

Role of Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) In the Politics of Pakistan (1985-2018)



By

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Author's Declaration

I **Mr. Irfanul Haq**, hereby declare that my M. Phil's thesis titled "**Role of Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) in the Politics of Pakistan**" is my own work and has not been submitted previously by me for any other degree from Quaid-i-Azam University or from anywhere else. If my statement is found incorrect even after receiving my M. Phil degree, the University has the right to cancel my degree.

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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the M. Phil candidate Irfanul Haq has completed his thesis titled **"Role of Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) in the Politics of Pakistan "**, under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies, National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

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Dedication

I dedicate this research to my beloved parents (Baba and Amman) and family (Brother Aijaz ul Haq, Brother Abdul Haq, sister Shabnam, and Amman Baeli).

Acknowledgment

Firstly, I wish to thank my supervisor Dr Manzoor Ali Veerio for his guidance, and expert insights for providing the materials related to my research that made me able to complete my thesis. His valuable comments not only helped me in this research but also envisioned me with more insights and ideas. Next to him are my family, friends, and relatives who have encouraged and supported me with their love to complete this dissertation. I would also like to thank my all relatives and friends who have been the source of great help in data collection as well as providing simultaneous discussion.

A special thanks to my cousin-brother; Shahid Hussain, my mentor and inspiration, who taught me from the beginning of my educational career and took me from old educational conventions to modern education trends.

Glossary

Pir	Spiritual guide, Religious preceptor, a Sufi or descendant of a Sufi saint.
Azad	Free
Badshah	Emperor, King
Chauki	Watchmen or guards' duties
Dali	Offering gift
Dargah	Tomb, Shrine
Dastarbandi	Ceremony at which turban is tied on the head of person
Deh	Sub-division of land
Dhand	Lake
Fakir	Religious (usually Muslim) ascetic; in context of the Hur Union, refers to leading members of the brotherhood
Gadi	Seat, Throne; refers to Sufi shrine
Ghazi	One who fights for Islam against infidels; Conqueror, Hero
Hajj	Annual pilgrimage to Mecca
Haji	One who had performed Hajj
Hari	Peasant
Hazri	Roll-call
Hidayat	Guidance
Hijrat	Migration, especially to a Muslim country from enemy territory
Eid	Muslim religious festival
Imam	Religious leader, one who leads prayers in the mosque
Inam	Gift
Izzat	Honour
Jagir	Assignment to a person of state revenue derived from a specified area
Jagirdar	One who holds a jagirs

Jamiat	Association
Janaza	Funeral
Jihad	Holy war
Kacha	Makeshift, raw, temporary
Kalunghi	Long coat
Khairat	Charitable grant in form of revenue- or rent-free land, money or goods
Khalifa	Caliph, line of succession to the Prophet Muhammad as head of the Muslim community; title given to leading followers of a Sufi saint or Pir
Khilafat	Caliphate', the office filled by the Khalifas
Lorha	Guarded settlement
Masjid	Mosque
Maulana	Title used by an alim
Maulvi	Title equivalent to maulana
Mela	Fair
Mir	Title
Muafi	Forgiveness
Mufti	One who is qualified to give a fatwa
Mujahid	One who wages jihad, holy warrior (pi. mujahidin)
Murid	Disciple, a follower of Sufi Pir
Murshid	Spiritual guide
Nazrana	Offering in money or kind made by murids to Pir
Pag	Turban
Piri-Muridi	Relationship between Pir and murids
Raj	Rule, empire, kingdom; used loosely to denote British Indian Empire
Saiyid	Descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)
Sajjada nashin	'One who sits on the carpet', head of Pir family
Sangat	Group, sub-division
Sardar	Chief or leading man
Sarkar:	Government, authority

Shalwar kamiz	Traditional dress consisting of long shirt and baggy trousers
Shaheed:	Martyr
Shams ul-Ulama	'Sun of the ulama'; honorific title
Sharia	Sacred, divinely revealed law of Islam
Sharif	Holy
Shikar	Hunting
Tehsil	Administrative sub-division of a district
Taluqa	Administrative sub-division of a district
Urs	Annual celebration of the death of a Sufi saint and the occasion for a pilgrimage to his tomb
Vazir	Minister
Wadero	Sindhi term for the big landowner, chieftain
Wah	Canal
Wahdat al-wujud	philosophy of the Unity of Being
Zamindar	landholder; under British law, designated as a person recognized as possessing proprietary rights over land
Zenana	Female quarters or those areas where they remain secluded from the gaze of men outside the family
Ziarat	Visit to a tomb, sacred place or Pir himself

Abbreviations

AIML	All India Muslim League
INC	Indian National Congress
LP	Lambrick Papers
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
SPML	Sindh Provincial Muslim League
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
MNA	Member of National Assembly
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
PML-F	Pakistan Muslim League Functional
APAML	All Pakistan Awami Muslim League
JML	Jinnah Muslim League
JAML	Jinnah Awami Muslim League
SML	Sindh Muslim League
JAL	Jinnah Awami League
AL	Awami League
PML-Convention	Pakistan Muslim League (Convention)
PML-Council	Pakistan Muslim League (Council)
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-J	Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo)
PML-Jinnah	Pakistan Muslim League (Jinnah)
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid
AML	Awami Muslim League
APML	All Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement

PTI	Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf
STP	Sindh Taraqqi Pasand
GDA	Grand Democratic Alliance
GHQ	General Headquarter
LG	Local Government

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Abstract

The Hur movement was an epic chapter in the history of Pakistan and the Sub-continent. It was initiated by great religious and Sufi saints' family known as the Pagara family of Sindh one who was a great contribution from its beginning till today. When they migrated from a different region to Sindh that time Sindh was going through a very crucial time. Many leaders and rulers put Sindh into the dark ages. However, this family settled in Khairpur Mir's state and started their journey for the betterment of this land. They went through many crucial periods; The Hur movement was one of the leading events of that time. The movement went through four phases among which the last one was the most important and unforgettable phase in the history of the sub-continent. Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi (Sureh Badshah) was the leading figure in the movement. It was a time when Sindh was completely under the influence of the British administration. Due to his resistance against British rule Pagara Gadi was banned in Sindh as well as in Pakistan. Further, after the partition, when their gadi was successfully restored, they supported Pakistan and its people. They participated in politics and succeeded to establish their own political party which was named Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) in 1985. It was led by the then Pagara descent 'Shah Mardan Shah'. Later, the party successfully to secured reasonable mandate that increased its popularity in Pakistan's politics.

Key words: Hur movements, Pagara family, Politics, PML-F, GDA, Elections.

Chapter I

Introduction

Historically, Sindh is known as the land of Sufis and the people of this land have always been the followers and disciples of the Sufis, locally called the ‘Pir’ or ‘Murshid’ meaning the spiritual leader or mentor. There are hundreds of shrines of Pirs in Sindh. Among them, Pir Pagara family is one, whose thousands of followers live in both, Pakistan, and India. This family holds their offices for spiritual purposes in their hometown, Pir Jo Goth in Khairpur Mirs, the district of Sindh. There is a strong viewpoint about the Pir Pagara family that it originated from the illustrious Sayed family genealogically related to Hazrat Ali (r.a), a cousin, and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Following the hierarchy, the Pagaro family is the offspring of Imam Moosa Kazim, they are called Kazmi Sayeds. One of their early ancestors Sayed Ali Maki came to Sindh in nine centuries when the Sindh was rule by Soomras tribes (Nasir, 2015)¹. This study will cover Pagara’s family’s contributions in Pakistan’s movement² and, the role of their political party, Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F). The PML-F was established by Shah Mardan Shah Alias Sikander Ali Shah (son of Syed Sibghatullah Shah II) in Pakistan’s political arena. According to historians, Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II (Sureh Badshah) had great contribution in Pakistan’s independent movements by his resistance movement known as the Freedom movement or Hur movement. The Hur movement started in 1843 and its roots are quite

¹ Nasir Aijaz, *Hur-The Freedom Fighter*, Culture and Tourism Department, Government of Sindh, 2015. Pp. 15.

² Movement is basically started for a sudden goal whenever it achieved then either it will ended or it will converted into a political position.

genuine in a mutiny against British colonial rule in the Sub-continent. Since 1843 up till 1943, this strong movement has gone through four different phases, but this research have focused on the last phase which was led by Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi II. According to Nasir Aijaz, “Hur movement was first well planned and well-organized movement, which fully discomfited British power and enhanced the vision of self-determination among the nationalities of the Sub-continent and British colonies throughout world one of the leading movements which targeted the break or collapse of British rule in the Sub-continent”. As a result, British tried to make negotiations several times with Sureh Badshah but failed. Later, he was arrested by the commissioner and soon was executed on March 20. 1943 at Hyderabad central jail. After that, his two sons Syed Shah Mardan Shah and Syed Nadir Shah were exiled to England for educational purpose. Syed Shah Mardan Shah returned Pakistan after completing his education and soon he assumed the spiritual office in February 1952 after his father’s execution (Nasir, 2015).

Pir Shah Mardan Shah (Pir Pagara) was inspired by Muslim League when Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah³ contested elections against General Ayoub Khan. Pir Pagara has supported Pakistan Army throughout Pakistan’s history by encouraging his followers to take volunteer part in the 1965 and 1971 ⁴wars against India. He added thousands of Hurs as a volunteer to fight against India and contributing to winning both wars by Pakistan. Initially, he had good relations with Zulifqar Ali Bhutto (the then Premier of Pakistan) who had made his political party Pakistan People’s Party (PPP). Later, due to grave political differences, his attitude raged toward Zulifqar Ali Bhutto. When General Zia-ul-Haq elected himself as President of Pakistan, Pir Pagara supported Zia’s campaign because Pir Pagara was anti Bhutto politics in Sindh.

³ Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah was not much willing for Presidential elections, later she agreed for the sake of public when they approached her and convince her for elections.

⁴ These both wars created major role for Pak-army because Hur community largely participated in in these wars and won by their efforts in their dense areas.

Therefore, he openly supported Zia-ul-Haq regime. Zia ul Haq met Pir Pagara and offered Premiership of Pakistan. He (Pir Pagara) nominated Muhammad Khan Junejo⁵ as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Very soon, he took the oath for Premiership. When Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo became Prime Minister, he tried to lift martial law and established his own political party in 1986 called Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo). There are various assumptions, the sudden death of Mr. Junejo's in 1992 the party was divided into three factions as PML-Junejo, PML-Nawaz, and PML-F while few assume that when Junejo died, Pir Pagara renamed it as PML-F.

The Pir Pagara was keen to horse racing, and making predictions was one of his hobbies. He was also known as the “Kingmaker” in Pakistani politics⁶. He had close relations with General Headquarters. Pir Pagara was unable to expand his party’s activities beyond the districts of Sanghar, Mirpurkhas, Tharparkar and Khairpur Mirs, and in south Punjab. In 2002, his party won 5 National Assembly seats and 16 Provincial Assembly seats in Sindh. Further, in 2004 the party joined General Parwez Musharraf’s cabinet and later quit due to dissatisfaction with Musharraf’s policies. Then in 2006, the PML-F contested elections and acquired 4 National Assembly and 8 Provincial Assembly seats in general elections of 2008.

The sudden death of Shah Mardan Shah in January 2012 party had nominated Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi III (Raja Saeen) as the new President of PML-F and the new Pir Pagara of Hur community. Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi is a spiritual leader of Hur community. He has been into the politics earlier but after getting the charge of party, his decisions have been quite different. Due to which the party has been losing its political ground. The party’s alliance with the nationalist parties in Sindh had further contributed to parties losing

⁵ Muhammad Khan Junejo was a Sindhi landlord of Mirpurkhas district Sindh. He was a great, loyal and eminent murids of Pir Pagaro. Muhammad Khan Junejo introduced many Projects in rural areas of Sindh. When I went for interviews in local areas people was highly praising and mentioning his efforts.

⁶ Nasir Ajjaz. 2015. Hur-The Freedom Fighter. Culture and Tourism Department Government of Sindh. PP. 27, 28.

political ground. Its alliance is known as Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA)⁷ at the end of 2017. After this alliance, GHQ (General Headquarter) never favored Pir Pagara because they were not happy with this alliance. In short, Pakistan Muslim League Functional was one of the main popular parties at the end of the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s era. We had figured it out in the General Parwez Musharraf era as it received great popularity by winning seats in elections. However, after the death of Shah Mardan Shah the party has been losing its popularity on the political grounds that resulted into the great set back in the general elections of 2013 and 2018 for the party. In nutshell, the research has illustrated the role of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional in Pakistan's politics. It has also filled the gaps and highlights the issues in the decline of the party on the grounds of politics in Pakistan.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to explore the role of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional in the politics of Pakistan. Further, this study have discussed the achievements of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional during the regime of Zia ul Haq and Parwez Musharraf. This study is an attempt to answer these questions. For instance, how Pir Syed Sibghatullah-II Shah Rashidi and his followers fought against the Britishers for the freedom movement? What were the reasons for Pagara's spiritual *Gadi* for participating in politics? What was the role of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional in the politics of Pakistan? What are the reasons for the downfall of the PML-F on the political ground? And why PML-F is losing its worth in political arena day by day?

⁷ Grand Democratic alliance (GDA) is a political alliance based in Sindh. It was founded in 2012 by Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi (incumbent Pir).

1.2 Literature Review

A literature review provides bases for research and discusses relevant information on a particular subject. It is an extensive fact-finding exercise that emphasizes the relevant information which has been done in past. Much have been written on their freedom movement, personalities, and family background but the role of their political party Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) has generally been ignored by historian and authors in research. Keeping in mind to find the gaps for further research the following review of literature help to evaluate the research question.

As Sarah F.D Ansari writes in her book “Sufi saints and state power: The Pirs of Sindh 1843-1947”⁸ when the British conquered the Sindh in 1843, they had need to smoothly be ruled Sindh through local elites or collaborators. They inquired through intelligence reports that Pirs of Sindh are more influential figures and natural elites that’s why they own lands and getting stipends from the rulers and charities “Nazrana/Firaz” from their followers. So, they started to build good relations with these Pirs. Later, the Pirs especially Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi, took steps against this British rule. Further, she expressed that at the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th century British faced many problems especially when the two events occurred i.e., Hur movement (1843-1943) and the Khilafat movement⁹ (1918-1924).

⁸ Sarah F.D. Ansari. (1992). *Sufi Saints and. State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge University Press, Delhi.

⁹ Sara Ansari expressed in her book, Britishers were running their administration in Sindh very smooth slowly their clashes were increasing with local Pirs but these two events proved very crucial for them.

Nasir Aijaz also writes in his book “Hur-The Freedom Fighter¹⁰”. He said that Syed Sibghatullah-II was arrested in an illegal armed case in Sukkur. Police inspector from Punjab, Ghulam Akbar, was deputed there to lodge F.I.R against the Pir in 1929 when he (Sibghatullah-II Shah) was about 20 years of age. The police illegally claimed the possession of 12 refills 3 guns, 12 revolvers, and 15000 bullets. Further, he said, that they alleged his residence, an arms manufacturing factory. Further, Nasir has highlighted multiple events in Hur or freedom movement through the lenses of the history in his book.

Muhammad Usman Diplai famous Sindhi writer narrated in his novel “Sanghar”¹¹ tells a short tale regarding Pir Pagara that, once Pir Pagara played chess game with British officer whose name was Kargil. Pir Pagara played very well and defeated the officer in the game, they both played, and Pir Pagara played well and d¹². Further, he said when Pir was in jail, he used to prohibit cigarettes for all his disciples during his confinement in jail Hyderabad. While he used to enjoy a cigar and often prayed to Allah ‘O my Lord forgive me for having this sin of smoking (Cigar).

Hameeda Khuhro, a well-known historian of Sindh, wrote in her book “Autobiography of Ayyub Khuhro” illustrates that there are many reasons owing to which the Hurs came into existence. Syed Ahmed had sought the help of the Talpur rulers of Sindh in a war against Punjab, but, Talpurs had not many resources that are why they requested Pir Pagara for the help; he selected a group of his disciples and took an oath of allegiance to them. Therefore, these Hurs

¹⁰ Nasir Aijaz well depicted in his book “Hur-The Freedom Fighter” about the history of Pir Pagara and his family which came from Iran and settled in Sindh. Further, he also detailed about Rashidi Khandan and their role in the politics of Pakistan.

¹¹ Muhammad Usman Diplai, Sanghar, Roshni Publications Kandiaro, 2018.

¹² Muhammad Usman said, when Kargil was playing chess with him he (Kargil) thought today’s game will be win by me because he’ll be in great tension so, he cannot win today but it was wrong. However, Pir was successfully win that last chess with him.

always followed their Pir's instructions for the rest of life. Furthermore, she also elaborated that once the British administration sent Ayoub khuhro to Pir Pagara to maintain cordial relations with them. He (Pir Sahib) denied their request as a result the relations were badly affected.

Khadim Hussain Soomro, prominent writer in Sindh, writes in his book "Freedom at the Gallows Life and Times of Syed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro"¹³ when Sibghatullah Shah was arrested by the commissioner who was given the strict instructions to treat him with immense humiliation in the jail. Very soon in January 1933 a letter was written by the leaders of Sindh including Shahnawaz Bhutto, Ayoub Khuhro, Mir Muhammad Baloch, Sher Muhammad Khan Bajirani¹⁴ to the Governor of Bombay requesting for quick release of Pir Pagara etc.

There are few documents about Pir Pagaro available at the British library that Pir was buried at Astola Island, but the rumors circulated that Pir sahib is buried in the premises of Hyderabad central jail for time being under the supervision of Gen. Richardson, Lambrick and Ridley. However, Dr. H.T sorely writes in his book 'Diversion of Mnemosyne' that Pir was buried at Charan Island, which is under British control. Despite various rumors nobody knows where Pir Pagara has been buried.

Hamid Khan writes in his book, that when General Zia-ul-Haq made himself a President of Pakistan he met with Pir Pagara for a coalition. Pir Pagara then suggested the name of Muhammad Khan Junejo as a Prime Minister of Pakistan. After seeking the Premiership Junejo tried to lift martial law as taking his prime duty.

¹³ Soomro, K.H. (2004). *Freedom at the Gallows Life and Times of Syed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro*. Published by Sain publisher Sehwan Shareef.

¹⁴ Khadim Hussain Soomro further said, these leaders were very close to Britishers as British administration had given various titles for them. Once they requested to British administration for their release but they decreased their punishment period on their request. Although they had sympathy with Pir Pagara.

Zulifqar Kunbhar, writes in his articles published in the newspaper 'The News' He expressed, five years after the death of Pir Pagara Syed Shah Mardan Shah, an icon of Pakistani politics, his party Pakistan Muslim League-Functional is losing political ground. Since the death of the seventh Pir of Pagara in 2012, the PML-F Sindh's third-largest party has never seen such degradation since its foundation, but, under Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi-III, the eldest son of Shah Mardan Shah, the party lacks such ability and has failed to stop the exodus of electable from the party because they think their political career would become bleak if they remained in the PML-F.

Further, in this research, the literature on the party is too short but I have compiled it through different sources such as articles, newspapers, news, journals, and interviews. Besides, I have also participated in fieldwork to find out the material which has been helpful for my research and to answer the research questions. It has beneficial for my research and to solve the questions.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study is important in that it has highlight the popularity and fame of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional from since its creation. It is also significant as it portrays the transformation and changing pattern of politics in Sindh. This research is an effort to augment the strategy and course of actions applied by the politicians at that time. It is also significant for those who want to know the political history of PML-F.

1.4 Research Question

The questions are addressed in this research:

1. What is the role of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) in the politics of Pakistan?
1. What are the reasons for the downfall of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional on the political ground?

1.5 Research Methodology

This research has on qualitative tools of data collection. As the focus of my study is the role of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) in Pakistan's politics. Therefore, various primary and secondary data sources have been consulted and analyzed. The focus of the study has been the books, journals, and historical reports found in libraries and archives. During research work, an internet facility has also availed for its effective. The material has been collected from the libraries of Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, a private library of Pir Pagara, original archives from Pir Jo Goth, and interviews from Khalifas and Murids and political activist of PML-F from Sindh.

1.6 Limitation

The study is limited to discussing the role of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) from its creation till the 2018 elections. Further, it has also explained the role of both spiritual personality's shah Mardan Shah and Sibghatullah-III Shah towards their party.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into four chapters along with an introduction. Chapter one has dealt with the introduction, research methodology, literature review, significance of the study, and limitations etc.

The second chapter has focused on the historical background of Pagara dynasty, lineages, and background of Rashidi family in a detailed. It has also explained the role of Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II Rashidi in the resistance movements till their last breath.

The third chapter has discussed in detailed of their movement known as Hur movement. It has also covered the four phases of their resistance along with women role. It has also explained the entire life of Sureh Badshah from their birth to death.

The fourth chapter has discussed the role of Syed Shah Mardan Shah and has also explained the historical background of his Party Pakistan Muslim League Functional in the politics of Pakistan.

This chapter has also discussed the role of Syed Sibghatullah Shah-III Rashidi (incumbent Pir) in politics. It has also discussed the creation of GDA (Grand Democratic Alliance) and his role in party.

Chapter II

Historical Background of the Pagara Dynasty

Sindh is also known as the land of Sufis and the people of this land have always been the followers and disciples of the Sufis, locally called the ‘Pir’ or ‘Murshid’ meaning the spiritual leader or mentor. There are hundreds of shrines of Pirs in Sindh. Among them, the Pir Pagara family is one whose thousands of followers live in both Pakistan and India even all around the world. This family also holds their spiritual offices traditionally for spiritual purposes and these spiritual offices of Pir Pagara are one of the biggest and most influential places for thousands of followers in Sindh and Rajasthan. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the number of their disciples has increased, estimated to be in millions. However, the offices or headquarters of these Pirs are in their hometown called ‘Kingri¹⁵’ (old name) now Pir Jo Goth in Khairpur Mirs district (Nasir 2015). Further, Sarah F.D Ansari, a famous historian, writes in her book ‘Sufi Saints and State Power-The Pirs of Sindh 1843-47’ that these religious Pirs are known as a ‘Mediator’ between God and man and they also presented themselves as a model of perfect behavior to succeeding generations of Sindh because of their holy status while this family also holds their same status (Sara Ansari 1992). There are various narratives about the Pir Pagara family related to the illustrious Sayed family genealogically to Hazrat Ali r.a (4th caliph of Islam), a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Nasir

¹⁵ Kingri house is a resident place of Pir Pagara where they live. Kingri house is found in Karachi.

Aijaz, a well-known historian, and author writes in his book 'Hur-The Freedom Fighter' that one of their early ancestors Sayed Ali Maki (grandfather of Pir Pagara) accompanied by hundred men migrated from the Saamra¹⁶ region of Iraq to the Sewistan¹⁷ province of Sindh for the purpose of spreading Islam. He (Syed Ali Maki) settled himself at the Bagho Torho, foothills of the Khirthar mountain range on the right bank of the Indus river. Later, this area was known as 'Lake-e-Alvi' (Alvi pass). The descendants of Syed Ali Maki settled in various parts of Sindh and their followers are called Lakiari Syeds (Nasir 2015).

The word "Syed" means 'Chief' or 'Elder' in the Arabic language but in Sindh and other parts of Sub-continent, Syeds are known as descendants of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). There are a few authors who relate various stories of the arrival of Syed Ali Maki in Sindh. Besides, few differences also exist in the period of his arrival in Sindh. According to historians, Syed Ali Maki came into Sindh in the 4th century Hijra while few say he came along with Muhammad bin Qasim in the 2nd century Hijra (711-12 A.D). However, a great scholar and, late G.M Syed¹⁸ writes in his book 'Janab Guzariam Jin Seen' said, Syed Ali Maki migrated to Sindh from Mecca in 512 Hijra (1118 A.D) and his descendants settled at Laki. While Shah Saddaruddin was the renowned saint of Laki village and Syed Bahauddin was the brother of Syed Saddaruddin and Syed Muhammad Rashid is the decedent of Syed Bahauddin.

According to historians, Arabs migrated to Sindh because of their rivalries with their local rulers. The Arabs refugees in Sindh have been found very pious and learned. However, the

¹⁶ Saamra town was founded between 3rd and 7th century when Abbasid caliph was persued to leave Baghdad. (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Samarra>).

¹⁷ Sehwan is amongst most ancient place in Sindh. Some historians say that this town is established during the period of Prophet Shees (son of Adam). Therefore, it was named as Sheestan, later Sewistan and then renamed to Sehwan

(<https://www.suhnisindh786.com/2020/11/sehwan-city-historical-place.html#:~:text=Sehwan%20is%20amongst%20most%20ancient,and%20then%20renamed%20to%20Sehwan.>)

¹⁸ Ghulam Murtaza known as G.M Syed was a Sindhi nationalist and political leader of Sindh. He had great contributions for Sindh's movements. He was also authors for several books.

arrival of Syed Ali Maki relates to the migrations of Arabs in Sindh. According to Nasir Aijaz, Raja Dilorae (ruler of the Aror¹⁹ and Brihmanabad²⁰ areas) was a very cruel and uncivilized person once he had molested his younger brother's 'Chutto' mind. As Chutto embraced Islam and went to Mecca for performing the hajj and where he saw Fatima (an Arab pretty woman) and got married. One day Raja Dilorae forcibly entered Chutto's home with ill intentions in his absence but luckily Chutto came and saved her wife from him. Later, Chutto along with her wife flew to Baghdad. Whereas, the caliph of that time took serious action against his cruel brother. The Caliph sent Syed Ali Maki along with soldiers to punish him and destroy his kingdom but unfortunately on the arrival of soldiers, Brhimanabad was destroyed due to a natural disaster. Later, Raja forgave him and made his mind to get Syed Ali Maki to marry his daughter (Nasir 2015).

Syed Ali Maki had four sons, "Syed Muhammad, Syed Muradio, Syed Hajji Alias Bharkia, and Syed Chango". There is no mention of any events of his life without the book "Tuhfatul Kiram", however, there are various assumptions made by different historians, few say, Syed Ali Maki came along with Muhammad bin Qasim in 711-12 A.D and then settled at Laki which was a geographically moderate area for his residence and gradually he had attracted many people with his highness and piousness. The Laki village was renamed as "Lak-e-Alvi" when the pious Pir Shah Saddar son of Syed Muhammad and grandson of Syed Ali Maki) settled here. Few scholars view that, Shah Saddar and his brother Syed Bahauddin had many decedents due to earning much respect and piousness through their preaching of Islam. Pir Muhammad Rashid (also called Rashidi) was a shining star on the region of Sindh. He was born in 1170 Hijra then resting place was Pir Jo Goth in the Khairpur Mirs (District, Sindh). It is also said there are three spiritual hubs of this great dynasty. One is Laki Shah Saddar and the second one is Pir jo goth

¹⁹ Alor or Aror is medieval name of city of Rohri Sindh, Pakistan.

²⁰ Brihmanabad was old name of Mansura (<https://antiquities.sindhculture.gov.pk/tour/ancient-city-remains-brahmanabad-mansura/>).

while the third one is Pir Jhando village located near Hala new Saeedabad (district Matyari Sindh). According to Nasir Aijaz's book, These Pirs visited and settled in various parts of Sindh but most of them chose Khairpur Mirs as Syed Muhammad Baqa (father of Pir Rashid) stayed in village Rasoolpur then shifted to Rahim Dinu Kalhoro. He had 18 sons, and Pir Muhammad Rashid was one of them. His name is influential in the Sub-continent. He was as great and pious as his father was. He is also known as "Roze Dhani" in books of history. In 1233 Hijra he was martyred, and Pir Sibghatullah-I assumed his spiritual power among his murids. He was the first of this dynasty to be declared as Pir Pagara (Turbaned Pir). Later, his brother Pir Muhammad Yaseen decided to leave them and settled in Hala because he couldn't get the spiritual powers of his father. He took a flag along with him and declared himself a "Pir of Jhando".²¹

When Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I hold his office, Sindh was being ruled by Sikhs and Talpurs. They both had many clashes with each other because of British conspiracies against them. Then, the Hur community was created for the first time in his (Syed Sibghatullah) period. According to history, Raja Ranjeet Singh was Punjab's ruler and tried to capture other parts of Sindh.

When Syed Sibghatullah-I passed away in 1831, very soon Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I took spiritual power and continued fighting against opponents. Syed Hizbullah Shah was the third Pagaro of this dynasty who assumed the power. He was very young and couldn't hold his office for longer period and was transferred to Pir Ali Gohar Shah-II as 4th Pir Pagara. Pir Ali Gohar was a very patient. He timely transferred power to Pir Shah Mardan Shah-I known as 5th Pir Pagaro. He continued his *Gadi* till his demise. It was a very crucial time for Hurs due to bad ties with Britishers. By the end of 19th century and beginning of 20th century, Pir Syed

²¹ According to Dr Aftab Nabi (He is a former Inspector General of Sindh Police) around the 19th century, the Rashdi clan split into two groups, the Pag wara (owners of the title) and the Jbande wara (owners of the flag). Dr Aftab Nabi. The Hurs of Sindh. Pakistan Institute of International Affairs. October 2008 vol. 61, No.4.

Sibghatullah-II (Sureh Badshah) assumed his spiritual power (Pir Pagara VI) at the age of nine and fight with the Britishers fearlessly. Besides, Britishers made strict policies against him and his murids²². British administration abolished his spiritual offices and hanged him on 20th March 1943 in Hyderabad. Therefore, The *Gadi* remained abolished till the creation of Pakistan.

²² When Sibghatullah Shah took power of his gadi Britishers created very harsh policies towards him and his murids. Further, Dr Aftab Nabi writes that once he wrote in a paper, he'll get freedom from Britishers for his peaceful land. (Hur Gorilla Tehreek)

2.1 Lineage

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi-III (sitting pir) s/o Pir Syed Skinder Shah alias Shah Mardan Ali Shah-II s/o Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II s/o Pir Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I s/o Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah s/o Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I s/o Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I s/o Syed Muhammad Rashid Shah s/o Syed Muhammad Baqa Shah s/o Pir Syed Imam Shah s/o Pir Syed Shakrullah Shah s/o Pir Syed Usman Shah s/o Pir Syed Khatan Shah s/o Pir Syed Sanjar Shah s/o Pir Syed Bolan Shah s/o Pir Syed Hussain Shah s/o Pir Syed Meer Ali Shah s/o Pir Syed Nasir-u-Din Shah s/o Pir Syed Abbas Shah s/o Pir Syed Fazalullah Shah s/o Syed Shahab-u-Din Shah s/o Syed Baha-u-Din Shah s/o Syed Mahmood Shah s/o Muhammad Shah s/o Syed Hussain Shah s/o Syed Chakhan Shah s/o Ali Makki Shah Lakiyari s/o Syed Abbas Shah s/o Syed Zaid Shah s/o Syed Asadullah Shah s/o Syed Ummar Shah s/o Syed Hamza Shah s/o Syed Haroon Shah s/o Syed Abdullah Shah s/o Syed Hussain Shah s/o Syed Imam Ali Shah s/o Syed Imam Moosa Kazmi s/o Imam Jafar Sadiq s/o Imam Baqar s/o Imam Zain-ul-Abideen s/o Hazrat Imam Hussain s/o Hazrat Ali (R.A).

2.2 Background of Rashidi Family

The roots of Rashidi family are taken from the famous clan of “Lakiari”. This (Lakiari) clan is named after the name of Hazrat Muhammad Rashid Muqalib ‘Roz-e-Dhanni’. The first person of this clan was Syed Ali Maki who came for the preaching of Islam at the time of Abbasid rulers in Sindh and settled at Laki that’s why he was famous as Lakiari. Further, the lineage of this clan started from the 24th generation of Syed Ali Maki (R.A) and met with the 41st generation of Ameer-u-Momineen, whereas the lineage of Rashidi Khandan starts from Ali Maki (r.a). The short profiles are explained by Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah as given below.

2.3 Hazrat Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah

Hazrat Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah bin Imam Shah was born in ‘Rasool Pur’ in 1135 Hijra and 1723 A.D. from the beginning he was a pious, honest, patient, intelligent and religious person. After the completion of his education, he indulged himself in agri-business. Due to his humble nature, he was a disciple of Makhdoom Muhammad Ismail (r.a), (a religious scholar of the Naqshbandi school of thought) later he (Makhdoom M. Ismail) advised him to join the ‘Qadiriya silsila’ then he went to the Rohri (Aror was the old name) and meet with Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jeelani and followed him. Afterwards his Murshid (Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jeelani) allowed him to make his own murids and preach them Islam. Since that day he started his journey. He was very generous and once quoted “generosity is when you control your Nafs and fulfill the other’s needs”.

Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah was quite simple and humble. It can be judged by explaining the two incidents of his life; once, he was carrying a bag full of books when interrupted by the robbers and asked if it was filled with money but nothing other than books was found. On

another occasion, it was a time of war, he was busy reciting tasbeeh, and robbers thought he may be counting money, so they injured him badly. Later, they beg for pardon, and he forgave them unconditionally (Lurk, 2003). He always advised his sons to live patiently and spread love and preach Islam. Further, he also said that Muhammad Rashid will control this system after me, and you must follow him. He died on 10th of Muharram, 1198 Hijra, 1779 A.D.

2.4 Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid (R.A)

Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid was born on 6th Ramadan 1170 Hijra, 1757 A.D in the village of Rahim Dinu kalhoro, Khairpur Mirs. He was the younger son of Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah. It is said that when he was of one month of age, he didn't feed in the whole month of Ramadan during fasting period. Further, it is said that in his childhood Makhdoom Muhammad Ismail (r.a) said, "He is a pure soul to whom the world will take Shifah" later his words were proven true. Moreover, he was a dignified, respectful, and loyal person. Initially, he was under the influence of Hafiz Zain and later under Maulana Faqeer-ul-lah Naqshbandi (r.a). In Kotri Kabeer, Maulana Muhammad Arijo (r.a) held his dastarbandi ceremony. He was a scholar of Arabic and Persian. Along with that he was also a great writer he has written 'Sharah Ismail Husna' and 'Jama-ul-jawameha'. Beside this, he wrote a quotations book called 'Malfoozat Shareef' which was compiled with help of their Khalifas Muhammad Hussain Mahesar and Mehmood Nizamani. Furthermore, he also composed Sindhi Persian poetry (Nasir 2015). Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid didn't do any such deed which was against Shariah by the age of 23 and was a very generous in nature. Beside this, with his actions and behavior, many Hindus converted to Islam. His spiritual powers were spread in Sindh, Punjab, Gujarat, and Jaisalmer. He was died on 1st Shouban 1233 Hijra, 1817 A.D.

2.5 Syed Sibghatullah Shah Awal (Pir Pagara I)

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah was the son of Syed Muhammad Rashid (r.a) who was born in 1193 Hijra, 1780 A.D in the village Rahim Dinu Kalhoro Khairpur Mirs. He was more intelligent and spiritual among his two brothers because he was close to his father. He assumed his Gadi in 1233 Hijra, 1818 A.D. he got his education from his father that's why he is well proficient in Sindhi, Arabic, and Persian. Furthermore, he taught his murids to refrain from bad things and he created a new force by inculcating in them the power of jihad. It is said that he helped Syed Ahmed Shaheed and sent five hundred 'Hurs' to fight against Sikhs (Lurk 2003²³). Despite the force, Syed Sibghatullah himself was ready to go along with 'Hur force' but the road between Afghanistan and Peshawar was blocked because of Iran's Sardar and their disloyalty he couldn't participate in this movement and this Jihad's system became identity for Rashidi family. Then he left this eternal world on the 5th Ramadan 1246 Hijra, 18th February 1818 A.D. while his sacrifices are still remembered by various writers and the murids.

2.6 Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I alias "Asghar" (Pir Pagaro-II)

Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah was the son of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah and was born on 4th Rajab 1231 Hijra, 1816 A.D. He was a very pious and humble person as his father was. He was firmly adhered to Islamic teachings. He composed verses in Persian as in his title, "سنت ورد حزب" (The Soreh khe Shabas). Pir Ali Gohar assumed the seat at the age of 15 and had traveled to Sindh as kach, Kathiawar, Ahmedabad and Surat port. Besides, he also delivered to his murids. His generosity was much famous in his areas and people used to acquire their

²³ Lurk Magazine Hyderabad 6 December 2003.

spiritual satisfaction from his darbar. It is said, in his last days of life, a person came to his darbar known as Molvi Baha-u-din “Bhai” quoted a ghazal in Persian. Later, he was inspired so much from his ghazal and awarded him with an Elephant, but Molvi sahib denied to accept this due to his weak financial conditions. Then he said we cannot keep back given things. Further, he also said if you offer this elephant in front of Bahawalpur’s nawab he may give you more rewards. Besides this, he also promised him he will publish these verses in golden words (The Sooreh khe Shabas²⁴). He also collected quotes from his father. Pir Ali Gohar Shah migrated from his native village to the current day ‘Pir Jo Goth’ because of a flood in the Indus river. Beside this, he also shifted his all-ancestor’s graves and tombs to Pir Jo Goth and built the main mosque of that area but due to health condition, he lost his life and died in 11th Jamad-ul-Awal 1263 Hijra, 28th April 1847 A.D.

2.7 Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah-I (Pir Pagara-III)

Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah was the son of Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I and was born on 18th Shawal 1258 Hijra, 1843 A.D. after the death of his father he has hold his spiritual gadi from the age of 5 years. Pir Pagara-III was known for his great services in religion, politics, and the military. Further, he wrote a letter to the king of Turkey to inform them of the Britisher's threat. Further, he had appointed Hafiz Muhammad Siddique for the translation of Quran Pak with an explanation to guide his murids. He also traveled to many areas of Sindh and India to bring awareness among his disciples through his spiritual lectures. He also reconstructed the mosque of Dargah Shareef to increase the number of worshipers. Pir Hizbullah Shah created Jamait

²⁴ The Sooreh Khe Shabas. Rashidia Khandan jo Tarekhi Jaezo ae Hur Tehreek jo Tarekhi Jaezo. Paracaha Publications, Umerkot.

(Organization) for his disciples and it has divided into 12 units called Chokis²⁵ (now it may increase) which start from Sindh to Jaisalmer India (Nasir 2015, Lurk 2003). Furthermore, each unit has its Khalifas to deliver the message of Pagara and gather nazranu²⁶ from their murids. The few units are mentioned as, Ghahiki, Khawar, Kalian, Shahdadpur, Khitto, Laar, Gamahh, Par, Jaisalmer, Achro Thar, Naaroand Ban. These units are still found in different areas of Sindh and India.

2.8 Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II (Pir Pagara-IV)

Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II was the son of Syed Hizbullah Shah and was born in 1275 Hijra, 1860 A.D. Pir Pagara IV was physically weak when he holds the spiritual *gadi* and could not travel on horseback to their murids. So, their murids make a ‘Mafo²⁷’ (a wooden seat) and carry him among their murids for ziarat purposes. Later he was known as ‘Mafa dhani’. Pir Syed Ali Gohar was a humble, patient, and big-hearted. Besides, he also was more intimate with the teaching of Islam that’s why he used to preach Islam among their murids and used say, ‘spend your life according to the teachings of Islam’. He also kept away his murids from ill deeds. In his time, Britishers were more hegemonic in Sindh, but he kept silent to himself and his murids as well. Further, he also compiled kafis in Sindhi which are close to seven hundred, and his father’s ‘Malfozat’ “Khazanat-ul-Maharfat” compiled in Persian. While few explained as under,

²⁵ Choki is old system of this gadi. Its prime reason was to bring their Jamait under one umbrella by one person. Besides they (Pirs) also convey their message to this person and he will convey that same message among his murids by same words. It is found till today among Jamait.

²⁶ Nazranu or Faraz is a practice of taking money from their murids. It was started from old time their prime function was to give money by their (murids’ choice) for his Murshid.

²⁷ Mafo is a wooden seat of Pir Sahib. It is used when he will not be able to walk so, his murids used to carry this Mafo on their shoulders that his Pir sit there easily and to do ziarat for his murids. In old time it was often used.

Pir Ali Gohar Shah has no sons so, he transferred all his powers and responsibilities to Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I (his fourth brother) in his time. He died on 24 Jamadul Sani 1314 Hijra, 1896 A.D (the age of 39 years).

2.9 Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I alias Shams-ul-Ulma (Pir Pagaro-V)

Pir Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I was the 4th son of Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah and was born 7th Safar 1279 Hijra, 1860 A.D. He was a pious, scholar and great nature. He faced many issues not only regarding the country but also his family. In the first Hur movement, Britishers suppressed him as he was much brave and used to go towards his murids for ziarat purposes. The Britishers spread the teachings of multiple religions in Sindh and the Sub-continent. He felt for his murids and constructed Madarsa known as ‘Jamia Rashida²⁸’ in Pir Jo Goth later this Madarsa’s branch was also constructed in ‘Miro Rind’ where Islam’s teachings were taught free of cost. Besides, he also provided basic needs in these Madarsas. Pir Pagara also invited Islamic religious scholars from different parts of the Sub-continent to educate the Hur community in Sindh. Another great contribution was that he had written Quran Pak in Sindhi later it was published and distributed free of cost among his murids. He has written a risalo from ‘Makhdoom Bakhsh’ known as “Rasoolilah salam ae Ilim Ghaiab”. Pir Pagara was a generous person as once said when droughts came in Sindh, he also distributed food and wheat among their Murids, and he also gave them clothes. Pir Pagaro also reconstructed the tomb of ‘Makhdoom Muhammad Ismail (R.A). Besides, he had the respect for Maulana Abdul Rehman

²⁸ The branches of these madrasas are been increasing say by day all around the Sindh. It was initial step for his murids to educate for themselves and their children by introducing Islamic education free of cost. However, these madrasas carries same practices and thousands of madrasas are built. The Rashidia Madrasa of Dargah Shareef is one of the highest ranked madrasas where many student do dastarbandi.

Damrah who was molvi and in charge of ‘Rashidia Madarsa’ Pir Pagara died in 7th Rabi-ul-Awal 1349 Hijra, 9th November 1921 A.D.

2.10 Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II Alias Qasim Shah Alias Sureh Badshah (Pir Pagara-VI)

When cruelty and crime became common, he was the one who committed to eradicate them by giving many sacrifices. Besides, it also said when kufr is rampant then Allah’s sends someone to stand against it and give sacrifice. As quoted in Diplia’s book:

Such kind of people are rare to find as Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was one of such people. He was the son of Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I and was born on 13th Safar 1337 Hijra, 6th March 1909 A.D. He was a brave, intellectual, optimistic, and loyal person of his time. He had a great humble nature since his childhood. He holds his spiritual *gadi* at the age of 12 years. Although Britishers thought that they may easily keep cordial relations with him when they heard their “Afreen Naamo”²⁹ was thrown away by him when it was given to his uncle by the Britishers. He (Pir Pagaro) said, ‘Our ancestors were so innocent and simple whereas Allah has given them much respect they don’t need such type of recognition as ‘Afreen’. Later, Britishers thought that the Pir will support us if we make cordial relations with him. Initially, the Britishers thought and offered him one weapon and a sword as a gift, but he denied accepting that and said he already had many weapons and had no need for any sword or weapon. Besides, they also offered the title of Pir Pagara but he denied it and said it was enough for me to have the title of “Pir Pagaro”.

²⁹ Afreen Naamo was basically a gift given by British administration to his ancestors.

Sureh Badshah also strongly organized his force and issued them a few instructions such as, please stay away from any kind of addiction and do wear local dress and keep cordial relations with Hindu brothers. He predicted his martyrdom this way to his murids, “You all are Ghazi people God’s blessings will be upon us IA we all will live together one day and those among us will not be there they will see lots of things”. Once said, the deputy collector said why you don’t respect selected people who are in government then he replied, “I intended to respect them, but their habits and deeds are not good which kill my consciences and creates doubts to be called as Hussaini”. However, the Britishers did many wrong things to him, but he was never frightened. It's said, once he was in jail and the officer was assigned a duty and told to officer that, “When you are on the right path, and you will be hanged for this so this is tradition of our ancestors. We think this is right and we face this punishment, so we easily and happily accept this punishment because it is our worship. We are not born for slavery, but we are born for right and to break the slavery”. So, this was a difficult night and time for the Hur community and Sindh when he was hanged in Hyderabad jail on March 20, 1943.

2.11 Shah Mardan Shah Alias Skinder Ali Shah (Pir Pagaro VII)

Shah Mardan Shah was the son of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II and was born 27th Safar 1347 Hijra, 2nd November 1928 A.D. He was merely 15 years since his father was hanged by the British administration. Then, Shah Mardan Shah and his younger brother Nadir Ali Shah were sent to Liverpool, England by ship for the education. Later, they were admitted to Major Davis, a private school. Britishers tried to teach him their religious teachings as Christians, but he denied it. These two brothers were taken home in 1951-2 when Shah Mardan Shah resumed

his spiritual *gadi*. He was fond of book reading, and gaming and he also continued Islamic practices and learned them deeply. He was a famous personality in Sindh and Pakistan as it's said if a person meets him once he will be a die heart fan of him. He also focused on his community as Hur community. While in the time of Syed Sibghatullah Shah many Hurs were in jail with severe allegations. He tried to set them free from jail and prove all allegations wrong. He properly reorganized the Hur community. He also instructed Rashidia Madras³⁰ to reconstruct the buildings which were destroyed by Britishers and spread the network of these Madrasas. He also constructed many other Madrasas some of them are Madrasa Sibghatul Islam Sanghar, Madrasa Sibghatul Anwaar in village Faiz Muhhamd Bhambro and Islamia High school Khipro. Beside this, he also issued scholarships for Hur students³¹ which were issued till the 1970s. Furthermore, he was taking part in politics gradually and created his own political party known as 'Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F)' and he has made himself as a head of this party. Apart from this, he was also known as "King Maker" in Pakistan's politics and was very fond of horse racing³². He was also known as a champion of politics by various leaders and journalist. Nearly 2012 he faced many issues regarding his health and suddenly he left this world on 10th January 2012.

³⁰ Rashidia Madrasa are found in to his residence place known as Dargah Shareef, it is very wide and most influential institute for Islamic education for local or Hur's children where they acquire free of cost education.

³¹ Hur communities who were fought against Britishers for their Pir Pagaro lost their resources and shelters in the wars. Later their children and families were unable to eat and run their home for them it was too difficult then Shah Mardan Shah supported them and also issued scholarships from government institutions and their private institutors for their basic needs and educations. This was great contribution by Pir Sahib-VII.

³² Whenever Pir Sahib used to go to watch this game in Karachi thousands of his murids used to come here for ziarat purposes. However, he had few favorite horses of his own.

2.12 Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-III alias Raja Saeen (Pir Pagara-VIII incumbent Pir Pagara)

Syed Sibghatullah Shah is the eldest son of Shah Mardan Shah and was born on 14th February 1956 while he assumed spiritual Gadi on 12th January 2012. He actively participated in politics while he has been chairman of the district council of Khairpur. Under the local government system. Further, he was also elected three times to become a member of the Sindh Provincial Assembly and held the ministry of irrigation in 1985. He became the 8th Pir Pagaro³³ of the Hur community after the sudden demise of his father Shah Mardan Shah. He also becomes the head of his own party PML-F. In December he also held a jalsa in Hyderabad where he invited all nationalist political parties and become allied. Later, he has been involved more towards politics and could not made great relations. So made his own alliance with other parties known as Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA). Therefore, PML-F participated into politics from this platform.

Pagara Dynasty has great contributions and struggle since their ancestors. However, we have illustrated how they (ancestors) migrated and settled in peaceful land for their betterment.

³³ Before making him Gadi Nashin of Hur community few groups were not willing to make him as Pir Pagaro. They were favored his younger brother Sain Saddaruddin Shah Rashidi also known as Sain Younis Sain.

Chapter III

Historical Background of the Hur Movement

Hur Tehreek (movement) was like a ‘Tsunami’ which destroyed its enemies. It was a voice of righteousness and a light which showed the path of freedom. It was a force that broke the shackles of slavery and became a defense line for Islam and the Muslims. The literal meaning of the word ‘Hur’ is ‘Freedom’ or ‘Freedom Fighter’. Besides, Tehreek is taken from the word ‘Harkat’ meaning ‘Movement’. If we focus on the history of Sindh, we have found many Tehreeks in Sindh, but the Hur movement is one of them. According to Asad Jamal Pali, ‘few historians have not portrayed a true picture of this movement which was fought between Hur force and the Britishers under the leader of this Tehreek was Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II Rashidi (Sureh Badshah). He said that the few writers had good relations with the government and the Britishers that’s why they had not positively mentioned their sacrifices and bravery. Furthermore, he said that the few writers illustrated that these Hurs were dacoits, bandits, selfish and cruel. Whereas some have portrayed a true picture of the movement (Hur Goreela Tehreek, 2012)³⁴.

The roots of the Hur movement started in 1843 when Charles Napier came into Sindh along with his force and conquered Sindh by fighting the ‘Miani’ battle ³⁵against Mirs onwards up to 1945. This movement didn’t have political interests and ambitions, but it was a simple and

³⁴ This book ‘Hur Gorilla Tehreek’ have portrayed epic picture of Hur Movement and their leader’s role. Many authors have compiled many stories which have done in history. Further, few authors’ demonstrated true stories which Sain Sureh Badshah had faced in his time and movements.

³⁵ The battle of Miani was between British forces under Charles Napier and the Talpur Amirs of Sindh. (Today’s Pakistan)
(https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/Battle_of_Miani).

non-political movement as its slogan was “Wattan Ya Kaffan, Azaadi Ya Maut³⁶”. This movement has an enormous history like thousands of men and women were martyred and hundreds were wounded and many arrested. However, this glaring movement went through four phases in history. The last phase was initiated by the supreme leader of the Hur community, Syed Sibghatullah-II Shah (Sureh Badshah-Pir PagaraVI) which is still considered as a prominent phase in the history of the Sub-continent. Furthermore, the phases of this freedom movement are discussed as under:

3.1 First Phase of Hur Movement (1843)

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I participated in Jihad against Sikhs when Shah Ahmed Shaheed came to Pir Jo Goth and met with Pir to seek his help. The war against Sikhs was initiated by Shah Abdul Aziz (Shams-ul-Hind) son of Shah Waliullah and his two disciples Shah Ahmed and Shah Ismail. The head quarter of this jihad was Delhi. Syed Ahmed Shaheed and Shah Ismail stayed at Pir Jo Goth for several days and later received important directions from Pir Pagara. Pir Pagara also instructed his Jamait to equip themselves with new weapons and divided themselves into 12 Chokis (units). Each unit will assign one Khalifas who (Khalifas) will bring my message to whole community. This administrative system strengthened the Hur community. Beside this, before moving to Balakot Shah Ahmed received 300 soldiers (Hurs) who were skilled and fully equipped with arms and weapons to fight. They fought with Sikhs and killed many Sikhs in huge numbers, and they successfully defeated Sikhs and captured Peshawar city along with Shah Ahmed Shaheed. Later, Britishers martyred Shah Ahmed

³⁶ This was the slogan of Hur Tehreek initiated by Sain Sureh Badshah till his last breath. When Britishers started bad policies towards him and among his murids they faced many issues and then continuously started by their voices as ‘Wattan ya Kaffan Azadi ya Maut’ which created many tensions among Britishers and their forces during Hur Tehreek phases.

Shaheed in 1831. This was a depressing news for Pir Pagara and also Britishers entered Sindh after his martyrdom (Dr Zain-ul-Abdin, Dr Abdul Ghani and Khair un Nisa, 2015³⁷). The control of Sindh for Hurs was very tough, and Pir Pagara emphasized to make the community stronger. Pir Syed Sibghatullah-I Shah was very brave as his bravery's tales are still famous in Sindh.

3.2 Second Phase of Hur Movement (1880-1889)

The second phase was started when Syed Hizbullah Shah (Takht Dhani) was the leader of Hur community. It was started in the 1880s. Syed Sibghatullah left this eternal world all Jamait power went into Syed Hizbullah's hand, and he reorganized Hur Jamait very efficiently. He was a very active and brave. British administration alleged him several times and registered many cases while he was put in jail his case was fought by Mehtab Ram Giddu Mal Shahani (famous Hindu lawyer). He acquitted Pir Pagara and received one lac fees from Pir Sahib later he donated that amount for the construction of DJ College in Karachi. The uprising between Hur and Britishers was increasing day by day and a day arrived when they fought with each other under the command of Darya Khan Nizamani (leader of Hur force). He took many Hurs along with him and fought with Britishers. Hurs killed many Britishers whereas Britishers martyred many Freedom fighters around 3000 (Dr Zain-ul-Abdin, dr Abdul Ghani and Khair un Nisa, 2015). Furthermore, in second phase British government introduced many concentrations camp (Lohras³⁸) in Sindh to put Hurs in these camps. In addition, Pir Pagara was arrested for several times due to less communication and unplanned strategy that's why this movement also called 'scattered movement' and this battle was ended with the demise of Syed Hizbullah Shah 1889.

³⁷ Dr Zain-ul-Abdin, dr Abdul Ghani and Khair-un-Nisa. Grassroots, Vol, 49, No, 11. December 2015.

³⁸ Lohras was old concept of jail. It is also called concentration camps. Thousands of Hurs were captured by British army then they have put them into these Lohras. For further detail read 'Lurk Magazine 2003'.

3.3 Third Phase of Hur Movement (1995-96)

This phase of Movement was started under the supervision of Syed Ali Gohar-II Shah (Pir Pagaro IV) in 1895-6. He was the son of Syed Hizbullah Shah and was towering personality. He was the supreme leader of Hur community. He also declared Jihad against British and again reorganized Hur force in a proper way. After the failure of second phase, he also works on proper communication channels. He constructed centers of Hur force for Jihad in the various cities of Sindh Such as, Khairpur Mirs, Sanghar, Tharparkar, Hyderabad and Nawab Shah Districts of Sindh. Besides, in Sindh civil disobedient movement was started in a massive way. The Hur Jamait also created their self-proclaimed government in Tharparkar under the supervision of Muhammad Bachal Khaskheli commonly known as ‘Bacho Badshah’ assisted by Piro Wazir. (Dr Zain-ul-Abdin, Dr Abdul Ghani and Khair un Nisa, 2015).

Furthermore, ‘The Makhi Forest’³⁹ became the Guerilla headquarter and Britishers started operations in different parts of Sindh especially those areas where Hur communities were settled and they also settled Baloch, Punjabi, Pathans, Maliks and Chaudarys in Hur majority areas to convert them into minority. Apart from this, they also established special military courts to arrest Hur soldiers. This strategy of Britishers proved a setback for Hur force.

3.4 Fourth Phase of Hur Movement (1930-1943)

This fourth phase of Hur movement was crucial and unforgettable phase in the history of Sindh and Sub-continent under the supreme leader of Hur community Syed Sibghatullah-II Shah Rashidi known as ‘Sureh Badshah’ (Pir Pagaro VI). He fought with valor and bravery. In the

³⁹ Makhi forest was the secret place of Hur community near district Sanghar. It was very dense forest where many Hurs were kept for training purposes. Pir Pagara used to stay there along with their murids.

earlier movements, his family has given many sacrifices from generations to generations for his Jamait. His family is known for freedom lover throughout the succession. This phase is unique and epic in the history. It is said just after two year his coronation of Sureh Badshah he called his murids and said strengthen your ranks and be ready for something new and unusual to happen. Then, his murids thought this as a new hope for Sindh and themselves as well. So, they decided to unite themselves and remain stronger than before. Besides, British authorities started to maintain soft relations with the Pir, and they invited him for official receptions through their vanguards⁴⁰. Britishers thought he is very brave and intelligent at the age of 14 years. He clearly denied their invitation and refused to keep relations with them. Britishers clearly understood he can be dangerous for us in future. So, they gradually started false cases again upon him and for the first time they put him into central jail of Sukkur and started trial against him. It was first trial in this jail was fought by Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah had come from Bombay to fight this case and to release Pir Pagara from jail. Jinnah's representation was good, and he pursued his case. On 28, August 1930 Pir Pagara was sentenced for 8 years in prison Britishers kept him 8 years into jail and took him to various places such as, Ratna Garh jail and many cities of Bengal (Khadim Soomro 2006⁴¹).

Pir Pagara was patient, brave and politically mature person. He resolved Masjid Manzil Gah riots. The riots were becoming more dangerous then he (Sureh Badshah) ordered his loyal murids that 'protected the houses, religious places and properties which started from Masjid issues'. Then G.M (Ghulam Murtaza) Syed said, 'approaches of Pir Pagara was reconciliation and inter faith harmony'.

⁴⁰ Sarah F.D Ansari writes in her book 'Sufi Saints and State Power, the Pirs of Sindh' said these Pirs were initially vanguard of Britishers in initial days. Later when problems were not settling with administrations with these Pirs then they have been enemy of these people. She also elaborates, these Pirs were strong and higher tier of Britishers.

⁴¹ Khadim Hussain Soomro is the well-known Sindhi Author. He wrote of many books but his famous book on Pir Pagara's life is 'The Life and Time of Syed Sibghatullah Pir Pagaro'. Sehwan Publications 2006. He also wrote on the life of Sain G.M Syed.

Pir Pagara had a great influence on Sindh's politics that is the reason that Allah Bux Soomro became the Chief Minister of Sindh with the support of Pir Pagara. Later, he went to perform Hajj because he was much adhered to the teachings of Islam. Before leaving for Hajj, he delivered a speech to his murids where he elaborated few points which are explained below (Dr Zain-ul-Abdin, Dr Abdul Ghani and Khair un Nisa, 2015).

- Do practice on Sharia law and perform obligatory prayers.
- Keep relations as a brotherhood with each-other and treat them well.
- Respect your neighbors and weak around you.
- Get your daughters marry on time with their consent and respect them.
- Love your homeland and do sacrifice when it's in trouble.

Pir Pagara was at Garang banglow ⁴² Ghazis came for their registration for battle against Britishers. It's assumed that around 0.3 million Ghazis were registered their names. Besides this many females were also at Garang Banglow to meet with Pir Pagara for requesting to register them in Hur force. For a short while Pir Pagara came out to see their murids but suddenly one woman was weeping when Pir saw her and asked, "Amman cha maslo aw" (Mother! What is the problem)?

She replied, 'Pir Sahib, my son is very coward he hasn't enlisted his name for Jihad, so I want to register my name for Jihad' along with these words 'I want to sacrifice my all life for you' when Pir Pagara felt her emotions and he (Pir Pagara) put his hand on her head. After short time she came out and chanted slogans "BHEJ PAGARA". Women who were around with her also started chanting these slogans. Further, M. Usman Diplai writes in his novel 'Sanghar' that, hundreds and thousands of young girls, Hur females participated and equally fought with their male members in Hur freedom movement against British administration. He further mentioned

⁴² Garang Banglow was the head quarter of Hur movement near Sanghar district. It was old construction later it was destroyed by British administration through heavy bombs and machinery for their means.

few women who fought against enemies are explained in detail. In 2nd and 3rd phase of movement as Makhi Forest became the main HQ of Hur force. This was the time they made stronger and secret strategies and special arrangements were made for residence of Pir Pagara as he stayed there (M. Usman Diplai 2018).

Hur Jihad activities occurred all over the Sindh such as, Sanghar, Khairpur Mirs, Tharparkar, Hala, Matiari, Moro, Nawabshah, Khipro⁴³ and other regions of Sindh. Besides, many protests, bloody clashes happened between Britishers and Hur force. Along with these they also destroyed the Railway tracks, Nara, Rohri and Jamrao canals and roads and highways. Irrigation offices were also closed before their timing further, irrigation Banglows of Sanghar, Mirpurkhas and Nawabshah were attacked, and the situation become worst between both sides. Sindh's situation was out of control and British administration imposed martial law on lower parts of Sindh. Besides, they also established more special military courts for Hurs and many Hurs have been arrested for several times. This war was inviting more dangerous issues between both sides then Britishers thought Pir Pagara and his movements is on an agenda "Wattan ya Kaffan, Azadi ya Maut".

Britishers again thought to negotiate with Pir, they sent Ayoub Khuhro, Hydatullah and G.M Syed to bring Pir on one table, but it went failed and cannot convince Pir Pagara for negotiations. G.M Syed and Ayoub Khuhro did several meetings but unable to justify him (Pir Pagara). Britishers were in more trouble because without Pir Pagara they cannot rule in Sindh so, they again requested Ayoub Khuhro (he was Minister of British cabinet) for table talk. Khuhro reached Sanghar in midsummer then left for Makhi Forest where Pir resided. When he was travelling to Makhi, he saw many devotees or murids of Pir Sahib. He (Khuhro) scared himself

⁴³ Historically these places were the main hub of Hur communities in Sindh. Especially the women of these places fought with British administration with very bravery. While Sanghar district was the head quarter of Hurs in battle time.

to see thousands of murids and finally reached at dense Makhi Forest⁴⁴. For a short time, Pir Pagaro came who was sitting on traditional cradle (which was brought from Hala) he welcomed to him (Ayoub) on this occasion,

Pir Pagara said, ‘welcome minister! How are you? Sorry for inconvenience and I hope you would not like the charm of these soldiers’ life here, but it is safe haven for them.

Ayoub Khuhro, Pir Sain, I have come with a special message from Lambrick.

Pir Pagara: What dog had said?

Ayoub Khuhro: Pir Sain he wants to negotiate with you?

Pir Pagara: On what matter?

Ayoub Khuhro: Sain on the movement that you have started?

Pir Pagara: Go and tell him that the first and last demand of movement is that Britishers should leave and give us freedom. (Khadim Hussain Soomro, 2006)

In this gathering, thousands of Hurs were together, and they started with this “Bhej Pagara” and Ayoub Khuhro returned back with disappointment and inform the Britishers about this meeting. Later, Britishers introduced strict policy to diffuse this battle. Initially, they brought local elites and feudal against Pir Sahib who was being leaded by Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi (cousin of Pir Pagara). In 1941 Ali Muhammad Rashid wrote a letter to Governor Sir Heuch Dow, giving the details of Hur movement. He (Pir Ali M) said, Pir Sahib is the main character in freedom movement, and he is one who teaches the soldiers in a strategic way. He (Ali

⁴⁴ Khadim Hussain Soomro and M Usman Diplai writes in their books, when Ayoub was travelling in Pir Sahib’s areas he saw many murids (men and women) who were shouting with the slogan of ‘Bhej Pagara’ he scared and then said ‘Ye akhir kon c personality he jiss pe hazaren murids pagal hen’(translate in english).

Muhammad Rashidi⁴⁵) also termed him (Pir Sahib) as a cruel person and his soldiers are as beast. While the people who were against about this war and fully favored to Britishers earned their titles as Nawab, Sardar, Jagirdar, Sir and Khan Sahib against their names. These people fully supported British authority and then decided to arrest Pir Pagara and this bad dream was filled by this cruel administration and re-arrest him (Pir Pagar) on fictitious charges on 24 October 1941 and travelled him to Seoni in India. In this step again many Hurs came out and created more stir for Britishers besides their uprising started from Rajistan and other parts of Sindh. They destroyed irrigation system, Railway tracks, highways, roads and few assassinations of people like, Allah Bux Soomro (former Chief Minister of Sindh), Syed Fateh Ali Shah (cousin of Ali Muhammad Rashidi) and landlord Jan Muhammad Narejo (landlord of Sanghar district). However, Allah Bux Soomro had advised to British cabinet to introduce Hur act then he sent to Governor Dow for its approval. When it was approved, he (Allah Bux) becomes the enemy of Hur movement and he spread hatred for Hur Soldiers. It said in 1941-2 he addressed in a meeting at Sukkur and termed as Hur and Pir Sahib are rebellious forces in Sindh and the case should be run by British government against these forces.

On 10th May 1942, Allah Bux Soomro (CM Sindh) summoned nearly 300 influential people of MirpurKhas at Darbar Hall. He said local landlords to support British administrations and provide them full information against Hur force to local police stations. He (Allah Bux) also met with Seth Seetal Das Bharo Mal MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly) both criticized Pir Pagara and uttered for quick action against them. When a group of Hur force heard this news, they immediately decided to kill both. Initially, they attacked on Bharo Mal's resident where they had killed him, and Allah Bux was out of city (Nawabshah). After this action government

⁴⁵ Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi was not happy with Pir's gadi. Because he thought he deserved and right person for this gadi. Further, a C.I.D officer cornel Flip writes he was writing so many letters to British administration that 'I will help you to reach Pir Sibghatullah secret places you (Britishers) promised me to appoint me as their gadi nashin'. So, Britishers used to give him fake promises but never made him gadi nashin. (Hur Gorilla Tehreek 2012).

issued more security to Allah Bux. Once Allah Bux had meeting in Nawabshah where he expressed Bharo Mal's was killed by Hurs and now they are chasing him. Once Hur received short information that Allah Bux Soomro, Nical Das wazeerani (Hindu minister) and son of Ghulam Hussain Hydatullah were travelling for Sukkur so, they decided to kill him (Allah Bux). In Tando Adam they attacked and killed son of Hydatullah while Nichal Das saved him in a toilet, but Allah Bux was not there because he landed in Hyderabad. Soldiers were still in rage and after two months of martyrdom of Sureh Badshah they killed Allah Bux Soomro in his native town Shikarpur. It is said that a group of freedom fighters went to Shikarpur and reached his local town where he was travelling on horse cart (Tonga) where they directly shoot him and chanted slogan loudly as 'Bhej Pagara'.

The rage was enhancing day by day by both sides in all over the Sindh. The scale of freedom fighters has been increasing when Britishers hanged their supreme leader in jail. They both (Hur and Britishers) fight with each other in a massive way. Britishers also started attacked in Sanghar, Khipro, Sinjhor, Pir Jo Goth, Garang Banglow, Makhi Forest and other parts of Sindh. They started air strikes in these areas. Later Britishers' weapons and arms have been ending they decided to end this war. So, Hurs received independence from Britishers after huge efforts struggle for fight.

3.5 The Role of Women in Hur Movement

The role of women in Hur movement also started from 1941-2 when Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was arrested by British administration. Then his murids from all over the Sub-continent especially in Sindh considered this issue as matter of life and death. Therefore, their murids such as men, women, children, girls and aged came out from their homes and started civil disobedience movement for British administration. When this move created many issues for

Britishers then they started to arrest the people and keep them in jail. Besides this they also created old, styled jail as 'Lohras' (as concentration camps) all over the Sindh especially where most Hur community was living and then put them into these concentration camps.

Imamzadi Wassan writes in her article that, I took an interview from Sukhan Khaskheli (resident of Sinjhor city) said, 'When Pir Pagara was arrested then Hurs throughout Sindh came out in streets and protested against the arrest of Pir Sahib'. Further, she also explained an incident which brought great anguish in Sindh when a young 13-year-old girl Bakhtawar was living in a Sinjhor city. One day, she went to her field along with her cattle to feed them. Suddenly, British troops captured her. For a short while she was raped and murdered by these brutal forces, and they throw her body in the same field. Sukhan also recalls another event in her life, she said, an SHO by caste Dhraj was hailing from Nawab Shah used to come in her home. Whenever he entered her home, she used to hide whatever she had available things because he (SHO) didn't leave any chicken or eggs. Further, she illustrates in her article that 'Hur guerrilla fighter Bakhshan Mochi and British troops near Jamrao fought with each-other as a result many British troops were killed. Later, after this event many females have been arrested and imprisoned for 12 years. She says when they were in jailed, they were treated very harsh and involved many activities besides they were received insufficient food and things for their survival. When Shah Mardan Shah returned from England and held talks to Pakistani government for their release. When it went successful, they all were released from Hyderabad jails and concentration camps (Zain-ul-Abdin Sodhar, Muhammad Ali Laghari, Nasrullah Kabooro 2018).

Qaimi, 88 years old women expressed her views, she said, makhi forest was headquartered of Hur force where many communities were living together. These communities were, Jeneja, Bhmbhra, Abuputa, Jamali, Wassan, Rajer and Nizamani. These all were devotees

of Sureh Badshah. Further, Qaimi said, when Sureh Badshah was arrested, these all communities and Britishers fiercely fought with each other on the ground of ‘Martyers ground (Shaheedan jo Maidan)’ on south of Sanghar city. That day many Hurs were killed, and few were exiled to India and few were hanged while her husband Hashim was also arrested. Further, she also said, I still remembered the speech of Sureh Badshah when he delivered at Garang banglow he ordered, ‘you all are directed not to wear bangles till we evacuate Sindh from occupation forces. She said from that day onwards I didn’t wear bangles on my wrists. However, there are few women who fought with their enemies with bravery, according to Muhammad Usman Diplai, in his novel ‘Sanghar’ he explained very short of those women who participated in battles. These are explained as under:

3.6.1 Mai Munan (daughter of Noor Muhammad Khaskheli)

She was living in the village of Sahib Khan which was around 12 km away from the east of Sanghar city. She was very brave and intelligent women and used to carry around 20 females in her group along with her. She fought with police and forces later was arrested and kept in a Hyderabad jail at the age of 60.

3.6.2 Mai Basran

She was resident of Nindo city of Badin later get married and settled in Sanghar. She was very clever and brave women. She faced many tragedies in her life. She said, I used to carry around 15 females along with my group and faced the atrocities of police.

3.6.3 Mai Muradana (daughter of Imam Bux Khaskheli)

Mai Muradana was living in the village of Makhan Khaskheli. She used to carry merely young girls 15-20 years old along with her and to teach them fighting techniques. She had good

command in fighting, later she attacked on Hindu businessmen who had involved with Britishers and against Hurs.

3.6.4 Mai Hawal

Mai Hawal she nearly 50 years old and decided to join women force in Hur movement in Landhi area near Shahdadpur when her son refused to join Hur Tehreek. She earned great fame when she attacked British troops and did continuously firing later defeated them with great efforts.

3.6.5 Mai Begoo Rind

She was resident of the village of Sahito Khaskheli while her husband declared as a dacoit and put in jail. Later she did great efforts and took responsibility of Hur women commander. She bravely fought with forces in different places with various occasion. Later, she was arrested and also put in Jail. As she released from jail and again joined male group under the command of Bhai Khan Chang and fought with enemies along with their male counterparts with great valour.

3.6.6 Mai Zra

She was very brave women because she used to keep herself in a military dress and adopted male's name as Usman. When martial law was declared on the eastern parts of Sindh, she fought with Britishers with bravery and attack for several times and she used to escape.

3.6.7 Mai Lakhman

Mai Lakhman Mahar d/o Ranu Faqir Mahar was living in Khipro (Sanghar). She was nearly 103 years old (recently died) in her hometown. She said when I was around 14, 15 years I went for Ziarat of Sureh Badshah at Wadero Bilal's Otaq where He (Sureh Badshah) came, and

she did Ziarat patiently. She also added, Sureh Badshah handover zikker to his murids and said “Please remember my face in your entire life” she expressed his face is clearly remembered till today. Further, she also mentioned Lorahs (Concentration camps) where murids were captured by Britishers.

3.7 The Life, Struggle, and Sacrifices of Syed Sibghatullah-II Shah (Sureh Badshah)

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was the sixth Pir Pagaro of Hur Jamait and was born on 6 March 1909 at Pir Jo Goth when Sindh was in backwaters of the Sub-continent and mass campaigns were raising political consciousness. A year before his birth a meeting was held 25 km away from his village under the prominent leader of the Muslim league where they discussed many issues for Sindh, but the main question was highly raised. It was the separation of Sindh from the Bombay presidency. Beside this, Britishers had faced many issues and wounded the prestigious family so, keeping this in their mind they were keen to groom him as a loyal towards them. So, they assigned the duty to Ejaz Ali (minister of Khairpur state) will look after him throughout his educational career. However, when Pir was merely eleven years old many massacres occurred in Sindh and the situation was worst after the Second World War. It was said in 1919 at Amritsar many people together and protested for black law from Britishers. British administration denied them, and they opened fires against protesters. Many peoples were killed, and they destroyed their houses, families, and children, most of them were Murids of Pir Pagaro. This problem created a mega dot in the heart of Pir, and he decided to end their (Britishers’) law from Sindh anyway.

3.7.1 Life and Struggle (1922-1943)

After the death of his father, he became the sixth Pir Pagaro of Jamait and kept himself away from Britishers when the dark event occurred for his murids. And he didn't reorganize the Hur community for the struggle because many Hurs were arrested under the 'Hur criminal act'⁴⁶ and thousands of them were kept in concentration camps. While Hurs were waiting for a person to come and become their leader with a valiant heart. So, he himself was ready and promised to keep revenge on the Britishers. Although he said Sindhis are humble, innocent, peaceful, and loving by nature. Sureh Badshah was one who turned the table of Britishers by taking steps against them. According to European historian, Peter Mayne narrated in his book 'Saints of Sindh'. He said,

'The Hurs were watching for a boy who grow too with a passionate, greedy devotion for here, and was surely a true God! Young yet but filled with the most resplendent promise! He brought him their women, their sisters, their children, and their wives. He further, said, if he seems was born with a dark knowledge of the universe which would already be with him and loved them. And command them to kill others. He also loved them and respect them as one who is the true lord of this golden age'.

Pir Sibghatullah was growing into a large man, with a black beard, and handsome eyes and he had suffered from smallpox in his childhood. The disease had left his skin with scars. He was too brave and wise he had said lets kicked out these Englishmen from Sindh while he was devoted too. According to Nabi Bux Baloch, His Uncle Ali Gohar shah had received a certificate

⁴⁶ Hur Criminal act was passed in 20 March 1942 by Sindh Legislative assembly. It was very rigid law for Hur communities. In this law many powers were given to local officers that whatever they want they can do with Hurs. So, they used to impose on their desires in this way many Hurs were kept in jail through fake cases. (Lurk Magazine 2003 page#10).

award from Britishers for their praises because they (his ancestors) had good relations with Britishers, when he (Sibghatullah) became Pir, he threw that gift and said our ancestors were so kind full and simple people although God has already given them much respect then why they are following these cruel Britishers and administrations. His (Pir) action created many questions in the hearts of Britishers and they assumed he has strict nature.

3.7.2 First Time Arrest and Few Events

British administration was keeping their eyes on Pir's activities, and started to think about his illegal activities which can easily have arrested him. So, they made a game plan for Pir Pagara to arrest him as soon as possible. The Sukkur administration (which was under British rule) appointed Ghulam Akber (a police officer) was deputed to arrest him. And Pir Pagara has been arrested by police in 1930 under the act of Illegal arms and in the case of wrongful confinement. He (Pir) with the cooperation of Muhammad Ayoub Khuhro meet Muhammad Ali Jinnah⁴⁷ and plead to fight his case. Although Jinnah was charged handsome amount of fees (500-per day) by Pir Sahib at that time. Britishers said to Jinnah not to take Pir's case in court. While Jinnah refused them and proceeding his case. While this case sentenced two times punishment for 10 years. Later Pir appealed his criminal case in Chief court of Sindh against city

⁴⁷ Muhammad Ali Jinnah had charismatic personality so that Britishers considered him well. He had fought for Muslims from Muslim League chapter. Hence people used to approach him for cases so he can fight easily with them. Besides he was expert in law.

magistrate decision. While Sindh court considered his appeal and reduced his punishment as 7 years. According to Dr Hamida Khuhro⁴⁸, in his book ‘Muhammad Ayoub Khuhro’ writes, ‘Muhammad Ayoub met with Pir in October 1930 in jail. After the direction of Pir, he met with George Thomas (commissioner in Sindh). He (commissioner) responded very angry and burst out for Pir Sahib. He (commissioner) said, this young man is so dangerous for us, and your sympathies are with this boy. He is inhuman and tyrant. I want to see him in jail at least for ten years.

On 28 February 1933, the following prominent leaders of Sindh in their letters to governor of Bombay requested him for release of Pir Pagaro. These were, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayoub Khuhro, Sardar Nabi Bux khan Bhutto, Haji Mir Muhammad Baloch and Khan Bahadur Sher Muhammad Khan Bajirani but the government denied their plea. After the completion of seven years Pir has been released Mednapur prison on 25 November 1936. After the release of Pir Pagara, he swiftly started to visit the cities of Calcuta and Dehli where his murids were living. He talked to them and made them aware of current situation. However, Governor again requested him to keep soft relations with British administration which can be beneficial for you, but he didn’t consider his advice and clearly denied keeping any relations with Britishers.

When Pir was in detention from 1930-1936, he had held various meetings with nationalist leaders to understand the scenario of sub-continent politics. He also awoke himself from Sindh’s politics specifically congress and Muslim leagues objectives. Beside this, He also left his luxurious life in jail and promised to spent simple and good life. He also advised his murids to spent simple life as he does. According to 1935 Act, he was released from jail and that time

⁴⁸ Dr Hameeda Khuhro was a well-known Sindhi author. Besides this she was also education minister of Sindh. She had written autobiography of his father ‘Muhammad Ayoub Khuhro’ where she has explained few events of his father during his (father) tenure.

elections preparations were been held in Sindh. But he didn't show his interest in any political gathering. He never showed his interest in elections because he knew that all rule and system of politics are completely relied on the hands of Britishers. According to Khadim Hussain Soomro's book. There were many members (both, congress, and Muslim league) who used to come his residence and requested him for votes and support themselves. Because they knew majority of voters are his murids. Once he ordered them for support, they (nominated members) can easily win their desirable seats without any efforts because most the voters were from Hur community. Moreover, once said a prominent leader known G.M Syed ⁴⁹ requested him to join Muslim league and participate in Sindh's politics but he clearly denied his plead and said, Syed 'I'm not interested in Politics because my mission is not politics it is simple clear "wattan ya Kaffan. Azadi or Maut" (his mission was to end British rule from Sindh) then he flew to mecca where he met several other revolutionary leaders such as, Mufti Azam of Palestine, Rashid Ali from Iraq and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. Where they discussed political scenario of South-Asia and Middle East. Khan of Kalat also met him and discussed freedom. Later, Pir went to perform Hajj to Medina. After pilgrimage Pir held spiritual meetings among his murids specially, Sanghar, Tharparkar, Thar and few areas of Rajistan where openly ordered to his murids 'Please keep away from tobacco, wine and those stuff which are strictly prohibited in Islam. He also said, do respect your neighbours. Educate your children specially girls. He also instructed for offering Namaz and Zikker⁵⁰ (Khadim Soomro 2018).

When Pir returned from his murids places and noticed his murids seems in trouble and quickly felt they are facing two main problems this time. One was Concentration camps (Lohra) which were created for Hurs from 1893 where murids were kept and punished by Britishers and

⁴⁹ Ghulam Murtaza and Pir Pagara had several meetings with each other because he (G.M) tried to convince him (Pir Pagara) to join politics but Pir Pagara clearly refused him and said, I'm not willing for it.

⁵⁰ These words traditions are still fond in these Pirs (Gadi Nashin) because whenever, his murids used to go Dargah Shareef for ziarat purpose he (Pir Pagara) used to say same words as their ancestors used.

second was Hur Tribal Act-1942 (initially it was Criminal Tribes Act 1871 which later was recommended to the Sindh Assembly on murids of Pir Pagaro 1898 by the Britishers. Later it was imposed on Sindh from 1900 to 1947 for murids, especially). Basically, this law was merely against Hur for their arrest and allegations, but Britishers seldom used it for political purposes. Through this act, they can easily arrest any prominent members with any allegation. The one great example, when Mir Ghulam Ali was a Home Minister and issued an order under the governor of Sir Ghulam Husain to arrest the G.M Syed through this act. The real issue was that G.M Syed had differences with Sir Ghulam Husain and the latter feared the former's group would rally a no-trust motion against him in the parliament. For the safety of his ministry, Sir Ghulam Husain managed to get the arrest order passed against Syed with the cooperation of the local bureaucracy. When Pir gets the opportunity to meet Sir Ghulam Husain and requested him to release Hurs from this act so, He (Sir Ghulam) passed this act, and many Hurs were released from concentration camps and Pir Pagara earned huge respect in his own Jamait. Later, for his further mission and direction or to keep aware of his Jamait he announces Sindhi newspaper called Pir Jo Goth gazette. The editor was retired teacher Kachomal and most of the staff were from congress. (Now it has been changed in Mehran newspaper).

The event of 1939 was one of the crucial events in the history of modern Sindh which occur between Hindus and Muslims near Sukkur. There was an old building called Masjid Manzil Gah⁵¹ Muslims claimed this is their worship place and it should be reconstructed for their prayers whereas Hindus claimed their site. Further, it went to premier Allah Bux Soomro who wanted to resolve this issue but failed and the situation was worst when Pir was approached to resolve this issue in Sindh. He played a vital role to solve this issue and congress went closer to

⁵¹ This event created many tussles between Hindus and Muslims of Sindh. Later it was successfully resolved by Sureh Badshah. Although Allah Bux Soomro tried to resolve it, but it went failed. After this succession of Pir, it created positive picture of Pir Sahib among Hindus hearts.

Pir while A.B Soomro was quite angry. Later, in his newspaper, he pleads to his murids following these words,

“Treated Hindu and Muslims alike a sacred trust. The same is my principle. Allah is the same as Parmata...though with different names. I will be happy when I see the temples and mosque together with an only wall dividing them, and everyone according to their rights so that no one may have a grievance against the others”.

This statement of Pir brought great anger among religious scholars and one of his family members' outbursts on his act. He (Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi) said Pir (Sureh Badshah) wanted to become a leader by solving this event. And he did because A.B Soomro's government did not favor him that's why he defamed him. Furthermore, Pir had cordial relations with the congress party. Once he invited congress leaders for inter-religious harmony at his residence, Pir Jo Goth. He shared his views with both congress and the Muslim League and end the rule of the Britishers. Once said. British administration offered a gun and sword as a gift and keep soft relations after the resolution of the Masjid Manzil Gah event. He refused to accept and said 'My name is enough for the enemies. I have no need for any weapon. According to Khadim Soomro's book: G.M Syed met with Pir for several times and urged him to join Muslim league, but he denied and said that his life is merely "liberty or death". Further colonel Philip (Intelligence officer) writes in his personal letters that, G.M Syed met with Pir for a long discussion many times, but results were not much fruitful for G.M Syed.

3.7.2 Second Time Arrest and Hurs' Response

This time Pir's activities were again banned by Britishers, and he was unaware that Britishers has issued order for his arrest. The police went to his residence he was not there and then they both met few km away from his village and requested to come along with them for Karachi and kept in Mir Khuda Bux Talpur's banglow. Later his murids were in rage and ready for Karachi to get him released. Imam Bux and some young other ghazis accompanied him to Karachi. On 24th October 1941, Pir was officially arrested by Britishers, so they were quickly sent to Lahore from Karachi because they anticipated the rage and reaction of his murids, the Hurs. Later, they shifted to Senoi jail Nagpur through central Indian Railways. This time, the British administration was calm because they assumed there was not much reaction came when they arrested him first time. But they were unaware that the scenario has changed around the world as Pir had well oriented their murids and updated them by Bengali warriors. The Britishers thought they won't do anything to resist this action. Later, many meetings were held between murids and people who were in favour of Pir. The letters were exchanged between British administrations and the provincial government for releasing the Pir Pagaro at any cost and they were also informed about the situation in Sindh. The British thought this time they (Hur) won't retaliate more for his Pir. But it didn't happen as assumed. They initially attacked communication systems, railways, and concentration camps. But the British administration cannot control the situation in a better way so, finally, they imposed Martial law on 1st June 1942 in the lower parts of Sindh. This step again created more hatred and war between Hurs and Britishers although situation has been worst. The Local administration wrote many letters to higher administration to stop the war and bring peace in these areas, but British administration didn't consider their request and were more in rage with Hurs. This time they also attacked on

their (Pirs') home and family. On 8 May 1942, Britishers kept this spiritual family in their custody at Karachi. But their two brothers sent to Ali Garh for higher study and then England. According to Khadim Hussain Soomro, Congress played a trump card during the time of negotiations with British administration. They won't emphasize for the demand of Sibghatullah Shah. Although when Congress was in their dark days, he (Sureh Badshah) played a vital role for this party. Congress merely negotiated with their problems and if they could demand from British administration so government might consider this issue. On the other side on September 1942 they (Hur) launched attacked on Bombay train near Chorr on Rajbutana border. Many Hurs ghazi was involved in these actions. These were, Lukman Rajer, Adil Rajer, Nuro Wassan and Sain Rakhio Behan. But theirs (Hurs) plan went failed because few vanguards of Britishers informed them and they delayed their train time on these routes. Further, both sides as from Britishers they used Hur Act in a massive way to keep Hurs in jails and attacked on various places such as Garang Banglow of Sanghar, destroyed the places of Dargah (Pir jo Goth) and 'Makhi Forest' besides this Britishers also called for fake cases hearing in Military courts where they adjourned without any reason. According to Dr Aftab Nabi, 'When Pir appeared for hearing Britishers used a cover between Pir and the witnesses because when they both stood in front of each other the witnesses cannot go against him. So, the court members thought that the Pir is hypnotising the people through his spirituality'. British used their powers and finally sentenced him for death. Hence, it was dark day for Hur communities that his spiritual leader was hanged on 20 March 1943 by cruel British administration in Hyderabad jail. After his execution, the situation was worst in the history of Sindh and Sub-continent. His murids started to Great War against British so, many peoples, officers, Military force, and police officers were killed. British could not survive in sub-continent after this mega event. Besides many political movements were raising in massive way so, they decided to leave India as soon. On 14 August 1947 Pakistan was independent and became separate state.

3.8 Resting Place of Martyred Pir Pagaro Remained a Mystery

There are various assumptions regarding his burial. Whereas there is not genuine report where Britishers have buried his body. Major General Wisal Muhammad writes in his autobiography, he says, 'The Britishers were very anxious regarding his body and buried him at an Island of Persian Gulf'. Few historians indicated to Governor Dow's letters who had written to the Viceroy and suggested 'His body burying in Sindh and keeping in secret for a long time because local people (Hurs) cannot find easily. Later after their long discussion they assured 'It would be buried outside Sindh but not in Karachi'. However, no one knew his body yet. Apart from this, H.T sorely writes in his book, 'Diversion of Mnemosyne' he said, 'Pir Pagaro was buried at Charan Island which had under the British control'. But there are many more rumours that Pir was buried in the premises of Central of Hyderabad under the supervision of Gen. Richardson, Lambrick, and Ridley.

The documents of Pir Pagaro (which are under the British Library) pertaining, to certain reports that 'His body was at Astola Island off Makhran coast falling in the boundaries of Qalat state'. Another researcher Gul Hassan Kalmati, writes in his travelogue 'Kech Makran Dan Safer' he said, once I had visited Hipat Talar Island where the local fishermen took him to a heap of stones which considered as a lasting place famous Sufi saint of Sindh which hailed in British period and later known as Sureh Badshah by local peoples. But a few years back new report was raised about the idea of final resting place of Sureh Badshah by Nasir Shaikh. He claimed in his article 'Pir was laid to rest in Karachi and his grave was located at "Kidney Hill" which currently is in the midst of city' he added, before it was merely a deserted area from city while this area is closer to 'Kingri House' (resident place of Pir Pagaro VII). Now this shrine is known as the

‘Bismillah Shaheed’. The Author claimed through the solid evidence which he has shown through pictures. He said ‘Probably it (shrine) can be Sureh Badshah because late Pir Nadir Ali Shah (a younger son Sureh Badshah) who caretaker of this shrine for several times and also constructed it. After him his family members and few Hurs took care of ‘Bismillah Shaheed’ (Sureh Badshah).

Chapter IV

Role of Pakistan Muslim Muslim League Functional (Past and Present) and Politics of Shah Mardan Shah (Pir Pagara) as Politician

When Sindh was in the hands of Charles Napier Pagaro's family took several steps to end Britain's government from his pure land by giving many sacrifices. This family initially started the Hur movement that consists of four phases among which the last one was the significant phase in the history of Sub-continent. Primarily this movement was merely on freedom movements till the last sigh of Sureh Badshah as he was the supreme leader of Hur movements and Hur jamait. After his gallows Pir Shah Mardan Shah took the power of his entire Jamait and nominated gadi nashin of Rashidi Khandan, and he had paid a massive role by creating better relations between Hurs and the government. Because Britishers had put many allegations against Hurs and his leader. When Shah Mardan shah assumed his spiritual power, he changed many things in Hur Jamait and their practices. Shah Mardan Shah was an intelligent, active, humble, and wise man. It proved when he freed many Hurs from concentration camps and jails when Liaquat Ali Khan was the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He also disposed of many fake cases and complaints (which were registered against Hurs) from government papers. This step brought a positive response not only for him but his murids as well. The scenario was completely changed in the last decade. Because his thoughts and ideas were completely liberal and optimistic and favoured Pakistan and its betterment. When Liaquat Ali Khan restored his gadi after independence then he started his spiritual journey among his murids. It brought major shift into

Pakistan's politics because state holder saw his fame in his murids, they kept closer with themselves. The result was clear when Fatima Jinnah contested Presidential elections against Ayoub in 1965, she defeated and later declared him as a head of Muslim League. Although Sureh Badshah has not had much interest in politics as we have mentioned many dimensions of history, the one is, when G.M Syed urged him to participate in politics. He clearly denied him and went for performing Umrah⁵² in those days. After returning he supported both parties Congress and Muslim League but was not involved. After several meetings with G.M Syed and many other Muslim leaders requested but he denied them by saying 'My life is for freedom not for politics' hence, he did not show any interest in politics in his entire life, but his Jamait used to support both (Congress and Muslim League) candidates for elections. Sureh Badshah's life was solely for struggle and end to rule of British government from Sindh not to rule in Sindh. Beside this, many prominent leaders alleged his struggle which later failed.

Shah Mardan Shah alias Skinder Ali Shah (Pir Pagaro VII) admired his murids' sacrifices which they had laid in the form of giving blood in freedom movement. His Jamait also participated in wars with India post-independence. He also followed his father's words 'My life is for Pakistan's safeguard and my Hurs will protect it till their last breath' later we have witnessed this in the wars of 1965 and 1971. These events of Hurs did stronger to him and state holders. It is said during these periods he summoned his Jamait and ordered them to fight with their enemies. In 1965, his Jamait captured southeast parts of Pakistan which are clearly linked with India. So, Ayoub got massive support from him, and they captured many areas of Sindh and finally defeated their enemies. He also joined Ayoub's Conventional Muslim League and then Awami League (Sheikh Mujid's party) His murids started to have supported him in Muslim League and he urged them to vote his party whenever they participate in politics. He had cordial

⁵² When Syed Sibghatullah-II Shah went for Umrah he found many murids around there. Few murids luckily saw him and desire to meet or ziarat with their Pir. So, as they came to him and urged for ziarat. He (Pir Pagara) denied them for ziarat. He said perform your duty here not my ziarat. So, murids returned without ziarat.

relations with Zulifqar Ali Bhutto when Z.A Bhutto was in Ayoub's cabinet. Later, their relations suffered many setbacks and started movements against each other. According to Shahnawaz Nizamani's book 'when Bhutto came to Sanghar and spoke in front his voters, he was assaulted there. Later, he alleged Pir Pagara and his murids that brought a major tussle between both the leaders. Further, he added 'Pir sahib confessed immediately and said he and his murids were not involved in any kind of such activity'. When Bhutto created his own political party, Pakistan Peoples Parliamentary Party (PPPP), Pir Pagara made alliance with other parties and intended to defeat Bhutto's party. In 1971, a second event occur in the history of Pakistan when a sudden war started with India, he ordered his murids to participate in the war. The murids showed massive response and defeated India. Pakistan's state admired these sacrifices and supported him in the political arena. As a result, when Zia was successful in winning presidency, he offered him for Premiership. He forwarded Muhammad Khan Junejo's name for the Premiership. After Mr Junejo took the office, he made his own political party known as Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) in 1985. He made alliance with different stake holders to bring his party into power. He also established strong relations with Musharraf when he was in power. In 2012, he suddenly died in London, and it was shocking news for his murids and party leaders. After him, the new Pir was elected and assumed the charge of his party who was Sibghatullah Shah-III Rashidi. He was very much involved in politics and created new opportunities for the party in the political arena of Pakistan. He organised a major jalsa in 2012 and created GDA (Grand Democratic Alliance) with some nationalist parties. This gathering brought a major setback for his party, resulting into was the defeat in 2013 general elections. Later, they again contested in the 2018 general elections and lost their previously secure seats in different constituencies of Sindh.

Rashidi clan has major contribution in Pakistan's politics since Shah Mardan Shah and onwards. They not merely gave sacrifices in the freedom movement but also in politics since the creation of Pakistan. This gadi is famously known all around Pakistan.

4.1 Role of Syed Shah Mardan Shah in Politics

Shah Mardan Shah Alias Skinder Ali Shah (son of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II) widely known as 'Pir Pagara' and was one of the most influential personalities of Sindh. He was born on 22 November 1928 A.D at Pir Jo Goth, Khairpur district. Pir Pagara was merely 15 years old when his father was hanged by the British administration⁵³. At that time, Shah Mardan Shah and his younger brother, Nadir Ali Shah was sent to Liverpool for education. Later these two brothers were taken back to home in 1951-2. The circumstances were entirely different when he (Shah Mardan Shah) took all responsibilities of his spiritual *gadi*⁵⁴. He slowly builds cordial relations with his communities. He also initiated strong policies and practices among his Jamait. Apart from this Shah Mardan Shah was fond of books reading and games while he also continued Islamic practices and learned them deeply. He was a famous personality in Sindh as well as in Pakistan. Furthermore, according to a few writers, at the time of Syed Sibghatullah

⁵³ Once his (Pir Sahib) interview was recorded by Jahan newspaper in 2006. In his interview he said, 'once we were in detention at Karachi, we ordered few vegetables from market which were packed in a newspaper as we saw that newspaper headline were written regarding Sureh Badshah's martyrdom. Then soon we sent to foreign for higher education. (Pir Pagara, Haqeeqi Seyasat k Ameen by Faqeer Shahnawaz Nizamani's book).

⁵⁴ Before coming back to Pakistan his (Pir's) Gadi had demolished by Britishers as Shah Mardan Shah sworn his Gadi after independence his Gadi was restored by Pakistan's government. These efforts were started by old Sufi Saint of Rashidia clan known as Pir Afzal Shah Gilani. Very soon his requested was considered by Shaikh Din Muhammad Kashmiri (Governor of Sindh) because he was murids of Pir Afzal Shah Gilani. Later he (Governor Sindh) came at Dargah Shareef and started ceremony of restoring their gadi. Since then, Pir Pagaro was officially known head of Hur community. (Pir Pagaro by shanawaz pg 525).

Shah, many Hurs were in jail and various allegations were upon them⁵⁵. So, he (Shah Mardan Shah) tried to vanish all allegations and freed them from jail. He again properly reorganized the Hur community. Beside this, he had greatly contributed towards his Jamait. For instance, He constructed Rashidia Madras, reconstructed old buildings of Roza (which were destroyed by Britishers), and spread the network of these Madrasas all over Sindh⁵⁶. (Lurk Magazine 2003). Shah Mardan Shah proved himself best by tacking all responsibilities of his family and jamait as well. He never created any vacuum for his jamait. He also started his spiritual journey among his murids. He used to follow his father's life structure and gave lessons for simplicity among his murids. Therefore, his teaching and behavior moved the minds of many non-Hurs communities toward him⁵⁷. Apart from this, when Pir Pagara was very active in Sindh and few parts of Punjab, he encouraged his well-wishers and gradually took interest in politics which initially started from Sindh. He was fully involved in the time of 1960s when the political scenario was rapidly changing in Pakistan. Because on one side, election campaigns were massively started on the other side Indo-Pak relations were at critical juncture. The matters of newly independent Pakistan were not settled yet then the war of 1965 started between India and Pakistan⁵⁸. At that time, when Pir Pagara offered his Hurs to the state holder for a fight with India. Ayoub's government accepted their request and urged the Hurs to fight so, they actively participated in the war⁵⁹. The result was in full favor of Pakistan as Pakistan won this battle and Ayoub's

⁵⁵ Historian says, when Britishers hanged their spiritual leader, the situation was highly worst in Sindh. Therefore, Britishers constructed Concentrations camp for these communities and kept them for a long time. Besides they also killed many Hurs, children, women etc.

⁵⁶ These madrasas have great contributions in Pakistan. Thousands of students get free Islamic educations along with free of cost utilities. Besides they (headmen of madrasas) provide them free of cost food and needy items.

⁵⁷ According to researcher, he has seen many non-murids which later became murids by his great teaching and behavior. Further, he said he knows and witnessed of many people who have changed their Pir.

⁵⁸ On 5th August 1965, the second Indo-Pak war began. This war was fought over Kashmir and was initiated by Pakistan when the Line of Control (LOC) was crossed by around 30000 Pakistani troops dressed as locals. The war concluded on 23rd September 1965. (<https://upscwithnikhil.com/article/history/1965-india-pakistan-war>).

⁵⁹ Once in this war a Hindu bania was arrested in gambit and his (bania) friend (was a Muslim) came into Pir Sahib and requested to release him immediately. Pir Sahib replied, "Thousands of Hurs are fighting for their state and in this critical situation I cannot urged to state for his early release, and it won't be fair. (Pir Pagaro pg. 50).

government earned their efforts and fame by winning this war and praised Pir Pagara and his entire community⁶⁰. When Presidential elections were contested between Ayoub and Fatima Jinnah, Ayoub won those elections because it was a great time for Ayoub who earned his name already by winning the war against their enemy. Initially, Pir Pagara supported Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah's party Muslim League⁶¹ when Fatima defeated the Presidential elections, she left politics and Pir was made the President of that party⁶². Since then, Pir Pagara actively participated in politics. Further, many leaders were disappointed in the party, and many made their own political parties. And this was the time when many factions were created by different leaders rapidly. Though, Pir Pagara also created first time his own political party known as Pakistan Muslim League Functional in 1973⁶³. (The PML-Council man and powerful Sindhi landlord, Pir Pagara, managed to merge PML-Council and PML-Convention to form PML-Functional).

Furthermore, before creating the PML-F party, Ayoub's government failed to run the proper setup in Pakistan and faced many political issues as well so, he resigned and handover the power to Gen. Yahiya Khan. Along with this political turmoil the second event came in 1971 when the second war started with our rival⁶⁴ (India) and we greatly lost our east wing. In the 1971-2 elections when Zulifqar Ali Bhutto came into power he started his policies and laws. This

⁶⁰ This was not first time for Hur community for fighting. Historically they always paid their contribution for their motherland. Besides this it is said most of the Hurs occupied Indian Territory from kach (It's an area that situated near Thar). They eagerly fight with their enemies and conquered Indian's territory for Pakistan.

⁶¹ The people of Pakistan especially Karachi and the member of PML-Council requested to Ms. Jinnah for presidential elections. Along this, the opposition's leaders tried for several times to make her defame at every stage.

⁶² Once in his (Pir) interview he says, when I was been elected the president Muslim League few people criticized me that now Muslim is on weak shoulders (die horses) it's better to purchase Gymkhana's horse, besides this, Pir said, people alleged me as unman general. (Pir Pagaro by Shahnawaz pg. 47).

⁶³ When Pir Pagara was again been elected the president of Muslim League that time this party was too weak and unpopular among Jamait and state. Then Pir Pagara worked on it and made the strongest party soon. (Pir Pagaro pg. 50).

⁶⁴ Pakistan has two wings known as East-Pakistan and West-Pakistan since their partition. East-Pakistan (currently known as Bangladesh) and West-Pakistan (Current Pakistan). In 1971 due to political and economic instability in west wing both wings divided by their leaders. While East-wing went to Mujeeb-ur-Rehman's hand and West-wing into military hands. Apart from this India also earned high profit by dividing both wings.

step of Bhutto created a tussle between Pir Pagara and Bhutto⁶⁵. Moreover, Pir Pagara had great relations with Bhutto in the initial days. According to historians, when Bhutto came into power, He alleged many Hur communities and lodged many F.I.Rs against them, and many Hurs were kept in jails ⁶⁶while this behavior of Bhutto created anger and anguish for Pir Pagara, so both leaders became rivals⁶⁷ each other and then Pir Pagara immediately active more participated into politics and especially those areas where Bhutto had a majority. He also contested elections against Bhutto and his party. Pir Pagara joined many alliances to defeat the Bhutto government at any cost. According to Shahnawaz Nizamani,⁶⁸ he says, once a journalist met with Pir Sahib and asked to create cordial relations with Bhutto. Then Pagara responded him Bhutto was my friend and I tried to keep great relations with him, but he started his harsh attitude towards me and my murids which is quite unbearable for me. But if Bhutto would come to me and apologize, I would surely forgive him. The journalist also added there was someone who was close to Pir Sahib who used to come to his residence regularly with the aspirations to make Pir Pagara and Z. A Bhutto join hands together. But unfortunately, he never discussed it with Pir and finally, he died. (Shahanawaz Nizamani, 2011-12).

Pakistan Muslim League Functional ran for the 1972 elections for the first time but could not secure the seats then for the second time elections in 1977 again failed. Pir Pagara later

⁶⁵ Zulifqar Ali Bhutto was in Ayoub's cabinet and foreign minister as well. After Tashkent declare both leaders came into tussle and Bhutto resigned from Ayoub's administration. Later he created his own political party known as Pakistan People's Party (PPP which came into power for several times).

⁶⁶ Shahnawaz writes in his book, 'Bhutto's narrative was that these Jamait's are enemies of states, and they are involved in bad activities, before this at the time of Syed Sibghatullah Shah many Hurs were in jails for their illegal and bad activities. That's why Britishers killed thousands Hur at that time. (pg. 51)

⁶⁷ Once Pir Sahib said, it's not good for those who has started rivalry with theirs (Rashidi clan) one day they will realize on this shame behavior. Besides this he also said, we will not rage in Bhutto's cage the day will come and he will rage in our cage. (Shahnawaz book Pir pg. 54)

⁶⁸ Shahnawaz Nizamani is a well-known author of Sindh and has written several books on the Hur movement and Pir Pagara family. Here two books "Pir Sahib Pagaro" and "Pir Sahib Pagara Haqeeqi Siyasat K Ameen" are well known and epic book on the life of Pir Shah Mardan Shah. I also reference in this content.

joined 9 party alliance called PNA (Pakistan National Alliance)⁶⁹. In this alliance few parties were religious, and all were parties against PPP electoral reform or government. When Zia-ul-Haq dissolves the assemblies and took martial law Pir Pagara fully supported this action and made him as pro-Zia and anti-Bhutto. When Zia-ul-Haq made himself as president of Pakistan he offered Pir Pagaro to give the name for the Premiership. Pir Pagara nominated Muhammad Khan Junejo for Premiership and rules the country. Zia-ul-Haq had clashed with Muhammad Khan's regime, and he again dissolves the assemblies Mr. Junejo became powerless and created his political party as Muslim League (Junejo). When Junejo was dying many leaders clashed with the party further it divided into many factions two m as known as Pakistan Muslim Functional (Pagaro group) and ⁷⁰Muslim League (Nawaz).

According to Shah Nawaz's book, When Pir Pagara reorganized his party then he immediately started a journey among his murids and their dense popular areas where he had held meetings and campaigns for Muslims League with murids in different and majority areas people. PML-F went for elections since its creation but never made their own government. It has always made coalition government with the party in the government either at center or at provincial level. When Gen. Parwez Musharraf imposed martial law and came into power, Pagaro joined him and secured few seats in Sindh. This time Pagaro was a famous politician and veteran leader

⁶⁹ Pakistan National Alliance constituted of nine religious and political parties. It was formed in 1977 in which the alliances agreed to run as a single bloc to overthrow the rule of Prime Minister Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, the first elected leader of that country after the Martial law of Yahiya Khan. It was a major and largest alliance formed against Zulifqar Ali Bhutto and his government.

⁷⁰ Pakistan Muslim League Functional was created in 1973-4 for the first time. It has not much popular then Pir Sahib joined different Muslim Leagues with different leaders. But when situation was worst and all Muslim leagues parties were in trouble then Pir Sahib again organizes it and said, this is the real and mother of All Muslim League Jamait. Everyone must come and join this party. The country is suffering from various bad and illegal activities. Hence, Muslim league's narrative is to save and secure the state. Even at the time of residence called Dargah Shareef he used to say and demanded for the betterment of Muslim league. (Shahnawaz book pg. 57-8).

of the Hur community. He was strong in the Sindh chapter, especially Sanghar and Thar regions⁷¹. Slowly few leaders also favored him due to his real predictions and spirituality⁷².

Pir Pagara used to predict the situation in Pakistan. He had predicted various leaders about their destinies. Even once said about Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (late)⁷³ when she arrived in Pakistan after a long exile. He (Pir) said, ‘Benazir should not come back to Pakistan if she had reached then she will not be able to go back or to rule the country. Soon she was assassinated in Rawalpindi and the situation was once again worst in Pakistan. Soon general elections were announced, and they started in 2008. This Sindh’s Sindh political scenario changed, and it went in favor of Benazir’s sympathy. PPP won many seats and made their self-government in the center. Besides Muslim League Functional⁷⁴ won many seats in their respective areas. Pir Pagara had great contributions to the betterment of the Muslim League even though he had very briefly reconstructed their structure.

However, Pir Pagara was keen on readings such as novels, books, magazines, and literature besides he also was keen to horse racing. Beside this, on the political ground, he was very influential Personality in Politics of Pakistan because when he does predict it would prove in real later many leaders became followers and disciples by impressed by his rituals.

⁷¹ Historically these areas are more influential of Pir Pagara’s clan. Since Hur movement till today these are known as Hur’s areas. Sanghar is one of the most populated hubs of Hur community and it has a long history and relations with Pagara family.

⁷² According to few writers and journalists, few leaders from various parties used to come to Pir Pagara and ask him about their fate. They believed that their predictions are true meanings word for them. Besides this once they became their desirous posts, they used to come Pir Pagara for Hazauri (ashiwar) purposes.

⁷³ Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was the first Pakistani women who became the prime minister of Pakistan, she had great contributions and sacrifices for his party and their peoples. She was exile and came back to Pakistan for a long period. On 27th December 2007 was the black day in the history of Pakistan because a brave lady was badly assassinated by their rivals. But she is still living in the hearts of people. (Few historians say, she knew about her death, but she didn’t stop and started to run for their people.)

⁷⁴ Pakistan Muslim League Functional was created in 1972-3 for the first time but it was not much populous party in the ground. When Pagara made this party, many other parties were been created rapidly. Later Pir Pagara joined other parties to counter the PPP. After Zia-ul-Haq regime he again reorganized his old political party as PML-F. He said it is one of original party of Pakistan and then court favored and issued a notice that this is an original and right party for Pakistan and its people.

In 2012 he left this temporary world⁷⁵. According to a few reports, he had lung cancer and was admitted to hospitals. Treatment was ongoing but he did not receive any improvement later he shifted to a London hospital where his treatment was issued⁷⁶. But, unfortunately, he was not improving, and the day came he left in 2012⁷⁷ this world but his name is still alive in the hearts of their murids and people. In short, Pir Pagara was humble, jolly, and patience nature. He had great contributions to Pakistan's politics and movements as well. Pagara was keen on informal discussions and dialogue. He has great relations with every politician by his nature. He popularized Muslim League in very a crucial way⁷⁸. He never left this party because he used to say this is a true party (Muslim League) that had helped Muslims to seek independence. When the Hur community and Muslim League's platform deprived of this veteran leader or politician the worth of the party and community was been decreasing day by day.

However, Muslim League Functional had not much popular ground for their struggle. As Pagara left, this party lost its original worth and its people⁷⁹. This is evident from the 2018 general elections' results in which party badly lost their representation in the parliament despite contesting the elections in alliance.


⁷⁵ According to few Khalifas and his esteemed leaders and Hurs, he was predictable person he had knew about his illness before the critical situation. One he was moving to bed he urged once time to his leaders and murids for their last meeting. And said this could be last meeting between us then you all are free to go wherever you want. Later many leaders came and met him for the last time.

⁷⁶ When he was shifted to London by a private plane few prominent leaders and family members were to gather along with his body. Day by day he was in critical situation and not improving well. According to private doctors, he may not recover well.

⁷⁷ When Pir Pagara left this temporary world many leaders and Hurs were in sad condition. It was the black day for their murids because their spiritual leader left them forever. They felt they are alone and been deprived from this veteran leader ever.

⁷⁸ When Muslim league was divided into many factions, he (Pir Pagara) created his own party. Later he joined many alliances, and his party was no much famous and electoral strong. Later in 1990s he made it strong till his last sigh.

4.2 Profile of Pakistan Muslim League Functional

Party Name	Pakistan Muslim League – Functional
Founder	Syed Shah Mardan Shah Rashidi Pir of Pagara
Date/Year Founded	1985
Geographic Focus	Sindh and certain districts of Southern Punjab
Flag/ Color	
Past Party Heads	Syed Shah Mardan Shah Rashidi Pir of Pagara
Office bearers:	
	Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagara, President
1. Party Head	N/A
2. General Secretary	
Stance	The Pakistan Muslim League (F) is a centrist, nationalist, and pro-Hurs clan political party in Pakistan. Its stated vision is a strong, democratic, developed, prosperous and just Pakistan in which every citizen enjoys equal opportunities to develop and grow without any discrimination and a harmonious society based on universal principles of social justice as enshrined in golden teachings of Islam.
Slogan/Punch line	Muttahid Sindh Muttahid Pakistan Insaf, Sehat, Taaleem, Rozgar Sab Kay Liyay
Issues in Focus	Opposition to Sindh Peoples Local Government Act 2012. Unity of Sindh, justice, Education, Employment for all
Participation in Elections	1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2008, 2013, 2018
Representation in Parliament- From 1970-2013	2002, 2008, 2013

Manifesto	N/A
Election Symbol for 2018	
Website	N/A
Contact	Kingri House # 22, Street # 89, Sector G-6/3, Ataturk Avenue, Islamabad Ph:051-2271936 Mehtab Akbar Rashidi
Prominent Personalities	Jam Madad Ali Nusrat Sehr Abbas

Top leaders

- Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi III
- Syed Sadar u din Shah Rashidi
- Syed Muhammad Rashid Shah Rashidi
- Kashif Nizamani
- Muzafar Hussain Shah
- Sardar Abdul Raheem
- Ghous Bux Khan Mahar

Key concerns

- Building a knowledge economy with modern infrastructure and world class human resource
- Building globally competitive high value agriculture and manufacturing sectors
- Strengthening national democratic institutions
- Establishing good governance & justice
- Ensuring equitable access to economic opportunity
- Alleviating poverty
- Protecting media freedom
- Providing quality social services to all

Sources; Dawn, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1403316/pakistan-muslim-league-functional>

Selectorates for Candidate-Selection

Political party	Selectorate	Ticket application fee	Amount
PML-F	Parliamentary board	Yes	Rs. 10,000 per PA seat, Rs. 20,000 per NA seat

Source: party constitutions and interviews with party organizers and members (in some cases, fee can be different).

Sources of Party Funding

Party	Membership fee	Donations	Ticket fee	Others
PML-F	Rs. 10	No outside donations	Rs. 10,000 per PA seat, Rs. 20,000 per NA seat	***

Sources: Waseem atta and Mufti Mariam's book (*Political Parties in Pakistan*. University of Management Science, Lahore).

Recruitment Process and Development of Party Members by Party

Party	Process of recruitment	Computerized or written record	No. of members	Training of members
PML-F	Corner meetings, door to door canvassing, word of mouth and devotees of Pagaro	Not computerized		

Sources: Waseem atta and Mufti Mariam's book (*Political Parties in Pakistan*. University of Management Science, Lahore).

Affiliated Wings by Party

Party name	Affiliated party wings
PML-F	Labor wing, Student wing, Women's wing

Sources: Waseem atta and Mufti Mariam's book (*Political Parties in Pakistan*. University of Management Science, Lahore).

Social Background of Party Leaders

Party	Chairperson/President	Family background	Educational background	Professional background
PML-F	Pir Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi	Son of late Pir Pagara, Shah Mardan Shah	B.A	Agriculturalist

Sources: Waseem atta and Mufti Mariam's book (*Political Parties in Pakistan*. University of Management Science, Lahore).

Voter Outreach Using Online Resources by Party

Party	Party website	Social Media	Blogs online forums	Multimedia (CDs)
PML-F	http://www.pmlf.ewebsite.com/	http://twitter.com/pmlfpk , http://www.facebook.com/pages//PML-F/1111006848923474	http://pmlf.com.pk/pmlf-blog/

Sources: Waseem atta and Mufti Mariam's book (*Political Parties in Pakistan*. University of Management Science, Lahore).

Voter Outreach Using Online Resources by Party

Party	Ranking criteria for Candidate Selection
PML-F	Personal credibility and local influence

Sources: Waseem atta and Mufti Mariam's book (*Political Parties in Pakistan*. University of Management Science, Lahore).

The Pakistan Muslim League Functional has a different ideology and identity than others parties in the Politics of Pakistan. It always sought better ways and opened many avenues for their people and Murids as well. Pir Pagara and his prestigious family along with Murids has given many sacrifices for his homeland therefore, after creating newly state (where have many problems) he tried to bring all people especially his Murids closer by creating his party and showing by taking mandate as 'Rozgar Sab K Liye'.

4.3 Historical Background Pakistan Muslim League-Functional (PML-F)

Historically, Pakistan Muslim League was the successor of the All-India Muslim League⁸⁰. The AIML party emerged as an early political voice of Muslim middle class and the party was inspired by the social activism of the Muslim scholar Sir Syed Ahmed Khan⁸¹ who was one of and first ‘Modern Muslims’ in India (Nadeem F.Paracha, 2017)⁸². In the time of elections in 1945-6 Muslim League won many seats in the areas of Muslim minorities. The Muslims thought this only one Muslim party who are demanding separate land. Further, Muslim League beat Congress⁸³ with a massive victory because the League manifesto for the elections was ‘to separate Muslims majority country but it will also welcome for Indians who belong to other minorities such as Christian, Buddhist, Sikhs, and Hindu scheduled castes’ they will receive equal rights in separate lands as Pakistan. That’s why the Muslim league earned the majority for the first time in India. Though overall INC won most seats in their areas while Muslim League won their areas and later Muslim League⁸⁴ became the largest Muslim nationalist party (Paracha 2017). After the successful partition of India, the party was divided into two branches known as Muslim League (Pakistan) and Muslim League (India) in a meeting that was held at Karachi in December 1947. However, this research will cover the PML Pakistani chapter. The All India Muslim League was a nationalist party that supported Pakistan’s creation

⁸⁰ The founders of this AIML are eminent Ismaili Muslim, Sultan Agha Khan after the formation of party at Lucknow in 1906. This party emerged as an early political expression of the slow growth of Muslims middle class in India. Initially party was inspired by academic and social activism of the scholar Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was one of the major exponents of ‘Muslims Modernism’ in India.

⁸¹ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a prominent scholar in Sub-continent, and he struggled for Muslims in India besides he also introduced ‘Two Nations Theory’ in the context of Hindu and Muslims are two separate nations.

⁸² Nadeem F. Paracha is a cultural critic and senior columnist for Dawn Newspaper and Dawn.com. He is also the author of two books on the social history of Pakistan, End of the Past and The Pakistan Anti-Hero.

⁸³ Indian National Congress (INC) was created in 1885 by Indians educated class and Britishers. The prime reason of this party was to get rid of from Britishers.

⁸⁴ Both parties ran for elections, but Congress was always on top and winner party because Congress have elite party, many people used to support this party by various means besides this Muslim League was not much famous and wasn’t elitist party. Their support was too low. Later Quaid I Azam rejoined and worked on it it proved and won elections after 1935.

and passed the Pakistan resolution in Lahore in 1940 which resulted soon in the creation of Pakistan⁸⁵. Furthermore, after the creation of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah ⁸⁶became the governor-general of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan was Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1947 and the All-India Muslim League became the only Muslim League. After a short time of independence and the sudden death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the presence of Liaquat Ali Khan, many problems were created by various leaders who started fighting with each other and the Party went into corrupt hands and became more of a source of exploitation for their gains and interest.⁸⁷ The party divided into many factions and started with Suharwardy Shaheed who found a new All Pakistan Awami Muslim League (APAML). Afterwards, many Muslim Leagues took birth, these were the Muslim League (Convention), the Muslim League (Council), the Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam), the Muslim League (Functional), the Muslim League Sindh, the Muslim League Qayyum, the Awami Muslim League, the Muslim League (Fida), Chatta League, Muslim League (Junejo) Muslim League-N (Nawaz) and Zia League, etc.⁸⁸ (M.Ilyas and Husnl Amin, 2017). Before this faction, the Father of the Nation (Jinnah) said, I have a few conspirators around me. Soon after his sudden death those people were exposed when they established their own factions of Muslim League. Hence, Jawaharlal Nehru sarcastically said, ‘I have not changed as many pajamas as the governments have changed in Pakistan⁸⁹.

⁸⁵ G.M Syed (Ghulam Murtaza) was one of the influential Sindhi Nationalist who fully supported this resolution in Sindh Assembly from Sindh’s chapter.

⁸⁶ In Book known ‘Freedom at Midnight by Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins’ said Jinnah had health issue in this struggle time so, he (Jinnah) felt if I won’t alive may this partition can be cancel so, he eagerly tried to partition as soon as possible. Further, he also argued, Jinnah has been asked by Louis Mountbatten for final negotiations for not to partition but he denied and demanded for partition and soon it happened.

⁸⁷ Muhammad Ilyas and Husnul Amin’s PhD thesis (Linking Factors to Fragmentation of Political Parties: The Case of Pakistan Muslim League).

⁸⁸ Muhammad Bilal Ghauri, Muslim League Internet, Peshawar: The Daily Mashriq, 4th June 2010.

⁸⁹ 7Gharib Ullah Ghazi, Pakistan ki Khaliq Muslim League kai Jammato mein Taqseem, Peshawar: Sunday Magazine, the Daily Awsaf, 17th Oct 2010

The political parties basically fall into four categories, mainstream parties, religious parties, regional and ethnic parties, and workers parties. In Pakistan these all categories are easily found. However, we are here discussing one category from them. This party is linked with regional or ethnic category known as the Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F). It is assumed by different writers and researchers that party was established by Pir Pagara in 1965 for the first time. While few assumed that it was created in the period of 1972-3 when the political ground was hot then the PML-Councilman and the powerful Sindhi landlord, Pir Pagara both decided to merge the PML-Council and the PML-Convention to form the new Pakistan Muslim League known as 'PML-Functional'. Despite these all, few writes it was created in 1985 when Pir was removed from the presidential position of united Muslim League, The PML-F has many hopes for his country once let him get chance into power. The party has not much vote bank in political ground, the result of the elections between 1972 and 1976 were accordingly. After the severe tussle between Z.A Bhutto and Pir Pagara was a political turmoil, he (Pir) in 1976 joined the 9-parties alliance known as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)⁹⁰. After the coup of Zia ul Haq, all political parties were banned on the political ground including PML-F (Nadeem, F. Paracha 2017).

When Muhammad Khan Junejo became the Prime Minister of Pakistan under the Zia ul Haq administration and with the advice of Pir Pagara the relations of both parties became normal. Beside this, MRD⁹¹ movement was started against Zia and political grounds once again became fiery. Junejo was dismissed soon by the President and then the President was also martyred in the plane crash, so elections were announced soon, and all political parties started their activities on the ground. So, this was the time when Pir Pagara reorganized its old political

⁹⁰ PNA was an alliance of 9 parties (along with religious parties) which were against for Bhutto's regime.

⁹¹ The movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was launched by Pakistan People's Party against the military dictatorship in Pakistan in the 1980s.

party PML-F in 1992. It was again merged into Pakistan Muslim League Functional by Shah Mardan Shah (a prominent leader of the Hur community) Shah Mardan Shah ⁹²Chose Syed Sibghatullah Shah-III Rashidi ⁹³(current Pir Pagara) as a chairperson/President of the party. According to few researchers, Dr. Muhammad Waseem⁹⁴ and Mariam Mufti⁹⁵ They are of the view that the PML-F is the classical, landlord-Pir Pagara clan's party that shows the mystical leadership of the Hurs community in Sindh. Although it won many elections in Sindh and southern Punjab as well, the party also identified its Sindhi character. This party has always been traditionally anti-PPP politics and to seeking the coalition partner since their creation. It recently left the coalition against the PPP and MQM-sponsored ordinance to establish the local government in their province and that was condemned as a new scheme for the division of Sindh. Apart from this, this party always used its slogans in the favor of uniting Sindh every time.

According to Nadeem F. Paracha, The PML-F is one of the many factions of the Pakistan Muslim League, and first, it came into being in the 1970s when the political ground was fiery. As time the political scenario changed then Pir Pagara joined many other leagues. After the dissolutions of assemblies by Zia, Mr. Junejo created his political party known as Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo ⁹⁶(PML-J) Pir Pagara had supported them but after the death of Junejo Party was further divided in two factions, one Pir Pagara party PML-F (Pagara reorganized PML-F in 1992 under his leadership). Further, the party is known as a pro-establishment party

⁹² Shah Mardan Shah also known as 'King Maker' in Pakistan politics.

⁹³ Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi also known as Raja Sain in Hur community. Besides after the death of Shah Mardan Shah he was been selected for the spiritual gadi of Hur community.

⁹⁴ Dr. Mohammad Waseem is Professor of Political Science at Department of Social Sciences, Lahore University of Management Sciences. He was Chairman of the International Relations Department, Quaid-e-Azam University, and Islamabad.

⁹⁵ She is associate professor Associate Chair, Undergraduate Studies, Co-op Advisor in University of Waterloo, Canada. Besides this she also contributed to many books such as, Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy.

⁹⁶ It was created in 1986 as the sole Pakistan Muslim League when Muhammad Khan Junejo was the Prime Minister of Pakistan under President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. In September 1988, the party formed an alliance called Islami Jamhoori Ittehad with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's National Peoples Party, and Qazi Hussain Ahmed's Jamaat-e-Islami against Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party for the 1988 general elections. Later it also again supported PPP in 1993 elections.

because Pir Pagara has always supported in Pak-Army⁹⁷. A few writers say, this PML-F was unable to expand its popularity and activities beyond certain districts of Sindh such as Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Khairpur, Umerkot, Tharparkar, and Thar, and a few districts of South Punjab⁹⁸ as well. Further, they argued, after the sudden death of Pir Shah Mardan Shah in 2012 the party nominated his son Sibghatullah Shah⁹⁹ (Current Pir Pagara) as the new President of the PML-F. while he (Pir Pagara) was supported by his brother Syed Saddaruddin Shah Rashidi alias Younis Sain who serve as the President of the PML-F in the Sindh chapter. But gradually the party went into corrupt hands and veteran politicians (who fought from PML-F seat) left this party and joined others. Besides this few mainstream parties also entered with high competition and earn support from this party. (Mariam Mufti, M. Waseem).

Leadership

The Pml-F started their leadership from the spiritual gadi of the Pagara family since its creation. The party also represents an organizational expression of the power of these Pirs. This party has always been expected to participate in the elections and secure seats in Provincial and National legislatures.

Power Structure

The PML-F is the top-heavy party, where Pir Pagara is a leader of the Hur community and its local strongholds. The party does not have a distinct ideological framework besides this it has gained support for Sindh national causes due to its roots in Sindh only. It has no visible

⁹⁷ These institutions always supported and encouraged Pagara dynasty because of their countless efforts as we have seen in 1965 war and 1971 war.

⁹⁸ Historically these areas were Hur majority areas in Pakistan. The murids of this clan used to support them and win the seats when their political party was established by veteran politician Pir Pagara Shah Mardan Shah.

⁹⁹ Sain Sibghatullah Shah also known as Raja Sain in Hur community. And he is current Pir of their murids. He also participated in politics by their desirous way. He also been elected as chairman of district council in his young age.

organization on the ground. However, the real power of the party lies in the hands of Pir Pagara and, his Khalifas and a few electable as well.

Party Membership and Support Base

The PML-F administration should be recommended or nominated for new members by the existing members because at the time of election and decision making the party remains weak and unpopular. On the other side, the PML-F party occupies a stable potential space in the Hur community of rural Sindh. While it's electoral performance is both assured and limited. It's a potential candidate for an alliance with one of the two mainstream parties in Karachi and Islamabad in a future ruling set-up.

The Hur movement has great contributions in Sub-continent. Initially the phases (we have discussed in detail) of movement has dividd in four phases, the last one has broke the chains along with his supreme leader of British administrations.

4.4 Role of Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi in Pakistan's Politics

Pir Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi also known as Raja Sain was born on 14 February 1956, in his native town Khairpur district. He is the eldest son of Shah Mardan Shah (who died in 2012) were the three aspirants for the elevated position. Sain Saddaruddin Shah alias Younis Sain, and Ali Gohar Shah were the two other sons of Shah Mardan Shah, who were

also considered but disfavored by the secretive electoral college of Hur Jamait. Raja Saen¹⁰⁰ was rapidly selected by customary choice because this gadi has rituals that there must be *gadi nashin* before the deceased Pir Pagara sent to his lasting place. (Newspaper 2012).

Furthermore, the process of *gadi nashin* was quickly started by 15 elders of Hur jamait (known as Khalifas¹⁰¹) including chief Faqir Qadir Bux Mangrio and Ghazi Khan who had come from India for this selection purposes. Besides, few Faqirs (who were more close to Pir Sahib) came including these were Faqeer Basit, Ahmed Saleh Mahar, Waryam Faqeer (current MPA), Pir Bux Gaho, Ahmed Faqir Rajar, Mir Muhammad Rahoo, Lal Bux Ahmendani, Mufti Muhammad, Rahim Khoso, Muhammad Rahim Hingoro, Wali Muhammad Panhwar, Soomar Faqir Mahar and Abdul Khaliq Sanjrani (Tribune 2012).

Apart from this, the process of *dastarbandi* of this *Gadi* has started from the Pir of Jhang Shareef Syed Siraj Ahmed Jilani, who raised his hand to the long turban of his head, then others joined this process (give a turn to his turban) because is the sign of respect in their rituals.

Raja Sain had quite different nature from his father in the mid-50s observed by the people. They said we observed both personalities as father and son, but Raja Saen (incumbent Pir Pagara) is more social and extrovert than Shah Mardan Shah. Further, they argued, Pir Pagara never used to go any gatherings, meetings, and programs but Raja Sain is otherwise. So, Raja Saen is a man of very different nature and approaches (Dawn 2013).

Sain Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah (Raja Saen) started his political career during the era of Zia ul Haq regime when he was been elected as a MPA in the non-political elections of 1985.

¹⁰⁰ Sain Raja Saen is the eighth Pir Pagara of Hur Jamait and incumbent president of Pakistan Muslim League functional. The rule of *gadi* is ongoing from their ancestors that there must be select very soon their *gadi nashin* before old one (when he leaves this world).

¹⁰¹ Khalifas system in this *gadi* is too old traditions. It created from Hur movement when they initiated this movement against tyrannical rule in sub-continent.so, in remote areas their Pir (*Gadi nashin*) had very difficult to reach message among their Jamait. Therefore these (Khalifas) has duty to reach clear message among respective Jamait. Which is continue this tradition.

Further, he has also been selected in Sindh Assembly for two more times. Raja Saen also served as a minister of irrigation, works and services in the Sindh government. In the 1988 elections, he was defeated in his hometown, Pir Jo Goth near Khairpur Mirs to a Pakistan People's Party candidate but was elected from Sanghar. However, in 1990 elections, Raja Saen managed to secure the Pir Jo Goth seat by defeating PPP candidate Rahim Bux Wassan, the elder brother of Sindh Minister Manzoor Wassan (Ary TV, 2018).

Raja Saen¹⁰² has great contributions in both capacities of spirituality and politics. For instance, after his dastarbandi as he assumed his spiritual powers, he started many changes among his murids and Faisla (decision) committees. He started spiritual journey¹⁰³ among his murids into remote areas such as Sanghar, Achro Thar, Nawabshah, Tharparkar, and upper regions where his murids are located. He resolved many issues which were pending from several years. Secondly, he also participated into politics of Pakistan especially in Sindh region. Although he had been selected as president of Pakistan Muslim League functional. So, he initiated many changes into parties as well. Primarily he quickly called his Jamait in Hyderabad in 2012, where he also invites many nationalist parties for the collaboration with them. After this huge gathering¹⁰⁴, they accepted to fight for the next elections with their allies to end the PPP regime and to fight further. Beside this, after result of 2013 elections¹⁰⁴ he made allies with their rival party PPP for the seat adjustment from their respective constituencies.


¹⁰² Raja Saen has good journey into politics rather than Shah Mardan Shah. He ran many seats and participated into elections while Shah Mardan Shah had not great platform into politics. He merely became senator of Pakistan. So, there is huge different between both Pir's struggle for politics.

¹⁰³ After the sworn of his gadi's turban he started spiritual journey among his murids. In 2018 he came in our regions such as, Khipro, Tharparkar and Achro Thar for the first time and thousands of murids came for ziarat purposes.

¹⁰⁴ In these elections PML-f contested elections from their own platform while in 2018 it contested with GDA platform. Where it (Party) receives many differences in voting time. The result had quite long different due to new platform.

After short time of period, their paths separated again and finally decided to fight with PPP regime by collaborating with other parties. In 2017 he decided and formally registered GDA (Grand Democratic Alliance) to contest the ruling party in 2018 elections.

4.5 Profile of Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA)

Party Name	Grand Democratic Alliance
Founder	Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi Pir of Pagara (Raja Saeen)
Date/Year Founded	2017
Geographic Focus	Sindh
Flag/ Color	N/A
Past Party Heads	N/A
Office bearers:	
1. Party Head	Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi Pir of Pagara (Raja Saeen)
2. General Secretary	
Ayaz Latif Palijo	
Stance	Grand Democratic Alliance is formed against corrupt government of Sindh
Slogan/Punch line	Justice, Education and Health
Issues in Focus	Opposition to Sindh Peoples Local Government Act 2012. Unity of Sindh, justice, Education, Employment for all
Participation in Elections	2018
Representation in Parliament- From 1970-2013	N/A
Manifesto	N/A
Election Symbol for 2018	
Website	N/A
Contact	Kingri House # 22, Street # 89, Sector G-6/3, Ataturk Avenue, Islamabad Ph:051-2271936

Prominent Personalities

Syed Ghaus Ali Shah
Dr. Zulfiqar Mirza
Pir Sadruddin Shah
Arbab Ghulam Rahim
Murtaza Khan Jatoi
Makhdoom Fazal

Alliances parties

- Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F) led by Syed Sibghatullah-III shah
- Qaumi Awami Tehreek (QAT) led by Ayaz ALtif Palijo
- Sindh Nationalist front (SNF) led by Mumtaz Bhutto
- Pakistan People's party workers led by Safder Abbasi
- Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto led by Ghinwa Bhutto
- Nationalist Peoples Party led by Mumtaz Jatoi
- Sindh United Party (SUP) led by Syed Jalal Mehmood Shah

Sources: Pakvoter (<https://pakvoter.org/grand-democratic-alliance-gda/>)

Elected members in National Assembly:

Dr Fehmida Mirza (G)	Ghous Bux Mahar (G)	Saira Bano (w)
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Sources: National Assembly

Elected members Provincial Assembly

Sources: Provincial Assembly

Abdul Razzaq	Ali Ghulam	Ali Gohar Mahar	Arif Mustafa Jatoi	Husnain Mirza
Moazzam Ali	Muhammad Rafiq	Muhammad Rashid Shah	M. Sharyar Mahar	Nand Kumar Goklani
Naseem	Nusrat Sehar Abbasi	Qazi Shams Din	Waryam Faqeer	

4.6 Formation of GDA

Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA) is a regional political alliance which exists in Sindh, it was founded on 23 October 2017 by Pir Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah Rashidi (Raja Saen) for the first time. However, its idea primarily was generated in 2012 when a huge political gathering was held in Hyderabad. The prime reason of this alliance was to bring all nationalist parties under one umbrella to end the Pakistan Peoples Party's regime because the people of Sindh were not happy and satisfied with the PPP regime, so Pagara brought this idea among nationalist groups. The first meeting of GDA was held in Sukkur on 26 November 2017. The leaders who attended the meeting were, former Chief Ministers of Sindh Ghous Ali Shah and Dr Arbab Ghulam Rahim, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto (who is the President of the Sindh National Front), Muzaffar Hussain Shah (Senator), National Peoples Party chief and Federal Minister Murtaza Jatoi, Dr Zulfiqar Mirza and his MPA son Hasnain Mirza, PPP- Workers president Dr Safdar Abbasi, Munawwar Abbasi, Ayaz Latif Palijo (President of Qaumi Awami Tehreek), Abdul Karim Shikh, Haji Shaffi Jamote and Irfanullah Marwat (Dawn 2017, Tribune 2017).

Furthermore, The GDA, which comprises Pakistan Muslim League-Functional, National Peoples Party, Qaumi Awami Tehreek, Sindh National Front, Peoples Party (Workers) and some other likeminded political groups.

The president of PML-F, Pir Pagara expressed, we are facing many serious political issues in Sindh. Therefore, the people of Sindh will fight from this platform and will help to resolve the issues of Sindh, especially remote and backward areas of Sindh. Besides this Mr. Palijo also added that, the leaders of GDA want accountability of country and its people from corrupt electable. Later Ayaz Latif also demonstrated that Sardar Abdul Raheem has been

appointed information secretary of alliance while he (Ayaz Latif) will serve as general secretary of this alliance. Apart from this Zulifqar Mirza also accused PPP co-chairmen Mr. Asif Ali Zardari that he (Zardari is most corrupt person in PPP) further, he also added, Asif Zardari is not actual founder of this ruling party. He also said, we had great friendship with each other know we part our ways, consequently, on the right time we will resign from the seats (Dawn 2017).

Moreover, the leaders of all collation parties and members of GDA rapidly started their campaigns in Sindh then other parts of region. Later Pir Pagara held several meetings between alliances. So, finally the members of these alliances campaigned for the first time in elections of 2018 ¹⁰⁵to defeat the Zardari's regime.

4.7 The Role of the PML-F Party in Pakistan's Politics and Elections

Pakistan Muslim League Functional has great role into politics till today. Party started its journey when Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah has been defeated Presidential elections of 1965 by General Ayoub then she decided to declared Pakistan Muslim League Functional and appointed him (Pir Pagara) head of it. He (Pir Pagara) was also nominated the first President of united Muslim League. Pir Pagara runs both parties together because he was not much interested into politics at that time so, he tried to keep great relations with those who are sincere with the country, but the circumstances were quite different at that time. Pir Pagara had great plans for the country, so he was happy and tried to bring all parties (which were many factions that time)

¹⁰⁵ PML-f received many votes from their new platform (GDA) but couldn't secure much seats in both assemblies (National and Provincial). However, this brought a long stir among the hearts of their murids and their representatives.

under one umbrella and ran the system in a smooth way. But everyone had different ideologies and made their own parties afterwards. However, the party never ran for elections on their platform but when establishment made Muhammad Khan Junejo¹⁰⁶ as its President in 1985 then Pir Pagara decided to part the ways from united Muslim League and made his own PML-F. The Party started participations into election for the very first time in 1988 (after three years of creation) from the platform of IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad¹⁰⁷). The party along with alliance did not beat their rival party but secured few seats from its platform. Later, PML-F contested 1990s elections again. This time, it secured few more seats than the previous elections, however, after three years later, in 1993 got less than last one election. In 1997 elections it again got no seat in National Assembly. It was assumed that from 1988 till 1999, Pakistan's government was playing a musical chair. However, General Pervez Musharraf imposed martial law in 1999 and decided to go for elections then again it (PML-F) participated into elections and secured many seats in their representatives' areas because it had made alliance with Musharraf regime (its assumed Pir Pagara always support military institutions) and enjoyed powers together. During Musharraf's regime from 2002 to 2008 they made great changes in their respective areas. For instance, I went for the field work in Hur populated areas where they usually support establishment and conducted interviews from the people. Most of the respondents said in Musharraf regime when Arbab Ghulam Raheem¹⁰⁸ was Chief Minister of Sindh he initiated multiple projects in backward areas where people were inspired a lot and in return he demanded for votes for the next time in elections. He also added, Arbab's government in Sindh practiced good governance that earned

¹⁰⁶ Muhammad Khan Junejo was the prime minister of Pakistan although he was not willing for Premiership, but Pir Sahib ordered him and he took oath.

(https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Muhammad_Khan_Junejo).

¹⁰⁷ Islami Jamhoori Ittehad was basically nine party's alliance to counter the Pakistan People's Party. It was formed in 1988. The head was Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and main leader was Mian Nawaz Shareef.

(https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Islami_Jamhoori_Ittehad).

¹⁰⁸ Arbab Ghulam Raheem was elected Chief Minister of Pakistan from the platform of Pakistan Muslim League Functional.

him support till today. Further said, Arbab's decision and grassroots changes created the big threat to their opposition party i.e., PPP in rural Sindh's politics. When Musharraf faced many problems in his regime so, he resigned himself and parties contested elections.

When next elections were announced in a country many parties started their rallies and campaigns for general elections, at that time, PPP's chairperson; Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (late) had returned to his homeland. She started campaigning for the elections. This was again a threat for PML-F party because this time Benazir received huge support from locals while PML-F was not much famous in another region of Pakistan. Benazir started many gatherings around the Sindh at local level. So, she was rapidly earned great response. Whereas, she (Benazir Bhutto) faced many problems as some major terrorist attacks. Such as Karachi Karsaz¹⁰⁹ and then last one Rawalpindi¹¹⁰. These events bring more people towards her because local people were admiring about her bravery.

Muslim League Functional ran for elections and fully participated in their representative areas but couldn't secure many seats because public was in rage, and they fully supported. They sat in oppositions and targeting PPP for their bad governance. Pir Pagara was again formatting the party and making changes in a few seats. So, they couldn't end the PPP regime before their period. Later Pir Pagara (Shah Mardan Shah) started alliance and initiated seat adjustment with them which later failed due to some reasons. Before the elections of 2013 Shah Mardan Shah had left this world in 2012. And his elder son (Raja Saeen) became the *gadi nashin* and President of PML-F. He gradually started many changes into party, but it won't secure seats in 2013 elections again. Because PPP had won many seats and made strong roots in local areas that benefited his own party. For instance, I went for field work and took few interviews from non-Muslims who

¹⁰⁹ It was attack on the former prime minister of Pakistan Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto when she was holding rally in Public. A sudden attack faced, and many people killed, and thousands injured. (<https://dailytimes.com.pk/485013/karsaz-bomb-blast-never-to-be-forgotten-on-arrival-of-bb-in-pakistan/>).

¹¹⁰ On December 27, 2007, Benazir Bhutto was assassinated soon after she had addressed an election rally in the historic Liaquat Bagh in Rawalpindi. (<https://tribune.com.pk/story/2392951/15-years-on-benazir-murder-still-an-unsolved-mystery>).

are more influenced by PPP regime. I asked the reasons to support PPP whereas it is considered as corrupt in these areas. Many respondents said PPP government has provided us solar schemes, Benazir card in our villages. So, this is reason we support.

Furthermore, Pir Pagara created an alliance known as GDA which brought all nationalist parties under one shelter. This decision of Pir Pagara brought a major loss to PML-F platform. The government announced its next general elections in 2018 while PML-F leader contested that elections from GDA platform but again couldn't secure many seats in Sindh and they made an alliance with PTI in Sindh Assembly. However, this time again PPP secured massive victory.

4.8 Reasons for Losing the Significant and Popularity of the Pakistan Muslim League Functional on the Political Ground

Pakistan Muslim League Functional is a religious party established by spiritual leader of Hur community Syed Shah Mardan Shah Rashidi in mid 1980s when he parted the ways from united Muslim League. Before this Pir Pagara was not much interested into politics, he merely started his journey in 1960s when Presidential elections were announced, and their campaigns were started among public. From Muslim League's platform Mohtarma Fatima contested elections against Ayoub, but she badly lost her seat and handover the power of Muslim League to Pir Pagara. Initially he was not keen for politics, but the environment of politics was rapidly changing in Pakistan's politics because many factions were created by prominent leaders of Pakistan, but Pir Pagara was not that favor to create separate party for politics because he was impressed and favored Muslim League because he used to say this Muslim League is a one and the genuine party of Pakistan which struggle for the betterment of country and state affairs.

Furthermore, when Zulifqar Ali Bhutto was separated from Ayoub's cabinet and made his own political party known as Pakistan People Party. He (Z.A Bhutto) said country and its people are suffering from various issues so, PPP is one who will provide all facilities to their people and country as well. Therefore, he (Bhutto) started huge rallies around Sindh and Punjab. This brought great tensions in politicians mind and Bhutto was getting massive support in public. Pir Pagara and Bhutto had cordial relations with each-other in initial days later both went into tussle. When Bhutto started election campaign, Pir Pagara made alliance to counter the PPP because that time Muslim League had not much popular party in politics. Besides, he (Pir Pagara) had great relations with military and establishment as his few statements have been, 'we

are with establishment and that is the one who is loyal with country and its affairs so, where it (establishment) goes we will go with them' along with these there are several people who also stated Pir Pagara as man of establishment. When Bhutto came into power made himself as Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator (who had as dictator powers) and President of Pakistan he started tussle between oppositions especially Pir Pagara. He (Bhutto) started to be registered fake cases against Hurs and sent many Hurs to jails. This decision brought rage in the heart of Hurs and its spiritual leaders. So, Pir Pagara openly opposed him and decided to create his own political party which will end this Bhutto's regime and help in the provision of rights to the people. So, they made PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) to end Bhutto's government. Further, once he (Pir) said, 'we will fight against socialist' (Shahnawaz, 2012)¹¹¹.

Pir Pagara always supported Pak-Army (as we have discussed earlier) so when Zia ul Haq took power and offered him (Pir Pagara) for Primeministership of Pakistan. He (Pir) suggested his own person took oath to-gather. For instance, I went for interview in tiny village and ask whose government is good most of the respondent said, Mr. Junejo's regime was brilliant for them because he (M. Khan Junejo) gave us mega projects such as electricity, roads and hospitals in our areas that's why are remembering him till today. When Junejo's regime was ended, and Assemblies were dissolved in 1988 and party went for elections while Pakistan Muslim League Functional participated for the very first time from its platform. Initially, it acquired seats in both Assemblies but not much that he can made his own government. Slowly it was earning their significant and popularity in political arena because it has two reasons, firstly it was Pir's party who is spiritual leader of Hur community and secondly, he was establishment person. As I took interviews from his murids, asked, why this party was been created and what achievements are received so far? Then, few replied, Rashidi family has great contributions in Pakistan's movement even Pir Pagara had two major contributions in 1965 and 1971 wars so,

¹¹¹ Shahnawaz Nizamani. 2012. Pir Sahib Pagaro. Hur Historical society, Sanghar, PP28.

this family deserve to be in politics. Besides this Hur communities are being deprived from their areas and resources there should be political platform that they can easily access to address their political demands. Apart from this, they also added there no ideological party in politics so, PML-F is one of the great parties for the betterment of Pakistan.

Moreover, party ran for elections from 1988 till 2002 and 2004 it earned his huge fame and popularity among provinces and public. We have many historical examples such as Chief Minister became from our party's platform in Musharraf tenure. When Musharraf resigned and elections announce in a state PML-F drilled his struggle in local areas for vote sharing. But it was a great blow to the party and their leaders when Shah Mardan Shah left this world and power were given to incumbent Pir (Raja Saeen). Raja Saeen has different decision making and policy making in politics because both were quite different from nature and social structural with each-other. In 2013 elections were announced but the party lost many seats from our respective areas due to political engineering. Further when he (Raja Saeen) created an alliance along with nationalist parties which brought concerns for the establishment. When 2018 elections were announced, they contested from their constituencies but not acquire much vote as they used to get. As I asked from my respondent what the progress from last electoral decades of PML-F? He replied, PML-F usually acquired their full votes from areas but few state institutions are not happy with actual results so, they are making again political engineering. Although we have not lost our votes. They are increasing day by day. He gave examples in 2018 elections we won 15 lac votes from GDA platform so the number of MPAs should be 30 as per rule but, we have only 14 MPAs, hence this is political engineering they argued that has resulted into loss of political grounds for Pakistan Muslim-Functional in Pakistan.

4.9 Conclusion

Historically we have traced the sacrifices of Pir Pagara family from Hur movement till their last phase. Initially this clan came from Arab region to Sindh settling here for particular purpose. Such as preaching of Islam and end the cruel rule of British administration in this region especially Sindh now Pakistan. The tree of Rashidi family which have been discussed in introduction started from Syed Ali Maki and moves to the incumbent Pir. The process of *gadi nashin* is quite different from other Sufis traditions. Every *gadi nashin* has great contribution in Pakistan's struggle whether it is political social or cultural. The Rashidi clan has always come forward whenever the country has gone through the tough times. When Britishers were spreading their tyrannical rule in south-Asia rapidly this clan faced them with a great movement which was divided into four phases. The first phase started from Sikh's war and second one was Britishers, but they faced and could not succeed. When third phase was announced, many changes were made by the *gadi nashin* but Britishers could not let them succeed. When last one phase was announced by brave and prominent leader of Hur community known as Sureh Badshah (Sibghatullah-II Shah Rashidi) started and openly faced them very efficiently. This time Britishers were frightened in this phase of movement and made strict policies for Hurs. They also imposed black laws on Hur communities, but Sureh Badshah broke their laws and gave them very tough time. However, in this phase Hurs were very trained and active from last three phases. Further, The British administration declared emergency in Hur regions and registered thousands of F.I.R against Hurs and their communities. Many Hurs were kept into jails and their supreme leader was arrested first time which brought great rage in their murids' hearts. Furthermore, British did not ease them and their rivals. When Sureh Badshah selected Garang Banglow near Sanghar where training was given and new recruitment were made by him, so that

time many Hur women came forward and requested to Pir by participating into wars. Many women came and participated into wars as we have discussed in chapters. When Britishers again arrested their leader this time they did not release him and sentenced death punishment. The time came and he has been hanged by British administration, but his sacrifices are still remembered and written in the history of Pakistan. However, when Pakistan was created with the great contribution of Pir Pagara's *gadi*, it had been banned by Britishers, so, Hur community selected their new *gadi nashin* known as Shah Mardan Shah, who assumed power and started struggle for their murids and communities. The *gadi* was banned he reissued by Pakistani government and demolished fake cases who were registered against Hurs finished. He also has more great contributions in politics when political turmoil was ongoing in newly state in the beginning period. Shah Mardan Shah was geniubely wise, intellectual, and optimistic person so, he thought many leaders have made their poitical platform by creating many parties with various factions then he himself decided to create his own political platform. He timely made his political party as Muslim League Functional where he declared and assured this is real party for Pakistan. Party initially earned significant popularity into politics and decision making by Pir Pagara. Although he contested many elections from PLM-F platform for the very first time and till 2002 elections. The party was acquiring massive victories in various parts of Sindh such as Sanghar, Thar, and their majority-based regions. The last elections in the time of Shah Mardan Shah were 2008 elections which brought a great grief in parties and their members because their rivalry party acquired many votes and his (PML-F) majority areas due to recent assassinations of Late Benazir Bhutto. Later, he left this temporary world in 2012 his *gadi* and party powers went into Raja Saeen's hands who was new Pir of Hurs. He made new alliance and started taking interest in politics but was not much succeeded as his father. As a result, his policies and decision power made him and his party unpopular in politics. Apart from this, his major influence and social connections also damaged to his party. The major draw back of this party's is more influence of

Khalifas (whose prime duty is to reach the Pir's message among his murids). Regarding this we have seen the great example of Pir Bux Junejo. In 2013s elections he was elected MNA of PML-F party now he is the chairman of faisla committee (decision committe). Furthermore, the party have provided many platforms for new generations, but they are not receiving response well from party side. For instance, I went in fieldwork and took an interview from young candidate he was nearly 27 years old. He constested LG elections (Uc Chairmanship) from PML-F platform but could not secured his seat. He added before elctions I was not receiving a great attention from Khalifas and party members when I lost seat, they were quite happy from my failure.

In short, PML-F was popular in Shah Mardan Shah's time because he has paid great contributions for his land as we have discussed his murids participated their role into 1965, and 1971 wars. Apart from this, he has tolerance and charismatic personality. When power was shifted to new *gadi nashin*, the policies and decision making made the party unpopular relatively. It has faced a big setback when GDA was created. The party would get more votes if it would have contested elections in its original version. Pir Pagara should consider the reasons for losing the party position and address them to regain the better status of the party by rethinking the party policy. Moreover, Party should open attractive avenues for their murids and leaders. Syed Sibghatullah-III Shah should revise traditional policies for PML-F rather than made him (PML-F) alliance of GDA.

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Interviews

Name of interviewee	Position	Date	Location
Shauqat Ali Hingorjo	Talka President	20 Dec 2022	Khipro
M. Khan Mangrio	Additional Organizer Secretary	27 Jan 2023	Dist: Sanghar
Allah Bux Hingorjo	Chairman (nominated)	27 Dec 2022	U.C Roorhjo
M. Malook Dars	Information Secretary (Talka: Khipro)	22 Dec 2022	Khipro