sometimes had surplus. It had a capacity to increase its economic resources to meet higher level development. But after that period its due share of development was not given properly.

The year of 1969 is important in the political history of Bahawalpur when different newspapers started giving news that government will soon abolish one unit scheme and four provinces Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP will be revived⁵⁹ and in the new scheme Bahawalpur will not be given separate identity. Syed Ahmed Nawaz Shah Gardazi called a press conference of different political parties on 20th November 1969 and demanded to give Bahawalpur a separate status of province.

On 22nd November 1969, Allama Arshad (religious leader) called a combined meeting of different parties. The parties attended the meeting were: Muslim League, Democratic Party, National Awami Party, Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Islam, Majlas-e-Ihrrar and Jam'at-e-Islami. Mr. Farzand Ali (an advocate) presided over the meeting. They passed unanimous resolution for the restoration of Bahawalpur's separate identity and due share. Following are the important resolutions:

⁵⁸ Riaz Hashmi, *Brief for Bahawalpur Province* (Bahawalpur: Bahawalpur Suba Mahaz, 1972), pp. 100-101.

⁵⁹ *Roznama Imroze Multan*, 20 November 1969.

1. In 1955 Bahawalpur was included in one unit so at the end of one unit its previous status should be restored.
2. Before the one unit its status was a province. So at the time of breakup of one unit its geographical boundaries should not be increased for the jurisdiction of any province.
3. Restoration of the province is a political demand of a public also supported by various political parties.
4. Bahawalpur budget is not economically self sufficient. During the last fifteen years the income of the Bahawalpur has been spent on the development of other areas.
5. Bahawalpur has a big ratio in population than Baluchistan and its income is more than Baluchistan province so it has a capability to fully survive as a separate province.
6. The restoration of the Bahawalpur province as per opinion of the people of the region will support the Kashmir issue.
7. In 1955 one unit was established with the consent of the political parties, so at the time of its withdrawal/cancellation, political parties and people should have been taken into consideration.⁶⁰

When the government of Pakistan announced in March 1970 that one unit is divided into four provinces, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP, Bahawalpur

⁶⁰ Masood Hasan Sahib, *Bahawalpur Kee Siase Tahreek* (Bahawalpur: Maktaba Alham, 1977), pp.410-11.

was inducted into Punjab Province.⁶¹ All over Bahawalpur were organized, processions and meetings to protest the government's decision to annex Bahawalpur in the Punjab. A political movement started for the creation of a separate province in the former princely state of Bahawalpur. Several groups for the defence of Bahawalpur were formed, among them being the Bahawalpur Muttahadda Mahaz (Bahawalpur United Front) abbreviated as Mahaz) was also active for a separate Bahawalpur province.

The activists of this group started courting arrest, and on 30th March 1970, important leaders among whom Chaudhry Farzand Ali, Mian Nizamuddin Haider, Sardar Muhammad Khan and Seth Ubaidur Rehman were arrested. The women were led by Tahira Masood, daughter of Nizamuddin Haider. The Urdu speaking people who had settled in Bahawalpur, led by Tabish Alwari also supported the movement.⁶² The leaders were arrested and the inquiry conducted by the government was not accepted by the Mahaz.

The suppressed desire was expressed in the elections of December 1970. In Bahawalpur most seats went to the sympathizers of the Mahaz. Once elected the leaders of the Mahaz did not pursue the case of Bahawalpur forcefully. Prince Saeed-ul Rashid Abbasi declared that the demand of a new province was no longer a priority issue as Pakistan had lost East Bengal in 1971 war. Ghulam Mustafa Khar the Pakistan Peoples Party's Governor of the Punjab claimed that the Mahaz

⁶¹ *Roznama Imroz*, Multan: 30th March 1970.

⁶² Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 181-83.

leaders had allied with his party and they did not press their demand. The Bahawalpur province movement was fizzled out by 1972. Riaz Hashmi, Seth Ubaidur Rehman and others started working for the Saraiki province.⁶³ The movement played an important role in the politics of the region and Pakistan.

The following are its important points: (1) The movement ended without any results but it created awareness among the people of Bahawalpur and the Saraiki Region also; (2) This political movement was the first significant attempt at politicizing the issue of economic and cultural underdevelopment in the Saraiki area; (3) It highlighted the aspirations and demands of the people and call for their solutions in a political way; (4) The movement proved the entry of Saraiki region into politics and it created a new political movement named “Saraiki Movement”, in whole of the Saraiki region the centre of the new political movement is Multan, which is also historic one and had a centre of power throughout the history; and (5) The figures for economic and other realities presented by the supporters of this movement later provided the rational for the Saraiki Movement as a whole.

The Punjabi speaking people did not support the movement and they formed an organization named Anjuman-e-Alhaaq-e-Punjab (organization for amalgamation of Bahawlpur into Punjab). They thought that if Bahawalpur is made a separate province, the feudals of the area may become more beneficiary. Thus, on the issue of a separate Bahawalpur province there existed two opinion groups: the local people including the Urdu speaking settlers had one group who

⁶³ Ibid.

supported the cause of a separate province of Bahawalpur; the Punjabi speaking settlers including the Punjabi speaking refugees formed the second group.⁶⁴ The Punjabi group arranged public rallies in favour of their demand.

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana of Multan (a feudal and leader) also visited Bahawalpur. Some people of his party joined the movement; Mian Nazamud-Din (a regional leader) was one of them. Daultana had a view to get political support for his party '*Council Muslim League*' to gain majority in the Punjab provincial assembly after the elections of 1970.⁶⁵

Political And cultural activities in the Saraiki region started soon after the creation of Pakistan in 1950, and in early 1960, these activities were channelized into a political movement called "*Saraiki Movement*". Till 1970s, activists had drawn up a map of a proposed province named "*Saraikistan*". It included most of the part of southern Punjab. This excluded the areas of Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), because of strong nationalist movements in those regions. This, however, is not a movement for independence, but rather a movement for the creation of a new province within Pakistan. During the military regimes: i.e. (1) in 1958-1969 (Gen. Ayub Khan's era) (2) in 1977-1988 (Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's era); and (3) in 1999-2009 (Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf's era) the presidents have enjoyed their powers centrally, but "*Saraiki Movement*" remained a challenge for them.

⁶⁴ Masood Hasan Sahaab, *Bahawalpur Kee Siyasi Tahreek* (Bahawapur Maktaba Alham, 1977), pp. 421-425.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

These movements prove that the people of Pakistan and particularly of Saraiki region are well aware towards their political rights and they demand their fundamental, monetary and economic rights from their respective elected members and government. Saraiki Movement, which is working as a political party and has a lot of branches through-out the region in the country. This party pinpoints the problems of the locale by publishing literature and through political meetings/conventions for the purpose and demands for the political solution of their problems from their regional leaders and the government. The peak of their demand for a separate “*Saraiki*” province in southern Punjab (Saraiki Area) is a burning issue and it should be resolved on priority basis.

With the passage of time, this demand is getting political momentum of Saraiki province, which is also a challenge for the provincial and federal governments, as well. No political party can ignore this issue in the electoral framework. National political parties try to get favour of these regional movements to win in elections. This shows their importance in the regional politics.

Sometimes popular parties used different political ways and means to minimize or corner the regional issues and obtained support of feudals/shrine family (*gaddi nishheens*) to contest in elections. Mr. Yousaf Raza Gillani of Multan, the current Prime of Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Shah Mehmood Qureshi current Foreign Minister of Pakistan since 2008 respectively belong to shrine families. Resultantly the feudals/shrine family (leaders) acquired political

advantage by this process and did not support the cause of "*Saraiki Movement*"
openly.

Chapter - 6

POLITICS OF MUSLIM SHRINES AND LANDLORDS (FEUDALS)

A brief account about the role played by Muslim Sufi shrines, saints and Land Lords will be important for understanding the politics of Multan. They have been playing an important role in politics for the last thousand years. Their role after the creation of Pakistan is easily identifiable in local politics. Traditionally, the religious leaders, scholars and spiritual leaders played an important role in Multan region both for the common people and for the rulers.

6.1 POLITICS OF SHRINES IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Historically Multan is home to Sufi shrines and saints. Most of them came from Arabia, especially Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Their regular arrival started with the conquest of Muslims in India. The conquest of Sindh and Multan by the Muslim army under the command of the Arab General Muhammad Bin Qasim in 711 AD created a regular link between the Muslim world and India.

The area of Sindh and Multan was a bridge between different areas. Sind and Multan attracted Arab travelers, writers and missionaries who spread network of their activities in the Punjab, Baluchistan and the tribes of the mountains in the north-west. Later Sind attracted the Ismaili missionaries who were so successful that Sindh passed under Ismaili rule. With the conquest of Multan and Lahore by

Mahmud of Ghazni, Sunni missionary activity began again under the aegis of Sufis who were the main agents in the Islamisation of the entire region.¹

The Arab invasion of India in AD 711-12 did not produce any revolutionary change in the lives of the people. The progress of Muslims in India after the fall of Sindh and Multan was very slow. It took them nearly 475 years to reach Delhi from Multan and this slow rate of progress is also visible in the spread of Islam. In Sindh and Multan Arab rule was replaced by Ismaili dynasties (called Qarmathan by some historians) in the 9th and 10th centuries. Until the arrival of Muin-ud-Din Chisti (d.1236 A.D.) the pace of the spread of Islam was slow.² With the arrival of this great saint, there was a reversal of trends and Islam began to spread quickly.

Several factors were responsible for the rapid progress of Islam after the arrival of Turks in Delhi. The establishment of Muslim rule at Delhi was itself significant. Along-with Muslim armies came judges, jurists, lawyers and Sufis. The Sufis and preachers could now venture into other parts of the country. Due to the presence of a very large proportion of Hindus in the population, the Muslim rulers desisted from taking any active interest or lead in the propagation and spread of Islamic beliefs or in the conversion of Hindus to Islam.

Whatever was achieved in this direction was due to the missionary efforts of the Muslim Sufis, who differed from later-day missionaries and preachers in

¹ I.H. Qureshi, General Editor, *A Short History of Pakistan*, Book i-iv, 2nd Edition (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1984), p. 241.

² M. Anwarul Haq, *The Faith Movement of Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972), p. 15.

their point of view and methods.³ Their doors were open to every one, Hindus or Muslims, rich or poor. Their work was instruction and guidance of all without any discrimination. Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani (1182-1262) a Suharawardi Sufi, ranked very high in the instruction & guidance and turning people from unbelief to faith, from Sin to worship and from sensuality to spirituality.⁴ He gave the message of higher spiritual life to Hindus and Muslims.

The shrines are deeply connected with the spiritual orders and named after some of the leading spiritual leaders. When a Sufi completed his spiritual training, he would establish a Khanqah of his own, usually at his Sheikh's tomb (shrine) or his own abode or whatever other locality he was entrusted with. He will be guiding Sheik of the entire area for preaching Islam and looking after the religious, social, educational and spiritual progress of the people in general. He would often run Islamic Madrassas (schools).⁵

All these activities of Khanqahs/shrines gave them importance in society. There is 'Chawda Khanwada' or fourteen families' in the lines of religious orders. Most of the remaining orders are sub-divisions of these fourteen.⁶ "In India and Pakistan there are only four orders: Chistiyah, Qadariyya, Suhrawardiyya and Naqshbandia".⁷ Every order has its own shrines, Khanqahs and ways of teaching.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid, pp.17-18.

⁵ Capt: W.B.s. Rabbani, *Islamic Sufis* (Lahore: Bazm-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, 1988), p. 261.

⁶ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines* (Lakhnou: Lakhnou Publishing House, 1938), p. 163.

⁷ T.C. Rostogi, *Islamic Mysticism Sufism* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1982), p. 9.

Central Asia. This order was introduced in India by Khwaja Baqi Billah, who died in 1603 and his tomb is at Delhi.¹³ This order has its followers in Multan region also.

The Islamic commonwealth achieved its full political maturity within the first century and in its entire geographical extent during the first seven hundred years of its existence.¹⁴ In the 7th century when Muslims established their rules in Sindh and Multan, their subjects were Hindus and Buddhist, so Muslim rulers showed tolerance and allowed them to rebuild their temples. A new teaching and learning started between the Arabs and non-Arabs¹⁵ that was the start of Muslim Sufi shrines/Khanqahs in the area.

When the Mongols destroyed the Abbasid dynasty at Baghdad in 1258 and killed the reigning caliph al-Musta'sim, Muslims felt that the end of the world was near and that it was the duty of each person to stand up and defend and protect his religion.¹⁶ The first Muslim state was established in Delhi, India in 1206, where Muslims introduced religious reforms which centered on the reorganization of the madrassa (a religious college or Muslim Seminary). The Khanqahs/shrines were encouraged and liberally endowed. By the 12th century many Khanqahs/shrines had been established in non Arab regions where they contributed to the

¹³ Ibid. p.37.

¹⁴ Afzal Iqbal, *the Life and Work of Muhammad Jalal-ud-Din Rum* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1974), p. 5.

¹⁵ Muhammad Hanif Ramay, *Islam Ki Roohani Qadrain*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2005), p.70.

¹⁶ M. Anwarul Haq, *The Faith Movement of Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972), p.17.

propagation of Islam.¹⁷ Most of the shrines established in Multan region during the 12th to 14th century AD.

To achieve political domination through wars and intrigues was bloody and torturous. The sufi saints and shrines fully using their popularity established their spiritual kingdoms without any bloodshed not opposing the political authority of the rulers. They, instead, helped the political forces in times of crises. The significance of this spiritual kingdom was that the different Sufi orders maintained such kingdoms peacefully without entangling with each other. During the sultanate period Muslim rule in India (1206-1526) it was believed by people that every sultan (king) got political power because of the blessing of some sufi shrine.

For Eltumash (d 1236), Balban (d 1287), Muhammad Tughlaq (d. 1351) and Hassan Gango Bahumani (d. 13258) were blessed by Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, Fariduddin Shakarganj and Nazam-ud-din Auliya.¹⁸ Although the historicity of these stories is doubtful, the disciples and followers of the Sufi saints and shrines popularized them to such an extent that it became a general belief that no sultan (king) could get political authority without their consent.

Historians report incidents where misbehaviour of the rulers towards the sufi saints and shrines, were immediately punished. For example Qutbuddin Khilji was assassinated because his treatment of Nizamuddin Auliya was hostile. It is also said that when Ghiyathuddin Tughluq ordered Nizam-ud-Din to leave Delhi

¹⁷ J. Sheneer Trimmingham, *The Sufi orders in Isla* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 7-9.

¹⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996), pp. 180-82.

before his arrival he said that still Delhi was far away. The sultan (king) could not enter Delhi and died as a result of the collapse of the newly built palace. Such incidents simply frightened the rulers and therefore they sought the favour of sufi shrines.¹⁹

The shrines/khanqahs were directly or indirectly patronized by the rulers. They built Khanqahs (monasteries) and shrines for them, granted them stipends, landed properties and gifts. This made the Sufis and shrines rich and prosperous. The shrines soon became the centres of their disciples where they could live and get their food from a large kitchen. They were also recipients of the gifts, which the pir (spiritual leader) distributed among them as soon as he got them from the king or the nobles. The gathering of the disciples in the Khanqah (tomb – shrine) helped the saint to raise his status in the public because he was the medium through which stories of the sheikhs piety and generosity were circulated and which earned him respect and honour.²⁰

Traditions also increase the popularity of shrines. These traditions are invented from time to time by individuals, groups, parties, and state to further their political interest or to fulfill a community's cause, once the roots of a tradition become strong it helps different groups and their interest to receive the legitimacy of a tradition.²¹

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

Annual urs of saint (Arabic wedding) in a shrine popularize it among the people and on this occasion a number of groups gain financial benefits. A market is set up where flowers, sweets, perfumes and eatables are sold. It becomes the interest of all stallholders to attract more people by popularizing the saint.

Publishers and booksellers take advantage and publish books containing the saint's miracles. For the popularity of shrines, holy relics are displayed which usually include his hairs, dress, shoes, and staff. *Zyarat* (pilgrimage) of the relics is propitious. All the prominent *dargahs* (shrines) became famous through this process, however, some of the *dargahs* (shrines) of the famous saints remain obscure because they failed to find a royal patron, for example: Shah Inyat of Jokh remained glamorous than Shah Latif in Sindh.²²

There are one hundred and sixty five shrines in Multan city.²³ Traveling within the region by road, one will see them here and there. Some are large in size, others smaller in size and very small one's all with green flags fluttering in the air. Some shrines have very attractive buildings, courtyards, grassy plots others are simple. Generally, the popular shrines have a similar pattern of structure. If one visits inside the shrines' building, the grave is usually covered with green sheets of cloth on which an invocation or a text from Al-Quran is written and garlands (*Haars*) and flat smooth stones are usually placed on the cloth to protect it. In some shrines there are more than one grave in a lane. Usually wooden or iron

²² Ibid. p.203.

²³ Nazir Ahmed Chaudhary, *Multan Glimpses* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002), pp. 91-96.

boxes are also placed for the visitors to make donations to run the shrines.²⁴ Some kinds of eatables, mostly salt, for the visitors to taste as a sacred morsel are also placed on one side of the shrine.

The settlements around the shrine are always large. In some cases, virtually all the members of the settlements are descendants of the founding saint.²⁵ The saints in the region are identified with the areas in which shrines are situated. In rural areas many tribes are associated traditionally with a particular saint who is thought to have converted that tribe to Islam. A person Abdullah requested Baba Farid-ud-Din to indicate the point from where the area of Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani started.²⁶ This is evidence about the division of the areas between the saints.

Shrines/khanqahs are social institutions with a number of characteristics which differentiate the life and culture of Pakistan. They have an internal organization led by a pir (spiritual leader) while some shrines are administered by the government. The shrines also develop circle of affiliation of their own and linked with other shrines. These circles include the followers (*murids*) attached to individual shrines. Such circles are spread out in many areas of Pakistan and attract people of virtually all social, political and economic classes of Pakistani society. The shrines, thus, function as linking institutions despite great diversity in

²⁴ The researcher personally visited the shrines of the region in November 2008 and met the pilgrims to collect oral information from them.

²⁵ Nikki R. Keddie edited, *Scholars, Saints and Sufis* (California: University of California Press, 1972), p.314.

²⁶ Muhammad Ayub Qadri, *Seer-ul-Arifeen* (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1976), p. 161.

their individual backgrounds. In this way the shrines have the capability of making political contribution in Pakistani society. In Multan region some shrines are playing social and political role from their establishment till today.

The spiritual leaders were generally in favour of the rulers of Multan. The following shrines and their generation played an important socio political role in the region. The spiritual leaders, (Sufis/Saints) and shrines are important in socio-political life of the region. Many rulers felt it wiser to leave these people alone or acknowledge their superiority in religious matters. For example Abbasi Caliph's attempting to pay homage to Sufi Farid and Akbar the Mughal King's, walking bare foot to Shaikh Salim and to the shrine of Moin-ul-Din Chishti²⁷ at Ajmir in India are a couple of examples. Since the creation of Pakistan successive governments have regarded pirs and the shrines' cult with mixed feelings.²⁸ They are after all regional centres of multiple influences.

Official government policy from 1950's was to reduce the power of Pirs and shrines on the ground that it was incompatible with the political and religious goals of successive administrations. Ayub Khan (1958-69) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-77) and Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) all set out, in theory at least to restructure Pakistani society. For Ayub the goal was 'modernization' combined with

²⁷ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1988), p. 90.

²⁸ P. Lewis, *Pirs, Shrines and Pakistani Islam* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1985), p. 52.

'development' for Bhutto greater 'democracy' or 'Islamic socialism' and for Zia a more consciously Islamic state.²⁹

To achieve his aim Ayub Khan enacted *waqf* properties ordinance of 1959, which gave the government powers to assume direct control of shrines and their management. The government took over some of the largest or most prestigious shrines e.g. Shah Abdul Latif and Lal Shahbaz Qalander in Sind, Bulleh Shah, Khawaja Ghulam Farid and Data Ganj Bukhsh in Punjab. Department of 'Auqaf' was assigned the task of day to day running of shrines in order to demonstrate that Sajjada Nashins (Custodians of shrines) were not essential for their up keep.³⁰ In such shrines the saints were then projected in such a way as to emphasize the government priorities.

With Bhutto it was much the same story, emphasis was put on government participation in the rituals. Shrines became more than ever translated into national cultural symbols for the glorification of Pakistan. The urs (annual ceremony) of important saints became occasions of national celebrations and were inaugurated by national political figures. Permanent research centre and libraries were planned for the famous sufi poets and shrines.³¹ This evidence shows their importance.

The Zia period marked something of a change in direction in that, instead of symbolism of the sufi it was the language of *ulema* (religious scholars) which pushed forward its programme of Islamisation. Annual *urs* in many shrines were

²⁹ Sarah, F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power* (Cambridge University Press, 1992, reprinted by Vanguard Books, Lahore), pp. 150-151.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

closely monitored for un-Islamic practices such as dancing and drumming. It also maintained its predecessor's policies of improving the physical condition of tombs.³²

Pakistani governments, federal and provincial, now have a strong economic state, the department of Auqaf in the shrine cult shrine of Al-Hujweri (d 1071) in Lahore. Its annual income is about 123 crore rupees.³³ Despite these policies aimed at undermining their powers sufi shrine's families have remained central to the socio political life of Multan region. The socio-political role of some important shrines and their families in the region is given below.

6.2.1 Shrine of Qureshi Family

Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani

All shrines, big or small, are graves of men who are thought to be holy. The shrine of Baha-ud-Din Zakariya (1182-1266) is situated at walking distance from Multan fort. He claimed his dependence from the *Quresh* tribe and that his grand parents had came to India from *Arabia* and settled down in Multan. He was born at Kot Khehror near Multan. He introduced the Suhrawardiyya order (*silsila*) in Multan.

In his early life, Baha-ud-Din traveled to Mecca and thence after some years, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he became a disciple of Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi. Under his guidance he soon attained perfection in the mystic way of

³² *Ibid.*

³³ P. Lewis, *Pirs, Shrines and Pakistani Islam* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1985), p.54.

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh better known as Shah Rukn-i-Alam, was the grandson of Hazrat Baha-ul-Haq who was a man of great religious and political influence during the days of Tughluq. He was in Multan, when the city was visited by the traveler Ibn Batuta in 1334 AD.³⁷

The Mughals (1526-1818), like preceding rulers, were equally aware of the importance of local shrines and *pirs*. The Mughals had good relations with this family. Before the Sikh rule, Qureshi family of Multan got political importance in the region. Even during the Sikh rule (1818-1849) Maha Raja Ranjeet Singh awarded 'Land' to the Qureshi family of Multan.³⁸

When the British occupied Multan in 1849 AD they provided secret political information to the British which were helpful for British. When they got control over Multan, they awarded 'Land' to Makhdoom Shah Mahmood and for life pension rupees seven hundred.³⁹ The name of Bahawal Bux of Qureshi family is also mentioned in the lists of chiefs and families of the Punjab by the British.⁴⁰ As a reward of their services, in 1877 Bahawal Bux was appointed as Honorary Magistrate in Multan.

After his death Makhdoom Shaikh Hasan was appointed as Honorary Magistrate. Shaikh Hasan died in 1921 after which Makhdoom Murid Hussain was appointed as Magistrate and awarded the title of '*Nawab Bahadar*' (Brave Chief)

³⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), pp. 364-65.

³⁸ Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Firoon* (Lahore: Ferozsons, n.d.), p. 189.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Griffins, S., *Punjab Chiefs and Massy's "Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1899, reprint by Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1992), p. 83.

by the British. In 1945-46 elections Murid Hussain Qureshi was a candidate from the platform of unionist party. After the creation of Pakistan the family has been part of the ruling political parties. In 1959 Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi was Vice-Chairman in the Municipal Committee, Multan. In 1962 election, he was elected as a member of the National Assembly from the platform of Council Muslim League, who then joined the Convention Muslim League which was a ruling party.

During the Bhutto rule (1970-77), Qureshi Family of Multan provided political support to Pakistan Peoples Party. During the Zia rule (1977-1988) the family was the part of the ruling group. As their forefathers were granted landed property by the rulers, they inherited it as their successors and it made them landed gentry. Moreover the family had a large number of disciples who believed that they possessed spiritual powers, and sought their help from time to time to solve their problems. Therefore, as guardian of shrines, successors of the seat of piety of their ancestors and recipients of gifts and presents from rulers, nobility and common people, they have a privileged position in the society, whereby, it was their interest to preserve their social status and privileges by supporting the rulers and existing governments and every government realized their influence and therefore planned a system which included them as a collaborators.⁴¹ Mr. Sajjad Hussain Qureshi was Governor of Punjab from December 1985 to December 1988.⁴² Qureshi family always a part of political government.

⁴¹ Mubarak Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996), p.98.

⁴² K.M. Shariff edited, *Pakistan Almanac, 2002-2003* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2003), p.95.

6.2.2 SHRINE OF THE GILANI FAMILY

The other shrine owner family in Multan is Gillani. The Mausoleum of their ancestor Musa Pak Shaheed ^(RA) is inside the Pak Gate in Multan city. Sheikh Abdul Hassab Musa Pak Shaheed was a descendant of Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166) and was born in 'Uch'. The shrine has not only thousands of followers in the region but also in the whole country. The Gilani family is important in politics for the last two hundred years.

They got importance during the Mughal period and when British occupied Multan in 1849, the Family cooperated with them. British Government awarded a certificate to the Gilani family for their services in 1857 war. As a reward of war services, government awarded a certificate to Syed Noor Shah. In 1876, government declared Syed Waliat Hussain Shah 'Gilani Rais' (title of honour) and appointed him Honorary Magistrate. In 1916 Makhdoom Sadr-ud-Din Gilani was awarded the title of 'Khan Bahadar' (Brave Khan) by the government. During the World War-I (1914-1919) and World War-II (1939-1945) the Gilani family provided political and financial support to the British government.⁴³ This shows importance of the family.

In 1946 elections, Syed Muhammad Raza Shah was a supporter of Muslim League and after the creation of Pakistan this family played an effective role in the politics of the region. In 1951 elections Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani and Syed Waliyat Hussain Gilani were elected as members of the Punjab Assembly. As

⁴³ Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Faroon* (Lahore: Ferozsons, n.d), pp. 202-204.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana did not accommodate Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani in Punjab Cabinet, the family played their role in opposition, till the end of Daultana Government. Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani joined the cabinet of Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1953 and played an important role in politics till 1958. Martial law was imposed in October 1958 and civilian government had been dismissed.⁴⁴

General Ayub Khan emerged as a strongman after the first military *coup d'état*.⁴⁵ The Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO) 1959 was issued for political leaders of any elective body. A few decided to contest; approximately seven thousand persons were thus excluded from politics.⁴⁶ Makhdoom Alamdar Hussain was one of them. In 1962 elections Hamid Raza Gilani was elected as MNA and after 1977 elections, Hamid Raza Gilani was given the Ministry of Industries in PPP government.

During the Zia period 1977-1988, in local elections of District Council, Multan, Qureshi and Gilani families formed a combined opposition platform against Syed Fakhar Imam, who was elected as Chairman of district Council Multan. In 1985 election Gilani family joined Muslim League and Yousaf Raza Gilani became minister in Junejo's government (1985-1988). In 1993 election Yousaf Raza Gilani won the election from PPP and was elected as speaker of National Assembly. The Gilani family has agricultural land in Multan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur district. The family has thousands of followers (*Murids*) who visit the shrine which establish contact with the people, which is important in politics.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Roedad Khan, *Pakistan: A Dream Gone Sour* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 14.

⁴⁵ Talukder Maniruzzaman, *Group Interest and Political Change* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1982), p. 10.

⁴⁶ Karl von Vorys, *Political Development in Pakistan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p.190.

⁴⁷ Syed Muhammad Aulad Ali Gilani, *Muraak-i-Multan* (Lahore: Jazab Publishers, n.d.), p.226.

There are no signs of any change of face; the same families with different faces continue to dominate the election scene.⁴⁸ The Gilanis of Multan region are one of them. The election campaign revolves around personalities of the same origins.

Traditionally; within Indo-Muslim community the fountainhead as well as the focus of culture in the region have been, the king's courts and the saint's shrines.⁴⁹ The role of shrine is important for religious and spiritual education among the people of Multan region.

6.2.3 Shrine of Pak Pattan (Baba Farid-ud-Din)

The town of Pakpattan is famous because of the shrine of Hazrat Baba Farid-ud-Din Masood Ganj-e-Shakar (Treasure of Sweetness 1175-1265) known also as Baba Farid. Thousands of people visit his shrine often.⁵⁰ He was born near Multan. Farid-ud-Din was a famous Sufi of Chishti order. The saint of Chishti order Mueen-ud-Din (d 1236 AD) came to Delhi in 1192 with the invading army of Shihabuddin Ghauri. His tomb is in Ajmer (India). Mueen-ud--din's preaching '*love of God*' for men attracted the masses and soon Chishti order spread over the whole of India.⁵¹ Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar of district Pakpattan is one of the outstanding representations of this order.

⁴⁸ Zahid Hussain, "Democracy on a string, Election 97 Special", Monthly, *The News Line* (Karachi, January 1999, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Hamid Jalal, Tom Stacey & others, Editor, *Pakistan*, (London: Stacey international, 1977), p.226.

⁵⁰ *1998 District Census Report of Pakpattan* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p. 6.

⁵¹ Hamid Jalal, Tom Stacey & others, Editor, *Pakistan*, op. cit., p. 231.

He says: Sekh Hayati Jog na Koi Thirn Rahia

Jisu Asani Ham Baittha Kete bas gaia

Translation: Oh Shaikh no life in the world is stationary

The seat on which I am seated has been occupied by many.

Baba Farid lived a long ascetic life during which his authority and prestige spread far and wide, and most of the 'Jat' and other tribes of southern Punjab became his disciples.⁵⁵ Among institutions of learning, which in Singular form are called Khanqah (shrine). In the earlier centuries of Islam these centres served as meeting place of the sufis and the people also.

After the Mongol invasion in 13th century, there was no organization capable of beginning the process of rebuilding "society within the society", these centres fulfilled the need of learning in the society. The *hospice* set up by Farid-ud-Din Gunj-i-Shakar at Pakpattan in Multan region was to fulfill all the functions of an ideal sufi centre and lent an element of inward stability to Islamic civilization in this part of the Muslim world.⁵⁶

The shrine of Baba Farid is famous for "Bahshti Darwaza" (Door of Heaven). On the occasion of annual *Urs* 'Arabic wedding' the door of heaven is opened and millions of followers pass through this door. Local political leaders of the region and government officials, governor and ministers also visit the shrine to show their love for the pious person. The shrine also provides an opportunity for 'people to people' contact at regional, national and international levels. Many people support a candidate in elections due to his/her affiliation with shrines.

⁵⁵ Syed Abdul Qudus, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), p. 158.

⁵⁶ Shaikh Abdul haq Muhaddas Dhelvi, *Akhbar-ul-Aghyaar* translated by Subhan Muhammad (Karachi: Medina Publishing, n.d) p. 117.

6.2.4 The Shrine of Makhdoom Abdur Rashid

The shrine of Makhdoom Rashid is situated at a distance of 12 KM from Multan, on the road leading to Vehari and Pakpattan. The town '*Makhdoom Rashid*' is named after this famous shrine of Makhdoom Abdur Rashid.⁵⁷ This shrine belongs to Hashmi family and Makhdoon Javaid Hashmi is one of the political figures of Hashmi family. He was elected in 1985 elections as MNA. His family supported Muslim League in 1945-46 elections.⁵⁸ He contested in elections from Pakistan Muslim League (N) and elected as MNA in 1990 and 1997 from Multan Division. He played the role of opposition leader, when the Muslim League government was dismissed in October 1999.

Makhdoom Javaid Hashmi's role in local and national politics is very important. His entry in politics created a challenge for the Qureshi and Gillani families who claimed their stronghold in the politics of the region.⁵⁹ The politics of the region mostly rotate within the shrines' families who became of their consistent relations with rulers got importance and evolved into feudals. They have been playing an important role in the politics of the region for the last 700 years.

Some political leaders of the region who belong to shrine families wrote books about politics. Makhdoom Javaid Hashmi wrote a book named "*Haan Main Baghi Hooun*" (yes, I am a traitor) and Mr. Yousaf Raza Gilani wrote book named "*Chaaha-i-Yousaf Say Sadda*" (voice from Yousaf's well). In these books they wrote, political history and political services of their ancestors and family through different ages. This is the evidence about their political role and interest in politics.

⁵⁷ Javid Hashmi, '*Haan Mayn Baghi Hooun* (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), p. 27.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 41.

⁵⁹ Aamer Ahmed and Rawal Bakhsh, 'Punjab: Holding the Key', Election 1993, Special Issue, Monthly, *The Herald* Karachi, Nov/Dec 1993, p.93.

The custodians/successors of Muslim Sufi shrines and saints of Multan region have never kept them limited to the services of religion. They are benefiting from the good name earned by their ancestors through preaching of religion. Their name and work is still important for a common man. The hold of these shrines is strong in local Saraiki speaking people. Poverty and illiteracy in Saraiki region is a strong factor which affects the politics. The popular movement of Pakistan Peoples Party in 1970 and PNA in 1977 could not break this hold. But progress in economy, education and improvement in communication is a signal for change in the future politics.

6.3. THE ROLE OF LANDLORS AND FEUDALS IN POLITICS

From the 4th century AD significant developments took place in South Asia which corresponds to the feudal mode. As pointed out by a historian.

If we see feudalism merely as political disintegration and administrative decentralization brought about by chiefs and vassals, we will have to admit that it occurred again and again in Indian history till the establishment of the British Raj (1857).⁶⁰

The feature of the tenancy system was batai (share), the landlord's appropriation of a share of the direct producer's crop, which is still prevalent. A famous Hindu historian Sharma makes the following observation about the origin of this type of appropriation.

The Pre-Muslim medieval period may be regarded the classical age of feudalism in India, for the Muslims introduced large scale cash payments which loosened the direct control of the landed

⁶⁰ Hasan Gardezi, Jamil Rashid edited, *Pakistan – The Unstable State* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1983), pp.22-23.

intermediaries over the peasants. Thus the feudalism of our period (c 300-1200) was largely concerned with realizing the surplus from the peasant mainly in kind through forced labour, which is not found in any considerable scale either before the early centuries of the Christian era or after the Turkish conquest of India.⁶¹

In the revenue report of 1868-69 the Commissioner of Multan Arthur Brandreth stresses the political danger of volunteer transfer of land.⁶² The land tax before the British was amounted to half the gross produce and had generally been paid in grain payment. The British government reduced it to half or to a quarter of what it had been before the revenues of Multan which had been an integral part of Punjab started flowing freely into the government treasury.⁶³ This policy promoted some groups in the interest of British Government.

The present day Zamindars (Landlords) of the Punjab were promoted by the British colonial policy and administration essentially in four ways:

1. Through the grant of land and titles as rewards for military assistance to the company during 1857 revolt.
2. Through awards of land & titles to heads of prominent lineage groups.
3. Through award of land and titles to individuals who were so ruthless as to use their kinship and other connections to gather large bodies of labourers to work on irrigation canals and other public work projects.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² P.H. M. Vanden Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972), p.31.

⁶³ B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The British Rule 1849-1947* (Lahore: Book Traders, n.d.), p.50.

4. Through the accumulation of private landholdings, collectively the landlords have historically shared a similar parasitic function, with a distinct feudal imprint in the political economy of the region.⁶⁴

The British started the scheme of canal colony and strengthened the status and authority of the social groups and classes selected for land grants. So, in turn, they could serve more effectively as props to the ruling authority. The first project in the Punjab was Sidhnai colony in Multan district.⁶⁵ In 1919 government decided to add a loyalty clause to all future grants of land, under which loyal behaviour was expected from the grantees and active support for the government during any time of trouble or disorder.⁶⁶ Thus, the land was used for the purpose of political expediency and social control.

The British government awarded land '*Jagir*' to the following personalities of different families in Multan region.

1. Makhdoom Shah Mahmud Qureshi
2. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Khakwani
3. Sadiq Muhammad Khan Baddozai
4. Sultan Hiraj
5. Machia Langrial
6. Walidad Langrial

⁶⁴ Hassan Gardezi, Jamil Rashid edited, *Pakistan The Unstable State*, op.cited.p.31.

⁶⁵ Imran Ali, *The Punjab under imperialism 1885-1947* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989). p.14.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.98.

In 1860's the Punjab government (in British Era) sought to harness influence and experience of traditional leaders. For this purpose three new offices were created, Honorary Magistrate, Honorary Police Officer and Zilaidar. Honorary Magistrate was to control the public. Honorary Police officers were for the control of police and Zilaidars were for the revenue collections. Makhdoom Bahawal Bakhsh, Narain Das and Ghulam Kadar Khan Khakwani were appointed 'Honorary Magistrate.'⁶⁷ This led to for their political influence in the region.

When in 1947 the viceroy handed over power to Muslim League, this elite class had the crucial backing and membership of the powerful landlords of West Pakistan.⁶⁸ Outside the few main cities of Pakistan the social structure and relationships were essentially feudal. The traditional authority of the landlords was strongly buttressed and reinforced by their legal offices in the administrative structure of the forty-nine cabinet ministers from 1947-1956, among whom twenty five were landlords in West Pakistan.⁶⁹ Due to Land Reform 1959, during Ayub Khan Regime (1958-1969) and land reforms during Z.A. Bhutto's period (1971-77)⁷⁰ the landlords of the Multan region shifted most of the land to their family members.

⁶⁷ J. Royal Rosberry III, *Imperial Rule in Punjab, the Conquest and Administration of Multan 1818-1881* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1988), pp.192-195.

⁶⁸ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pieces of Green* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1977), p.7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p.12.

⁷⁰ Akhtar Hamid Khan, *Rural Development in Pakistan*, 2nd Edition, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1985). pp.26-30.

Thus, more than ten years after independence not only the problem was unresolved but there was not even the hope of its solution.⁷¹ The dominant political parties of West Pakistan were by the landed interest.

6.4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANDLORDS AND FEUDALS

The feudal class is traditionally land-based given the patriarchal nature of a rural agrarian society. It is property and land that largely determine the social status and politico-economic role of individual and family. Feudalism is simply dynastic and the clearest manifestation of its influence is at the local level especially in Southern Punjab. In several cases trans-regional matrimonial alliances have refurbished the dynastic feudal interests.

The feudal classes extended matrimonial relations with non-feudal, yet powerful families of industrialists, senior army officials and civil servants. The desire for such a relationship is mutual. In such cases the status of feudals in his respective area and clan is perceived in terms of his land possessions and socio-political clout.⁷² The Syed landlords would prefer Syeds and the Gilanis and Qureshis of Multan prefer Syeds of Sindh.

Feudal families of the region such as Daha, Daultan and other Punjabi families are the most mobile and diversified of all in terms of matrimonial bonds although socio-economic stature remains the main criterion. The Kanjo family of

⁷¹ Nadeem Shafiq Malik, Editor, *Research Paper on Pakistan*, vol. I, (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1998), p.207.

⁷² Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan: Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity* (Lahore: Macmillan Publishers, 1977), pp. 84-85.

district Lodhran has matrimonial bonds with the ex-Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's family of Lahore.

The landed aristocracy is non-ideological and their politics, irrespective of their ethno-regional background is simply self-preservation. The best example of this is their total opposition to land reforms and agricultural tax. They lived in luxurious homes in the cities and do not work on the land they own. They have tenants and servants who do the actual work for wages. Some of the middle level landlords have their own machinery, tractors and harvesters. They are prosperous enough to be able to pay taxes.⁷³ Their emphasis has been an acquiring grants, soft loans and foreign assistance through official channels to build up dairy or fruit farms.

The feudalists contest elections in order to retain their influence and in a complete ideological void such campaigns are simply extravaganza to impress others. Huge expenditures are exacted by seeking patronage from the provincial and national regimes. To all such families, electioneering is merely a business to invest money and then to reap the highest benefits from the provincial and metropolitan bidders.⁷⁴ Huge expenses are involved in electoral campaigns and the vast outstretched constituencies. It would not be wrong to suggest that the current electoral system helps to perpetuate the feudal monopoly over politics in the region and in the country.

⁷³ Anwar Syed, 'Taxing Farm Incomes' *The Daily Dawn*, Islamabad, 14th December, 2008.

⁷⁴ Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan: Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity* (Lahore: Macmillan Publishers, 1977) pp.84-85.

6.5. THE POLITICAL ROLE OF SOME LANDLORD FAMILIES

The landlords (feudals) play an important role in politics at regional, provincial and national level. They are almost always part of ruling groups. After the creation of Pakistan they joined the then government and enjoyed the key posts and authority in the region.⁷⁵ Although in the new state of Pakistan, a new era of politics started, they however, enjoyed a great influence to-date. A brief account of the landlords/feudals, their ancestors and descendent and their political role would thus be essential here.

6.5.1. Gardezi Family

Gardezis claim to be Syeds of district Multan. In the 11th century AD their ancestor Jamal-ud-Din Muhammad Yousaf came from Central Asia and settled in Multan. He died in 1137 AD and his tomb is in Multan. The landed property of this family is situated in Tehsil Kabirwala, which is 30Km from Multan. The land of Gardezi family is situated on both sides of the road which leads from Multan to Lahore; and at the left bank of the river Ravi. When the river changed its water course, it destroyed their land⁷⁶ which was a financial loss, but their role in politics and relations with rulers is important in the political history of the region.

This family provided political support to the British Army in 1848-49 when they occupied Multan. Due to their services in 1857 war, the government awarded a prize certificate and financial assistance in shape of pension of Rs.200/- per

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Sir Leepal H. Garfeen and Conol Messy, *Tazkira Roosiyye Punjab*, vol. II, translated by Syed Nawazish Ali (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), pp.509-512.

month. Syed Murad Hussain Shah of Gardezi was appointed as political representative in Bahawalpur in 1865. He was also appointed chief Judge in 1870. After his death in 1876, the government awarded financial grant of Rs.600/- to Murad Hussain's family. His son Khan Bahadar Hussain was appointed as Honorary Magistrate and in 1899 the government awarded him the title of Khan Bahadar (Brave Khan). During the World War-I in 1914, he provided twenty men for army and financial assistance to the British government.⁷⁷

When Muslim League was organized in Multan and it became popular in the region, Gardezis joined the party like other politicians of the area. Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi joined Muslim League and participated in Pakistan movement.⁷⁸ In 1951 elections he was elected as member of provincial assembly from Multan city. He was given the Ministry of Labour and Industries in Punjab during 1951-53. During the Ayub government (1958-1969), under the Act of EBDO, seven thousand persons were excluded from political life and he was one of them whose political activities were banned by the government.⁷⁹ A textile mill was established in Khanewal during his ministerial period. He also worked for rehabilitation of refugees in the region.

Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi participated in the Elections of 1970 and 1977 as PPP's candidate. Gardezis of Bahawalpur are relative of the Gardezis of Multan. Syed Kasoor Gardezi is one of the known politicians of Multan. He

⁷⁷ Wakeel Anjum, *Syat Kay Firoon*, (Lahore: Ferozsons, n.d.) pp.218-19.

⁷⁸ Aqeel Abbas Jafari, *Pakistan Kay Sayasi Wadderay* (Karachi: Good Books, 1995), pp.338-39.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

cooperated with Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din when he formed 'Azad Pakistan Party' in 1950. He was elected as secretary general of 'National Awami Party' in 1957. He was an opposition leader during Ayub's period 1958-1969.

In presidential elections between Ayub Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah, he provided political support to Miss Fatima Jinnah during the year 1964-1965. During the PNA's political movement against PPP's government in 1977, he played the role of opposition leader in Multan and was arrested.⁸⁰ His brother Syed Walaiat Hussain Gardezi was also an opposition leader against the government and was arrested in 1977. The role of Gardezi family is important in politics of the region for the last eight hundred years.

6.5.2. Daha Family

The role of Daha family of District Khanewal is very important in the politics of the region. This is one of the landlord family of the region. Daha claim to be Rajpoot by cast. The Sikh government in 1818-1849 provided political support to Mr. Hasan Khan Daha and gave him property right in the area of district Khanewal. Sikh Governor of Multan 'Dewan Sawan Mall appointed Mr. Zayarat Khan Daha as administrator of the area of Kot Kamalya, Tulimb, Lodden and Tebbi and allowed him to get one forth of the total amount recovered by the thieves.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Shaikh Riaz Pervaiz, *Talkh-o-Shereen Yaddain*, (Multan: Hamdard Printing, 1977), pp.115-116.

⁸¹ Wakeel Anjum, *Syat Kay Faroon*, (Lahore: Ferozsons, n.d.) pp.222-224.

During the 1857 war Shah Muhammad Khan son of Ziyarat Khan provided political support to the British and as a reward the government awarded him a certificate of prize and a seat in divisional body administration. In 1897-98 he served in the area of Malakand in NWFP province. He also provided one hundred and fifty seven camels to the British army. In 1903 government admitted his services and awarded him a seat in the government *darbar* (court) at Delhi. He also worked as Honorary Magistrate and civil judge.

During the Second World War 1939-45, he provided camels and financial assistance to the government. In 1946 elections Mr. Haibit Khan Daha participated in elections from the platform of 'Unionist Party' but could not win the seat. In 1951 elections he contested with Zafarullah Khan but could not win the seat. Khan Farhand Khan Daha contested elections in 1962 and 1965, but he lost the seat. Aftab Ahmed Khan Daha contested in 1970 elections but failed to win the seat. Rifat Hayat Khan Daha contested elections in 1977 and won the seat of MNA from the PPP platform.⁸² Aftab Ahmed Khan Daha contested in 1985 elections but he could not win the seat.

Haji Arfanullah Daha contested in 1988 elections and won the seat of MNA.⁸³ Aftab Ahmed Daha contested in 1990 elections and won the seat of

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Syed Aqeel Abbas Jafari, *Pakistan Ki Antakhabi Siyasat* (Islamabad: Good Books, 1996), pp.190-191.

MNA.⁸⁴ The role of Daha family is very important in politics of the region for the last two hundred years.

6.5.3. Daultana Family

Daultanas claim to be Rajpoot by caste. It is a sub-cast of Joya Rajpoot. Daultanas are settled in Vehari district.⁸⁵ They are famous landlords and popular politicians in Multan region. The name of their ancestor was Budhan Shah. He laid the foundation of a village named 'Budhan' in district Vehari.⁸⁶ This family settled on the bank of river Sutlej before the Alexander's attack on Multan in 326 BC. The chief of Daultana family Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Lodhan was awarded land (*Jagir*) and cash prize by the British Government for his cooperation to prevail peace in the area.

Before 1947 Mian Ahmed Yar Daultana was popular in politics. He was a leader of 'Unionist Party'. After his death his only son Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana played an important role in politics of the region and on Punjab level. Mian Ahmed Yar Daultana contested the elections of Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1920, 1926, 1930 and won the seat. He contested 1937 elections and won the seat of Punjab Assembly.⁸⁷

Mian Mumtaz Daultana was elected as Member of Punjab Assembly in 1943 and elected secretary general of Punjab Muslim League in 1944. In 1947 he

⁸⁴ Mr. Justice Sardar Fakhre Alam and others, *Comparative Statement for General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997*, vol. II, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1997), pp.90-91.

⁸⁵ Aqeel Abbas Jafari, *Pakistan Kay Sayasi Wadderaay* (Karachi: Good Books, 1995), p.225.

⁸⁶ A.R. Shibli, *Pakistan Kay Dehhi Khudda* (Lahore: Atish Fishan Publishers, 1994), p.105.

⁸⁷ Aqeel Abbas Jafari, *Pakistan Kay Sayasi Wadderaay* (Karachi: Good Books, 1995), p.226.

was Finance Minister in Punjab Cabinet. After 1951 elections he was Chief Minister of Punjab from 1951-1953. He was a favourite politician in the eyes of Liquat Ali Khan (Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1947-1951). During Ayub era (1958-1969), he was one of them whom political activities were banned by the Government of Pakistan under 'EBDO' Act.⁸⁸

He contested the 1970 elections from the platform of 'Muslim League Council'. During the PPP regime 1970-77, he was appointed Ambassador of Pakistan in U.K. His cousin Riaz Ahmed Daultana was elected MNA in 1973 from the seat left by Mumtaz Daultana. Riaz Daultana contested 1977 elections from the platform of PPP. After the PPP government, Riaz Daultana was elected MNA in 1985 elections. The ladies of Daultana family such as Tehmina Daultana and others are playing important role in the politics. Tehmina Daultana is an active political leader of PML (N). She was Minister for Women and Social Welfare during Nawaz's Government. The Daultana family played vital role in politics of the region in the past, as well.

6.5.4. Khakwani Family

Khakwani claimed to be Pathan by cast. Their ancestor Malik Lal Khan came from Afghanistan and settled in Multan. They used camels for transport to import and export goods from one place to another. Malik Lal Khan was interested in agriculture. In 18th century AD Ali Muhammad Khan Khakwani was an In-charge officer of Sikandarabad area in Multan. During the Sikh rule 1818-1849, the Khakwanis dug a canal named Najiwah from river Sutlej to Melsi. He was very popular in the area during the Sikh period.⁸⁹ His son Ghulam Mustafa Khan was a good administrator and was popular in the area.

⁸⁸ Wakeel Anjum, *Sysat Kay Faroon*, (Lahore: Ferozsons, n.d.) pp.180-84.

⁸⁹ Prof. Dr. Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Tareekh-i-Multan*, (Multan: Bazm-e-Saqafat, 2007), pp.299-300.

During 1849 war between British and Sikhs, the leading Multani Pathan officers in Herbert Edward's irregular force were; Faujdar Khan, Ghulam Sarwar Khan Khakwani, Ghulam Mustafa Khan Khakwani, Sadiq Muhammad Khan Badozai and Ghulam Qasim Khan Alizai. In October 1949 Herbert Edward proposed rewarding each of his lieutenants with a land (*jagir*) and a state-owned garden.⁹⁰ The detail of grant is given in the table on the left.

Side by side with the British revenue system, Sawan Mal's methods flourished until 1880s in the northeastern Multan. This was the accomplishment of two remarkable entrepreneurs, Ghulam Mustafa Khan Khakwani and his son Ghulam Kadir Khan. At the first regular settlement the rain watered (*barani*) lands of Mailsi – some 600,000 acres (Hectors) in extent were leased to Ghulam Mustafa Khan Khakwani and the headmen of local nomadic tribe in partial recognition of their services in 1857-58 war. Ghulam Mustafa Khan was well suited for the role of revenue middleman. In 1879 through proposed settlement arrangements 60,000 acres (Hectors) land (*Jagir*) was allotted as property to Ghulam Kadir Khan Khakwani.⁹¹

Ghulam Kadir Khan died in 1888. He was given the title of 'Nawab'. He had four sons Khuda Bux Khan, Hamid Yar Khan, Muhammad Yar Khan and Ahmed Yar Khan. Ahmed Yar Khan cooperated with the British and provided hundred men for army in the World War-I (1914-18).

⁹⁰ J. Royal Roseberry III, *Imperial Rule in Punjab – The Conquest and Administration of Multan 1818-1881* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1988), pp.100- 102.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Khakwani family played an important role in the politics of the region. Different personalities of the family worked on important posts. Faiz Muhammad Khan was appointed as Honorary Magistrate; Dost Muhammad Khan was elected as Member of district board Multan, Khan Dur Muhammad Khan worked as Commissioner Multan. Mr. Ghulam Qasim Khan Khakwani was a political supporter of Pakistan movement in 1942.

One of the important politicians of Khakwani family is Muhammad Khan Khakwani. He passed his M.A. from Cambridge and Bar-at-law from London. He came back to Multan in 1957. In 1970 elections he was elected as MPA from Tulimba (Multan) from PPP party. During the PPP government 1970-77, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar was Governor of Punjab. Sixteen MPAs played the role of opposition leaders. Muhammad Khan Khakwani was one of them. In 1974 Mustafa Khar resigned from the post of Governor, Muhammad Khan Khakwani was Minister for agriculture in 1974 when he felt that PPP's government desire to rule over Punjab through Bureaucracy (government officials), he resigned from Ministry.⁹²

Mr. Khakwani, Hanif Ramay and Raja Munawar Ahmed resigned from PPP. Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khakwani was arrested in 1976 but he continued his struggle as opposition leader till the end of PPP government in 1977 Muhammad Iqbal Khan Khakwani was elected as MPA in 1993. Khakwani family played an

⁹² Shaikh Riaz Pervaiz, *Talkh o Shireen Yadain* (Multan: Humdard Printing, 1977), pp. 109-111.

important role in the politics of the region for the last two hundred years and still they are effective in politics.

6.5.5. Wattu Family

The Wattu family is also important in the politics of the region. They are oldest inhabitants of district Sahiwal and Pakpattan. Their settlements are along the Ravi and Sutlej rivers. They occupied well defined tracks in the district in Pre-colonization days.⁹³ The Wattu claimed to be Rajpoot by cast. The Wattus were converted to Islam by Baba-Farid-ud-Din (d 1269 AD) whose shrine is in Pakpattan city. Politically Wattu Chief 'Lakhe Khan' holds both banks of the Sutlej and adjoining parts of the Montgomery (Now Sahiwal) and Bahawalpur.⁹⁴

During the British Period 1857-1947, Nosheer Khan Wattu was appointed *Zaildar* in 1892. Due to his services and faithful behaviour government awarded him certificates and allotted him a piece of land more than two thousand hectors for cattle farm in Jahangirabad. Jahangir Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan managed the farm. After the death of Jahangir Khan in 1924, Dost Muhammad Khan became administrator of the farm. The Wattu family has land in Sahiwal, Pakpattan and Depalpur area. They are landlord politicians of the region. Mr. Dost Muhammad Khan was a member of district council Multan, a member of Imperial

⁹³ 1998 *District Census Report of Sahiwal* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Division, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p. 4.

⁹⁴ Denzil Ibbetson and other, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and NWF Province*, vol. III (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), p. 491.

Council of Agriculture Research and a member of Canal Advisory Council of District Khanewal.⁹⁵

Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattu is one of the prominent politicians of Punjab. He started his political career as Chairman of Union Council. He was speaker of Punjab Assembly from 1985-88 and Chief Minister Punjab from 1990-93. He had good experience to deal bureaucracy. He always supports the government officer so that they do work for his political benefits. He provided jobs to his favourite persons through recruitment plan and recruitment quota for MPA in different departments.⁹⁶ He used the government resources under political influence of MPA's to prolong his period.⁹⁷

Mian Yasin Wattu is also a prominent politician of the area. He contested in 1977 elections and was elected as MNA from Pakistan Peoples Party's platform. He also worked as Education Minister from 1985 to 1986 and Finance Minister from January 1986 to May 1988 during Junejo's government.⁹⁸

6.5.6. Bosan Family

The Bosans claim to be 'Jat' tribe by caste. Bosans are important agriculturists of Multan district.⁹⁹ They came from Hyderabad in Sindh and are also found in Bahawalpur as landowners. Their ancestor is said to have been a disciple of Bahwal Haqq. The ruler of Multan granted them a piece of land in

⁹⁵ Mujahid Hussain, *Pakistan Kay Mutnazia Siyasatdan* (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1997), pp. 353-366

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Mujahid Hussain, *Pakistan Lootnay Walay* (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1997) p. 197.

⁹⁸ Rafiq Akhtar, *Pakistan Year Book 1987*, 15th Edition (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1987, p.2.

⁹⁹ *1998 District Census Report of Multan* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, 1999), p. 04.

Multan.¹⁰⁰ They have land in Multan, Bahawalpur, Sahiwal and Faisalabad districts.

Malik Muhammad Amin Khan Bosan joined the army in 1911 during British period. Due to his good services government awarded him the title of 'Khan Sahib' in 1920 and allotted him some agricultural land. In 1924 he was given the title of 'Khan Bahadar' (Brave Khan). He was President of 'Zamindar Association' Multan and a member of Canal Committee Multan. He was elected Vice-President of District Board Multan, in 1932. His son Muhammad Akram Khan Bosan was appointed 'Zaildar'.

Bosan family plays an important role in the politics of the region. Malik Noor Muhammad was appointed Zaildar in 1901, and Honorary Magistrate and Judge in 1907. Malik Allah Yar Khan Bosan was a member of District Board Multan. He was Honorary Magistrate and Judge in Bahawalpur state. The family played an active role in the politics of Multan region for the last hundred years.

Mr. Sikandar Hayat Bosan was elected as MPA in 1990 elections of the Punjab Assembly.¹⁰¹ He was elected as MNA in 1997 elections.¹⁰² Presently, he is an active politician of Pakistan Muslim League (Q). He was Minister for Agriculture during PML (Q) government under Musharaf regime 1999-2008.

¹⁰⁰ Denzil Ibbeston and others, *Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and NWF Province*, vol. II (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), p. 116.

¹⁰¹ Mr. Justice (Retd) Sardar Fakhre Alam and others, *General Elections Report, Comparative Statistics for General Elections of Pakistan 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997*, vol. II (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1997), pp.338-376.

¹⁰² Zahid Hussain Anjum, *Elections 1997* (Lahore: Nazeer Sons Publishers, 1997), p.173.

6.6 SOUTHERN PUNJAB AND FEUDAL POLITICIANS

Southern Punjab consists of three divisions: Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan. Historically all these were part of Multan but now-a-days Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan have separated administrative division. The feudals have strong hold in the politics of the southern Punjab.

Dera Ghazi Khan Division includes the districts of Muzafar Garh, Leiah, Rajanpur and D.G. Khan. In Muzaffargarh, Leiah district, Pathan and Khar (*jat*) tribes have strong hold in politics. Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar was the Governor of Punjab from December 1971 to November 1973 and then Chief Minister Punjab from November 1973 to March 1974. Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti was Chief Minister Punjab from January 1955 to October 1955. Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani was Governor of West Pakistan from November 1955 to October 1957.¹⁰³

The name of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan is very prominent in political history of Pakistan. He started his political career in 1933. he made political alliances against every government and played the role of opposition leader from 1933-2000, till the end of his life. Throughout his political career, he once cooperated with PPP government in 1993, when he worked as Chairman of the Kashmir Committee. He provided political support to his family for their benefits.¹⁰⁴ He did not work for development of the area.

¹⁰³ K. M. Shariff, Edited, *Pakistan Almanac 2001-2002* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2002), pp. 88-93.

¹⁰⁴ Mujahid Hussain, *Pakistan Kay Mutnazia Siyasatdan* (Lahore: Talkhliqat, 1997), pp. 370-82.

Baluch families; Legharis, Lasharis, Mazaris, Dreshks and Khosas have strong political hold in the district of Rajanpur and Dera Ghazi Khan. Mr. Balkh Sher Mazari was caretaker Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1993 and Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari was President of Pakistan from November 1993 to December 1997 during PPP government.¹⁰⁵ Bahawalpur division includes the districts of Bahawlpur, Bahawalnagar and Rahim Yar Khan.

The Nawab family has political hold in the region. Mr. Muhammad Abbas Abbasi, who belongs to the ruling family of Ex-Bahawalpur state (1727-1947) was governor of the Punjab province from July 1975 to July 1977.¹⁰⁶ He was Minister for religious affairs during Zia regime. The family holds the key position in every government.

The feudal political leaders have strong political hold in southern Punjab i.e. Saraiki region (being economically, socially and politically the most powerful class of the society),¹⁰⁷ they occupy the key positions at regional, provincial and national levels, but they did not promote development of common people in their region. The work done by them in the region is evidence of their lack of interest for development in the area for masses.

¹⁰⁵ K. M. Shariff, Edited, *Pakistan Almanac 2001-2002* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2002), pp. 84-85.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 92.

¹⁰⁷ Feroz Ahmed, *(Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan)* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998) pp. 254-255.

Chapter – 7

DATA ANALYSIS

7.1 POLITICAL PARTIES AND LOCAL POLITICIANS (1970-2000)

Multan region has six districts and till the election held in 1997. Total numbers of National Assembly seats were only eighteen. The numbers of National Assembly seats for Multan district were six, for Lodhran district one, for Khanewal district three, for Sahiwal district three, for Pakpattan district two and for Vehari district three. The number of Punjab Assembly' seats were thirty-nine. For Multan district eleven, for Lodhran district three, for Khanewal district seven for Sahiwal district seven, for Pakpattan district four and for Vehari district seven.¹ District-wise position of seats is given on the left.

The political history of Multan region is very old. Different groups had dominant political power in the region before the British period. During the period (1849-1947), Britishers were the only power in the region. After the independence in 1947, Pakistan Muslim League became the only political party which was more active in the region.

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana of Multan district was a prominent figure in the political history of Multan. He received his education from Carps Christy College, London. After obtaining a degree in law he came back to Lahore in 1940. In 1942 he joined the All India Muslim League which was an

¹ Mr. Justice (Retired) Sardar Fakhre Alam, Mr. Justice Rashid Aziz Khan and others. (Compiled) *General Elections Report: Comparative Statistics 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997*, Vol. II (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1997), pp. 88-89 and 339-376.

active political party in the Multan region and in India also.² He was active in the politics of the Multan region and in the politics of Punjab Muslim League. He worked as Chief Minister Punjab from April 1951 to April 1953.³

Different political families are active in the politics of Multan. The Qureshi family is prominent in the politics. Shah Mahmood Qureshi is a leading member in the politics of Multan. He was president of Peoples Party Punjab. His father Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi was Governor of the Punjab. His grandfather Murid Hussain Qureshi was also a member of Punjab Assembly.⁴ Gilani family of Multan is also very important in the politics.

In 1934 elections Syed Muhammad Raza Gillani won the elections from Multan and was elected as Chairman District Board Multan. Daultana family of district Vehari has been a very important role in the politics of the region. Ahmed Yar Daultana was a member of Punjab legislative Assembly in 1920, 1926, 1930 and 1937. After that Mumtaz Daultana was elected as member of the Punjab Assembly in 1946 election. Presently, two women of Daultana family: Shahida Daultana and Tehmina Daultana are active in the politics.⁵ Majority of the political leaders in the region are feudals and Pirs (spiritual leaders).

Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, various political parties: national, regional and religious, have been active in the region. All major political parties

² Ahmed Saleem, *Pakistani Siyasat Ki Pachas Kerdar* (Lahore: Tahkleeqat, 1997), p. 183.

³ Sohaib Margoob, "Ex-Chief Ministers, speakers and Leaders of the opposition", *The Daily Jang*, Rawalpindi, dated 25 November, 2002.

⁴ Wakeel Anjum, "Politic and Ruling Families: Study of Politics", *Sunday Magazine*, The Jang, Rawalpindi, dated 13th April 2008, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*

contest elections here and have their networks and offices in the region. The various national political parties in Multan region are:

7.1.1 Pakistan Muslim League

This party was established during the British period. The story of British expansion in India is quite intriguing. The Island and port of Bombay was ceded to the British crown in 1661. In 1757 the victory of war of 'plassey' by Lord Clive paved the way for British rule in India. The supremacy was further established when Mir Qasim lost the battle of 'Buxor' in 1764. The year 1765 marked a turning point in Anglo-India history, when the British East India Company was empowered to collect revenue on behalf of the Mughal emperor Shah Alam.⁶ The Mughal Empire quickly fell in to decay, although it survived in name until 1857. After the 1857 war the British got complete control over India. In order to administer India, the British parliament passed the Government of India Act in 1858.

An important political development till the end of nineteen century was formation of a political party named 'Indian National Congress' in 1885 on the initiative of Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British official and under the presidency of the viceroy Lord Dufferin. The congress grew as a powerful organization in India. Although a number of Muslims joined congress, many influential Muslims, including Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) advised them

⁶ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 6-7.

against it. Muslim Leaders were afraid that in a congress dominated by Hindus, Muslims would be at disadvantage.⁷

At the dawn of the twentieth century the Muslim public opinion became alive to the need of organizing a political association with a view to safeguard their interest.⁸ The Muslim leaders therefore held a meeting on December 30, 1906 in Dacca (now Dhaka) to discuss the matter of Muslim interests. Nawab Wiqarul Mulk presided over the meeting and in his presidential address he noted that the Muslims are only one-fifth of the population of India. It is obvious that if any time the British government ceases to exist in India the Hindu nation which is four times numerous will rule the country. They decided to form a political organization for the Muslims. The new political party was named as "All India Muslim League".

The aims and objectives of Muslim League were:-

1. To promote among the Muslims (*Mussulmans*) of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government.
2. To protect and advance the political rights and interest of Muslims of India.
3. To prevent the rise among the Muslims of any feeling of hostility towards other communities.⁹

The new reforms under the India Act 1935, helped to enlarge the scope of politics; elections were scheduled to be held in 1936-37, and political parties were

⁷ Ibid. p. 12.

⁸ Lal Bahadur, *Struggle for Pakistan* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1988), p. 29.

⁹ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 7.

hard-pressed to try their best in election campaign. The All India Muslim League formed a parliamentary board on April 12, 1936 and issued the election manifesto. The League expressed its determination to protect the rights of the Muslims and to work for their betterment. The Muslim League did not get majority in the election, in question.¹⁰

It was a movement in which there was room for all shades of opinion and every variety of interest. All were agreed with its mission of setting up a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent.¹¹ Due to this struggle of Muslim League 'Pakistan Resolution' was passed in 1940 at Lahore, and within seven years after the resolution in 1947 Pakistan emerged on the map of the world. After the creation of Pakistan on 14th August 1947 in a session of Muslim League its name was changed from "All India Muslim League to Pakistan Muslim League".

Muslim League was the only major political party in existence in August 1947 and it started its career in the new state with all the advantages that a party could conceivably wish for. It enjoyed immense prestige among all classes of people. Nearly every Muslim in the region was a Muslim Leaguer in 1947-48. As in the pre 1947 the Muslim people had been the Muslim League. So the Muslim League came to be the state. It enjoyed the monopoly of power in every sense and

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 15.

¹¹ Mushtaq Ahmed, *Politics of Crisis* (Karachi: Royal Book company, 1987), p. 121.

shape. It had an over powering majority in the first Assembly and in all the provincial assemblies.¹²

Muslim League is a most popular party in Multan. In 1936 it organized its branch in Multan. Syed Saeed, Agha Aziz Mirza, Muhammad Akram Khan and Dr. Abdul Sattar were the founding members of Multan Muslim League. Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani who was a prominent political leader of Multan became vice president of Multan Muslim League. Syed ZainulAbidin Gilani organized a political party named "Anjuman Fidaien-e-Islam" in 1931 at Multan. It was an active political force in the region before the organization of Muslim League. When Muslim League was established in Multan he merged his party in Muslim League Multan and joined the party. He became the president of Muslim League District Multan. With the services of Zainaul-Abidin Gilani, Muslim League is popular in the region. In 1939 a branch of "Muslim Students Federation" was established in Multan. It played an important role in Pakistan movement.¹³

In March 1940 in a session of Muslim League at Lahore, it passed 'The Pakistan Resolution' and demanded a separate Muslim state. Muslim League Multan also participated in that session. In August 1942 Multan city Muslim League was organized and Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah Gilani was elected its president. The office of the city Muslim League was established at Bridge Shahwala. It started political activities and arranged political gathering of the

¹² K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), pp. 70-71.

¹³ Muhammad Aslam Metala, *Multan Nama*, (Multan: Saraiki Research Centre, 2005), pp. 180-81.

people to celebrate the 'Pakistan Day' every year. Political leader, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Ashiq Hussain Batalvi and Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi participated in these sessions.¹⁴ It also provided a platform to national and regional leader which made it popular among the people and in the villages also.

Multan Muslim League women branch was organized in 1943. Begum Zubaida Jafari worked as General Secretary and Begam Walliet Hussain was its president. Mrs. Anwar Pasha also worked for the cause of Muslim League. Muslim League Multan participated in the elections of 1946. Haji Raza Muhammad Shaha, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Bilani, Mian Allah Yar Daultana, Pir Budhan Shaha and Syed Nobahar Shah were elected as provincial assembly members from Muslim League but the party could not form government in Punjab.¹⁵

After the creation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, Muslim League formed government in the country and Punjab also. In 1951 Punjab provincial assembly elections Muslim League Multan was divided in two groups; Gilani and Qureshi. In 1958 General Muhammad Ayub Khan took over the government and political leaders were banned. During the Ayub regime (1958-1969) Muslim League was divided into two groups; convention and council Muslim League. Convention Muslim League was organized under the leadership of Ayub Khan. Political leaders of Multan Hamid Raza Gilani, Makhdoom Sajjed Hussain Qureshi and

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid.

others joined the convention Muslim League. Only a little group under the leadership of Maulvi Arfan Ahmed Ansari was in council Muslim League in Multan. This era ended in 1969.¹⁶

Muslim League as a national political party had started weakening after 1947 which affected its role and after 1955 Muslim League lost much of its popularity in the region. It was in 1985 when Muslim League was reorganized with the efforts of Muhammad Khan Jenejo who took oath as Prime Minister of Pakistan on 23 March, 1985 after the elections that year (non party basis)¹⁷ and after the 1988 elections with the efforts of Mina Nawaz Sharif who was the Chief Minister of Punjab and the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, the party was popularized again. Since 1985 Muslim League has gained strong popularity in the region.¹⁸ The major reason is that after 1985 Muslim League has come into power and introduced different programmes for welfare of the masses.

During the first period of Muslim League government 1947-1958 when Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar (1899-1958) was governor of Punjab,¹⁹ he established Nishtar Medical College in Multan. The foundation stone was laid on 28th April 1951.²⁰ During the Muslim League government 1985-88, it introduced the “Five

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Professor Muhammad Usman, *Pakistan ki Siyasi Jamatain* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), p.23.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Muhammad Ali Chiragh, *Akabreen-e-Tehreek-e-Pakistan* (Lahore: Sange-e-Meel Publications, 2003), p. 753.

²⁰ Humayyun Faiz Rasul, *The Multan Review* (Multan: Commissioner Multan Division, 1947), p.112.

Point Programme” to promote the welfare and prosperity of the masses.²¹ Different schemes and projects were started in Multan division such as local development scheme identified by MNA’s and senators, low housing projects for city and villages. Government allocated eight billion rupees for Multan division.²² Under the housing scheme 76920 plots were allotted in Multan, Khanewal, Vehari and Sahiwal district.²³ On the issue of “Sariaki Movement”, Muslim League has not given any clear policy. The issue of ‘Saraikistan’ province is on the back burner.

7.1.2 Jamat-i-Islami

It is one of the major political parties. Jamaat-i-Islami was founded in August 1941 at Lahore. The party was highly centralized. Maulana Maududi was the founder Amir (leader) of the party. There was no time limit for the Amir (leader) to hold his office. It was, however up to the Amir to renounce his office, if he felt that another person was more capable than him. He had a Majlis-i-shura (Advisory Board) whose selection initially was left to the judgment of Amir (leader), the finality of Amir’s authority did not change.²⁴

As for the Muslim League’s demand for Pakistan, the Jamaat-i-Islami refused to lend support to it. It boycotted the 1945-46 elections to the central and provincial legislatures and those of its member who participated in these elections

²¹ Prime Minister’s Five Point Programme, *A Better Life for the Common Man* (Islamabad: Directorate of Films and Publications, n.d.), p. 1.

²² Abdul Quyyum Qureshi, “Five Point Programme” *Roznama Imroze*, Lahore, 26 March, 1988.

²³ Hanif Chaudhry, “Five Point Programme”, *Roznama Mashriq*, Lahore, 20 October, 1987.

²⁴ M. Rafiq Afzal, *Political parties in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), pp. 38-39.

were expelled from the party.²⁵ After the partition of India in 1947 this party was divided into three parties; a) Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, b) Jamaat-i-Islami Hind and c) Jamaat-i-Islami Occupied Kashmir. It is an ideological political party. The various aims and objectives of the party are:

1. It believes in sovereignty of God according to Quran and Sunnah. It was established to revive Islamic values and to implement Islam as a practical code of life for the Muslims.
2. It believes in liberty of the state to follow the teachings of God. Its founders asserted that it was not a religious or political party but an ideological movement covering all aspects of life.
3. It believes in democracy and aimed at changing the moral, political, economic and social system of the world for welfare of the man.
4. It is against the distinction on the basis of colour, race, creed, area and land.
5. It is duty of its members to co-operate with the Amir (leader) for good cause and for service of the society.²⁶

Till 1957 the Jamaat was not active in politics, but during the Ayub era (1958-1969) the basic democracy elections which were held in November 1964. The Jamaat alleged that the government had restored to corrupt practices in these elections for the 1964-65 presidential elections. Jamat supported Miss Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan. It participated in the general elections of 1970. Its

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Dr. Syed Asad Gilani, *Jamaat-i-Islami 1941-1947* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), pp. 389-392.

7.1.3 Pakistan Peoples Party

Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1967 at Lahore.²⁹ He was nominated chairman of the party by the founding members in first session of the party which held on November 30, 1967 at the residence of Dr. Mubashir Hassan at Lahore.³⁰ In his presidential address he declared his resolve to refer everything to the people. He believed that "Peoples alone could finally settle the issues. No individual held a special mandate from God to lay down the law for the people of Pakistan."³¹

The founding members who raised the party were J.A. Rahim, Mubashir Hassan, Mumtaz Bhutto, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Miraj Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Hayat Sherpao. They were a curious mix, each talented in a different way; they came from diverse classes, culture and academic backgrounds. Rahim was a former officer of Indian civil services.

He provided the intellectual framework. Mubashir Hasan a leftist from Lahore, who had a doctorate in engineering, Mumtaz Bhutto was a barrister and a member of National Assembly since 1965. Mr. Khar a landlord from Multan region and was elected an MNA at the age of twenty five, Miraj Muhammad was a Karachi student leader. Hayat Sherpao came from a Muslim League family in the NWFP, a fiery young speaker. So a good team was formed to be joined by others.

²⁹ Lawrence Ziring, "Future as Troubled as its Past" Special Report, South Asian Century Politics 1900-1999. *The Dawn*, Karachi, 01, January, 2000.

³⁰ Munir Ahmed, *Bhutto Khandan Ka Kattal* (Lahore: Takhlikat, 1998), p. 42.

³¹ Anees Jilani, *Advance Towards Democracy* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1991), p. 89.

The interim constitution of the party was finalized by J.A. Rahim four main points of the motto are:

- Islam is our faith
- Democracy is our polity
- Socialism is our economy
- All power belong to the people³²

Through this manifesto Bhutto gave a new dynamism in society based on religious faith, economic justice and popular rights. Bhutto was an intelligent man. He received his early education in Bombay (Now Mumbai) and graduated with honour in political science from university of California in 1950. In 1952 he took his Master's degree from Oxford and in the following years he was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn, London. He taught international law at the University of Southampton, England, and on his return to Pakistan worked as an advocate in High Court at Karachi. He taught constitutional law at Sindh Muslim Law College, Karachi. He was a member of Pakistani delegation to the United Nations in 1957. In 1958 he led a Pakistani delegation to UN Conference on the law of sea at Geneva.³³

The political career of Z.A. Bhutto began in October 1958 when at the age of thirty he first entered the Cabinet formed by President Iskinder Mirza under the constitution of 1956. After the change of government in 1958, he continued to

³² Rafi Raza, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.04-06.

³³ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Development, 1947-97*(Lahore: Academy of Administrative and Social Sciences, 1998), pp. 137-40.

serve in Ayub Khan's government. As a foreign minister Bhutto's name was linked with a policy of close association with China and of confrontation with India. Westernized, well-educated, young and brilliant he made an impression at home and abroad. After the India- Pakistan war of September 1965, he left the cabinet of Ayub Khan in 1966.

He had however by then earned a reputation as a young nationalist with flair of appeal for youth. His image as a champion of the rights and sovereignty of the country was greatly enhanced by his moving presentation of Pakistan's case in the Security Council during the 1965 war with India. When he visited Lahore by train, at the Lahore Railway Station thousands of students and well wishers flocked to see him, lifted him on their shoulders, shouting slogans "Bhutto Zindabad"; long live Bhutto. The period from 1966-70, he spent in building up his political position as leader of the people. In 1967 when his reputation was on the peak, he announced his new political party with the name of Pakistan Peoples Party at the house of Dr. Mubashir Hasan at Lahore.³⁴

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto matchless representation of Pakistan at International forum

The very name of Pakistan Peoples Party gives a nice touch to the definition of democracy as "democracy is a government of people for people and by the people". So the word common people and particularly poor and innocent people enjoys a pivotal force in Bhutto's speeches. The text of his speeches

³⁴ Lubna A. Ali, "Operation Gibraltar and the 1965 War" *South Asian Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, University of the Punjab, Lahore (January 2008): pp. 35-36.

whether delivered in Pakistan or Security Council or at some other international forum show that he was very clear about the manifesto of his party and his undoubted politics.

The war of 1965 is a war on Kashmir issue. Bhutto nicely represented the Kashmir issue in his address to the Security Council on 25th October, 1965. He made it clear in the Security Council saying that:

I must remind the council that a ceasefire and withdrawal of troops are, in the words of the Council resolution of 20th September, 1965, only the first essential steps towards a peaceful settlement of the outstanding difference between India and Pakistan with regard to Jammu and Kashmir... To effect a ceasefire and withdrawal of troops would be dealing only with symptoms, not the disease. Present indications are that, unless the Security Council gets down to dealing with the root cause of the conflict, the present ceasefire may prove to be only a short-lived lull in fighting. The institution of a Security Commission such as we have proposed would be evidence of the determination of the Security Council to see the conflict urgently and peacefully resolved, a fact which should result in a lowering of tension in the sub-continent and thereby help to strengthen the expectation that the ceasefire would endure.³⁵

No doubt Z.A. Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto learned politics, taught politics and practiced politics. After Quaid-i-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan, these two figures were able to represent Pakistan effectively at the international level. In fact, good politics needs to be played at international level to keep up pace with the rapidly advancing world. Unfortunately the scope of present politics in Pakistan is limited to money-making under the pretext of development of infra-structure only.

³⁵ Hamid Jalal and Khalid Hasan, (ed.) *Reshaping Foreign Policy: Politics of the People Volume One 1948-1966* (Rawalpindi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), p. 263.

The expression of Z.A. Bhutto's innermost feelings shows that he wanted to see Pakistan a prosperous and self-sufficient state. His heart beats only for Pakistan. His point of view on Kashmir issue can be witnessed by his forceful speech wherein he said in response to Indian stubbornness:

They (the Indian leadership) call the Jammu and Kashmir state an integral part of India and they say that is gross interference in the internal affairs of India to discuss the Jammu and Kashmir dispute... This is the mind of India; this is the mentality of India. A dispute which has brought war and bloodshed and misery to the subcontinent twice in eighteen years, which has been before the Security Council for the last eighteen years, which has engaged the attention of the whole world for the last eighteen years, is regarded by India unilaterally – like Mr. Ian Smith who regards the question of Southern Rhodesia unilaterally – to be a part of India. The world must be blind, truth must be suppressed, reality must be hidden, so that India, by the sheer weight of its force and by its military power is able to defy the Security Council and deny it the right of proceeding with the determination of a dispute, which has to be resolved and must be resolved.³⁶

During and after 1965 war, Indian soldiers were let loose to do whatever atrocity they lived in Kashmir villages. This state of cruelty was unbearable to observe and listen. ZA Bhutto heart and mind were burning from within. He retaliated one of Mr. Shastri's comment on Kashmir wherein we can feel the intensity of his emotions:

Who is Mr. Shastri to say that peace in the subcontinent will be settled on India's terms? Have we lost ourselves? Are we completely destroyed? We cannot allow peace to be settled on India's terms? We cannot allow peace to be settled on India's terms. We who have ruled India for 800 years, we who have dominated India for 800 years and who are responsible for the civilization of India, for all the Delhis and the Taj Mahals and for

³⁶ Ibid. pp. 264-265.

all the grandeur and glory of India, are we doing in the twentieth century to accept peace of India's terms?³⁷

Bhutto's intelligence and oratory needs no emphasis. A reader can judge his clarity of ideas. He says about the famous 'Tashkent Declaration' that his declaration is a declaration of intent: "A declaration of intent is this that both the leaders of India and Pakistan declare that they would like to see an end of disputes between India and Pakistan; that they would strive to put an end to disputes".³⁸

Z.A. Bhutto never missed even a single chance of highlighting the Kashmir issue. He got recorded this issue in United Nations proceedings realizing the member nations that peace of the South Asia is directly linked with the pace in the subcontinent. Bhutto reiterated that:

"The dispute over Jammu and Kashmir is the most important problem and the most important dispute that plague India and Pakistan... The preamble of the United Nations charter includes "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold misery to mankind".³⁹

Bhutto was capable to defend his case whatever through logical reasoning. The very motto of Pakistan Peoples Party is a true reflection of his mind set up, what PPP is and what he wants to do for the people of Pakistan. He was not against the feudal but he was against their attitudes. His motto includes "socialism is our economy" but why? The fact is that:

³⁷ M.S. Deora and R. Grover (comp & ed.), Documents on Pakistan and International Conflicts vol. 16, Run of Kutch and After, Part-II, (New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. 1993), p. 287

³⁸ Hamid Jalal and Khalid Hasan, (ed.) Reshaping Foreign Policy: Politics of the People Volume One 1948-1966 (Rawalpindi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), p. 299.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 300.

Only socialism, which creates equal opportunities for all, protects from exploitation, removes the barrier of class-distinction is capable of establishing economic and social justice. Socialism is the highest expression of democracy and its logical fulfillment.⁴⁰

Apparently Bhutto's love for the common people of Pakistan and Kashmir has been translated into his timely actions and speeches at all levels.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1926-1979) was the outstanding political figure of his generation. No Pakistani leader since Jinnah (1876-1948), father of the Nation had possessed his vision or authority. He projected himself as man of the people in contrast with the 'drawing room' politicians and maintained that his voice was the peoples' voice, his speeches their speeches.⁴¹ The various aims and objectives of the Pakistan Peoples Party were:

1. To challenge the elitist socio-economic and socio-political system.
2. Through its slogan of Islamic socialism, the party talked about the empowerment of the ordinary people through land reforms, progressive labour laws and nationalization of the resources of capital accumulation.
3. To put an end to corruption and police violence.
4. Equal opportunities for all, protect people from exploitation, remove the barrier of class distinctions and privileges, and establish economic and social justice.
5. It believes in egalitarian democracy wherein all Pakistanis would enjoy equal rights in every sphere of activity.

⁴⁰ Z.A. Bhutto, *Political Situation in Pakistan* (Lahore: Classic, 1994), p. 13

⁴¹ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan a Modern History*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1999), p.215.

6. To wipe out poverty and unemployment.
7. Its famous slogan is Roti, Kapra aur Makan (Bread, Clothing and shelter) for all.⁴²

Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) organized in Multan division during 1970 elections. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the Chairman of the party won its first election from Multan. It also won majority in Multan division during 1977 elections. All elections in the region basically have been battles between the two rival camps; one supporting the PPP and the other standing against it. The creation of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) on the eve of 1977 elections and the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) for the 1988 elections were both aimed at building united fronts comprising as many parties as possible to challenge the PPP.

The parliament that came into existence with Bhutto as the Prime Minister made history by adopting a unanimously agreed constitution in 1973. The primary motive behind holding party less elections in 1985 was also to minimize the impact the PPP would have on the results. So PPP boycotted the 1985 elections.⁴³

The PPP Government (1971-77) then moved on to implement its radical economic programme by nationalization major industries, educational institutions and introducing drastic land reforms. These measures were welcomed by those

⁴² Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Developmen* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.136.

⁴³ "Party Line", Elections 1993 Special Issue, monthly, *Herald*, Karachi, Vol. 24, No.11, November-December 1993. pp. 15-16.

who had voted the party into power but they also provided an opportunity to the party's opponents to mobilize a united front against the government.⁴⁴

The Bhutto government's misuse of administrative power against its political opponents and in elections 1977 PPP won a landslide victory as a result the Pakistan National Alliance refused to accept the results, alleging that there had been a large scale rigging and started a movement against Bhutto and his government. The climax was removal of PPP government by a Military General Zia-ul-Haq who declared martial law in the country in July 1977.

Multan has been the stronghold of PPP since 1970. In 1977 election the PPP won majority seats from Multan division. In 1985 PPP boycotted the party-less election, while in 1988 elections PPP won nine seats of National Assembly and fifteen seats of provincial Assembly from Multan. In 1990 elections it won two in National Assembly and two Provincial Assembly seats. In 1993 elections it won twelve seats of National Assembly and twenty two of provincial Assembly seats and in 1997 elections it could not win any seat from Multan region.

During the PPP government 1971-77, it established Baha-ud-Din Zakariya University Multan. General Zia-ul Haq government (1977-88) set up a bench of High court in Multan. The region was provided Sui gas and to certain extent compensated the grievances appointing Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar (PPP leader) was made as the chief Minister of Punjab during PPP government. PPP is a national level party which recognizes all the regional and national issues of the country. It always gets support of the politicians of the Multan region but it never backed the 'Saraiki Movement'.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

7.2 RESULTS OF GENERAL ELECTIONS: NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES OF MULTAN REGION, 1970, 77, 85, 88, 90, 93 & 97

7.2.1 1970 Elections

1970 witnessed the first general election held throughout Pakistan since independence in 1947 based on universal adult franchise and one-man one-vote. The only previous national elections, held by President Ayub Khan in 1964, were indirect through an electoral college of 80,000 Basic Democrats. Even at the provincial level no election had been held since 1951 in the Punjab. After the dissolution of one unit in 1970 this was the first ever elections. Everyone was eager, there was great excitement and expectation. The main political parties sprang into action with aggressive campaigns.⁴⁵ As per the election schedule, announced by the election commission of Pakistan National Assembly's Election held on 7th December 1970 and that of Provincial Assembly's on 17th December 1970.

In 1970 elections, Multan division had twenty one national Assembly Seats. At that time Dera Ghazi Khan was also part of Multan Division. These elections had immense importance for Multan division. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan Peoples Party was contesting candidate from Multan.

Chairman Pakistan Peoples Party promoted the basic principles of PPP, and attempted to give a more acceptable face. Economic, social, political and psychological factors were all present in his strategy. The PPP bandwagon gained

⁴⁵ Rafi Raza, *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-1977*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.25.

momentum. The slogan *Roti, Kapra aur Makan* (bread, clothing and house) had caught the public imagination.⁴⁶ In Multan division sixteen National Assembly seats out of twenty-one went to the PPP. In these elections one seat went to Muhammad Khan Daultana of council Muslim League, one from Distt D.G. Khan went to Dr. Nazir Ahmed of Jamat-i-Islami. One seat was won by Mian Muhammad Ibrahim of Markazi Jamiet-ulmia Pakistan. Two seats went to independent candidates.

Constituencies where Z.A. Bhutto did not hold big rallies in those last critical days, his presence would almost certainly have ensured their victory. Taj Muhammad Langah (Saraiki Leader) lost by only a few hundred votes in contest with Name Daultana (a feudal), because Z.A. Bhutto failed, despite promises, to attend a large public meeting arranged by Langah. His absence in this case was in response to Daultana's request.

He had an old relationship with Daultana who is a big landlord of the Multan region subsequently in July 1972, he sent him as ambassador to London to avoid any possibility of Daultana gathering together the old forces in the Punjab to oppose Z.A. Bhutto.⁴⁷ This is an evidence of feudal influence in the region. Mr. Taj Muhammad Langah organized his own political party named 'Pakistan Saraiki Party' for the future politics.

[Results of General Elections 1970: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F']

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.29.

⁴⁷ Rafi Raza, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan*, op. cited. pp. 39-40.

7.2.2 1977 Elections

Pakistan Peoples Party formed the government after 1970 elections. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto first became the president and then Prime Minister of Pakistan. He addressing to the nation on December 20, 1971 said:

“My dear countrymen, my dear friends, my dear students, labourers, peasants, the younger generation, those who fought for Pakistan, the working classes the labouring classes, those who work with their hands.⁴⁸ I want to tell you that we will move on to the constitution. We have to give the country rule of law. And this constitution will not be my constitution, because I am an elected representative of the people. I am a servant of the people.”⁴⁹

The important political development during the PPP government 1970-77 was that it framed the constitution of 1973. It framed by the elected representatives of the people. It was based on consensus and provided for adult franchise as the basis of election for the National and Provincial Assemblies, and setup a federation consisting of all the provinces.⁵⁰ In January 1977 Mr. Bhutto called for new elections for national and provincial assemblies to be held in March 1977. In these elections PPP got an over whelming majority all over Pakistan. In Multan division also nearly all seats of national and provincial assemblies were won by Pakistan Peoples Party candidates. One seat in Dera Ghazi Khan District was won by Mufti Mahmood of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and two, in district

⁴⁸ *President of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Speeches and Statements, December 20, 1971 – March 1972* (Karachi: Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972), p.01.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p.07.

⁵⁰ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Development 1947-97*, (Lahore: Academy of Administrative and Social Sciences, 1998), p.152.

Muzaffargarh were won by PNA. [*Results of General Elections 1977: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F'*]

7.2.3 1985 Elections

During the 1977 elections, nine opposition parties came together in an electoral coalition called Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PNA alleged that the election had been rigged on a massive scale, so they rejected the results, boycotted the provincial assembly elections and launched a mass movement to secure Bhutto's resignation and new elections under impartial auspices.⁵¹ The climax was the removal of PPP government by the commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, General Zia-ul Haq on 5th July 1977 and declared Martial Law in the country.⁵² Thus began Pakistan's third and longest period of rule by the military rule.

He promised to hold elections in ninety days. But it was only in 1985 that elections were held on non-party basis and adult franchise.⁵³ These elections were held under the martial law government of General Zia-ul-Haq. Pakistan Peoples Party boycotted the elections.

In these elections only one candidate belonging to PPP, named Makhdoom Hamid Raza Gilani won the seat of National Assembly from Multan. He had been elected as PPP candidate in 1977 elections. The other candidate who won the NA

⁵¹ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.554-556.

⁵² Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.141.

⁵³ Andrew R. Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press 1999), pp.26-28.

seat from Multan were Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, Syed Fakhar Amam, Pir Qamar-uz-Zaman Shah. All these belonged to the shrine families and had a political influence in Multan for a long period.

In Vehari district Mian Riaz Ahmed Khan Daultana won the MNA seat. These elections were on the non party basis. So majority of the candidates won the MNA and MPA seats due to their personal campaign and contact with the voters. *[Results of General Elections 1985: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F']*

7.2.4 1988 Elections

Non-party elections held in 1985 prolonged the Zia period. He got power to dissolve the assembly on May 29th 1988. President Zia-ul-Haq dismissed Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo along with his cabinet due to their inability to maintain law and order according to Zia-ul-Haq. He dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies and promised for new elections within ninety days.⁵⁴

On August 17th 1988 President General Zia-ul-Haq with twenty-nine others including Ambassador Arnold L'Rafael of the United States of America died in an aircraft crash near Bahawalpur (a city hundred kilometer from Multan). Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman of the senate was sworn in as president. He announced that elections will be held on party basis in November 1988.⁵⁵ Pakistan Peoples Party emerged as a single largest party in the National Assembly. In Punjab province

⁵⁴ Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter, *Pakistan Under the Military Eleven Years of Zia-ul-Haq*, (Oxford: West view Press, 1991) p.181.

⁵⁵ "Zia Killed in Plane Crash", *The Muslim*, Islamabad, August 18, 1988.

Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), an alliance hastily formed by the Muslim League on the eve of elections, emerged as a single largest party also short of an absolute majority.

In Multan Division Pakistan Peoples Party and Islami Jamhoori Ittihad (IJI) won eight seats each of National Assembly, In Multan district only one seat was won by IJI. Majority of the seats in Multan district went to Qureshis and Gilanis who belong to the old shrine families and one seat went to Muhammad Saddiq Khanjo of IJI, who belonged to a feudal family. [*Results of General Elections 1988: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F'*]

7.2.5 1990 elections

After 1988 elections no political party got clear majority. Pakistan Peoples Party emerged as a single largest party with ninety three seats in National Assembly, followed by Islami Jamhori Ittehad fifty-four seats.⁵⁶ Mrs. Benazir Bhutto of PPP formed the government but only after twenty months SHE was removed from power on 6th august 1990.⁵⁷ President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the assemblies and declared the general elections to be held on 24th October 1990. A caretaker government headed by Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi took office, charged with the responsibility of holding general elections.

⁵⁶ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Military State and Society in Pakistan* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000). p. 205.

⁵⁷ Ishaq dissolved National Assembly, Cabinet Dismissed, *The Pakistan Times*", Islamabad 07 August 1990.

In elections the Pakistan Peoples Party formed an electoral alliance with the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and Tehrike Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafaria under the name of Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) Pakistan Muslim League formed Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI) led by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif.⁵⁸ The results of the National Assembly elections of 1990 awarded the IJI an absolute majority of one hundred and five seats out of two hundred seven seats⁵⁹ and two hundred eight seats out of two hundred thirty four seats in the Punjab Provincial Assembly.

In Multan division IJI won majority in both national and provincial assemblies. Peoples Democratic Alliance won only two seats of national assembly one by Yousaf Raza Gilani from Multan and one by Mahr Ghulam Farid Khatia in Sahiwal district. In three districts Khanewal, Vehari and Pakpattan, Pakistan Peoples Party could not win any seat of national assembly. In provincial assembly seats PDA won only two seats one from Sahiwal and one from Vehari district. All other seats of provincial Assembly were won by Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI).
[Results of General Elections 1990: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F']

7.2.6 1993 Elections

Mian Nawaz Shairf formed the government after 1990 election and became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The office of Prime Minister gave him a new confidence now that he held authority at the national level. The economic reforms

⁵⁸ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan A Study of Political Development 1947-97* (Lahore: Academy of Administrative and Social Sciences, 1998), p.235.

⁵⁹ PDA white Paper on Elections 1990, *How An Election was Stolen*, (Islamabad: MIDASIA, 1991), p.223.

and changes created the image of a man committed to lead Pakistan in to the 21st century as a modern industrialized state.⁶⁰ But very soon opposition charged that the 1990 elections were rigged. Democracy can only function if elections are fair, appear to be fair and are accepted by the majority of the people as fair.⁶¹

Another issue for the government was a tussle between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prim Minister Nawaz Sharif that started over the question of the appointment of new Army Chief after a sudden death of General Asif Nawaz Janjua on January 8th 1993. Although the appointment of the Army Chief comes within the discretionary power of the president, Prime Minister also had a vital stake in the appointment of an army chief, who at least must be neutral in the power tussle, which had ensued between the president and prime minister.

The President appointed Lieutenant General Abdul Waheed Kakar as Army Chief, superseding six lieutenant generals without consulting the Prime Minister. This tension and confrontation heightened to a point where opposition parties and leader of the opposition Benazir Bhutto decided to march on the capital by giving a nationwide call for a 'Long March' on July 16th 1993.⁶² As a result Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif dissolved the assemblies and then gave his resignation. The president also resigned.

The chairman of the senate took over as acting president and caretaker governments were formed at the centre as well as in the provinces, comprising

⁶⁰ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan A Study of Political Development 1947-97*, (Lahore: Academy of administrative and social sciences 1998), p.239.

⁶¹ PDA White paper on Elections 1990, *Who An Election was Stolen*, Islamabad: MIDASIA, 1991), p.3.

⁶² Munir Ahmed, *Bohranoo Ka Doar*, (Lahore: Takhlekat, 1998), pp.182-83.

mostly neutral bureaucrats to hold free, fair and transparent elections in October 1993.⁶³ In Multan Division Muslim League won only four National Assembly seats, two seats from Multan district, one seat from Khanewal and one seat from Vehari district. Pakistan Peoples Party won thirteen seats of National Assembly.

In Provincial Assembly, twelve seats went to Pakistan Muslim League, one seat went to Pakistan Muslim League Junejo group, three seats went to independent candidates and twenty three seats won by Pakistan Peoples Party. 1993 Elections provide a chance to Pakistan Peoples Party to form a government, but only for twenty nine months. [*Results of General Elections 1993: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F'*]

7.2.7 1997 Elections

Government of Benazir Bhutto was dismissed in November 1996. Corruption was one of the charges that President Leghari leveled against Benazir in dismissing her government in November 1996. It was the second opportunity for Benazir Bhutto to establish her credentials as a skilful, able and efficient leader, but once again she failed miserably.⁶⁴ A caretaker government was formed under Malik Meraj Khalid, a founder member of the Pakistan Peoples Party and former speaker of the National Assembly for fresh elections to be held within ninety days.⁶⁵

⁶³ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001)p.766.

⁶⁴ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000)p.397.

⁶⁵ "Free, Fair Polls on schedule: Leghari", *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, 06 November 1996.

New elections, the fifth in twelve years were held in February 1997. The elections campaign and the voter turn-out showed that there was hardly any excitement among the masses about this exercise. The main reason was that the people appeared to be fed up with the same leaders and parties dominating the electoral scene. The 1997 election was a decisive defeat of the religious political parties. The most remarkable outcome of the polls was that, for the first time, Muslim League swept the polls all over the country winning over two-third majority in the National Assembly.⁶⁶ Mian Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister of Pakistan and his party Muslim League formed the government.

In Multan division all seats of national assembly were won by Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz). In provincial assembly Punjab PML (N) won all the seats except three. So, results of all the elections showed that no political party is permanent winner in elections. It is the evidence which shows desire of the people for change through electoral politics. They want solutions of their economic and social problems through development of the area and change in administrative setup.

The second factor can be seen from all the results of all elections, the politics of Multan region rotates around the families of feudal, shrines, spiritual leader and elite class' Feudals are so powerful, that they could not be dislodged from politics even by a populist movement. They were the traditional ruling class, which enjoyed influence, prestige and had mastered the art of politicking.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Electoral politics was their favourite domain which in rural constituencies was essentially a contest between traditional rivals of contending feudal families. The big feudal families were adequately represented in the leadership of the most parties, regardless of their orientation to ensure that family interests would be protected whichever party was in power.⁶⁷ The decline of feudals and the emergence of the industrial-business class as a new factor in politics of the region landed influence could be substituted with wealth.

In Multan district the Shrine families Qureshi, Gilani and Pirs are dominant factor in the politics, Hamid Raza Gilani won the elections of National Assembly in 1977 and Yousaf Raza Gilani of the same family won the elections 1985, 1988, 1990 and 1993 from Multan district. Qureshi family of Multan is also important figure in politics and participated in every elections from 1947-2000⁶⁸ and won the elections of 1970, 1977, 1988 and 1993. In Vehari district Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana who belongs to one of the feudal family, was a dominant figure in the politics of the region and in the Punjab also from 1947-1977. After his death Tehmina Daultana a woman of the same family is important in politics of the district. In Khanewal district 'Daha' a feudal family is prominent in politics.

In Lodhran district 'Kanjo' a feudal family is active in politics. Muhammad Saddiq Khan Kanjo won a seat of the National Assembly in 1985, 1988, 1990 and

⁶⁷ Professor Khalid Mahmud, *Pakistan Political Scene 1984-1990*, (Lahore: Rohtas Books, 1990), p.339.

⁶⁸ Zahid Hussain, "Dynasties of Power", Election Special 1993, *The News Line*, Karachi, Vol.5, No.3, September 1993. p.63.

1997 elections. In Sahiwal and Pakpattan District Watto, Rao, Mehr and other elite families are dominant in the politics.

In Multan region the voting patterns are very important in politics which are always different for different ethnic communities. The Saraiki speaking people mostly vote for shrines, tombs and Pirs (spiritual leaders). The Punjabi speaking communities; Jats, Arain and Rajpoots vote on cast basis. In all the six districts, the old political families always form combined panels of candidates for national and provincial seats in collaboration with the old settles. No family and community can fly alone including shrines and Pirs. No political group, individually or collectively, can afford to oppose the demand for a separate province of Multan region (Southern Punjab including the Saraiki region of Bahawlapur). [*Results of General Elections 1997: National and Provincial Assemblies (Multan region) are given in Appendix 'F'*].

7.3 THE VOTER OF MULTAN REGION

Politics of the region has been characterized by the dominance of some influences. It is generally presumed that to achieve political success one must have a famous name and surname a prerogative of the landed gentry. Some influence was also exercised by religious divines, the custodians of holy shrines and tombs who had land owning interests and were generally in alliance with the feudal elite.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Professor Khalid Mehmood, *Pakistan Political Scene 1984-1990*, (Lahore: Rohtas Books, 1990), p.339.

The following are the major factors for the voters in voting pattern in the region.

1. The voter of the region always divides into groups and has their own priorities.
2. The voters are loyal with some political group or person so they vote for their group.
3. The Southern Punjab, Multan division and Bahawlpur can be separated into old settled districts and canal colony districts. The former are primarily by local Saraiki speaker and the latter by Punjabi speaking settlers. So they vote for their favourite and relevant groups.⁷⁰
4. The religious leaders such as Pirs (spiritual guides) and Sajjadah Nisheens (hereditary custodians of Sufi Shrines) have much political influence in village and urban areas. This is especially true of Multan (Southern Punjab) where in every election a large number of Makhdoom Syeds and Pirs contest. In 1993 elections in Multan and Khanewal districts, the Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N) gave tickets to eight MNA and eight MPA candidates who had religious titles. So this is an evidence for their strong hold in the region.

⁷⁰ Andrew R. Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press 1999). P.53.

5. Grouping identities such as family, kinship and caste or membership in a village faction play a more important role in voting, than individual political preference in the region.⁷¹

Although different factors have the ground reality, the election result did not surprise anyone. No political party can claim as a single majority party in the region. There is a change in result of every election.⁷² These elections also gave the verdict of the people of the Multan region. They wanted change and solutions of their problems through political process.

The political movements created awareness in the masses. They are conscious about their political rights and demand through political process. The confused political will of the people of Multan region can be seen in election results. Regional political activities are also a part of this scene and an effort to highlight the issues and demands of the people.

7.4 POLITICIANS' INTERVIEWS

Major political parties have networks in the region. Jammāt-i-Islāmī's Ameer (Leader and administrator) has viewed about politics of Multan region that Ex-Governor of Punjab, Mushtaq Muhammad Gormani, Sajjad Hussain Qureshi, Ex-Chief Minister of Punjab, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar was from Multan. People of the area felt that their representatives did not look after their rights and funds for developments were utilized in upper Punjab area. So it created a sense of

⁷¹ *Ibid*, Pakistani Voter, p. 177.

⁷² Rasul Bakhsh Rais edited, *State Society and Democratic Change in Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.268.

depression about slow socio-economic development in the area. Political movement in the area is not on the basis of Bigotry, if it was on that ground. Mr. Taj Muhammad Langah, Leader of Pakistan Saraiki Party and other regional party can win election from Multan. Regional party did not win a single seat in election till now.⁷³

People accept the fact that Punjab is a big province. Its population is equal to France. It is very difficult for a person to sit in Lahore and control it properly. People want solution of their problems. Elected representatives of the area do not live here. Their family-members live in Lahore or in some foreign country. In smaller administrative unit, problems will be solved at local level. It is very expensive for a common man to go to Lahore. Multan, Southern Punjab is attractive for World Super Power after NWFP [now Khyber Pukhtoon Khaw) (KPK)], Baluchistan and Karachi. Belgium, Italy, Britain and American Ambassadors always visit the area on the name of culture. They know its importance.⁷⁴

There is poverty, low literacy rate and unemployment in the Area, any Maulvi (Religious leader) peer (spiritual leader) can exploit the people. In health sector, there is only Nishtar Hospital from Quetta to Multan. For higher education, Baha-ud-Din Zakeria University is the only institution for whole region.⁷⁵ The area produces sixty percent of country's cotton, but major textile industries have

⁷³ Interview with Rao Muhammad Zafar Ameer Jamaat-i-Islami, City and District Multan dated 2nd August 2009

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Ibid

been set-up in Faisalabad and Karachi. It is mango producing area, but there is no proper arrangement for its preservation and export to other countries, resultantly the growers can not get its proper price for the same. All these factors, also, affect development and politics of the region. Government of the Pakistan and Punjab should give attention towards the said issues of the area.

The other view of Jamaat-i-Islami about politics and democracy is that except the Jamaat, all other parties do not fulfill the criteria of democratic political parties, because they are inherited parties. They win election on the basis of money, land, industry, shrine, influenced bureaucracy and with the help of foreign Aid. Jamaat does not believe in these things. It is an ideological based party. Other parties always select potential or influential candidate. If these parties issue ticket to common man or common worker of the party, then results will be different. For example, in Shuja Abad (a city 35 Km distance from Multan). All feudals and influential politicians joined PML (Q). As a result PML (N) and PPP had no candidate to contest in local election for Tehsil Nazim (Administrator). In these elections, Jamaat got fifty six votes out of two hundred. If other parties have no potential candidate then, they have no politics.

Jammat-i-Islami does not support the demand of separate province or division of Punjab province on linguistic grounds. Jamaat is of the view that Southern Punjab (including Multan) should be a separate province on administrative grounds. The name of that province should be decided after the consensus in parliament with two/third (2/3) majority.

One of the MPA of PPP, Malik Aamir Dogar of Multan said Pakistan Peoples Party is another major party. The role of PPP is important in politics of Multan from its formation in 1967 till today. In every Election, Multan, Southern Punjab supported Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (d. 1979) founder of PPP and his daughter Benazir Bhutto (d. 2007).⁷⁶

Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan, Ex-Secretary General, PPP Multan, Ex-MPA from Multan has viewed about politics of the region that before the Mughal period (1526-1849), there were feudals, capitalists and Nawabs (inherited rulers). Ideologically, they have no political legacy in transferring it generation to generation. These 4-families were called 'Nawabeen Arba' (four ruler families) viz. Qureshis, Gillanis, Gardezis and Khakwanis. The first three were spiritual families. The base of their spiritualism was peeri (spiritual leadership), muridi (followers) and a seat of shrine. They have links up-to Sindh area. Before 1970 Election, Bhutto called on a conference at Hala (city of Sindh).

It was decided in the said conference that PPP will contest elections and party tickets will be issued to party workers. In 1970-election, PPP got majority from Multan. Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan (PPP leader) contested in 1970-elections from Multan and won a seat against Qasim Khakwani and Sajjad Qureshi. There was no local body system in Multan. There were sixteen advisors in Government. Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan was given the area of Multan. He

⁷⁶ Interview with Malik Aamir Dogar, MPA of Pakistan Peoples Party from Multan [Date August 05, 2009, Place Multan].

selected the other persons for district council and corporation. PPP framed the interim constitution. After that 1973-Constitution was framed. Advisors were made Ministers. Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan took oath of the Punjab Assembly at third time under 1973-Constitution. He was Minister for Labour, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation.⁷⁷

There was hopeless situation due to Yahya Khan's Government (1969-71). PPP and Bhutto created political awareness among the people. Interim Constitution-1972 and then 1973-Constitution was framed. In Economic Sector Port Qasim and Steel Mill Karachi were established. Steel Mill project was completed with Russian help. In Education Sector private schools were nationalized. In Agriculture Sector, PPP worked for Agricultural Development and increase in production. Labour Policy was framed and minimum pay and share system was introduced for labour. PPP created awareness in Labour, Field Worker and Daily Wage workers. PPP gave slogan of Bread, Clothing and House (*Roti Kapra and Makan*) for all so that there may be political change.⁷⁸

In 1977 Elections to increase the membership of the party, Mr. Umar Yayat Tamman was given the task especially in Southern Punjab, Saraiki area for participation of those people, who did not join party in 1970. Some leaders and spiritual leaders announced to join the party with thousands of followers. Mr. Bhutto asked "please tell me about the situation". Malik Mukhtar Ahgmed Awan

⁷⁷ Interview with Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan, Ex-MNA, Senior Minister of Pakistan Peoples Party from Multan [Date August 03, 2009, Place Multan].

⁷⁸ Ibid.

said “as per announcement all the people were with them and no body is with you”. Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan to Bhutto also said “they will not accept the Economic System given by you. After that Bhutto admitted this in his book named “If I am assassinated”. He said I want to construct a bridge between the have or haven’t. If I am not murdered by Military Government, I will work for the poor. In 1977 election, party tickets were issued to feudals and landlords. Feudals joined PPP and worked against the party. Reactionary forces worked against poor people. At the time of Bhutto’s assassination in 1979, political and feudal families distributed sweets as happiness. Political legacy of PPP transferred from Bhutto to his daughter (Benazir Bhutto) and after her murder in 2007, it was transferred to new generation of Bhutto.⁷⁹

On the question of new province in Saraiki area, PPP has view that it is a National party from Khyber to Karachi. It is rare in life of a nation that God gave them a party, which worked for the whole nation, not for any region and opened all options. If we create a new province and hand over it to feudals what will be benefit to the common man.⁸⁰ Now-a-days our country is passing through political and economic crisis. So in these circumstances, PPP is not in favour of any regional political movement. If demanded on administrative grounds, it may be considered.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Interview with Malik Aamir Dogar, MPA of Pakistan Peoples Party from Multan [Date August 05, 2009, Place Multan].

About politics of the region Mr. Nafees Ansari Ex-MPA, has view that a common worker was always neglected in politics of the area. As said before, politics of Multan rotate around families like Gillanis, Qureshis and other Feudals. Now-a-days, Yousaf Raza Gillani of Multan is working as Prime Minister of Pakistan, but there is no progress in the region. Development in the area is as slow as it was in the past.

Pakistan Muslim League is one of the major party in Multan region and in the country as a whole. It contested in elections and always competed with PPP. It got majority seats in 1990, 1997 elections from Multan Division. Pakistan Muslim League do not want division of Punjab on language grounds. Mr. Javid Hashmi an MNA from Multan of PML (N) also favours to create a new province in Multan, Southern Punjab on administrative grounds.⁸²

Leaders of the parties and elected representatives, MNAs, MPAs of Multan region feel that development progress in Multan is slow and need attention by Provincial and Federal Government. All the development funds are with the Punjab Government and people are bound to visit Lahore (capital of Punjab province) for the solution of their problems. That was one of the reasons for starting of political movement in Saraiki area and demanded a separate province "*Saraikistan*" in Southern Punjab centered in Multan.

⁸² Interview with Nafees Ahmed Ansari, Ex-MPA of Pakistan Muslim League (N) from Multan [Date August 08, 2009, Place Multan].

7.5 OPINIONS OF POLITICAL FIGURES AND COMMON PEOPLE

To collect the opinion of the political figures/leaders and common people, researcher prepared a Questionnaire consisting on ten questions about the politics of the region (detail given in Appendix 'F'). The responses of the Questionnaires collected from the political figures/leaders and common people, are given in the two different tables, on the left.

Description of Table about political figures/leaders

Sampling population converted into percentage out of which 6.3% did not respond. 94.7% responded with different percentage of 'yes', 'no' and 'to some extent'. The average of 'yes' response is (63.8%), 'No' (17.5%) and to some extent (18.5%).

Comments

The average of response to the question of integration, prosperity of the masses and creation of 'Saraiki province' is quite encouraging. On the other hand the responses as 'No' and 'to some extent' do not show decisive opinion. Majority support the creation of Saraiki province. New province create balance of power politically and administratively within the country.

Description of Table about common people

The questionnaire comprises ten questions. Sampling population was 100 out of which 15% did not respond. 85% responded with different percentage of 'yes' and 'no' and 'to some extent'. The average of 'yes' response is (59.8%), 'No' (12.3%) and to some extent (13.4%).

Comments

The average of response to the questions of integration, prosperity of common people, empowering of political figures, positive reaction of the masses, is quite encouraging and speaks about the creation of Saraiki province. At the same that as it truly responds to the voice of regional group's hence administrative and politically balanced state of affairs is certain. The role of shrines in politics is not so distinctive. On the other hand the responses as 'No' and 'to some extent' do not show decisive opinion. In a word majority supports the creation of 'Saraiki province'.

7.6. ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS OF COMMON PEOPLE & POLITICAL FIGURES/LEADERS

Common people

Firstly, in response to question two and four to eight, which are about the creation of new 'Saraiki province' Majority of the population, i.e. 70% agree to the demand of creation of the 'Saraiki province. Only 7.5% disagree to the proposal of a separate province; whereas negligibly 8% are vague in their opinion.

Secondly, in response to question 1 and 3, which are about integration of the country and empowering of political figures, 38% people are of the views that creation of Saraiki province will ultimately integrate the country. Then 23% population does not agree to the movement. Moreover, the creation of a new province will further empower the political figures of the area. Then only 18% population has no clear opinion.

Thirdly, there are question 9 and 10, which are about the shrine politics. 50% appreciate the shrine politics, whereas only 10% oppose the same and 25% partially agree to the influence of shrine politics in Multan region. (The analysis table is given in Appendix 'F')

Political Figures

Firstly, in response to questions 2 and 4 to 8, which are about the creation of a new province? Majority of the population i.e. 73% agrees to the demand of creation of the Saraiki province only 13.33% disagrees to the proposal of a separate province. 13.33% are just vague in their opinion.

Secondly, in response to the question 1 and 3, which are about the integration of the country and empowering of political figures, 57% people are of the view that the creation of the Saraiki province will ultimately integrate the country. 20% does not agree to the movement. Moreover, the creation of a new province will further empower the political figures of the area. 22.50% population has no clear opinion.

Thirdly in response to the question 9 and 10, which are about the shrine politics, 42.5% responses to favour and appreciate shrine politics. Whereas only 27.5% oppose it and 30% partially agree. (The analysis table is given in Appendix 'F')

Chapter 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Historically survey from pre-historic times reveals that Multan region which is now an administrative division of Punjab Province, has always held a very important position as a base for the administration of the subcontinent. The recent excavation at Harappa in Multan region and Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh show that before the advent of the Aryans, the civilization of the Multan and Sindh closely resembled those of Mesopotamia.

From the mosaic of these nascent agrarian cultures in pre-history there emerges in full bloom the Bronze Age Phenomenon of an organized society over the vast region embracing the plains of the Punjab, Multan and Sindh etc. which is properly named as the Indus Civilization. The Harappa in Multan region and Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh are the two focal centres of control of this nameless empire that's agricultural produce even figure in the economic tablets of the contemporary Sumerian civilization. After flourishing roughly from 2500 BC to 1500 BC, the civilization declines and disappears to give way to a different order of cultural invasion from the west or central Asia, generally as Aryan culture.

The city of Multan is only living city of Indus valley civilization which exists from pre-historic period till today. The other cities of Indus civilization like *Harappa* in Punjab *Mohenjo-Daro* in Sindh and *Kot Deji* in Baluchistan are dead. So Multan region has unique position from BCE till today.

Among the various races which have come to India from time to time, the Aryans occupy a unique position. They lived in the region for a long time. Their earliest literary work, the 'Rig Veda' mentions the rivers of the Punjab-Sindhu or the Indus, Vitusa or the Jhelum, Askiri or the Chenab, Aravati or the Ravi, Vipasa or the Beas Chutardri or Sutlej all these except Beas passes through the area of Multan region. The area of the region was at that time till the coast of sea in south and till the city of Taxila to the north.

Multan region is noted for its antiquity, spiritual and cultural traditions elaborately decorated shrines. As a centre of learning and Saints, it played a predominant role in receiving and assimilating religious as well as socio-cultural traditions brought over from distant lands. Since the very early days, it was an independent state. It was the centre of early Muslim state and was called the gateway of Islam. It is impossible to surmise its date of founding in the absence of proper archaeological excavations. Waves after waves of foreign invaders and religious enthusiasts visited this land and left behind everlasting imprints on the society. Multan is the birth place of three great rulers of the subcontinent Muhammad Tughlaq (d. 1351), Bahlol Lodhi (d. 1488) and Ahmad Shah Abdali (1773).

The three central elements to regionalism include a common historical experience, sense of shared problems among a geographically distinct group of societies and common area and language; this also provides a definition of a region. Considering the case study of Multan region with regard to the above

essential elements of regionalism, the area of Multan fulfils all conditions to be a region.

Taking an account of first element which is about common historical experience, Multan region was independent with its separate political authority. Harappan civilization which flourished in this region before 2500 BC is first evidence in this regard when Alexander the Great conquered the region in 327 BC. It was an independent region under the rule of Malwa tribes. Multan was the chief city of this area with the political seat of Malwa tribes. From 327 BC till the establishment of first Muslim state in India in 1206 AD for about fifteen hundred years Multan region was independent with its own political rule. From 1206 till the end of Sikh rule 1849 for about eight hundred years the region had separate political and administrative authority. During British period it was merged in Punjab as per need of the ruler. Multan region since the last two thousand years has faced a common historical experience.

Taking in to account the second element, which is the sense of shared problems fits perfectly to the Multan region including the whole of southern Punjab i.e. Saraiki area. The people of Multan region are facing similar problems; these include underdevelopment of area, economic and political deprivations. The general masses of the region feel that their region is being exploited and they are not being provided their due shares. This is a strong element which brought the people of the region close to each other and they started political movement in the

region. They demanded development in the region including the demand of separate province for Multan region in the area of southern Punjab.

Applying the third element is geographically distinct group of the society, common area and language. Multan region has always been a geographically and politically distinct area. In the annals of history Multan region has been the land of clashes and conflicts, of fierce encounters between races, cultures and ideologies. All the successive references, starting from the time of Alexander the Great in 327 BC and ending with the conquering of British in 1849 AD. Multan has been an empire; a kingdom; a state; a province; a capital and now since long just the divisional headquarter. This is strong evidence that Multan region had distinct language, geographical and political position in every period in history.

Since long Multan region is one of the eight division of Punjab province. Its total area is 21136 sq km. Area wise it has been the largest division of Punjab. The total population of the region is 11577431 persons (11.58 millions). It is one of the important regions from agricultural and animal husbandry point of view. The important crops of the region are cotton, wheat, sugarcane, oilseeds. The most important crops are cotton and wheat. The region contributes 34% and 22% of the total production of the Punjab respectively. In fruits Multan region contributes 31% Mangoes and 37% Bananas of the total production of the Punjab province. From trade point of view, it is the central area of Pakistan. The region is being represented by eighteen MNA's in National Assembly and thirty nine MPA's in the Punjab Assembly. These representatives elected through general elections held

in the country. People of the region have not forgotten the important position of Multan region which was in the past. People of the region participated in the Pakistan movement with a hope that in a new state of Pakistan Multan region will be given its due share politically, economically and socially in all fields of life. When independence was achieved in 1947 Multan was a forgotten region. Industry, agriculture, higher and professional education, hospitals and development for better quality of life in the region was not given priority.

After the creation of Pakistan Multan region was given the status of division in the Punjab province. The area included in Multan region change its geographical boundaries from time to time in the history as per need of administrative set up but all these changes cannot reduce its historic importance. Since 1947 no socio-economic development programme was specially launched for the uplift of Multan region.

Soon after the creation of Pakistan different cultural linguistic and socio-economic organizations started work in the 'Saraiki area' comprised southern Punjab, which includes the Multan region, geographically Multan is situated in the centre of Saraiki area so the region is hub of cultural and political activities. The organizations high light the local culture and socio economic problems of the area. 'Muslim League' was the only ruling party in the country which ruled in the region from 1947 till the end of first democratic era 1958 when military occupied the rule.

In fact Pakistan is a combination or amalgamation of peoples of different regions, areas, cultures, languages, economic groups, religious groups and political groups. Different areas and groups who joined the Pakistan had their own identity before the creation of Pakistan on the basis of race, region, culture, language, area, society and religion. Multan region was one of them. In a new country Pakistan they started activities to search their identity, share of economic, development and political rights. Pakistan did not frame any constitution till 1956, to settle these problems.

The governments try to handle this situation and declared the whole country 'one unit' in 1955. In one unit scheme West Pakistan (Now Pakistan) divided into ten administrative units. Multan region was given the status of administrative units. Multan region was given the status of administrative unit in new set up. The one unit scheme was an arrangement to satisfy the people of different region. But the people of some regions and areas were not satisfied with the political situation and development of their region. The economic and political development in the region was not as per need of the masses.

In first two decades there was not a single university in Multan region. Agriculture which is the largest sector of the region not handles properly. No new canal was dug to meet the shortage of water and no scheme was introduced for improvement of this sector. This show the lack of government interest in development of the region in a political sense Multan region which was a state and a province throughout its history deserve to given it the status of province. So

people of the region started two political movements in the region. One is the Bahawalpur province movement. Bahawalpur was a part of Multan before 1727 AD. During 1727-1947 it was an independent state. It was a part of one unit scheme from 1955-1969, the people were not happy with this arrangement. So they started a movement named 'Bahawalpur Province Movement. This movement gained momentum when one unit scheme end in 1969 and Bahawalpur was merged in Punjab Province.

The purpose of this movement was that Bahawalpur should be given the status of province. Before 1970 elections it was an important issue. This movement fizzled out in 1971, the government did not consider the demand and movement end without any result but elements of this movement still exist.

Multan is centre of political power and cultural activities in the region. Saraiki Movement started in Multan region. Different Saraiki cultural and linguistic activities launched out in Multan region soon after the creation of Pakistan. Saraiki Movement started in Multan region and in Saraiki area in 1960's. It was not political movement but in fact a cultural and linguistic movement which convert into political movement.

There are two reasons why the people of Multan region felt very strongly on the regional issues based on common history, culture, language and economic problems. First its people are very proud of historic and political status of their region. They are not forgotten culture, language and good economy of past. They could not tolerate the contemptuous attitude of other dominated group i.e. Punjabi

speaking and ruling elite towards it. Secondly they thought that if there region was not given the official status of province, the government affairs and patronage would become the monopoly of the Punjabi speaking people of Punjab Province and thus their already neglected economic interest and development receive a further setback. This fear reinforced regionalism and set in motion the chair-reaction of other demands like a Saraikistan Province in Multan region – Southern Punjab. Saraiki Movement then became a symbol of regional struggle for political, economic and cultural equality with other areas of Punjab province.

Saraiki province movement began in Multan region when the Saraiki speaking areas felt that in comparison with other areas of Punjab which is Punjabi speaking areas, there was less and slower development in Saraiki areas, less access of power, good and services in the region are due to lack of development. There are number of grievances which have been put by the various Saraiki political parties and organizations. In March 1975 all Pakistan Saraiki Adbi (literary) conference held in Multan which provide a collective form to all the organizations which are working for Saraiki cause. This conference proved a mile stone in the history of 'Saraiki Movement'.

Twenty three Saraiki cultural and literary organizations attended it. The conference passed recommendations about the creation of 'Saraikistan Province' comprising of Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan and Sargodha Division etc. in Saraiki area. It was considered that 'Saraiki Province' was more viable demand then Bahawalpur suba (province) movement, which was only limited a smaller

region of Bahawalpur and was based on it being a separate state earlier. The people of Saraiki area may be given employment quota in accordance with the population of the region. So the recommendations of the conference recognize the different demand including the demand of 'Saraikistan Province' at political level.

Now the demand of separate Province in Multan region i.e. in southern Punjab area considers a common political cause for all the organizations working in the region. Other demands includes; settlement of Bihari's (Urdu speaking immigrants from Bangladesh) in the Saraiki areas meets with disapproval from the locals; Saraiki to be medium of instructions for primary school of the area; formation of Saraiki regiment in the army; increases in time given to Saraiki language programme on radio and television.

There are number of grievances which have been put up by the various Saraiki regional political parties and organizations. One of the grievances is settlement of people from other areas. This began when in 1886-88 canals were dug by the British and new canal colonies in the (Southern Punjab) Multan region were opened to the settlers from out side. The first colonization project in the Punjab was Sidhnai colony, located in Multan district. Then next project 'Sohag Para Colony' was situated in Montgomery district (now Sahiwal) in Multan region.

Under the Sutlej valley project 'Nili Bar Colony' situated in Montgomery and Multan district where settlement proceedings commenced in 1925 and continued until after 1940. These settlements were made under the 'Sutlej valley

project' introduced in the region. Then again after the 'Sutlej Valley Project' new settlers came into Multan and Bahawalpur region which is still continuing much to the disapproval of Saraiki people. Another grievance is that Multan region-Southern Punjab generates more income than what is spent on it.

According to Saraiki activists, it believes that Multan being the major producer of cotton, the income earned from the region is not being spent on the region. The Saraiki movement claims a separate province in Multan region – Southern Punjab area. There are number of reasons that the movement cannot achieve the target till now and still continue his political struggle.

Bahawalpur is a part of Saraiki region. Majority of people in Bahawalpur feel that by supporting the creation of Saraiki province Multan will be the centre of power and the capital of the new province and domination of other areas over Bahawalpur will remain as such. So they still favour Bahawalpur province upon Saraiki or Multan province. Being Saraiki, a limited section of people in Bahawalpur has a soft corner for Saraiki province.

The Urdu speaking and Punjabi speaking people are totally against the creation of a separate province on the basis of language. They have viewed that this will create dominator of Saraikis and create differences among the people of the region. They have viewed that new province in Multan region – Southern Punjab should be on the administrative grounds which will be acceptable to all the sections of the people living in the region.

Another factor which is very important in the study of Saraiki Movement in Multan region that all the general elections held from 1947-2000 no candidate of Saraiki party even won a single seat in the elections.

The government has a view that creation of a new province on the basis of language and culture will create problems and disintegration in the country and increase in demands of different regional parties and groups who are working in the country.

Majority of popular political leaders in Multan region are big land holders. They have strong political position in popular political parties like PML, PPP and Jamaat-i-Islami. They are getting maxim political and economic benefits at regional and national level in present political setup. So they do not have any clear policy to favour the demand of regional parties and division of Punjab. They always hold key positions in Punjab Province and in central government.

There is a strong influence of major national political parties in Multan region. These parties seek their strong vote bank in the region. Most of these parties do not support the movement as they claim to be national parties discouraging the ethnic and cultural divisions. Pakistan Muslim League is a national political party and has toots in four provinces. Its major strength lies in Punjab. Muslim League cannot afford the division of Punjab Province.

Pakistan Peoples Party is a major national; party. PPP has its vote bank in Multan region. PPP's major strength lies in Sindh Province. Another political party 'MQM' has strong hold in Karachi division and in Hyderabad city which is a

part of Sindh province. MQM is demanding 'Karachi' as a separate province. If Pakistan Peoples Party supporting the Saraiki Province Movement of Multan region and division of Punjab, then it will also have to make 'Karachi division' a province, which is dominated by 'MQM' and as such will be unacceptable to Peoples Party.

Jamaat Islami is also a major national political party. Jamaat Islami has Madrasas (schools) and libraries in all the major cities of Multan region. This party has street power because all the new settlers in canal colonies districts favour its work. Jamaat also contest elections in the region. Hardly any candidate of 'Jamaat' wins in elections. Jamaat win seats from Lahore and Karachi. If Jamaat supports the Saraiki Province Movement in Multan region it will lose its identity of universal programme for all human being which is part of its manifesto. Another reason is that if Jamaat support the creation of a new province in Multan region – Southern Punjab which is in fact division of Punjab, then it will lose its strong political hold in Lahore, which is now capital of Punjab and Jamaat has its head office in that city. Lahore is also a symbol of political power of Jamaat Islami.

On the other hand little provinces like Baluchistan representing five percent and 'NWFP' representing fourteen percent of total country's population feel that Punjab has political domination due to its population which is fifty six percent of country's population. New province in Multan region (Saraiki area) will create balance among the provinces. In this way it reduces the grievances of other

provinces. So they support the movement. Political parties which have domination in other region like 'MQM' in Karachi, ANP in NWFP also support the regional movements.

Saraiki Movement in Multan region has some achievements. It did not adopt the way of agitation and presented its demands through political process. It creates political awareness among the people of the region. It is a mass movement which exists in the region and demanding development of the region and a separate province for Multan region – Southern Punjab.

Trend of national politics also affects the Multan region. All the political parties, political movements and trend at national level leave impact upon the people of the region as well. Although there is no effective regional party in Multan which could compete with the national parties in the field of politics, demand more share for Multan region and contest the case for separate province for this historic region which has been a symbol of political power and identity in the past.

In the absence of any effective regional parties provide alternative to the national political parties and to the voters of Multan region. Therefore, National Political Alliances and effective national political parties which always dominated by some feudal families, groups and personalities remain the only available choice for the people of the region. So in this political situation, national political parties, just like other regions of the country have been winning from Multan region. Only two political parties have remained popular in the region, Pakistan Peoples Party

and Pakistan Muslim League. PPP has always better position in the region, and then comes the Pakistan Muslim League. But these parties have no clear policy or view about the issue of separate province in Multan region – Southern Punjab. But candidates of these parties who win from this area are those who have soft corner for separate province in Multan region (Saraiki region). Although their parent parties claimed to be national political parties did not support the cause in their party manifesto. The candidates of any party contesting in the region fully relies the feelings of the masses and their demands for development of the region.

In the present political scenario, the politicians of Multan region have important positions in the government. At the moment PPP form the government in the country. Prime Minister of Pakistan ‘Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani’ and Foreign Minister of Pakistan Shah Mahmood Qureshi both are part of PPP government and belong to Multan region. In past politicians from Multan region had got very effective positions in government, but they do not have priority for developments in their own constituencies and region this is one of the major factor for underdevelopment.

It hoped that in near future with the awareness of masses Multan region will get its due shares at all level and demand for separate province will be fulfill through political process in a democratic way. Political movements and region parties still exist in the region which is a symbol of hope and success.

8.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

The majority of the Multan region aspires for a separate province, which at the moment under present circumstances does not appear likely to be fulfilled in near future. People have grievances, if government takes these seriously then may be this demand for a separate province postpone further. There are a number of suggestions for Multan region which if implemented, can help to reduce the grievances and develop the Multan region.

Agriculture in Multan region and in Pakistan is the largest single sector for the growth of national economy. This region has not been given due attention by the provincial and federal government in the allocation of funds (budget) towards the development of the region. The economy of the region depends upon its agriculture. Multan region is rich in agriculture commodities production. Main crops of the region are wheat, cotton, sugarcane and oilseeds. In fruits the region produces a large quantity of 'Mango' which is tasty and like in all over the world. The government needs to set up storage facilities like huge godowns to store all bumper crop of the region. Agriculture training centres should be opened to train the farmers on scientific lines.

It improves the skill of farmers. It will help to increase in production. Sugarcane is a major crop of the region, but there are not many sugar mills in this sector. There is a need to install large sugar mills in the region. Installation of sugar mills create employment on large scale and fulfill the eating need of a common man. Improvement in production will also control the price in market,

although eighty percent of the population directly or indirectly depends on agriculture. But till now there is no agriculture university in the region.

The district Sahiwal of Multan region is famous for live-stock production and for production of milk, dairy products and domestic poultry. Live stock and domestic poultry should introduce throughout the region. For increase in production of live stock, a university of animal and veterinary sciences is sharp need of this region.

At present, in Multan region there is not much trend towards industrialization. The rich classes and big landlords of the region are mostly linked with agriculture. There is a great need that the government gives incentives to the people especially the agricultural engineers, experts of production, forestry and technocrats of the region, to establish industries. There is no heavy industry in the region except a few in Multan. In order to develop the area an industrial estate having big industries need to be established.

Maximum tax exemption should be given to those who are interested to install heavy industries. The government should provide soft loan on easy terms and conditions for the installation of industries. A tax free zone should be established with all facilities where all types of industries should be set up. There is no university of engineering and technology in the region which should be set up as soon as possible.

For the interest of common people small industries and cottage industries should be encouraged. Multan region is famous for embroidery work *Khussa* (hand

made embroider leather shoes) glazed tiles of different variety, colours, shades, styles, designs with painting figures known by the name of Multani glazed tiles. These tiles are very famous and should be exported to other countries. The local artisan's leather work, articles made from camel skin, cotton fabrics, woolen fabrics, carpets, bone and wood work, mirror work can introduced in the world if cottage industry is developed. It will bring more earnings to the poor section of society. The government should open centres in different areas where the worker can sell their products. The steps would be taken to advertise these products at export centres.

An office of import and export which is now located in Multan city. The businessmen of the entire region have to go to Multan to acquire new licenses and for renew their licenses which are costly and time consuming. It should opened its branches in all district headquarter and in all major cities of the region to facilitate the business community and to those person who are interested in export.

Multan region is a cotton growing and cotton exporting area. An office of 'Cotton Export Corporation' should be opened in all major cities. Multan region produced twenty two percent of the total production of the country. Facilities of best seeds, fertilizers and water as per need of the farmer can help to increase in cotton production.

The means of communication of the region will have to be improved. The motorway is essential to meet the new challenges. If motorway and new roads as

per need are not constructed, the region will face traffic problems. New road from farms to markets and link roads from towns to cities have to be constructed.

The airport at Multan city needs to be expanded for large passenger planes like Boeing to facilitate the people. So that businessmen and tourist from every corner of the world can easily visit the region. Tourism department should provide transport facilities to the visitors from air port to other areas where historic sites and buildings are located. So that tourism industry can flourish in the region. It will open new opportunities of jobs for the local people.

Education is one of the sectors which need to be improved at all levels, from School to university. Since long Multan was a centre of education, but now it has one university and one medical college besides other colleges and schools. A medical university is great need of the area to fulfill the minimum requirement of the region to provide the facilities of scientific research in the field of medical and pharmacology to the students of this area.

Since the region based on agriculture, wheat, cotton and oil seeds are major crops of this region, one of the suggestion is 'A Scientific Research Centre' should be opened to improve the quality and production of these crops. So that production of theses crops at par the production of advanced country.

Lower share in jobs in WAPDA, Army and Police at provincial and federal level is one of the major grievances of the people of the region. There should be a fixed quota of jobs as per population ratio for the region with regard to government jobs. This step reduces the grievance of the people.

Rapid growth of population in Multan region needs more attention for provision of necessities like roads, health centre, drinking water, gas, telephone, electricity, schools, play grounds, means of communication and new housing colonies. It is fact, that whole of Multan region remains underdeveloped, serious efforts and planning to be put in towards the betterment and development of the region.

The separation of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1971 should be taken as a lesson for all the times to come. The government and politicians of West Pakistan (now Pakistan) refused to provide due share to East Pakistan. So a separatist political movement get momentum, the result was separation of East Pakistan. The government should try to remove the feelings of deprivations amongst the people of Multan region in a democratic way, before these convert into a strong movement, which will have a negative impact on the integration of Pakistan.

Even though the movement with the slogan of separate province in Multan region – Southern Punjab is continue and less effective for government. But it has strong roots amongst the people of the region. It is not so much effective as it should be due to political scenario of the region. The people strongly feel that problem can be solved if it is made a separate province rather than a part of Punjab.

Punjab is a big province, near about fifty six percent population lives in Punjab and remaining forty four percent live in three provinces i.e. Sindh 23%,

NWFP 14%, Baluchistan 5% and Fata 2%. The big share of population in Punjab province creates grievances among the other provinces. Lahore is capital of Punjab province. Multan is about 350 km south of Lahore. Some far flung areas of Multan region – Southern Punjab are at the distance of about 700 km from its provincial capital.

The new province Multan if created on administrative ground will facilitate people of Multan including the whole area of Southern Punjab, because Multan is a central place of the South Punjab and new province with its capital at Multan will be equal in distance for whole area of South Punjab. The new province will create balance among the provinces of the country as per population, area and administrative setup. It will be in the interest of the country to reduce grievances of the people at regional, provincial and national level, Lahore is provincial capital of Punjab. Multan is at the distance of 350 km from its provincial capital city Lahore and 945 km from Karachi which has a sea port, provincial assembly and high court have their seat and work in Karachi. Distance between Lahore and Karachi is near about 1300 km. There is no provincial capital between these two cities. Administratively creation of a new province in Multan region facilitate those people who are living at the far flung areas from their provincial capital and these people always visit to these cities.

While comparing the level of development of Multan region with that of other area of Punjab the difference can be seen and felt immediately. The people of the region are not wrong in feeling that they left out of the mainstream. At the

moment there are number of regional parties and social groups working in Multan region and in the country to highlight the political demand of separate province in Southern Punjab area with its capital at Multan is their mission. But during the national and provincial elections, the people only like to vote for those candidates who support the case. In Multan regional it is very difficult for any political party to oppose the demand of separate province openly. The masses of the region always discuss the issue and put strong evidences to support it.

Multan had its separate identity in every period in history. Multan as a state and as a province had it own separate administrative, judicial and educational systems. People feel relief in that system. Its merger in Punjab was as per need of the ruler. It is desire of the people of Multan region that its previous historical status of separate province will be revived in new state of Pakistan. It seems that if government did not adopt the serious steps for uplift and development of the region than politics of regionalism in this region may become a very serious issue. If the grievances of the region are not looked upon by the government; these strong feelings of the masses may turn in to a strong political movement which will be a challenging force for the state machinery at all levels.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SAINTS OF INDIAN SUFISM ARRANGED

CHRONOLOGICALLY

1. The Saints of the Chisti Order

Sr.No.	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
1.	Mu 'īnu'd-Dīn Ajmerī	1236	Ajmer
2.	Qutbu'd-Dīn Kākī	1237	Delhi
3.	Shamsu'd-Dīn Altamash	1237	Delhi
4.	Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrezī	1244	Bengal
5.	Muhammad Turk	1245	Narnol
6.	Badru'd-Din Ghaznawī	1259	Delhi
7.	Jamālu'd-Dīn	1261	Hansi
8.	Farīdu'd-Dīn Shakarganj	1266	Pakpatan
9.	Najību'd-Dīn Mutawakkil	1272	Ghiyaspur (Delhi)
10.	Nizāmu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Mu'ayyid	1273	Delhi
11.	Hamīdu'd-Dīn Sūfī	1274	Nagore
12.	Qādī Hamīdu'd-Dīn	1279	Nagore
13.	Dā'ūd Pālīhī	1281	Delhi
14.	Imām 'Alī Lāhaq	1287	Sialkot
15.	Burhānu'd-Dīn Mahmud Abu'l Khayr	1288	Delhi
16.	'Alau'd-Din Ahmad Sabir	1291	Piran-i-Kaliar
17.	Badru'd-Din b.'Ali Ishaq	1291	Ajodhan
18.	Muntakhabu'd-Din	1296	Deogiri (Deccan)
19.	Sayyid Muhammad b. Sayyid Mahmud Kirmani	1311	Delhi
20.	Nizamu'd-Din Shirazi	1318	Delhi
21.	Shamsu'd-din Turk	1318	Panipat
22.	Qadi Muhiu'd-Din Kashani	1319	Delhi
23.	Khwaja 'Alau'd-Din b. Shaykh Badru'-Din	1320	Pakpatan
24.	Shamsu'd-din	1320	Zafarabad
25.	Sharfu'd-Din Bu 'Ali Qalandar	1324	Karnal & Panipat
26.	Nizamu'd-Din awliya	1325	Delhi
27.	Amir Khusru	1325	Delhi
28.	Mo'ayid'ud-Din	1326	Delhi
29.	Wajihu'd-Din Yusuf	1329	Chanderi
30.	Muhammad Imam	1335	Delhi
31.	Hisamu'd-Din	1335	Pakpatan
32.	Fakhru'd-Din Rozi	1336	Delhi
33.	Mir Hasan 'Ala'I Sanjari	1336	Deogiri (Deccan)

34.	Diyau'd-Din Barni	1338	Delhi
35.	Burhanu'd-Din Gharib	1340	Deogiri
36.	Hisamu'd-Din Sokhta	1341	Sanbhar (Ajmer)
37.	'Azizu'd-Din Sufi	1341	Delhi
38.	Shamsu'd-Din Yahya	1345	Delhi
39.	Malikzada Ahmad	1346	Delhi
40.	Shaykh Danial	1347	Satrakh (near Lucknow)
41.	Fakhru'd-Din Zaradi	1347	Was drowned on his way to Mecca
42.	Diya'ud-Din Bakhshi	1350	Budaun
43.	Faridu'd-Din	1351	Nagore
44.	Kamalu'd-Din 'Allama	1353	Delhi
45.	Nasiru'd-Din Chiraghi-i-Dehli	1356	Delhi
46.	Akhi Siraju'd-Din	1357	Delhi
47.	Sadru'd-din Hakim	1358	Delhi
48.	Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar	1359	Hansi
49.	'Ala'u'd-din Nabili	1361	Delhi
50.	Siraju'd-Din	1361	Patan (Ahmedabad)
51.	Jalalu'd-Din Kabiru'l-Awliya	1364	Panipat
52.	Hamidu'd-Din Qalandar	1367	Delhi
53.	Sayyid Muhammad b. Mubarak Kirmani	1368	Delhi
54.	Yusuf Chishti	1372	Delhi
55.	Taju'd-Din	1382	Narnol
56.	Abu'l-Fatah	1386	Jaunpur
57.	'Abdu'l-Muqtadir	1389	Jaunpur
58.	'Ala'u'd-Din 'Alau'l-Haq	1398	Panduah
59.	Mawlana Khwajagi	1398	Kalpi
60.	Mir Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani	1405	Kachaucha
61.	'Alimu'd-Din	1406	Patna
62.	Nuru'l-Haq	1410	Panduah
63.	Shaykh Ahmad	1417	Kalpi
64.	Fatahu'llah	1418	Oudh
65.	Mir Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz	1422	Hyderabad (Deccan)
66.	Muhammad Mutawakkil Kantori	1422	Bahraich
67.	Shaykh Yusuf Irchi	1431	Malwa
68.	Shaykh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haq	1433	Radauli
69.	Sher Khan Bak	1433	Delhi
70.	Qawwamu'd-Din	1438	Lucknow
71.	Qadi Shihabu'd-Din	1444	Daulatabad
72.	Nuru'd-Din Qutb 'Alam Bangali	1447	Panduah
73.	Shaykh Kabir	1453	Gujrat
74.	Abu'l-Fatah 'Ala'I Qurayshi	1457	Kalpi
75.	Shaykh Muhammad Mayna	1465	Lucknow
76.	Kaku Shah	1477	Lahore
77.	Sa'du'd-Din	1477	Khairabad
78.	Shah Miyanji Beg	1484	Mandu
79.	Sayyid Muhammad b. Ja'far	1486	Sirhind

80.	Shaykh Muhammad Rajan	1495	Ahmedabad and Pak Patan
81.	Shaykh Junayd	1495	Hissar
82.	Shaykh Husayn	1496	Nagore
83.	Raji Hamid Shah	1496	Manikpur
84.	Shaykh Husayn	1496	Nagore
85.	Shaykh Bakhtiyar	1503	Radauli
86.	Shaykh Muhammad 'Isa	1505	Jaunpur
87.	Mawlana Allah Dad	1514	Jaunpur
88.	Shaykh Ahmad Majid Shaybani	1529	Nagore
89.	Shaykh Muhammad Hasan	1537	Delhi
90.	'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi	1538	Gangoh (Delhi)
91.	'Abdu'l-Kabir Bala Pir	1540	Gangoh (Delhi)
92.	Shaykh Baha'u'd-Din	1540	Jaunpur
93.	Shaykh Khanu	1540	Gwalior
94.	Shaykh 'Ala'u'd-din	1541	Delhi
95.	Sayyid Sultan	1542	Bahraich
96.	Sayyid 'Ali Qawwam	1543	Jaunpur
97.	Shaykh Yusuf	1543	Burhanpur
98.	Shaykh Aman	1549	Panipat
99.	Shaykh Hamza Daharsu	1549	Narnol
100.	Shaykh Hisamu'd-Din	1553	Multan
101.	Mir Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Awwal	1560	Delhi
102.	Shaykh Qadi Khan	1562	Zafarabad
103.	Shaykh Ajodhan	1567	Jaunpur
104.	Shaykh Salim	1568	Fatehpur Sikri
105.	Shaykh Hasan Muhammad	1573	Ahmedabad
106.	Naqi Hayik	1574	Manikpur
107.	Muhammad Tahir	1576	Gujrat
108.	Nizamu'd-Din Pikhari	1577	Burhanpur
109.	Piyara Chishti	1578	Gujrat
110.	Jalalu'd-Din	1581	Thaneswar
111.	Rizqu'llah	1581	Delhi
112.	'Uthman Zinda Pir	1582	Panipat
113.	Sa 'du'd-Din Buddhan	1585	Khayrabad
114.	Shaykh Nizam	1591	Narnol
115.	Shaykh Taha	1592	Ahmedabad
116.	Shaykh Math	1595	Gagrun
117.	Mawlana 'Abdullah	1597	Sultanpur
118.	Ikhtiyaru'd-din	1602	Kalpi
119.	Sayyid Jiw	1606	Delhi
120.	Mir 'Abdul'l-Wahid	1608	Belgram
121.	Haji Awes Tuzi	1608	Belgram
122.	Ahmad Said Shoryani	1609	Kasur
123.	Nizamud-din b. Uthman Zinda Pir	1609	Panipat
124.	Shaykh Rahmat Shoryani	1616	Kasur
125.	Shaykh Muhammad b. Fadlullah	1620	Burhanpur
126.	Shaykh ahmad Shoryani	1621	Kasur
127.	Muhammad Salim	1621	Lahore
128.	Mir Sayyid	1622	Kalpi

129.	Shah Ala	1624	Panipat
130.	Shaykh Jan Allah	1630	Lahore
131.	Shah Muhammad Shamsud-Din	1632	Ahmedabad
132.	Shaykh Muhammad Azam	1632	Ahmedabad
133.	Haji Gagan	1633	Kasur
134.	Shaykh Abdul-Jalil	1633	Lucknow
135.	Shaykh Abdul-Karim	1635	Lahore
136.	Mawlana Darweza	1638	Peshawar
137.	Abu Said	1639	Gangoh (Delhi)
138.	Allah Dad Nuri	1639	Kasur
139.	Malik Muhammad	1639	Jais
140.	Makhdum Abdur-Rashid	1645	Jaunpur
141.	Mir Sayyid Ahmad Gesu Daraz	1648	Kalpi
142.	Muhammad Sadiq b. Fatahullah	1648	Gangoh
143.	Abdul-Khaliq	1649	Lahore
144.	Shaykh Arif	1654	Lahore
145.	Muhammad Ismail	1656	Akbarabad
146.	Shaykh Said Khan	1657	Burhanpur
147.	Shaykh Phogi Afghan	1659	Kasur
148.	Shaykh Panju	1662	Peshawar
149.	Shaykh Junayd	1667	Sandila
150.	Shaykh Habib Khaybari	1668	Auragabad
151.	Pir Muhammad	1669	Lucknow
152.	Hasan Muhammad Jamalud-Din	1670	Ahmedabad
153.	Shaykh Muhammad Siddiq Sabiri	1673	Lahore
154.	Shaykh Muhammad Daud	1684	Gangoh
155.	Shah Abul-Muali	1704	Ameth, Saharanpur
156.	Abdur-Rashid	1709	Jullundhur
157.	Sayyid Muhammad Said Miran Bhikh	1729	Kohram
158.	Kalimullah	1729	Delhi
159.	Shaykh Nizamud-Din	1730	Aurangabad
160.	Shaykh M. Salim Sabiri	1739	Lahore
161.	Shah Bahlul Barki	1757	Jullundhur
162.	Shaykh Adadud-Din	1759	Amroha
163.	Shah Lutfullah	1773	Jullundhur
164.	Maulana Fakhrud-Din	1785	Delhi
165.	Sayyid Alimullah	1786	Jullundhur
166.	Shaykh Nur Muhammad	1791	Bahawalpur State
167.	Shaykh Muhammad Said Sharaquri	1799	Lahore
168.	Muhammad Said	1806	Jullundhur
169.	Abdul-Bari	1813	Amroha
170.	Shaykh Khayrud-Din Khayr Shah	1813	Lahore
171.	Qadi Muhammad Aqil	1814	Kot Mathan
172.	Hadrat Bandagi Sayyid Sabir Ali Shah	1818	Delhi
173.	Sayyid Muhammad Azam	1822	Rupar
174.	Sayyid Imadud-Din	1826	Delhi

175.	Bandagi Hafiz Musa	1832	Manikpur
176.	Sayyid Niyaz Ahmad	1834	Bareilly
177.	Ghulam Nasirud-Din Kale Shah	1846	Delhi
178.	Muhammad Sulayman	1850	Taunsa
179.	Ghulam Mustafa	1851	Wazirabad
180.	Qadi Khuda Bakhsh	1853	Kot Matthan
181.	Mirza Roshan Bakht	1854	Faridabad
182.	Ghore Shah Sironji	1857	Lahore
183.	Amanat Ali	1863	Amroha
184.	Haji Ramdan	1865	Lahore
185.	Fayd Bakhsh	1869	Lahore
186.	Khwaja Fakhrud-din	1871	Kot Matthan
187.	Sayyid Ghulam Muinud-Din Khamosh	1872	Hyderabad
188.	Sayyid Mir Abdullah Shah	1887	Delhi

2. The Saints of the Suhrawardi Order

Sr.	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
1.	Sayyid Nurud-Din Mubarak	1249	Delhi
2.	Shaykh Bahaud-Din Zakariyya	1267	Multan
3.	Jamal Khandaru	1268	Uchh
4.	Shaykh Sadrud-Din	1283	Multan
5.	Shaykh Hisamud-Din	1288	Budaun
6.	Shaykh Hasan Afghan	1290	Multan
7.	Sayyid Jalalud-Din Munir Shah Mir Surkhposi Bukhari	1291	Uchh
8.	Shaykh Ahmad Mashuq	1320	Multan
9.	Diyaud-Din rumi	1320	Multan
10.	Lal Shahbaz Qalandar	1320	Multan
11.	Shaykh Ruknud-Din	1335	Multan
12.	Shaykh Hamidud-Din	1337	Delhi
13.	Wajihud-Din Uthman Sayyah	1338	Delhi
14.	Salahud-Din Darwesh	1340	Delhi
15.	Shaykh Alaud-Din	1340	Multan
16.	Sayyid Mir Mah	1370	Bahraich
17.	Shaykh Haji Chiragh-i-Hind	1372	Zafarabad
18.	Mir Sayyid Jalaud-Din Makhhum-i- Jahaniyan Jahangasht	1383	Uch
19.	Makhdum Shaykh Akhi	1398	Rajgir
20.	Sayyid Ilmud-Din	1405	Palaun
21.	Kabirud-Din Ismail	1424	Uch
22.	Raju Qattal or Qantal	1424	Delhi
23.	Sirajud-Din Hafiz	1426	Kalpi
24.	Sayyid Burhanud-Din Qutb Alam	1453	Ahmedabad
25.	Sayyid Shah Alam	1475	Ahmedabad

26.	Shaykh Abdul Latif Dawarul Mulk	1484	Gujrat
27.	Sayyid Kabirud-Din Hasan	1490	Uch
28.	Shah Abdullah Qureshi	1494	Delhi
29.	Samaud-Din	1496	Delhi
30.	Abdul Jalil Qutbul Alam	1497	Lahore
31.	Qadi Najmud Din	1505	Gujrat
32.	Sayyid Uthman Shah Jhhula	1506	Lahore
33.	Shaykh Ilmud-Din	1510	Chuniwal
34.	Qadi Mahmud	1514	Gujrat
35.	Shaykh Musa Ahangar (Ironsmith)	1519	Lahore
36.	Sayyid Haji Abdul Wahab	1525	Delhi
37.	Shaykh Abdullah biyabani	1529	Delhi
38.	Shaykh Jamali	1535	Delhi
39.	Shaykh Adham Zaynul Abidin	1536	Delhi
40.	Sayyid Jamalud-Din	1542	Delhi
41.	Mulla Firoz Mufti	1565	Kashmir
42.	Makhdum Sultan Shaykh Hamza	1576	Kashmir
43.	Shaykh Naurozi Reshi	1578	Kashmir
44.	Aba Daud Khaki	1585	Kashmir
45.	Sayyid Jhulan Shah Ghore Shah Bukhhari	1594	Lahore
46.	Sayyid Shah Muhammad b. Uthman Jhula	1602	Lahore
47.	Shaykh Hasan, known as Hassu Teli	1603	Lahore
48.	Miran Muhammad Shah Mauj Darya Bukhari	1604	Lahore
49.	Sayyid Jalalud DinHaydar	1612	Kashmir
50.	Baba Robi Reshi	1615	Kashmir
51.	Sayyid Imadul Mulk	1629	Lahore
52.	Shah Arzani	1630	Patna
53.	Baba Nasibud-Din	1637	Kashmir
54.	Sayyid Shihabud-Din	1631	Lahore
55.	Sayyid Abdur Razzaq	1638	Lahore
56.	Sayyid Shah Jamal	1639	Lahore
57.	Sayid Mahmud Shah Naurang	1643	Lahore
58.	Mawlana Haydar	1647	Kashmir
59.	Shah Dawla Daryai	1664	Gujrat (Panjab)
60.	Shaykh Jan Muhammad	1671	Lahore
61.	Shaykh Muhammad Ismail, known as Miyan Wadda	1674	Lahore
62.	Shaykh Hasan Lalu	1689	Kashmir
63.	Shaykh Yaqub	1694	Kashmir
64.	Sayyid Zinda Ali	1699	Lahore
65.	Shaykh Abdur Rahim	1703	Kashmir
66.	Baba Abdullah	1705	Kashmir
67.	Shaykh Jan Muhammad	1708	Lahore
68.	Shaykh Hamid	1752	Lahore
69.	Shaykh Karamullah Qureshi	1785	Shahjahanpur

70.	Shaykh Sikandar Qureshi	1799	Lahore
71.	Shaykh Shah Murad Qureshi	1800	Khokhar
72.	Shaykh Qalandar Shah Qureshi	1832	Lahore

3. The Saints of the Qadiri Order

Sr.	Name	Death Date	Place of Shrine
1.	Shah Inayatullah	1515	Koh-i-Hakhaki
2.	Sayyid Muhammad Ghawth	1517	Uch in Jhang
3.	Mir Sayyid Shah Firoz	1526	Lahore
4.	Sayyid Abdul Qadir II	1533	Uch in Jhang
5.	Sayyid Mahmud Huduri	1535	Lahore
6.	Sayyid Abdul Qadir Gilani	1535	Lahore
7.	Sayyid Abdur Razzaq	1542	Uch in Jhang
8.	Shah Latif Barri	1543	Nurpur (Rawalpindi)
9.	Mir Sayyid Mubarak Haqqani	1549	Uch in Jhang
10.	Sayyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir	1552	Satghara (Punjab)
11.	Bahaud Din Gilani	1565	Hujra
12.	Sayyid Abdullah Rabbani	1570	Uch in Jhang
13.	Sayyid Abdulla Rabbani	1570	Lahore
14.	Sayyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh	1570	Uch
15.	Shaykh Daud Karmani	1574	Shergarh
16.	Shaykh Bahlul Daryai	1575	Chiniot
17.	Shaykh Abu Ishaq	1577	Lahore
18.	Sayyid MirMiran	1578	Lahore
19.	Sayyid Nur	1580	Chunian (Lahore)
20.	Shah Qumes	1584	Sadhaura (Ambala)
21.	Sayyid Ismail b. Sayyid Abdal	1586	Fort Rathor
22.	Sayyid Allah Bakhsh Gilani	1586	Bengal
23.	Sayyid Shah Nur Huduri	1588	Lahore
24.	Hadrat Musa Pak Shahid	1592	Multan
25.	Shaykh Abdul Wahab	1592	Lahore
26.	Sayyid Sufi Badrud Din	1593	Lahore
27.	Sayyid Ismail	1596	Lahore
28.	Sayyid Husayn	1599	Lahore
29.	Shaykh Nimatullah	1608	Sirhind
30.	Shah Badar Gilani	1609	Patiala
31.	Shah Shamsud Din	1612	Lahore
32.	Abdul Qadir Gilani III	1613	Lahore
33.	Shah Khayrud Din Abdul Muali	1615	Lahore
34.	Miyan Nattha	1617	Lahore
35.	Sayyid Abdul Wahab Gilani	1627	Lahore
36.	Shaykh Abdullah Bhatti	1627	Delhi
37.	Mulla Hamid	1635	Lahore
38.	Miyan Mir Bala Pir	1635	Lahore
39.	Sayyid Ghulam Ghawth	1635	Lahore
40.	Sayyid Shah Bilawal	1636	Lahore

41.	Sayyid Abdul Qadir	1640	Akbarabad
42.	Shaykh Abdul Haq Muhaddith	1641	Delhi
43.	Mir Inayatullah Shah Amari known as Miskin Shah	1642	Lahore
44.	Sayyid Muqim Muhkamud Din	1646	Hujr
45.	Shaykh Madhu	1650	Lahore
46.	Khwaja Bihari	1655	Lahore
47.	Shah Sulayman	1655	Bhilowal
48.	Sayyid Jan Muhammad Huduri	1655	Lahore
49.	Muhammad Salih	1657	Akbarabad
50.	Sayyid Abdur Razzaq Shah Chiragh	1658	Lahore
51.	Shah Muhammad Mulla Shah	1659	Lahore
52.	Dara Shikoh	1660	Delhi
53.	Shah Saifullah Sayfur Rahman	1669	Hujra
54.	Haji Abdul Jamil	1671	Lahore
55.	Haji Muhammad Hashim Gilani	1676	Lahore
56.	Sayyid Sarwar Din Huduri	1689	Lahore
57.	Sayyid Muhammad Amir Gilani	1691	Hujra
58.	Shaykh Haji Muhammad Nawshah Ganj Bakhsh	1692	Chhani Sahnpal (Wazirabad)
59.	Sayyid Jafar b. Haji Muhammad Hashim	1696	Lahore
60.	Sayyid Adbul Hakim Gilani	1697	Lahore
61.	Sayyid Muhammad Fadil Mutawakkil	1701	Lahore
62.	Khwaja Muhammad Fudayl Nawshahi	1701	Kabul
63.	Shaykh Rahim Dad	1703	Bhilowal
64.	Sayyid Umar Gilani	1703	Lahore
65.	Sayyid Hasan Gilani	1703	Peshawar
66.	Shah Rida	1706	Lahore
67.	Shah Muhammad Salih Nawshahi	1706	Chak Sada (Gujrat)
68.	Shah Kanth	1707	Lahore
69.	Shaykh Sadrud Din Nawshahi	1708	Lahore
70.	Shah Dargahi	1710	Lahore
71.	Shaykh Taj Mahmud	1711	Bhilowal
72.	Shaykh Abdul hamid Nawshahi	1713	Bhilowal
73.	Sayyid Nur Muhammad b. Sayyid Muhammad Amir	1714	Hujra
74.	Shaykh Khamosh Muhammad Nawshahi	1715	Chhani Sahnpal
75.	Hafiz Barkhurdar Nawshahi	1718	Chhani Sahnpal
76.	Shaykh Fatih Muhammad Ghiyathud Din	1718	Kirana
77.	Sayyid Abdul Wahab	1719	Lahore
78.	Khwaja Hashim Darya Dil Nawshahi	1721	Chhani Sahnpal
79.	Sayyid Ahmad Shaykhul Hind	1722	Kotla

	Gilani		
80.	Sayyid Badrud Din Gilani	1722	Lahore
81.	Shah Sharf	1723	Lahore
82.	Shaykh Ismatullah Nawshahi	1725	Lahore
83.	Shaykh Ahmad Beg nawshahi	1727	Sialkot
84.	Shah Inayat	1728	Lahore
85.	Sayyid Haji Abdullah Gilani	1728	Lahore
86.	Shaykh Jamalullah Nawshahi	1729	Chhani Sahnpal
87.	Shah Muhammad Ghawth Gilani	1739	Lahore
88.	Pir Muhammad Sachyar	1739	Gujrat
89.	Shaykh Abdur Rahman Pak Rahman Nawshahi	1740	Tehri Abdur Rahman
90.	Sayyid Abdul Qadir Shah Gada	1741	Lahore
91.	Shah Farid nawshahi	1745	Lahore
92.	Shaykh Fatih Muhammad Nawshahi	1745	Photuhar
93.	Shaykh Inayatulla	1745	Chhani Sahnpal
94.	Shaykh Sultan Mirgbini	1745	Lahore
95.	Sayyid Shah Husayn	1749	Hujra
96.	Miyan Rahmatullah	1753	...
97.	Shaykh Nsratullah Nawshahi	1756	...
98.	Mir Bahli Shah	1757	Kusur
99.	Shaykh Sadullah Nawshahi	1761	...
100.	Shaykh Muhammad Azim	1767	Lahore
101.	Shah Sardar	1770	Babakwal (Lahore)
102.	Sayyid Muhammad Shah Razzaq Gitani	1770	Hujra
103.	Shaykh Masahib Khan	1776	Babakwal (Lahore)
104.	Shah Sadrud Din b. Mir Abdur Razzaq	1776	Hujra
105.	Shaykh Jan Muhammad	1791	Babakwal (Lahore)
106.	Shaykh Abdullah Bilochi	1797	Lahore
107.	Shaykh Mahmud b. Muhammad Azim	1801	Hujra
108.	Sayyid Adil Shah Natthu Gilani	1805	Lahore
109.	Sayyid Shadi Shah	1806	Lahore
110.	Sayyid Ali Shah	1812	Lahore
111.	Sayyid Sardar Ali Shahid	1813	Hujra
112.	Sayyid Qutbud Din	1834	Hujra
113.	Shaykh Muslim Khan	1838	...
114.	Sayyid Shah Bare Sahib	1854	Delhi
115.	Shah Abdul Aziz	1879	Delhi
116.	Sayyid Ghawth Ali Shah	1881	Panipat

4. The Saints of the Naqshbani Order

Sr.	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
1.	Khwaja Muhammad Baqibillah Berang	1603	Delhi
2.	Shaykh Ahmad Faruqi Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani	1615	Sirhind
3.	Shaykh Tahir	1630	Lahore
4.	Khwaja Berang	1632	Delhi
5.	Mulla Husayn	1640	Kashmir
6.	Khwaja Khawind Hadrat Ishan	1642	Lahore
7.	Khwaja Haji Khidr	1642	Sirhind
8.	Sayyid Adam Banawri	1643	
9.	Shaykh Hamid	1644	Lahore
10.	Shaykh Nur Muhammad	1649	Peshawar
11.	Mir Abul Ula	1650	Akbarabad
12.	Shaykh Ahmad Said	1659	Sirhind
13.	Shaykh Muhammad	1664	Sultanpur
14.	Shaykh Muhammad Masum	1668	Sirhind
15.	Shaykh Muhammad	1672	Ambala
16.	Shaykh Muhammad Sharif	1672	Shahabad
17.	Khwaja Muinud Din	1674	Kashmir
18.	Shaykh Abdul Khaliq	1675	Kasur
19.	Khwaja Daud Mishkati	1685	Kashmir
20.	Shaykh Muhammad Amin Dar	1686	Kashmir
21.	Shaykh Sayfud Din	1686	Sirhind
22.	Shaykh Sadi	1696	Lahore
23.	Maulana Hahi Muhammad Ismail Ghauri	1699	Peshawar
24.	Makhdum Hafiz Abdul Ghafur	1701	Kashmir
25.	Shaykh Muhammad Murad	1718	Kashmir
26.	Sayyid Nur Muhammad	1723	Budaun
27.	Khwaja Muhammad Siddiq	1724	Sirhind
28.	Khwaja Abdullah Balkhi	1726	Kashmir
29.	Khwaja Abdullah Bukhari	1728	Kashmir
30.	Shaykh Abdul Ahad b. Khazinatur Rahmat	1729	Sirhind
31.	Shaykh Muhammad Farrukh	1731	Sirhind
32.	Haji Muhammad Afdal	1733	Sirhind
33.	Haji Muhammad Muhsan	1734	Delhi
34.	Shaykh Muhammad Fadil	1739	Patiala
35.	Khwaja Hafiz Saidullah	1740	Shajahanabad
36.	Shaykh Muhammad Zubayr	1740	Sirhind
37.	Shah Gulshan	1742	Delhi
38.	Shaykh Abdur Rashid	1742	Delhi
39.	Nurud Din Muhammad Aftab	1743	Kashmir
40.	Shaykh Haji Muhammad Said	1752	Lahore
41.	Khwaja Abdus Salam	1758	Kashmir
42.	Shah Muhammad Sadiq Qalandar	1758	Kashmir

20.	Shaykh Abdulla Shattari	1429	Mandu (Multan)
21.	Shaykh Ali Piru	1431	Gujrat
22.	Shaykh Ali b. Ahmad	1432	Deccan
23.	Shaykh Badi ud Din Madar	1436	Makanpur
24.	Shaykh Nurud Din Wali	1438	Kashmir
25.	Shaykh Baha ud Din Ganj Baksh	1445	Kashmir
26.	Shaykh Ahmad Katthu	1445	Ahmedabad
27.	Shaykh Jamal Gojar	1454	Oudh
28.	Shaykh Hilalud Din	1457	Kashmir
29.	Sayyid Muhammad Amin	1484	Kashmir
30.	Malik Zaynud Din	1520	Delhi
31.	Zabarud Din	1525	Delhi
32.	Shuayb	1529	Delhi
33.	Shah Jalalud Din	1537	Delhi
34.	Shaykh Sulayman b. Affan	1537	Delhi
35.	Sayyid Muhammad Ghawth	1562	Gwalior
36.	Baba Quds	1578	Kashmir
37.	Sayyid Ghathud Din Gilani	1582	Lahore
38.	Shaykh Wajihud Din	1589	Gujrat
39.	Baba Wale	1592	Kashmir
40.	Yaqub Sufi	1594	Kashmir
41.	Sayyid Muhammud Ghawth	1595	Lahore
42.	Mir Muhammad b. Ahmad	1602	Kashmir
43.	Sayyid Yusuf Muhammad Banje	1602	Kashmir
44.	Muhammad Kamal	1608	Kashmir
45.	Mawlana Shah Gada-i-Kashmir	1615	Kashmir
46.	Habibullah	1617	Kashmir
47.	Shaykh Musawi Baldimari	1617	Kashmir
48.	Shaykh Muhammad Sharif known as Shok Baba	1618	Kashmir
49.	Shah Nimatullah	1619	Kashmir
50.	Shah Qasim Haqqani	1623	Kashmir
51.	Khwaja Zaynud Din Dar	1632	Kashmir
52.	Shaykh Pir Shattari	1632	Meeruth
53.	Shaykh Nazir	1647	Akbarabad
54.	Baba Ali	1649	Kashmir
55.	Mir Sahib Kashafi	1650	Akbarabad
56.	Mawlana Muhammad b. Muhammad Faruqi	1652	Jaunpur
57.	Shaykh Baqi	1654	Akbarabad
58.	Abdul Hakim	1658	Sialkot
59.	Hakim Sarmad	1660	Delhi
60.	Shaykh Daud	1660	Kashmir
61.	Shaykh Abu Turab Shah Gada	1661	Lahore
62.	Najmud Din Baba Sakhi	1662	Kashmir
63.	Mir Muhammad Ali	1662	Kashmir
64.	Baba Zahid	1671	Kashmir
65.	Sayyid Hamid	1679	Lahore
66.	Abul Fatih	1688	Kashmir

67.	Baba Habib Lattu	1693	Kashmir
68.	Mir Taju	1699	Kashmir
69.	Shah Muhammad Qadiri Suhrawardi and Kubrawi	1705	Kashmir
70.	Baba Uthman Qadiri Suhrawardi and Shattari	1705	Kashmir
71.	Muhammad Hashim	1706	Kashmir
72.	Abdur Rahim	1708	Kashmir
73.	Mirza hayat Beg	1708	Kashmir
74.	Shaykh Husayn	1710	Kashmir
75.	Qadi haydar	1710	Kashmir
76.	Mawlana Inayatullah	1713	Kashmir
77.	Sultan Mir Ju	1713	Kashmir
78.	Mir Abul Fatih	1713	Kashmir
79.	Shaykh Muhammad	1714	Kashmir
80.	Qadi Dawlat Shah Husayni	1714	Delhi
81.	Mirza Kamil	1718	Kashmir
82.	Abdul Latif	1721	Kashmir
83.	Mir Sharfud Din	1722	Kashmir
84.	Mir Muhammad Hashim Gilani	1722	Kashmir
85.	Mawlana Ali Asghat	1727	Kanauj
86.	Baba Muhammad Dehdi	1737	Kashmir
87.	Shaykh Fatih Shah Shattari	1737	Lahore
88.	Pir Muhammad Ismail Kubrawi	1737	Kashmir
89.	Khawaja Ayyub Qurayshi	1742	Lahore
90.	Baba Abdul Baqi Kubrawi	1744	Kashmir
91.	Rustam Ali b. Ali Asghar	1746	Kanauj
92.	Shah Wali Ullah Muhaddith	1765	Delhi
93.	Mir Muhammad Yaqub Gilani	1765	Lahore
94.	Hafiz Abdul Khaliq Awesi	1771	Bahawalpur
95.	Sayyid Shah Husayn Gilani	1790	...
96.	Sayyid Abdul Karim Pir Bahawan Shah	1798	Lahore
97.	Maulwi Ghulam Farid	1801	Lahore
98.	Mufti Rahimullah	1819	Lahore
99.	Shaykh Nur Ahmad Husayn	1820	Lahore
100.	Shah Abdul Aziz	1823	Delhi
101.	Sultan Bala Din Awesi	1825	Bahawalpur
102.	Shaykh Laddhe Shah	1837	Lahore
103.	Ahmad Shah	1860	Kashmir

APPENDIX - B

THE PRINCIPAL ANNIVERSARIES OF THE SAINTS' URS INDIA

The date of death is observed and in the following list the dates are given according to the Muslim Calendar

Sr.	Name	Date
1.	Sultan Bahu, Bahu in Dist. Jhang	1 st Muharram
2.	Bhore Miyan, Rampur	4 th “
3.	Faridud Din Shakarganj, Pak Pattan	5 th -7 th “
4.	Langar Sahib, Hyderabad	10 th “
5.	Safar Masud Ghazi Bahraich	11 th “
6.	Shaykh Ibadul Huda Gwalior	19 th “
7.	Haji Warith Ali Shah	21 st “
8.	Shamsul Haq, Jabbi, Shahpur	21 st “
9.	Shah Jamalul Huda Rampur	23 rd “
10.	Mutiur Rasul Budaun	25 th “
11.	Mir Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Kachaucha	25 th -28 th “
12.	Warith Ali Shah, Dewa Sharif	16 th Safar
13.	Shah Jamalullah, Rampur	3 rd “
14.	Muhammad Abbas Ali Khan Naqshband, Amroha	5 th “
15.	Khwaja Mutmain, Tuns	6 th “
16.	Thanaud Din Zakariya, Tuns	7 th “
17.	Shah Nizamud-Din Chishti, Bareilly	12 th
18.	Karim Shahm Surat	13 th “
19.	Shamsud Din Sayyal	13 th -15 th “
20.	Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, Dhaunkal	13 th “
21.	Abdul Quddus, Gangoh	14 th “
22.	Shah Dargahim Rampur	14 th “
23.	Imam Ali, Sialkot,	15 th “
24.	Aliul Hujwiri, Lahore	20 th “
25.	Shah Mayna, Lucknow	23 rd “
26.	Sain Fadal Ilahi, Kusur	25 th “
27.	Makhdum Shah Ali, Cwanpur	26 th “
28.	Shah Bulaqi, Muradabad	27 th “
29.	Shaykh Ahmad Faruqi, Sirhind	27 th -28 th “
30.	Sadiq Shah, Cwanpur	28 th “
31.	Pir Muhammad Nawshah, Naushahra	4 th Rabiul Awwal
32.	Khaja Zari Bakhsh, Jalalabad	4 th Rabiul Awwal
33.	Muntakhibud Din, Aurangabad	6 th “
34.	Miyan Mir, Lahore	6 th “
35.	Shah Hamdan, Kashmir	7 th “
36.	Makhdum Alaud Din Sabir, Piran Kaliar	7 th -13 th
37.	Sakhi Sarwar, Lahore	8 th “

38.	Ghwthul Azam, Ambala	9 th	“
39.	Jamal Bahar, Monghyr	12 th	“
40.	Khwaja Qutbud Din Kaki, Delhi	14 th	“
41.	Nawshah Ganj Bakhsh, Nausharhra	15 th	“
42.	Shah Muhammad Said, Sharqpur	15 th	“
43.	Abul Muali, Lahore	16 th	“
44.	Shah Muhammad Ghawth, Lahore	16 th	“
45.	Ghawth Shah, Panipat	17 th	“
46.	Nizamud Din Awliya, Delhi	18 th	“
47.	Husayn Bakhsh Farrukhabad	19 th	“
48.	Ghulam Qadir, Lahore	19 th	“
49.	Talib Husayn, Farrukhabad	21 st	“
50.	Shah Jamal, Lahore	22 nd	Rabiul Awwal
51.	Fadlur Rahman, Muradabad	23 rd	“
52.	Farid Thani, Mathan Kot	2 nd	Rabiuth Thani
53.	Mihra Shah, Ahmad Nagar	10 th	“
54.	Ghawthul Azam, Batala	10 th	“
55.	<i>Gyarhwin Sharif</i> of Ghawthul Azam	11 th	“
56.	Ladora Dargah, Darbhanga	11 th	“
57.	Shah Dawla, Gujrat, (Punjab)	19 th	“
58.	Sufi Muhammad Imamud Din Mukhtassar	20 th	“
59.	Ghawthul Azam, Rawalpindi	30 th	“
60.	Abdul Hakim, Ghazipur	12 th	Jamadir Awwal
61.	Nizamud Din, Delhi	15 th	“
62.	Zinda Shah Madar, Makanpur	17 th	“
63.	Pir Hayder Sfhahm Jalalpur	5 th -7 th	Jamadith Thani
64.	Bibi Pakdamanan, Lahore	7 th	“
65.	Fakhrud Din, Delhi	7 th	Jamadith Thani
66.	Hamid Qadiri, Lahore	8 th	“
67.	Hadrat Imam Sahib, Sialkot	17 th	“
68.	Baqi Billah, Delhi	28 th -29 th	“
69.	Khwaja Muinud Din Chishti	6 th -14 th	Rajab
70.	Shah Sadar Diwan, Lahore	16 th	“
71.	Bandagi Shah Lutfullah, Bijnor	1 st	Shaban
72.	Abdul Karim, Rampur	2 nd	“
73.	Badrud Din Ishaq, Ajodhan	4 th	“
74.	Sayyid Shah Ghawth, Budaun	5 th	“
75.	Bandagi Shah, Sikandarabad	9 th	“
76.	Shah Abdul Bari, Amroha	11 th	“
77.	Khwaja Muhammad Hadrat Ishan, Lahore	12 th	“
78.	Bawaji Nur Muhammad Naqshband, Chawrah	12 th	“
79.	Shamsud Din Turk, Panipat	19 th	“
80.	Shah Altamash, Delhi	20 th	“
81.	Abdul Karim, Sialkot	20 th	Shaban
82.	Maulwi Ayyubi, Lucknow	21 st	“
83.	Anwar, Kakori	22 nd	“
84.	Sarmad Shahid, Delhi	22 nd	“
85.	Bahlul Shah, Lahore	27 th -29 th	“
86.	Shaykh Bilawal, Lahore	28 th	“

87.	Shamsud Din Habibullah, Sirhind	1 st Ramadan
88.	Haji Ramadan Chishti, Lahore	2 nd “
89.	Abdul Bari Mahiri, Amroha	4 th “
90.	Muhammad Darum Gangoh	5 th “
91.	Bu Ali Qalandar, Panipat and Karnal	12 th -13 th “
92.	Shah Muhammad Gosha Nashin, Ahmadabad	15 th “
93.	Muhammad Ghawth, Gwalior	15 th “
94.	Mulla Hamid Qadiri, Lahore	17 th “
95.	Nasirud Din Chiragh-i-Delhi, Delhi	18 th “
96.	Najibullah Mutawakkil, Delhi	19 th “
97.	Ruknud Din Abul Hasan, Vellore	20 th “
98.	Hujjatullah Ghaybul Lisan, Delhi	21 st Ramadan
99.	Shah Junayd, Ghazipur	24 th “
100.	Shah Alimullah, Raebarelli	25 th “
101.	Shaykh Hasan Afghani, Malakan	26 th “
102.	Diwan Muhammad Nurud Din Ajidhan	27 th “
103.	Sharfud Dinm Calcutta	28 th “
104.	Miyan Wadda, Lahore	28 th “
105.	Shaykh Salim Chishti, Fatehpur Sikri	29 th “
106.	Ahmad Sarwar, Muradabad	8 th Shawwal
107.	Shyakh Misri, Bombay	13 th “
108.	Wazir Ali, Rampur	13 th “
109.	Habibur Rahman, Budaun	15 th “
110.	Amir Khusrum Delhi	18 th -20 th “
111.	Shah Ali Hayder, Kakori	26 th “
112.	Miyan Abdul Hakim, Rampur	2 nd Dh’l Qa’adah
113.	Nizamud Din, Kakori	7 th “
114.	Shah Taqim Cambellpur	8 th “
115.	Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, Gulbarga	11 th -15 th “
116.	Ashiq Ali, Dongriabad	17 th “
117.	Shah Wilayat Ali, Agra	18 th “
118.	Shah Alam, Raepur	27 th “
119.	Abdul Khaliq, Bahawalpur	28 th “
120.	Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahan Gash, Uchh	9 th 10 th Dhil-Hajj
121.	Din Muhammad, Amritsar	11 th “
122.	Hadrat Fadil, Batala	12 th “
123.	Basit Ali, Allahabad	18 th “

APPENDIX-C

SHRINES WITHIN MULTAN CITY

Sr.No.	Name	Location
1.	Hazrat Shaikh Bahauddin Zakria	Qila Kohna (Qasim Bagh)
2.	Hazrat Shaikh Sadr ud Din Arif	Darbar Hazrat Bahauddin Zakria
3.	Hazrat Shaikh Rukh-ud-Din Alam	Qila Kohna, Multan
4.	Hazrat Sakhi Shah Habib Ullah	Outside Dowlat Gate, Multan
5.	Hazrat Jamal ud Din Abull Hassan Syed Musa Pak Shahid	Outside Pak Gage Multan City
6.	Hazrat Shams-ud-Din Sabzwari	Multan
7.	Hazrat Shah yousaf Gardezi	Inside Bohar Gate, Muhallah Shah Gardez
8.	Hazrat Pir Jeewan Sultan	Kehrore, Lodhran
9.	Hazrat Sultan Ayaub Qataal	Dunia Pur
10.	Hazrat Hafiz Muhammad Jamal	DoDowlat gate, Muhallah Hafiz Jamaal
11.	Hazrat Baba Hiran Shah	Opposite General Hospital, Multan Cantt
12.	Hazrat Pir Fatah Shah Qureshi	Masjid Qureshian (Kotla Tughlak Khan)
13.	Hazrat Muhammad Nizam Bakhsh	--
14.	Hazrat Baba Ghulam Shabbir	Near Chowk Saddu Hassan, Railway Road
15.	Hazrat Baba Shah Behram	Opposite Multan Cantt, Railway Station
16.	Hazrat Anayat-ullah Shah Bokhari	City Station Road
17.	Hazrat Shod Bulbul	Jandi Wali Gali inside Bohar Gate
18.	Hazrat Pir Makki Shah	Railway Road
19.	Mazar Shahidan	Sabzi Mandi Mor, Chowk Lakkar Mandi
20.	Hazrat Dadan Shah Bukhari	Near Chowk Shaheedan
21.	Hazrat Pir Bokhari	Near Jindala Factory, T.B. Hospital, Road
22.	Hazrat Barri Shah	Wadda Khoo near Khuni Burj
23.	Hazrat Pir Ishaque	Multan Cantt.
24.	Hazrat Shah Dana Shahid	Inside Dehli Gate, Multan

25.	Hazrat Maulana Wajeehud Din	Near Darbar Qazi Qutb-ud-Din Kashani
26.	Hazrat Muhammad Masoom Maroof	Nawan Shehr, Pul Mouj Daria
27.	Hazrat Shah Din Beragi	Near Alamdar College, Dowlat Gate
28.	Hazrat Masoom Shah Bukhari	Dowlat Gate near Silver Karkhana
29.	Hazrat Baba Barre Walay	Police Station Harum Gate
30.	Hazrat Shah Rasaal	Outside Harum Gate
31.	Hazrat makhdoomzada Syed Muhammad Raza Shah Gillani	Pak Gate, inside city
32.	Hazrat Syed Hussain Shah Bukhari	Opposite Aaway Walay Dangal
33.	Hazrat Syed Hamid Shah Bukhari	Opposite Away Walay Danghal
34.	Hazrat Allah Bakhsh	Inside Hussain Aaghae
35.	Hazrat Syed Ibrahim Shah	Muhallah Gosha Nasheeman
36.	Hazrat Maulana Nizam ud Din	Khanewal Road
37.	Hazrat Salah-ud-Din	Outside Bohar Gate near Star Hotel
38.	Hazrat Bhawan Shah	Katri Daud Khan
39.	Hazrat Khawaja Muhammad Hussain Bakhsh Chishti	Inside Hussain Aagahi Mohallah Kamangran
40.	Hazrat Syed Hamid Ganj Bakhsh	Anwaar Bilafasal Murqad Anjid
41.	Hazrat Munshi Ghulam Husan Shahid	Munshi Sahib kee Khanqa
42.	Hazrat Maskeen Rukn-ud-Din	Outside Dowlat Gate, Mohallah Khilasi Line
43.	Hazrat Pir Jinday Shah	Outside Dowlat Gate, Hafiz Jamal Road
44.	Hazrat Maulvi Muhammad Shafi	Bagh outside Dowlat Gate
45.	Hazrat Roochi Shah & Syed Ahmad Shah	Kachi Saraye, Bagh outside Dowlat gate
46.	Hazrat Daud Hehanian	Thallah Sadaat outside Dehli Gate
47.	Hazrat Baba Haroon Shah	Outside harram Gate Shah Risaal Road
48.	Hazrat Syed Fatah Ali	
49.	Hazrat Abdul Rashid Zakria	Inside Dehli Gate, Bazaar Choori
50.	Hazrat Pir Masaab Shah	
51.	Hazrat Khawaja Pir Ali Mardaan	Harum Gate near Chowk

		Shaheedan
52.	Hazrat Pir Maulana Ubaid-Ullah Multani	-
53.	Hazrat Hafiz Ismail	Railway Station
54.	Hazrat Pir Mattan Wala	Hussain Aagahi
55.	Hazrat Qazi Mtthu	Outside Dowlat Gate, Hafiz Jamal Road
56.	Hazrat Pir Dost Muhammad	Gali Daal Wali on Eastside
57.	Hazrat Muhammad Musa Pak	Hussain Aagahi, Mohallah Kamangran.
58.	Hazrat Syed Abdul Qadir	
59.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Syed Mohamad Ghous Sani	inside Anwaar Roza
60.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Syed Din Muhammad Shah	Nawab Shah Khan, Multan.
61.	Hazrat Mukhdom Jarnal-ud-Din	Khanqa Hazrat Bahauddin Zakria Multani.
62.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Sadr-ud-Din Shah.	
63.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Pir Noor Shah.	
64.	Pir Mukhdoom Wilait Shah	Roza Hazrat Musa Pak Shaheed.
65.	Hazrat Syed Sher Shah	Roza Hazrat Musa Pak Shaheed.
66.	Hazrat Syed Rajan Shah	Roza Hazrat Musa Pak Shaheed.
67.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Syed Muhammad Sadr-ur-Din Shah	Roi Hazrat Musa Pak Shaheed
68.	Hazrat Syed Mujtaba Shah Gillani	-
69.	Hazrat Pir Muhammad Shah	-
70.	Hazrat Hafiz Bholah	Mohallah Saag Vehrah.
71.	Hazrat Anayat Ullah Awaisi Qadri.	Inside Bohar Gate.
72.	Hazrat Hafiz Au Maddad Awaisi	Bohar Gate.
73.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Shah	Muhallah Chah Sharifan wala near Sher Shah Darhar.
74.	Hazrat Pir Sohan Shahid	Kohnah Qasim Bagh.
75.	Hazrat Khalid Bin Waleed	Mouza Matti Choor, Kahirwala.
76.	Hazrat Abdul Rashid Haqqani	-
77.	Hazrat Haji Baghdadi	outside Dowlat Gate near Mazaar Hazrat Shah Shamas.
78.	Hazrat Pir Wala	Afghan Pura, Muhallah Wala Chowk
79.	Hazrat Syed Zain-ul-Abideen	Shahkot

80.	Hazrat sultan Pir Ahmed Qattal	Jalalpur Pirwala, Multan
81.	Taj-ul-Aarifeen Hazrat Shah Abdubakr Waraq	Mauza Dehlu
82.	Hazrat Fir Syed Muhabbat Shah	near Baglangay Khan
83.	Hazrat Diwan Chawali Mashaikh	Mauza Kangan Fur
84.	Hazrat Fir Burhan	Qasbah Karore
85.	Hazrat Syed Au Sarwar	Qasbah Karore
86.	Hazrat Shah Habib Baghdad	Mauza Baghdad
87.	Hazrat Khawaja Awais Khaggah	Basti Dirah Multan
88.	Hazrat Arjun Sher Bokhari	Serai Saddhu, Kabirwala
89.	Hazrat Mian Abdul Hakim	Mauza Abdul Hakeem Khanewal
90.	Hazrat Abdul Aleem Shah	Hussain Aagahi, Gali Pongran
91.	Hazrat Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad Haji	Darbar Qutb-ud-Din
92.	Hazrat Pir Akbar Shah	Muhallah Hazarian
93.	Hazrat Tar Ganj Maulvi Abdul Khaliq	Outside Lohari Gate
94.	Hazrat Abdul Rashid Kirmani	Purani Ghalla Mandi, Chowk Bazaar
95.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Sher Ullah	Multan
96.	Hazrat Shah Hussain Aagahi	Bazaar HussainAagahi
97.	Hazrat Shaikh Ahmed Mashooq	Multan
98.	Hazrat Khawaja Hasan Akhwan	Darbar Hazrat Shaikh-ul-Islam
99.	Bibi Rasti Ram-Ullah Alaih	Mae Bibi near Railway Station, Multan
100.	Hazrat Pir Dowlat Shah	Dowlat Gate
101.	Hazrat Pir Darbar	Near Darbar Hazrat Rukn-ud-Din Abdul Fateh
102.	Hazrat Syed Azim-ud-Din Shah	Outside Dowlat Gate
103.	Hazrat Pir umar Suhrawardi	Pir Uman Gorastan
104.	Hazrat Shaikh Hussain Kahbar	Inside Bohar Gate
105.	Hazrat Sultan Abu Bakar	Vehrore Vaahan
106.	Hazrat Syed Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Shah	
107.	Hazrat lal Hamid	Fateh Pur Mailcy
108.	Hazrat Hafiz Muhammad Akram	Karore Bahawal Garh
109.	Hazrat Syed Wilait Shah Hussain	Inside Bohar Gate, Mohallah Shah Gardez
110.	Hazrat Faqeer Jitti Abdaal	Raam Pur
111.	Hazrat Mian Rehman	Serai Sadhu
112.	Hazrat Mamoon Sher	Mamoon Sherwala
113.	Hazrat Pir Swari Sahiba	Chak norang Shah
114.	Hazrat mai Sapooran	Mae Sapooran Serai Sadhu
115.	Hazrat Syed Muhammad Sshah	Slaar Vahan Serai Sadhu

116.	Hazrat Talib Shah Bukhari	Mauza Sadar Pur
117.	Hazrat Pir Eessa masa	Fatuhul Pur
118.	Hazra Pir Fateh Ullah	Mauza Bitti
119.	Hazrat Pir Moula Sahib	Mauza mauvi Sikandar Pur
120.	Hazrat Bangha Bilal	Inside Delhi Gate
121.	Hazrat Baba Daada	Gorastan Pir Umar
122.	Hazrat Qutb-ud-Din Kashi	Qilla Khonah, near Hussain Aagahi
123.	Hazrat Khawaja Khuda Bakhsh	Mohallah Kamingran, Hussain Aagahi
124.	Hazrat pir hasil Wasil	Mauza Norajah Bhattah
125.	Hazrat Pir Olia Ghoruri	Bahadar Pur
126.	Hazrat Shaikh Ismail	Umar Pur
127.	Hazrat Hafiz Allah Bakhsh	Qabaristan Mae Pak Daman
128.	Hazrat Sheedi Lal	Near City Station, Multan
129.	Hazrat Shah Badr Rukh Alam	Tariq Road, Nawan Shehr
130.	Hazrat Jhanda Fageer	District Jail, Multan
131.	Hazrat Mauj Darya	Pul Mauj Darya Awan Khusru
132.	Hazrat Meer Agha	Kotlah Tughlak Road
133.	Hazrat Basant Shah	Mohallah Ganj
134.	Hazrat Haji Pathan	Majid Qureshian, Kotlah Tughlak Khan
135.	Hazrat Hafiz Abbas	Masjid Khawaja Muhammad Moosa, Hussain Aagahi
136.	Hazrat hafiz syed Muhammad Jamal	Masjid Jammuwali near Darbar Hazrat Moosa Pak Shaheed
137.	Hazrat Ghulam Muhammad Sulemani	Outside Lohari Gate
138.	Hazrat Pir Kala	Inside Lohari Gate, near Chowk Kale Mandi
139.	Hazrat Jaffar Shah Shahid	Pul Shawalah outside Bohar Gate
140.	Hazrat Buhran-ud-Din Sha	Inside Bohar Gate, Bazaar Kutb Faroshan
141.	Hazrat Pir Odham	Inside Bohar Gate
142.	Hazrat Maulana Siraj-ud-Din	Masjid near Darbar Hazrat Pir Gohar Sultan
143.	Hazrat Pir Burhan Shah	Qabaristan Budha Road
144.	Hazrat Abdullah	Qabaristan Budha Road
145.	Hazrat Shah Khurram	Khooni Burj, Road Ganda Talaab
146.	Hazrat Hafiz Muhammad Hayat	Chah Awaywala Qabaristaan, Darbar Hazrat Pir Umar

147.	Hazrat Hafiz Daud	Basti Diara near Chowk Shah Abbas
148.	Hazrat Miran Kind Aswar	Old Fort
149.	Hazrat Shah Dalir urf Miran Daleel	Inside Dehli Gate, Muhallah Bagheecha Mazarjan.
150.	Hazrat Syed Yahya Nawab	Inside Harram Gate, & Pak Gate, Faseel Shehr
151.	Hazrat Syed Essa	Near pak Gate
152.	Hazrat Mai Mehraban Sahiba	Outside Bohar Gate, near Chowk Fawarah
153.	Hazrat Ghohar Sultan Ishaabi	Outside Dehli Gate
154.	Hazrat Shah Ali Akbar	Sooraj Miani
155.	Hazrat Pir Junaid	Inside Pak Gate
156.	Hazrat Pir Fazal Shah	Inside Dowlat Gate, Muhallah Katingran
157.	Hazrat Shah Hassan Parwana	Qabaristan Hazrat Shah Hussain Parwana
158.	Hazrat Muihammad Murad	Outside Lohari Gate, near Purani Kotwali
159.	Hazrat Pir Luddan Kiddan	Muhallah Hafiz Daudm inside Pak Gate
160.	Hazrat Khawaja Gul Muhammad	Chah Pirwala, Mauza Khairpur
161.	Hazrat Baba Ghareeb Shah	Sher Shah Road, near Awamin Hospital, Multan
162.	Hazrat Makhdoom syed Ghulam Mushatafa Shah Gilani	Inside darbar Hazrat Moosa Pak Shaheed
163.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Syed Ali Khan	Qasim Bagh (Qilla Kohnah)
164.	Hazrat Mukhdoom Syed Muhammad Shaukat Hussain Gillani	Inside Darbar
165.	Hazrat Allama Syed Ahmad Saeed Shah Kazmi	Central 'Eidgha', Multan

Appendix – D

Deputy Commissioners of Multan during the British Period

1	Lt. James	March 1849 to August 1849
2	Capt. Arfison	September 1849 to March 1850
3	Mr. HF. Fane	April 1850 to 30.12. 1850
4	Mr. W.Ford	31.12.1850 to 1.2.1853
5	Maj. Hamilton	2.2.1853 to 17.5.1853
6	Mr. H.D.Henderson	25.5.1854 to 28.1.1856
7	Maj. Voyle	29.1.1856 to 13.12.1861
8	Gen. Vancortlendt C.B.	14.12.1861 to 10.3.1863
9	Maj. Maxwell	11.3.1863 to 4.11.1863
10	Gen. Vancortlendt C.B.	5.11.1863 to 23.3.1868
11	Mr. D.G. Barkley	2.3.1868 to 2.9.1868
12	Mr. R.T. Burney	1.4. 1869 to 2.12. 1869
13	Maj. R.G.Short	3.12 .1869 to 9.1873
14	Col. Ferris	15.11.1870 to 13.4.1873
15	Capt. Lang.	14.4.1873 to 14.4.1875
16	Col. Marcer.	15.4.1875 to 28.2.1876
17	Lt. Col. Birch.	29.2.1876 to 3.4.1877
18	Mr. A.HBenton.	4.4.1877 to 20.12.1877
19	Capt Lang.	21.12.1877 to 20.3.1880
20	Capt. A.S.Roberts	29.3.1880 to 29.11.1880
21	Maj. R.T M. Lang.	30.11.1880 to 25.3.1881
22	Mr. GA. Roe.	26.3.1881 to 10.1882
23	Mr. CO. Brien.	2.6.1882 to 27.2.1885
24	Mr. I. Troward.	28.2.1885 to 31.3.1885
25	Maj. JR. Hutchison.	1.4.1885 to 14.7.1885
26	Maj. A.D.E.C Rennick	31.8.1887 to 2.10.1887
27	Maj. J.B. Hutchison.	3.10.1887 to 19.7.1888
28.	Maj. AD. E.C Renri.	20.7.1888 to 18.5.1889
29	Maj. J.B. Hutchison.	20.10.1888 to 18.5.1889
30	Lt. C.G.Parsons	19.5.1889 to 20.10.1889
31	Mr. G.L. Smith	30.10.1889 to 1.12.89
32	Mr. E.B. Steedman	2.1.1889 to 2.1.1890
33	H.C. Cookson	13.2.1890 to 31.10.1890
34	Mr. J.K. Brown	1.11.1890 to 3.2.1891
35	Mr. H.C. Cookson	6-2-1891 to 6.10.1891
36	Mr. J.P. Machnachie	21.10.1891 to 18.11.1892
37	Mr. A. Meredith	19.11.1892 to 4.8.1893

38	Mr. H.A Casson	5.8.1893 to 4.10.1893
39	Mr. A. Meredith	5.10.1893 to 30.8.1894
40	Mr. H.W. Ge.	31-8-1894 to 30-11-1894
41	Mr. A. Meredith	11-2-1894 to 28-2-1895
42	Mr. T.J. Kneddy	1-3-1895 to 25-4-1896
43	Mr. R. Lane	26-4-1896 to 7-6-1896
44	Mr. T.J. Kennedy	8-6-1896 to 17-10-1896
45	Mr. J. G. M. Rennie	9-11-1896 to 25-2-1897
46	Mr. J. G. M. Rennie	20-4-1897 to 30-6-1897
47	Mr. E.D. Maclagan	1-7-1897 to 12-8-1897
48	Mr. J.G.M. Rennie	13-8-1897 to 4-4-1898
49	Capt. C.D. Egerton	5-4-1898 to 23-6-1898
50	Mr. E. R. Abbot	24:6-1898 to 24-6-1898
51	Capt. C.A. Egerton	25-6-1898 to 27-6-1899
52	Mr. E. A. Estcourt	5-7-1899 to 25-9-1899
53	Captain C. Egerton	20-9-1899 to 13-2-1900
54	Mr. C. H.. Harrison	3-3-1900 to 24-11-1900
55	Capt. C. P. Egerton	25-1 1-1900 to 20-4-1902
56	Mr. Mi.. Waring	21-4-1902 to 16-4-1902
57	Mr. H. Harcourt	1-4-1903 to 22-11-1903
58	Mr. A. Langley	23-11-1903 to 17-8-1904
59	Mr. A. Langley	8-9-1904 to 11-3-1905
60	Mr. J.C. Coldstream	12-3-1905 to 10-1 1-1905
61	Mr. A. Langley	1-11-1905 to 31-7-1907
62	Mr. D.J. Boyd	1-8-1907 to 21-11-1907
63	Mr. H. J. Maynard	22-11-1907 to 24-2-1908
64	Mr. R.T. Ctarke	25-2-1908 to 12-5-1909
65	Diwan Bahadur Diwan NarendraNath	13-5-1909 to 7-6-1910
66	E. G. Fabraham	8-6-1910 to 7-9-1910
67	Diwan Bahadur Diwan NarendraNath	8-9-1910 to 12-5-1911
68	Capt. F. C. Nieolas	13-4-1911 to 31-10-1911
69	Diwan Bahadur Diwan NarendraNalh	1-11-1911 to 8-8-1912
70	Mr. C. F. Stuck Land	9-8-1912 to 19-9-1912
71	Diwan Bahadur Diwan NarendraNath	20-9-1912 to 20-5-1913
72	Mr. A. J. W. Kitchen	21-5-1913 to 29-4-1914
73	Mr. F. L. Bryni	30-4-1914 to 15-9-1914
74	Lt. Col. C. P. Thompson	16-9-1914 to 19-3-1915

75	Maj. J.G. Goldstream	20~3~1915 to 15-9-1915
76	Maj. J. G. Goldsiream	16-9-1915 to 15-7-1916
77	Misra Jowala Sahai	18-7-1916 to 26-8-1916
78	Maj. J. G. Goldstream	27-9-1916 to 14-3-1917
79	Mr. G.W. Jrsely	15-3-1917 to 17-12-1917
80	J. M. Dunnett, Esq.	18.12.1917 to 21-11919
81	C. B. Barry Esq.	22-11-1919 to 30-6-1920
82	L. Hail Chand	1-7-1920 to 13-10-1920
83	O.8. Barry Esq.	1-9-1920 to 13-10-1920
84	J. M. Dunnett, Esq.	4-11-1920 to 2-3-1921
85	F. B. Barry Esq.	15-3-1921 to 14-8-1921
86	C. King Esq.	15-8-1921 to 23-2-1922
87	Sh. Asghar All C.B.E.	16-12-1921 to 23-2-1922
88	K.S. Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan	24-2-1922 to 17-4-1922
89	H.W. Emerson, Esq C.B. E.	18-4-1922 to 26-3-1923
90	Mr. H. Fyson M.B.E.	27-3-1923 to 24-6-1925
91	F.A. Conmer, Esq.	25-3-1925 to 3-3-1927
92	J.H. Thomson Esq.	4-3-1927 to 29-10-1928
93	A. V. Askwith Esq.	30-10-1928 to 25-8-1930
94	R.H.Crump Esq.	26-8-1930 to 25-9-1930
95	A. V. Askwith Esq.	26-9-1930 to 25-9-1930
96	T. B. Deeks Esq.	4-12-1930 to 16-2-1932
97	E. Sheep Shanks Esq.	19-2-1932 to 22-4-1932
98	R. J. S. Dodd Esq.	26-4-1932 to 8-7-1932
99	K. S. M. Abdul Haq offg.	27-7-1932 to 3-9-1932
100	R.J.S. Dodd Esq.	9-9-1932 to 19-3-1934
101	E.P. Moon.	20-3-1934 to 21-4-1937
102	Nasir Ahmad CS.	15-3-1937 to 20-10-1937
103	Mr. J.E. Jones I.C.S.	31-10-1937 to 9-11-1938
104	K.H. Handérson CS.	19-1 1-1938 to 30-6-1940
105	Ky. Morton I.C.S.	30-6-1940 to 30-8-1940
106	S. Fida Hassan I.C.S.	20-9-1940 to 21-10-1940
107	C. Brander IOS.	21-10-1940 to 4-9-1942
108	R.B. Lala Ezat Rai P.C.S.	1-10-1942 to 18-3-1944
109	C.N.T. Henreys CS.	18-3-1944 to 15-7-1944
110	Syed Fida Hassan I.C.S.	1 5-7-1944 to 1-1914
111	B.R. Tendun I.C.S.	1-11-1944 to 19-1-1945
112	Syed Fida Hassan IOS.	19-1-1945 to 2-5-1945
113	J. F. G. Sykes I.C.S.	4-5-1945 to 15-10-1945
114	K.H. Henderson IOS.	16-10-1945 to 22-3-1946

115	K.B. Mian M. Afzal Khan P.C.S	23-3-1946 to 17-10-1946
116	A.J.V. Arthur I.C.S.	18-10-1946 to 4-8-1947

Deputy Commissioners Since Independence

117	A.G. Raza I.CS.	5-8-1947 to 20-9-1947
118	M.S.A Baig P.A.S.	21-9-1947 to 3-8-1949
119	S.M. Hassan P.A.S.	4-8-1949 to 10-7-1950
120	Ch. Aurangzeb Khan P.C.S	10-7-1950 to 12-8-1950
121	M. Rashid P.C.S.	12-8-1950 to 22-2-1953
122	M. Rashid P.C.S.	11-3-1953 to 30-6-1953
123	Sh. Manzoor Elahi C.S.P.	30-6-1953 to 13-8-1954
124	Aziz Asgar Anasri	10-9-1954 to 6-11-1956
125	Nusrat Hassan C.S.P.	6-11-1956 to 7-8-5198
126	Mukhtar Masood C.S.P.	21-8-1958 to 24-5-1960
127	Malik Karam Dad Khan P.CS.	25-6-1960 to 25-6-1962
128	Mr. S. M. Naseem C.S.P.	26-6-1962 to 22-7-1963
129	Mr. Izhar-ul-Haque C.S.P.	23-7-1963 to 14-7-1965
130	Sardar Ghulam Fareed P.C.S.	22-7-1965to 19-6-1966
131	Dr. IntiazAhmacj Khan C.S.P.	20-6-1966 to 4-1-1969
132	Humayun Faiz Rasool C.S.P.	7-1-1969 to 23-12-1970
133	Muhammad Rafique C.S.P.	1-12-1970 to 30-11-1971
134	Muhammad Zafarullah C.S.P.	1-12-1971 to 5-4-1973
135	Syed Sarfraz Hussain P.C.S.	6-4-1973 to 26-3-1974
136	Mr. Hafeezullah	26-3-1974 to 23-3-1975
137	Faridud-Djn Ahmad C.S.P.	27-7-1975 to 5-2-1976
138	Azmatullah Khan	5-2-1976 to 20-6-1977
139	Mr. M.A. Lone	20-6-1977 to 23-8-1977
140	Mehr Jiwan Khan C.S.P.	23-8-1977 to

Appendix - E

Commissioners of Multan Division, Multan

S.No.	Name	PERIOD	
		From	To
1.	Mr. M.Z. Khan C.S.P.	29.02.1956	13.05.1957
2.	Mr. A.K Malik, C.S.P.	14.05.1957	20.07.1957
3.	Mr. A.M.K Leghari, C.S.P.	21.05.1957	02.08.1960
4.	Mr. K. Shah Zaman, C.S.P.	08.08.1960	19.11.1960
5.	Mr. B.A.Qureshi, C.S.P.	19.11.1960	01.10.1962
6.	Mr. Riffat Pasha Sheikh, C.S.P.	01.10.1962	24.03.1966
7.	Mr. Hamid Reza, C.S.P.	01.04.1966	11.04.1968
8.	Mr. S.M. Usman, C.S.P.	11.04.1968	05.01.1969
9.	Mr. Muhammad Qasim Rizvi, C.S.P.	01.05.1969	20.05.1971
10.	Mr. ASAD Ali Shah, C.S.P.	20.05.1971	03.06.1972
11.	Mr. Muhammad Mohsin, C.S.P.	03.06.1972	28.03.1974
12.	Mr. M. Sadiq Chaudhry	28.03.1974	28.08.1974
13.	Mr. Humayun Faiz Rasool	28.08.1974	11.04.1977
14.	Mr. Akhtar Saeed	11.04.1977	17.08.1977
15.	Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Piracha	17.08.1977	19.05.1979
16.	Lt.Col. M. Nisar Ahmad Khan	19.05.1979	06.12.1980
17.	Mr. Hassan Raza Pasha	06.12.1980	12.09.1983
18.	Mr. Farid-ud-Din Ahmad	12.09.1983	05.06.1986
19.	Syed Sarfraz Hussain	05.06.1986	16.05.1988
20.	Syed Fazal Hussain Shah	16.05.1988	06.01.1989
21.	Ch. Abdul Waheed	06.01.1989	04.04.1990
22.	Mr. Tariq Farooq	04.04.1990	16.05.1991
23.	Mr. Saleem Akhtar Rana	17.05.1991	18.05.1993
24.	Mr. Muhammad Zia-ur-Rehman	19.05.1993	31.07.1993
25.	Mr.Faisal Tehseen Memon	01.08.1993	06.11.1995
26.	Mr. Muhammad Aamir Khan	23.11.1995	28.10.1997
27.	Mr.Shafiq Hussain Bokhari	29.10.1997	05.01.1998
28.	Mr.Tariq Yousuf	19.01.1998	14.04.1999
29.	Mr. Nasir Mehmood Khosa	15.04.1999	23.12.2000
30.	Mr. Naguibullah Malik	09.01.2001	13.08.2001
Commission's Office abolished during military period of Gen. Pervez Musharraf			
31.	Syed Muhammad Ali Gardezi	14.11.2008	To-date

APPENDIX – F

**RESULTS OF GENERAL ELECTION NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL
ASSEMBLIES OF MULTAN REGION 1970, 1977, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997**

1970 Elections

National Assembly Results of Multan Division

S.No.	Constituency(NA)	Winner Candidate	Party
1	79	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	PPP
2	80	Sadiq Hussain Qureshi	PPP
3	81	Abbas Hussain Shah	PPP
4	82	Zafarullah Chaudhary	Independent
5	83	Ch. Barkatullah	PPP
6	84	Mian Mumtaz M.Khan Daultana	Muslim League (Council)
7	85	Khan Irshad	PPP
8	86	Syed Nasir Ali Shah	PPP
9	87	Taj Ahmed Noon	PPP
10	88	Dr. Nazir Ahmed	Jamaat-i-Islami
11	89	Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari	Independent
12	90	Manzoor Hussain Sumra	PPP
13	91	Ghulam Mustafa Khar	PPP
14	92	Mian Muhammad Ibrahim	Markazi Jamieet Ulema-e-Pakistan
15	93	Abdul Aleem Sardar	PPP
16	94	Muhammad Hanif	PPP
17	95	Haji Muhammad Sadiq	PPP
18	96	Rao Khurshid	PPP
19	97	Mian Muhammad Hussain Khan	PPP
20	98	M. Hashmi Khan	PPP
21	99	Noor Muhammad	PPP

Source: *Results Elections 1970*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan December 1970), pp.5080-81.

1970 Elections

Provincial Assembly Results of Multan Division

S.No.	Constituency(PA)	Winner Candidate	Party
1	116	Malik Mukhtar Ahmed	PPP
2	117	Makhdum Syed Faiz Mustafa	-
3	118	Syed nazim Hussain Shah	PPP
4	119	Muhammad Riaz Shah	-
5	120	Liaquat Hussain	PPP
6	121	Farzand Ali	PPP
7	122	Nawab Ahmed Bakhsh	PPP
8	123	Khan Amir Abdullah Khan	PPP
9	124	Muhammad Khan Khakwani	PPP
10	125	Dr. Muhammad Sadiq	PPP
11	126	Abdul Aziz	PPP
12	127	Khurshid Anwar	-
13	128	Khan Muhammad	PPP
14	129	Muhammad Ismail Javed	PPP
15	130	Nur Muhammad Khan	-
16	131	Rub Nawaz	-
17	132	Kanwar Muhammad Yasin Khan	PPP
18	133	Ali Bahadur Khan	PPP
19	134	Makhdoom Dewan Ghulam Abbas	-
20	135	Rab Nawaz Khan	-
21	136	Ata Muhammad Khan Khosa	-
22	137	Nawabzada Sardar Mahmood Khan	-
23	138	Muhammad Khan Sardar	-
24	139	Balakh Sher Khan Mir	-
25	140	Nasrullah Khan Sardar	-
26	141	Amjad Hamid Khan	-
27	142	Mian Mustafa Zafar	-
28	143	Syed Mahtab Ahmed Shah	-
29	144	Pir Muhammad Shah	-
30	145	Mian Ghulam Abbas	PPP
31	146	Sardar Nazar Muhammad	-
32	147	Irshad Hussain Shah	-
33	148	Khan Muhammad	PPP
34	149	Rustam Khan	-
35	150	Muhammad Irshad Khan	PPP
36	151	Nazar Hussain	PPP
37	152	Muhammad Ashraf	PPP
38	153	Muhammad Riaz	-
39	154	Mian Khan Rai	PPP
40	155	Muhammad Yar Khan	-
41	156	Kazim Ali Shah	PPP
42	157	Muhammad Afzal Khan	PPP
43	158	Khalid Nawaz Khan	-
44	159	Ghulam Farid Chishti	-
45	160	Ahmed Ali	PPP
46	161	Nur Ahmad	PPP
47	162	Bashir Ahmad	PPP

Source: Elections 1970, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, December 1970), pp.71-73.

1977 ELECTIONS
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.No.	Constituency(NA)	Winner Candidate	Party
1	111	Syed Abbas Hussain Shah	PPP
2	112	Rifat Hayat Khan	PPP
3	113	Ch. Barkatullah	PPP
4	114	Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi	PPP
5	115	Syed Hamid Raza Galani	PPP
6	116	Shaikh Khyzer Hayat	Pakistan National Alliance
7	117	Maulana Hamid Ali Khan	PNA
8	118	Ch. Abdur Rehman	PPP
9	119	Nasir Ali Rizvi	PPP
10	120	Taj Muhammad	PPP
11	121	Muhammad Nawaz Khan	PPP
12	122	Mian Riaz Ahmed Khan	PPP
13	123	Agha Saleem Khurhad	PPP
14	124	Mufti Mahmood	Pakistan National Alliance
15	125	Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari	PPP
16	126	Balakh Sher Khan Mazari	PPP
17	127	Muhammad Ibrahim	PPP
18	128	Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan	PPP
19	129	Dr. Dost Muhammad Buzdar	PPP
20	130	Qadar Buksh	PPP
21	131	Sardar Muhammad Behram Khan	PPP
22	132	Abdul Aleem Sardar	PPP
23	133	Sardar Muhammad Naseem	PPP
24	134	Ch. Muhammad Hanif Khan	PPP
25	135	Rao Khursheed Ali	PPP
26	136	Muhammad Saeed	PPP
27	137	Mian Muhammad Yasin Khan Wattoo	PPP
28	138	M. Hashim Khan	PPP
29	139	Ahmed Saeed Khan	PPP

Source: *Results Elections 1977, The Gazette of Pakistan Part-III*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, March 21, 1977), pp.3294-95

1977 ELECTIONS
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.No.	Constituency(PA)	Winner Candidate	Party
1	157	Syed Khawar Ali Shah	Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)
2	158	Syed Khyzer hayat Shah	PNA
3	159	Nawazish Ali	PPP
4	160	Abdul Majid Anwar	PPP
5	161	Amir Abdullah Khan	PPP
6	162	Mian Shujaat Hussain	PPP
7	163	Malik Khan Baig	PPP
8	164	Syed M. Riaz Shah	PNA
9	165	Altaf Ali	PPP
10	166	Nawab Saddiq Hussain Qureshi	PPP
11	167	Riaz Hussain Qureshi	PPP
12	168	Malik Mukhtar Ahmed Awan	PPP
13	169	Malik Murtaza mehdi	PPP
14	170	Syed Faiz Mustafa	PPP
15	171	Kanwar Muhammad Yaseen	PPP
16	172	Shah Muhammad Khan	PPP
17	173	Muhammad Sadiq	PPP
18	174	Nazar Hussain	PPP
19	175	Makhdoom Dewan Ghulam Abbas	PPP
20	176	Syed Sadaruddin Shah	PNA
21	177	Qazi M. Ismail Javed	PPP
22	178	Amir Khakwani	PNA
23	179	Qamar-ul-Zaman Shah	PNA
24	180	Mian Khurshid Anwar	PNA
25	181	Mian Javid Mumtaz Khan	PPP
26	182	Taj Muhammad Bhutta	PPP
27	183	Malik Allah Yar Khan	PNA
28	184	Bashir-ud-Din Salar	PPP
29	185	Maqsood Ahmed Khan Sardar	PNA
30	186	Syed Muhammad Kalimullah Shah	PNA

31	187	Sardar Nasrullah Khan	PPP
32	188	Shaukat Hussain Khan Mazari	PPP
33	189	Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan	PNA
34	190	Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan	PNA
35	191	Sardar Manzoor Ahmed Khan	PPP
36	192	Mian Mustafa Zafar	PNA
37	193	Nawazish Ali Khan	PNA
38	194	Syed Irshad Hussain Shah	PNA
39	195	Syed Abdullah Shah	PNA
40	196	Malik Basher Ahmed	PPP
41	197	Mehtab Ahmed	PNA
42	198	Muhammad Suleman	PNA
43	199	Manzoor Hussain	PNA
44	200	Muhammad Rafi	PNA
45	201	Askari Hasan Khawaja	PPP
46	202	Pir Ahmed Shah	PNA
47	203	Ch. Rashid Ahmed	PNA
48	204	Ghulam Farid	PPP
49	205	Ch. Naseer Ahmed Cheema	PNA
50	206	Malik M. Jehangir Khan	PPP
51	207	Rana Ikram Rabani	PPP
52	208	Azhar Khan	PPP
53	209	Muhammad Yar Khan Lashari	PPP
54	210	Maqbool Hussain Shah	PNA
55	211	Rao M. Afzal Khan	PPP
56	212	Muhammad Sharif Zafar	PPP
57	213	Mian Ghulam Muhammad Ahmed Khan	PNA
58	214	Mian Ghulam Farid	PPP
59	215	Syed Iftikhar Hussain Shah	PNA
60	216	Mian Faiz Ahmed	PNA
61	217	Allah Yar	PNA

Source: *Results Elections 1977 The Gazette of Pakistan*, Part III, (Islamabad Election Commission of Pakistan), pp.3359-62.

1985 Elections

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION (NON-PARTY)

S.No.	CONSTITUENCY(NA)	WINNER CANDIDATE
1	111	Syed Fakhar Imam
2	112	Qamar-uz-Zaman Shah
3	113	Pir Muhammad Sanaullah Bodlah
4	114	Javid Hashmi
5	115	Hamid Raza Gilani
6	116	Feruz-ud-Din Ansari
7	117	Shaikh Muhammad Rashid
8	118	Muhammad Saddiq Khan Kanjo
9	119	Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani
10	120	Rana Shoukat Mahmood
11	121	Muhammad Nawaz Khan
12	122	Mian Riaz Khan Daultana
13	123	Shahid Mehdi Naseem
14	132	Muhammad Rafiq Safdar
15	133	Rana Naeem Mahmood
16	134	Rai Ahmed Nawaz
17	135	Mian Ghulam Muhammad Ahmed Khan
18	136	Shahid Saeed Khan

Source: *Result Elections 1985, Vol.III*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1985), pp.36-43.

1985 ELECTIONS

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION (NON-PARTY)

S.No.	CONSTITUENCY(PA)	WINNER CANDIDATE
1	157	Khyzzar Hayat
2	158	Syed Khawar Ali Shah
3	159	Allah Yar Khan
4	160	Abdul Razzaq Khan
5	161	Ghulam Haider Wyne
6	162	Skindar Hayat Boson
7	163	Arshad Hussain
8	164	Shah Mahmood Hussain
9	165	Muhammad Ahsan Shah
10	166	Ghulam Qasim Khan
11	167	Muhammad Boota
12	168	Salah-ud-Din Dogar
13	169	Saeed Ahmed Qureshi
14	170	Mian Mukhtar Ahmed
15	171	Malik Tayyab Khan
16	172	Shah Muhammad Khan
17	173	Haji Jind Wadah Khan
18	174	Ahmed Khan Lambardar
19	175	Dewan Ashiq Hussain Bukhari
20	176	Fakhar-ud-Din Shah
21	177	Mian Mehfooz Ahmed
22	178	Saeed Ahmed Khan
23	179	Ghulam Hyder Khan
24	180	Nazar Muhammad
25	181	Muhammad Zargham Khan
26	182	Khushal Muhammad
27	183	Nazir Ahmad
28	201	Mumtaz Hussain
29	202	Pir Ahmed Shah Khagga
30	203	Jalal Din
31	204	Muhammad Arshad Khan
32	205	Rai Ali Nawaz
33	206	Saeed Ahmed
34	207	Muhammad Shah Khagga
35	208	Mian Ghulam Farid
36	209	Muhammad Amjad Khan Joya
37	210	Allah Yar Chishti

Source: *Result Elections 1985, Vol.III*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1985), pp.133-153.

1988 ELECTION

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.No.	CONSTITUENCY(NA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	114	Syed Yousaf Raza Galani	PPP
2	115	Riaz Hussain Qureshi	PPP
3	116	Mukhtar Ahmed Awan	PPP
4	117	Muhammad Saddiq Khan Kanjo	IJI
5	118	Mirza Muhammad Nasir Baig	PPP
6	119	Rana Taj Muhammad	PPP
7	120	Ch. Abdur Rehman Walha	PPP
8	121	Mahr Muhammad Iqbal Hiraj	PPP
9	122	Aftab Ahmed Khan	IJI
10	123	Ghulam Haider Wayyen	IJI
11	124	Noraz Shaqoor	PPP
12	125	Ch. Muhammad Ashraf	IJI
13	126	Rai Ahmed Nawaz Khan	IJI
14	127	Mian Ghulam Muhammad KMinaiika	IJI
15	128	Raja Shahid Saeed Khan	IJI
16	129	Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Khan	PPP
17	130	Akbar Alik Bhatti	IJI
18	131	Shahid Mehdi Naseem	IJI

Source: Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam and others. (Compiled) General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997 (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1997),pp.338-376.

1988 ELECTIONS

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.No.	CONSTITUENCY(PA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	160	Salah-ud-Din Dogar	IJI
2	161	Abbas Ali Ansari	PPP
3	162	Malik Khalilullah Labar	PPP
4	163	Khurshid Ahmed Khan	PPP
5	164	Syed Nazim Hussain Shah	PPP
6	165	Muhammad Ishaq Bucha	PPP
7	166	Shah Mahmood Qureshi	IJI
8	167	Khalil Ahmed Sheikh	PPP
9	168	Syed Javid Ali	PPP
10	169	Ashiq Hussain Syed Dewan	PPP
11	170	Ahmad Khan Baloch	IJI
12	171	Muhammad Saddiq Khan	IJI
13	172	Tayyab Khan Awan	IJI
14	173	Malik Sajjad Hussain Khan	IJI
15	174	Ahmed Baksh Tahim	PPP
16	175	Khawar Ali Shah	IJI
17	176	Allah Yar Khan	IJI
18	177	Shah Irfan Ahmed Khan	IJI
19	178	Pir Arif Zaman Qureshi	PPP
20	179	Skindar Hayat	PPP
21	180	Muhammad Aslam	PPP
22	181	M. Latif Mughal	IJI
23	182	Muhammad Arshad Khan Lodhi	IJI
24	183	Jalal Diin	IJI
25	184	Saeed Ahmed Choudhry	IJI
26	185	Rai Hasan Nawaz Khan	IJI
27	186	Walayat Shah Khagga	PPP
28	187	Mian Muhammad Ahmad	PPP
29	188	Tiqa Muhammad Iqbal Khan	IJI
30	189	Pir Allah Yar Chishti	IJI
31	190	Ghulam Farid Chishti	IJI
32	191	Muhammad Shah Khagga	Independent
33	192	Israr Ahmed Khan	PPP
34	193	Saeed Ahmed Khan	IJI
35	194	Ghulam Hiader Khan Khachi	IJI
36	195	Waqar Azim	Independent
37	196	Javed Mumtaz Khan Daultana	IJI
38	197	Qurban Ali Chuhan	Independent
39	198	Ch. Nazir Ahmed	IJI

Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam and others. Source General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1997), pp. 338-376.

1990 ELECTION

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.No.	CONSTITUENCY(NA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	114	Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani	PDA
2	115	Syed Hamid Saeed Kazmi	Jamiat Ulmai Islam (N)
3	116	Syed Tanvir-ul-Hasan Gilani	IJI
4	117	Hyatullah Khan	IJI
5	118	Muhammad Saddiq Khan Kanjio	IJI
6	119	Syed Javed Ali Shah	IJI
7	120	Makhdoom Javed Hashmi	IJI
8	121	Syed Fakhar Imam	IJI
9	122	Aftab Ahmed Khan	IJI
10	123	Ghulam Haider Wayian	IJI
11	124	Anwar-ul-Haq Rami	IJI
12	125	Mahr Ghulam Farid Khathia	PDA
13	126	Rai Ahmed Nawaz	IJI
14	127	Raja Shahid Saeed Khan	IJI
15	128	Mian, Muhammad Ahmed Khan	IJI
16	129	Muhammad Nawaz Khan	IJI
17	130	Akbar Ali Bhatti	IJI
18	131	Syed Shahid Mehdi Naseem	IJI

Syed Aqeel Abbas Jafari, *Pakistan Ki Intakhabi Syasat*, (Islamabad Good Books, 1996), pp.236-37.

1990 ELECTIONS
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.No.	CONSTITUENCY(PA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	160	Malik Salah ud Din Dogar	IJI
2	161	Haji Muhammad Boota	IJI
3	162	Saeed Ahmed Qureshi	IJI
4	163	Sheikh Muhammad Tahir	IJI
5	164	Syed Muhammad Ahsan Shah	IJI
6	165	Skindar Hayat Boson	IJI
7	166	Shah Mahmood Qureshi	IJI
8	167	Murid Hussain Qureshi	Independent
9	168	Nawab Liaqat Ali	IJI
10	169	Ashiq Hussain	IJI
11	170	Ahmad Khan Baloch	IJI
12	171	Muhammad Siddique Khan	IJI
13	172	Malik Tayyab Khan	IJI
14	173	Malik Sajjad Hussain Khan	IJI
15	174	Khyzer Hayat Khan	IJI
16	175	Syed Khawar Ali Shah	IJI
17	176	Allah Yar Khan	IJI
18	177	Irfan Ahmed Khan	IJI
19	178	Ghulam Hyder Wayne	IJI
20	179	Muhammad Zaki	IJI
21	180	Arshad Hussain Matila	IJI
22	181	M. Latif Mughal	IJI
23	182	M. Arshad Khan Lodhi	IJI
24	183	M. Jalal Din	IJI
25	184	Malik Iqbal Ahmed	PDA
26	185	Rai Hassan nawaz	IJI
27	186	Pir Ahmed Shah Khagga	IJI
28	187	Muhammad Ahmed Joya	IJI
29	188	Muhammad Ashraf Joya	IJI
30	189	Pir Allah Yar Chishti	IJI
31	190	Gohar Farid Ahmed	Independent
32	191	Muhammad Shah Khagga	IJI
33	192	Mian Mahfooz Ahmad	IJI
34	193	Saeed Ahmed Khan	IJI
35	194	Ghulam Haider Khan	IJI
36	195	Ch. Nazar Muhd Duggal	Independent
37	196	Muhammad Zargham Khan	PDA
38	197	Ch. Nazir Ahmed	IJI
39	198	Pir Zulfiqar Ali Chishti	IJI

Source: Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam and others. (Compiled) *General Elections Report Vol. II, Comparative Statistics for General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan 1997), pp.338-376.

1993 ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULT OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.NO.	CONSTITUTENCY(NA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	114	Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani	PPP
2	115	Muhammad Boota	PML(N)
3	116	Shaikh Tahir Rashid	PPP
4	117	Mumtaz Ahmed Noon	PPP
5	118	Mir Muhammad Nasir Baig	PPP
6	119	Javid Ali Shah	PML (N)
7	120	Shah Mahmood Qureshi	PPP
8	121	Muhammad Iqbal Hiraj	PPP
9	122	Altaf Ahmed Khan	PML (N)
10	123	Postponed due to murder of Ghulam Haider Wayyan	Postponed
11	124	Noraz Shaqoor	PPP
12	125	Mahr Ghulam Farid Khatia	PPP
13	126	Shahnaz Javid	PPP
14	127	Mian Muhammad Amjad Joya	PPP
15	128	Rao Muhammad Hashim Khan	PPP
16	129	Mian Noor Muhammad Bhoba	PPP
17	130	Tehmina Aqeel Daultana	PML (N)
18	131	Qurban Ali Chohan	PPP

Source: Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam and others. (Compiled) *General Elections Report Vol. II, Comparative Statistics for General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan 1997), pp.338-376.

1993 ELECTIONS
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY RESULT OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.NO.	CONSTITUTENCY(PA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	160	Hafiz Muhammad Iqbal Khan Khakwani	PML(N)
2	161	Saeed Ahmed Ansari	PML(N)
3	162	Ehsan-ud-Din Qureshi	PML(N)
4	163	Rana Noor ul Hasan	PML(N)
5	164	Syed Nazim Hussain Shah	PPP
6	165	Malik Muhammad Ishaq Bucha	PPP
7	166	Murid Hussain	PPP
8	167	Shaikh Khalil Ahmed	PPP
9	168	Rana Sohail Ahmed Noon	PPP
10	169	Malik Mushtaq Ahmed	PML(N)
11	170	Syed Akbar Ali Shah	PPP
12	171	Nawab Amanullah Khan	PPP
13	172	Muhd Rafiq Aryian	PPP
14	173	Sajjad Hussain Khan Joya	PPP
15	174	Syed Hussain Jahanian Gerdezi	Independent
16	175	Syed Muhd Mukhtar Hussain	PPP
17	176	Allah Yar Haraj	PPP
18	177	Irfan Ahmed Khan	PML(N)
19	178	Pir Arif Zaman Qureshi	PPP
20	179	Pir Shujat Hussain Qureshi	PPP
21	180	Khalid Iqbal Randhawa	PPP
22	181	Mian Sheikh Muhammad	PML(N)
23	182	Riaz Hussain Kathia	PPP
24	183	Ghulam Murtaza Shah Shirazi	PPP
25	184	Iqbal Ahmed Khan Langrial	Independent
26	185	Muhammad Munir Azhar	PPP
27	186	Walayat Shah Khagga	PPP
28	187	Tika Muhd Iqbal Khan	PPP
29	188	Muhd Shafiq Arian	PPP
30	189	Ghulam Qadir Rana	PML(N)
31	190	Ghulam Farid Chishti	PML(N)
32	191	Pir Muhd Shah Khagga	PML(J)
33	192	Mahmood Yayat Khan	PPP
34	193	Muhd Aslam Khan	Independent
35	194	Ghulam Haider Khan	PML (N)
36	195	Muhd Saqib Khurshid	PML(N)
37	196	Javed Mumtaz K. Daultana	PML(N)
38	197	Abdul Hamid Bhatti	PPP
39	198	Muhd Akhtar Ghumman	PPP

Source: Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam and others. (Compiled) *General Elections Report Vol. II, Comparative Statistics for General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan 1997), pp.338-376.

1997 ELECTIONS:

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULT OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.NO.	CONSTITUTENCY(NA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	114	Sikandar Hayat Bosa	PML (N)
2	115	Muhammad Boota	PML(N)
3	116	Muhammad Tahir Rashid	PML(N)
4	117	Ghulam Qasim Khan	PML(N)
5	118	Muhammad Saddiq Khan Kanjo	PML(N)
6	119	Javid Ali Shah	PML(N)
7	120	Makhdoom Javid Hashmi	PML(N)
8	121	Election Postponed	Postponed
9	122	Aftab Ahmed Daha	PML(N)
10	123	Begum Majooda Wayyan	PML(N)
11	124	Anwal-ul-Haq Rami	PML(N)
12	125	Ch. Muhammad Ashraf	PML(N)
13	126	Rai Ahmed nawaz	PML(N)
14	127	Raja Shahid Saeed Khan	PML(N)
15	128	Mehmood Ahmed Khan	PML(N)
16	129	Muhammad Nawaz Khan	PML(N)
17	130	Tehmina Daultana	PML(N)
18	131	Shahid Mehdi Naseem ¹	PML(N) ²

Source: (1) Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam & others. *(Complied) General Election Report Vol.II, Comparative Statistics for General Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997*, (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan 1997), pp.88-89.

(2) Zahid Hussain Anjum, *Elections 1997*, (Lahore: Nazeer Sons, 1997), pp.173-175

1997 ELECTIONS

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS OF MULTAN DIVISION

S.NO	CONSTITUENCY(PA)	WINNER CANDIDATE	PARTY
1	160	Muhammad Iqbal Khan	PML (N)
2	161	Muhammad Sultan Alam Ansari	PML(N)
3	162	Ihsan-ud-Din Qureshi	PML(N)
4	163	Rana Noor-ul-Hasan	PML(N)
5	164	Mian Tariq Abdullah	PML(N)
6	165	Sikandar Hayat Boson	PML(N)
7	166	Malik Mazhar Abbas	PML(N)
8	167	Shaikh Khalil Ahmed	PML(N)
9	168	Nawab Liaqat Ali	PML(N)
10	169	Ashiq Hussain	PML(N)
11	170	Ahmed Khan Baloch	PML(N)
12	171	Muhammad Saddiq Baloch	PML(N)
13	172	Malik Tayyab Khan	PML(N)
14	173	Muhammad Aslam Joya	PML(N)
15	174	Election postponed	Postponed
16	175	Syed Khawar Ali Shah	PML(N)
17	176	Ch. Fazal-ur-Rehman	PML(N)
18	177	Arfan Daha	PML(N)
19	178	Khyzer Hayat	PML(N)
20	179	Abdur Razziq Ch.	Independent
21	180	Malik Ghulam Murtaza	PML(N)
22	181	Malik Nadeem Kamran	PML(N)
23	182	Muhammad Arshad Khan Lodhi	PML(N)
24	183	Malik Jalal Din Dhakoo	PML(N)
25	184	Saeed Ahmed Ch.	PML(N)
26	185	Rai Hasan Nawaz	PML(N)
27	186	Pir Ahmed Shah Khagga	PML(N)
28	187	Rana Zahid Hussain Khan	PML(N)
29	188	Mian Naveed Tariq	PML(N)
30	189	Rana Ghulam Qadar	PML(N)
31	190	Dewan Azmat Chishti	PML(N)
32	191	Sardar Mansib Ali Dogar	Independent
33	192	Mian Zahid Nawaz	PML(N)
34	193	Saeed Ahmed Manees	PML(J)
35	194	Ghulam Haider Khan Khachi	PML(N)
36	195	Muhammad Saqib Khurshid	PML(N)
37	196	Sikandar Ali Khan Daultana	PML(N)
38	197	Ch. Nazir Ahmed	PML(N)
39	198	Pir Zulfiqar Ali Cheshti ¹	PML(N) ²

Source: (1) Mr. Justice (Retd.) Sardar Fakhre Alam, Justice Rashid Aziz Khan, Justice Ahmad Ali Mirza, (Compiled) *General Elections Report Vol.II Comparative Statistics for General Elections 1988,1990,1993&1997*(Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan 1997), pp.338-376
 (2) Zahid Hussain Anjum, *Elections 1997*, (Lahore: Nazeer Sons, 1997), pp.279-83.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Will the creation of Saraiki Province (Multan/Southern Punjab) lead to integration of the country in the long run?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

2. Do you think the demanded province of Multan may add to the prosperity of common people?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

3. Does it mean that the creation of Saraiki province is further empowering of the political figure of the area?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

4. Do you think the general masses may further loss their chance of prosperity?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

5. Is the reaction of the masses of the area towards creation of Saraiki province positive?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

6. Do you think that the people of Multan region really aspire for the status of their province?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

7. Do you think that the new province will result in a politically and administrative balanced state of affairs?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

8. Do you think that creation of Saraiki province will truly respond to the voice of regional groups?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

9. Is shrines' role necessary in politics?

Yes	No	To some extent
-----	----	----------------

10. Do the Saints' descendents of the area influence politics of Multan?

Yes	No	To some extent
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**Name of the Political Figures/Leaders of Multan Region who were consulted
in connection with their opinions about Questionnaires**

District	PPP	PML	Other parties	Independents	Total
Multan	1. Manzoor Qadir Qadri 2. Khurshid Ahmad Khan 3. Mansab Ali	1. Arif Mehmood 2. Shahid Mehmood 3. Nafees Ahmad Ansari	1. Qazi Yaqub Ayyaz 2. Qausar Naseer	1. Shoaib Imran 2. Asghar Mehmood	10
Lodharan	1. Mian Muhammad Saad Ullah 2. Muhammad Kamal Bhutta 3. Mehmood-ul-Hassan Abbasi	1. Qamar M. Yasin 2. M. Amir Iqbal Shah 3. Tahir Hussain Khan	1. Ch. Wasim Ahmad 2. Sh. Muhammad Akram	1. Akbar Ali Rizvi 2. Fayyaz Ahmad	10
Khanewal	1. Malik Sajid Raza 2. Makhdoom Syed Mehmood 3. Pir Mushtaq Ahmad Shah	1. Ahmad Hayat Sial 2. Syed Abbas Shah Bokhari 3. Mehr Imran Dhool	1. Zafar Iqbal Khan 2. Mehr Nazar Muhammad	1. M. Nawaz Javed Bhatti 2. M. Yamin	10
Vehari	1. Ch. Irshad Ahmad 2. Javed Mumtaz Khan Daultana 3. Rana Qamar Islam	1. Sultan Shamas-ul-Haq 2. Ch. Nazir Ahmad 3. Nazir Ahmad Dogar	1. M. Rafique 2. Muhammad Hussain Qadri	1. Akbar Ali 2. Adnan Asghar	10
Sahiwal	1. Aftad A. Khan 2. Syed Hassan Murtaza Shirazi 3. Imtiaz Hussain	1. Muzaffar Shah Khagga 2. M. Imran 3. Muhammad Mansha Sipra	1. Muhammad Ibrahim 2. Rao Aftab Ahmad	1. Asif Nawaz 2. Bahadur Ali	10
Pakpattan	1. Ahmad Farid Manika 2. Manzoor Ahmad Manika 3. Ch. M. Usman Shafique	1. Mian Irfan Adil 2. Ch. Javed Ahmad 3. M. Hussain Chishti	1. Ch. Bashir Ahmad 2. Fayyaz Hussain Chaudhary	1. M. Masood Khalid 2. Muzaffar Qadir	10
Grand Total:					60

Table

Showing Analysis on the opinions of Common People and Political

Figure/Leader

Question Number	Common People			Political Figure/Leader			Opinion
	Yes %	No %	To Some Extent	Yes %	No %	To Some Extent	
2	73	07	05	70	20	10	Creation of a new province is favoured
4	76	04	05	65	20	15	
5	73	08	04	70	10	20	
6	70	06	09	80	10	10	
7	75	10	05	85	05	10	
8	55	10	20	60	15	15	
Average Percentage	70.3%	7.5%	8%	73%	13.33%	13.33%	
1	70	09	06	60	25	15	Integration of the country and empowering of political figures.
3	06	49	30	55	15	30	
Average Percentage	38%	23%	18%	57%	20%	22.5%	
9	35	15	35	30	40	30	Shrine politics
10	65	05	15	55	15	30	
Average Percentage	50%	10%	25%	42.5%	27.5%	30%	

APPENDIX 'G' (Text of Interviews)

Text of Interview (Translated) with Rao Muhammad Zafar, Ameer
Jamaat-i-Islami City and District Multan (Date August 02, 2009, Place
Multan)

Q. No. 1	Would you please give me a brief history of the establishment of your political party in Multan?
Answer	Jamaat-i-Islami was formed by Maulana Abd-allah Maududdi on August 26, 1941. Before the formation of the party, people of Multan studied the literature of Jama'at. Mr. Baqar Khan, Maulana Khan Muhammad Rabani and Shaikh Abdul Malak introduced the party in Multan. After partition (1947), Ch. Nazir Ahmed, Sheikh Abdul Hamid, Aqeel Saddiquee, Justice (Retd.) Khyzer Hayat worked for Jamaat-i-Islami in different areas of Multan.
Q. No. 2	What has been the political role of your party in Multan Division till 1977?
Answer	Till 1977, the role of Jamaat-i-Islami was limited in the country. In the beginning due to interference of bureaucracy and military every government changed after some period. In 1958, Martial-Law was imposed and political activities banned in Multan and in the country also. In 1971, East Pakistan, which is now "Bangladesh", became an independent state. The results of 1970-

	<p>Elections were not valid due to separation of East Pakistan on December 16, 1971. But to run the state, charge of government was handed over to Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. During the PPP government 1971-77, there was emergency in the name of democracy. Jamaat-i-Islami protested against it. Jamaat played political role in Multan. Maulana Maududdi was arrested and lock up at Central Jail Multan on several times. He wrote the draft of Objective Resolution in Multan jail. This resolution was passed by the Assembly in 1949.</p>
Q. No. 3	<p>What is special contribution made by your party in that period?</p>
Answer	<p>The politics of Jamaat is to create awareness among the people. For this purpose Jamaat-i-Islami set up educational institutions in the region. Jamaat established its first institute; named Jamaia-ul-Aloom in Multan. There is no division of religious and non-religious education in this institution. It produced many people, who worked at important posts in the country. A series of Millat Colleges and Schools established by the Jamaat, but it was nationalized by PPP government in 1972. In 1977, when a civil disobedience movement started against PPP in the country. Jamaat played its political role in Multan. In Election 1977, Shaikh Khyzer Hayat was elected MNA from Multan, but election result</p>

	declared null and void.
Q. No. 4	What is the role of your party in Multan after 1977?
Answer	<p>After 1977 Election, Jamaat improved its position rapidly. District Multan had been several Tehsils and it was divisional headquarter. So Multan was divided and a new division name Dera Ghazi Khan was created from its area. Okara, which is new District was attached with Lahore. Vehari, Lodhran and Khanewal up-graded as Districts. Multan loose its central position. Our party organized its network at gross root level. Now other parties, which claim for people representative parties. They are candidate based parties. They select potential or influential candidate. In party politics Jamaat is equal to other parties. In social services, Jamaat's institutions named Al-Khidmat Foundation and Khidmat-i-Khalaq providing relief to people in cities and villages.</p>
Q. No. 5	In your opinion, do the majority of the people in Multan division support the Saraiki Province Movement?
Answer	<p>People want formation of a new province on administrative grounds, but it is controversial, when it demanded on language basis. Now there is political crisis in NWFP and Baluchistan provinces. Russian lobbies and some Afghan created disturbance in the area. Government adopted the British policy. Under that</p>

	<p>policy, to secure the government interest or projects in the area, government had been paid annual amount to feudal and tribal head for that purpose. Government of Pakistan adopted the same policy, which is continuity of that policy. National resources were not spent for public welfare.</p>
Q. No. 6	What is the opinion of your party on this issue?
Answer	The policy of the party on this issue is that it is against any movement, which is based on language.
Q. No. 7	What are the factors, which affect the politics of Multan Division?
Answer	<p>Governors, Chief Ministers, Ministers elected from Multan. Mushtaq Muhammad Gormani (Ex Governor of Punjab), Sajjad Hussain Qureshi (Ex Governor of Punjab), Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar (Ex Governor of Punjab) were from Multan. People of Multan feel that their representatives did not look after their rights and funds for developments were utilized in Upper Punjab Area. So it created a sense of depression among the people about slow socio-economic development in the area. Political movement in the area is not on the basis of Bigotry. If it was on that ground, Mr. Taj Muhammad Langah, leader of Pakistan Saraiki Party and other regional party won election from Multan. Regional party did not win a single seat in elections till now. People accepted the facts.</p>

Punjab is a big province. Its population is equal to France.

It is very difficult for a person to sit in Lahore and control it. People want solution of their problems. Elected representative of the area do not live here. Their family live in Lahore or foreign country. In little administrative unit problems will be solved at local level, now they go to Lahore, which is faraway from Multan. It is very expensive for a common man. Multan, Southern Punjab is attractable for World Super Power after NWFP, Baluchistan and Karachi. Belgium, Italy, Britain and American Ambassadors always visit the area on the name of culture. They knew its importance. There is poverty, low literacy rate and unemployment in the Area. So any Maulvi (Religious leader) peer (spiritual leader) can exploit the people. In health sector, there is only Nishtar Hospital from Quetta to Multan. In the field of education, only Baha-ud-Din Zakeria University for whole of the region. The area produce sixty percent of country's cotton, but textile industry was set up in Faisalabad and Karachi. It is mango producing area, but there is no proper arrangement for its preservation and export to other countries. All these factors affect development and politics of the region. Government of the Pakistan and Punjab should give attention towards the area.

Q. No. 8	What is the future policy of your party about these problems?
Answer	There should be peace and development in the area. Hospitals, drinking water, sewerage system and education are need of the masses. For industrial development, government should declare it "Tax Free Zone". Our party is working for solution of these problems.
Q. No. 9	What political stand your party have about regional political movement in Saraiki are i.e. Saraiki Movement and Bahawalpur Movement?
Answer	My party do not support the demand of separate province on linguistic based. We are in favour that Multan (Southern Punjab) should be a separate province on administrative ground. The name of that province should be decided after the consensus in the parliament with two third majority. Political demand of separate province in Bahawalpur is based on ex-Bahawalpur state. Government introduced one unit scheme in 1955 and Bahawalpur was merged in Punjab province. It was decided by the Government, if one unit scheme will be abolished, Bahawalpur will be given status of separate province. One unit was abolished in 1969. So on that basis movement was started in the area and

	ended without any result. After the consensus of people, Bahawalpur may include in new administrative unit of Multan.
Q. No. 10	Is there any worthy work of you party in Multan region?
Answer	Multan region is backward. Our party is working for development in different fields. In education sector, we established an Educational Complex on forty kanal in Shujabad Town. It is combination of modern and religious education. We want to develop six units of that type in different areas. In villages our party established schools with the name of "Ghazali School and Dispensaries" for the masses.
Q. No. 11	Religious factor is very important in politics of Multan. Mr. Yousaf Araza Gilani Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Shah Mahmood Qureshi, Foreign Minister of Pakistan belongs to Shrine family and have Gaddies (spiritual seats of shrines). Is it not an important factor?
Answer	Yes, it is a jumping pad for them, but with the passage of time, their grip is not strong as it was in the past. They also loose the election. Shrine factor in politics decreasing its importance due to competition of party politics and political awareness among the people. Mr. Sikandar Hayat Bosan won election from Multan, it is an example of change in politics. In past people go to custodian of

	shrines to ask, where they should cast the vote? Now they go to people for vote. So it is a change and political awareness among the people.
Q. No. 12	Jamaat has important role in public, but it cannot win majority of seats in elections?
Answer	As a student of political science and democracy, if we analysis the political parties except Jamaat. All other parties do not fulfill the criteria of democratic political party, because they are inherited parties. They win elections on the basis of money, land, industry, shrine, bureaucracy and with the help of foreign aid. Jamaat do not believe on these things. It is an ideological based party. Other parties always are selected potential or influential candidate. If these parties issue tickets to common man then result will be different. For example, in Shujaabad all feudals and influential politicians joined PML (Q). As a result PML (N) and PPP had no candidate to contest in local election for Tehsil Nazim (Administrator). In these elections, Jamaat got fifty six votes out of two hundred. If other parties have no potential candidate then, they have no politics.

**Text of Interview (Translated) with Nafees Ahmed Ansari Ex-MPA
of Pakistan Muslim League (N) from District Multan (Dated
August 08, 2009 Place Multan).**

Q. No. 1	Would you please give me a brief history of your political party in Multan?
Answer	<p>I started my political career from student life, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto formed the Pakistan Peoples Party. My father Feroz-ud-din Ansari, who was Ex-MNA and President Municipal Corporation, Multan welcome Mr. Bhutto in Southern Punjab. Before 1970-Election, when PPP was popular in the region, landlord and feudal of Multan joined the party. My father said to Bhutto in a public meeting at Multan “to avoid from Gillanis, Qureshis and feudal of the area” If feudal will lead the party, it will not be party of common man. Mr. Bhutto said “They will only get membership of the party. In General Elections 1970, I will award party ticket to common members. Three attacks were made on Mr. Bhutto during his Election campaign in Multan at Qadar Pur Rawan, Sheeza Inn Hotel and Qasim Bagh. We protected Mr. Bhutto during attack. My father cooperated to organize the party in the region and established an office of PPP at Multan. Feudals opposed our</p>

	group. So in 1970-Election, we left the PPP. Mr. Bhutto requested us to rejoin the party in 1975. In 1977-Election, my father contested as PPP candidate.
Q. No. 2	What has been the political role of your party in Multan division till 1977?
Answer	My father was a PPP candidate in 1977 Election, but feudals of the area Sahibzada Farooq Ali Khan was also a candidate in Election and Mr. Sadiq Hussain Qureshi another feudal of the area did not want to see a common worker at top. So due to rigging in Election, PPP lost two seats in Multan. When Bhutto noted this situation, he offered my father to join as a senator. After that he elected as Senator.
Q. No. 3	What is special contribution made by your party in that period?
Answer	Development process in Multan is very slow. During Bhutto period (1970-77) sewerage system was developed and a Radio Station was set up in Multan.
Q. No. 4	What is the role of your party after 1977?
Answer	In July 1977, Martial Law was imposed. New Government pushed PPP back. I could not win the election for Mayor of Multan. I was elected as Deputy Mayor. In 1985-Election, which held on –non-party basis, my father was elected MNA. In 2002-Election, I was

	elected MPA from Multan as PML (N) candidate.
Q. No. 5	In your opinion, do the majority of the people in Multan division supporting the Saraiki Province Movement?
Answer	It is difficult to say about popularity of the movement, but due to slow development in the region, this slogan created attraction among the people for the solution of their problems. I am a migrant from Amritsar district of East Punjab, but I will say creation of a new province in Multan region i.e. Southern Punjab should be on administrative grounds and not on any other basis.
Q. No. 6	What is the opinion of your party on this issue?
Answer	Punjab has 62% population of the country Saraiki Movement is going forward. PML do not want division of Punjab Province on language grounds. Mr. Javid Hashmi an MNA from Multan of PML (N) is also in favour to create a new province in Southern Punjab on administrative grounds.
Q. No. 7	What are the factors, which affect the politics of Multan division?
Answer	A common worker always neglected in politics of the area. Politics of Multan rotate around families like Gillanis, Qureshis and Feudal. Now-a-days, Yousaf Raza Gillani of Multan working as Prime Minister of the Country.

Q. No. 8.	Have you suggestions regarding the development of Multan division?
Answer	All the development funds are with the Punjab. We are waiting, what Prime Minister will do for us? Development in the region is hopeless. Ex-Chief Minister, Pervaiz Ellahi established Cardiology department and Fatima Jinnah Hospital in Multan. Being opposition leader I and Mr. Javed Siddiqi demanded funds for the development of the area. I further suggested to MNA and MPA should demand funds for the development of the Area.
Q. No. 9	What is political stand of your party about regional political movement in Saraiki Area i.e. Saraiki Movement and Bahawalpur Movement?
Answer	Pakistan Muslim League do no support these movements. Personally, I am in favour of a new province in Multan and Bahawalpur area on administrative grounds.
Q. No. 10	Is there any worthy work of your party in Multan region?
Answer	Pakistan Muslim League (N), which was my ex-party, did not start any project. Mr. Bhutto and PML (Q) did some work in the public interest. We are looking for a common man leadership for the solution of the problems of the area.

Text of Interview (Translated) with Malik Aamir Dogar, MPA of Pakistan Peoples Party from Multan (Date August 05 2009, Place Multan)

Q. No. 1	Would you please give me a brief history of the establishment of your political party in Multan?
Answer	Pakistan Peoples Party was established in Multan at the same time, when it was formed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1967.
Q. No. 2	What has been the political role of your party in Multan division till 1977?
Answer	The role of PPP is important in politics from its formation till-today. There is continuity in its role.
Q. No. 3	What is special contribution made by your party in that period?
Answer	The role of Multan (Southern Punjab) is very important. In present Government, Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, Prime Minister of Pakistan and Shah Mehmood Qureshi Foreign Minister of Pakistan belong from here. Multan always proved Mini Larkana (a city of Sindh). In every elections, Southern Punjab supported Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (d 1979) and Benazir Bhutto (d 2007)
Q. No. 4	What is the role of your party in Multan division after 1977?
Answer	The role of the party was very good. Now PPP government announced project for Southern Punjab. In the past, PPP gave Mega projects and jobs to the people of Multan.

Q. No. 5	In your opinion, do the majority of the people in Multan division supporting the Saraiki Province Movement?
Answer	We do not believe in division of Punjab Province on language or sectarian basis. We support the movement for creation of a new province on administrative grounds.
Q. No. 6	What is the opinion of your party on this issue?
Answer	PPP is a national party. It does not support the regional issue. Our country is passing through political and economic crisis. So in these circumstances, party is not in favour of any regional political movement. If demanded on administrative ground, it may be considered.
Q. No. 7	What are the factors, which affect the politics of Multan division?
Answer	The role of different persons is very important in politics of Multan. For example, the role of my father Salah-ud-Din Dogar, Qureshis, Gillanis and Javid Hashmi are very important in politics of the area.
Q. No. 8	What is the role of Feudal, Shrines and money in politics of Multan?
Answer	Now-a-days, there is political awareness in the masses. There is change in politics, who will work for the people; he will be winner in elections.

Q. No. 9	Have you suggestions regarding the development and betterment of Multan region?
Answer	There are different projects for Southern Punjab. For example, Motorway from Faisalabad to Multan, Northern By-Pass Road, Southern By-Pass Road, Head Muhammad Wala and Engineering University. In future, Multan will be at par in development, with other areas of Punjab.
Q. No. 10	Is there any worthy work of your party in Multan region?
Answer	Motorway, Rings Roads, New Universities, Low Income Housing Colonies, Present PPP Government will complete all these projects for the development of southern Punjab.

Text of Interview (Translated) with Malik Mukhar Ahmed Awan, Ex-MNA, Senior Minister of Pakistan Peoples Party from Multan (Date August 03 2009, Place Multan)

Q. No. 1	Would you please give me a brief history of the establishment of your political party in Multan?
Answer	<p>Multan region is vast area. Basically, it is Saraiki speaking area. In the History book named "Tareekh-i-Feroz Shahi" wrote that Thatta was ruled by Multan or Multan was ruled by Thatta. Pakistan Peoples Party was formed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on 30 November 1967. Party's manifesto and flag was formed. As a Foreign Minister Mr. Bhutto gave best foreign policy. He had direct links with people. He did not compromise on principles. When party was formed, I was only delegate from Multan. At that time, it was a big division. Dera Ghazi Khan, which is now division was a part of Multan. I was Secretary General of the PPP in Multan. I organized the party at gross root level. Before the Mughal period (1526-1849), there were feudals, capitalists and Nawabs (inherited rulers). Ideologically, they have no political legacy in transferring it generation to generation. These four families were called</p>

Nawabneen Arba (Four rulers families). They were Qureshis, Gillanis, Gardezis and Khakwanis. The first three were spiritual families. The base of their spiritualism was peeri (spiritual leadership), Muridi (followers) and a seat of shrine. They have links till Sindh area. Before 1970 Election, Bhutto called on a conference at Halla (city of Sindh). It was decided in the said conference that PPP will contest in Elections and party ticket will be issued to party workers. I contested in 1970 Elections from Multan and won a seat against Qasim Khakwani and Sajjad Qureshi. There was no local body system in Multan. There were sixteen advisors in Government. I was given the area of Multan. I selected the persons for district council and corporation. PPP framed the interim constitution. After that in 1973-Constitution was framed. Advisors were made Ministers. I took oath of the Punjab Assembly at third time under 1973-Constitution. I was Minister for Labour, Social Welfare and Rehabilitation. We called a Labour Conference in Islamabad and Labour Policy was framed. Under that policy minimum pay and share system was introduced for workers. Mr. Bhutto wanted free and sovereign Pakistan and he did so. In 1974, he called conference of Islamic countries at Lahore. Bhutto was made **“For Life Chairman of Conference”**

	Then, he said to form Islamic Bank and Atomic bomb.
Q. No. 2	What has been the political role of your party in Multan division till 1977?
Answer	It was continuity, to increase the membership of the party in 1977 Elections, Mr. Umar Yayat Tamman was given the task especially in Southern Punjab, Sariki area for participation of those people, who did not join party in 1970. Some leaders and spiritual leaders announced to join the party with thousands of followers. Mr. Bhutto asked "please tell me about the situation". I said "as per announcement all the people were with them and no body is with you". I also said "they will not accept the Economic System given by you. After that Bhutto admitted this in his book named "If I am assassinated". He said I want to construct a bridge between the have or have not. If I am not murder by military Government, I will work for the poor and remove the 1977 circumstances.
Q. No. 3	What is special contribution made by your party in that period?
Answer	There was hopeless situation due to Yahya Khan Government (1969-71). PPP and Bhutto created political awareness among the people. In Economic Sector Port Qasim and Steel Mill Karachi were established. Steel Mill Project was completed with Russian help. In Education Sector private schools were nationalized. In

	Agriculture Sector, PPP worked for Agriculture Development and increase in production. PPP created awareness in Labour, Field Worker and Daily Wages workers. Now feudals and common workers sit on one place.
Q. No. 4	What is the role of your party in Multan division after 1977?
Answer	In 1977 election, party tickets were issued to feudals, I won MPA seat from Multan. Feudals joined PPP and worked against the party. They raised the slogan of “Nazam-i-Mustafa” (System given by Prophet Muhammad Peace Be Upon Him) Reactionary forces worked against the poor people. In 1977, my house was on fire and at the time of Bhutto’s assassination in 1979, political and feudal families distributed sweets as happiness. But political legacy of PPP transferred from Bhutto (d 1979) to his daughter (Benazir Bhutto) and after her murder in 2007, it was transferred to new generation of Bhutto. Now we are aware about their conspiracy in future.
Q. No. 5	In you opinion, do the majority of the people in Multan division support the Saraiki Province Movement?
Answer	When Bahawalpur Political Movement started first. Bhutto said, if it will be popular, I will be with the popular forces. Now we have the same principle, if we create new province and hand over it to

	feudals, what will be the benefit for common man. So we oblige, educate and create awareness. PPP gave slogan of Bread, Clothing and House (Roti Kapra and Makan) for all, is its fruits meet to common man?
Q. No. 6	What is the opinion of your party on this issue?
Answer	PPP has policy “that party worker should not join the Saraiki province movement. PPP is committed with its manifesto” .
Q. No. 7	What are the factors, which affect the politics of Multan division?
Answer	I remained in jail for seven years at Lahore Fort, because I was working against the feudals’ mentality and politics of shrines. I was Divisional President of PPP Multan.
Q. No. 8	Have you suggestions regarding the development and betterment of Multan region?
Answer	After 1970-Elections development work started here. Baha-ud-Din Zakariya University, Khawaja Farid Hospital, Radio Station and development in Qasim Garden completed during PPP Government (1971-77). Feudals and capitalists were against the University. They have view that we have our own culture and traditions. I went to jail and seventy-five hectors of my agricultural land was given to University. Feudal mentality is always ready to plagiarism.

Q. No. 9	What political stand your party have about regional political movement in Saraiki area i.e. Saraiki Movement and Bahawalpur Movement?
Answer	PPP is a National party from Khyber to Karachi. It is rare in life of a nation that God gave them a party, which worked for whole the nation, not for any region and opened all options.
Q. No. 10	Is there any worthy work of your party in Multan region?
Answer	PPP established Military College at Dera Ghazi Khan, Army Public School and Sewerage system at Multan. It also worked to increase the road capacity and education facilities in the area. Chairman and founder of PPP Mr. Bhutto was assassinated in 1979, his daughter Ex-Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto was murdered in 2007, but PPP is committed to work for common man.

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