



**Political Dynamics in South Punjab**  
**A Case Study of District Muzaffargarh (2008-2022)**

**M. Phil Thesis**

**Submitted By**

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## **CERTIFICATE**

This dissertation submitted **Muhammad Faisal** entitled: **Political Dynamics in South Punjab “A Case Study of District Muzaffargarh (2008-2022)”** is accepted in his present form by National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-I-Azam University Islamabad for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.

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## **Author's Declaration**

**I Mr. Muhammad Faisal** hereby declare that my M. Phil thesis titled “**Political Dynamics in South Punjab: A Case Study of District Muzaffargarh (2008-2022)**” 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.

The university has the right to revoke my degree at any moment, even after I have received my M. Phil. degree, if my claim turns out to be false.

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**Muhammad Faisal**

**Alhamdulillah M.Phil (Scholar)**

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this research to my loving family. Gratitude to **my parents** for encouraging me whose words of encouragement are still ringing in my ears. In addition, I dedicate this research to my elder brothers, sister-in-law, younger brothers, and sisters who always encouraged me and gave new ideas for moving forward. They always kept me energetic to be a good researcher. My lovely elder brother **Mr. Muhammad Mudassir Aslam** who always prayed for my advancement, has my heartfelt gratitude for this study. I dedicate this research to **Ms. Rafia Abbas** who always helped me and kept motivated to make progress in my research and in my life.

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# **Political Dynamics in Southern Punjab: A Case Study of District Muzaffargarh (2008-2022)**

## **Abstract**

In Punjab, a movement for a new province, commonly known as, South Punjab Province or Saraikistan emerged soon after the dissolution of One Unit on the 30<sup>th</sup> of March 1970. The One Unit scheme merged Bahawalpur, which was a princely state, into Punjab province in (1970). Before “South Punjab (Saraikistan)” movement the name of this movement was Bahawalpur province movement. In this thesis, I examine the role of people of district Muzaffargarh and their demands of a new province, and nationalism created in the name of a new province. This is an academic research. In this research, I have used qualitative methodology to collect the material, related to this thesis. I have used both primary and secondary sources to collect the data. For primary data, I have used newspapers and have conducted interviews of men and women both who are part of new province politics, activists and are interested in debates of new province politics, and for secondary data author used books, research articles, online research articles, and news channels. I have conducted my fieldwork interviews and observed political behavior of political activists in district Muzaffargarh. Author selected district Muzaffargarh for research field because not much research has been done on the politics of this district. This district has its importance in a new province movement. After the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment politicians of district Muzaffargarh raised voice for a new separate province in the southern districts of Punjab. The masses of district Muzaffargarh are also interested in getting a separate province.

**Keywords:** South Punjab Movement; Saraiki Province; District Muzaffargarh; Pakistan

# Chapter 1

## 1.1. Introduction

According to population, Punjab is Pakistan's most populous province.<sup>1</sup> People speak many languages in Punjab. In this province, there are two main linguistic groups. The dominant group that speaks Punjabi is one, and the small group that speaks Saraiki is the other.<sup>2</sup>

Currently, there are several movements demanding the establishment of a separate province in Punjab province. There are many reasons why people are demanding the creation of a new province in South Punjab and politicians are the part of this movement. As they say that our language is different from the Punjabi language same is the issue of Saraiki culture. The Saraiki is constructed on base of language and culture.<sup>3</sup> Muzaffargarh is one of them which has its history. Politicians also use the people near elections in the name of South Punjab or Saraikistan to get the vote.<sup>4</sup> In this way, the same candidates win the election from last two decades even winner changes the party in every election but is elected in the name of South Punjab or Saraikistan. They get votes on the name of South Punjab, but politicians forget when they get elected. After five years candidates come back to the region and start their campaign to get the votes by using the slogan of the new province (South Punjab). People are demanding new South Punjab provinces on the bases of their basic rights. The demand for new a province in the southern districts of Punjab is at the peak district Muzaffargarh is one of them. Masses elect the politicians on the base of educational institutions, health facilities, road infrastructure, recruitment, and many others are

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<sup>1</sup>Mushtaq. M., Shaheen. M., (July-December, 2017). The Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab, Pakistan: Prospects and Challenges. Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society. Vol No. 30, Issue No.2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. P.143.

<sup>4</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Binda Ishaq is her native village.

included in this.<sup>5</sup> One of the main issues is the administrative office of Punjab. Lahore is the center of Punjab. Lahore has so much distance that common people of backward (southern districts) areas cannot reach. They face many difficulties if they have any toward Lahore.<sup>6</sup> These all are the issues due to which southern district people are demanding a new province on the base of language and culture. Pakistan also emerged based on different issues/ideology language and culture was the main one from them. Around these things, the politics of South Punjab is rotating. With the deprivation of other things, these two are the main narratives on the bases of which politicians and people are demanding a new province in the Southern part of Punjab. The people of Muzaffargarh are in the right of South Punjab province. Muzaffargarh provides 6 MNAs to the national assembly of Pakistan and 12 MPAs to the provincial assembly of Punjab which shows the presence of their district. All these politicians always win the election on the slogan of the new province and said to fulfill the requirements of the people. Mostly here are the same candidates who succeed in every election on the name of South Punjab province. MNA Makhdoomzada Sayed Basit Sultan Bukhari and MNA Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang are on the front list who were elected in the 2013 election on the Pakistan Muslim League-N ticket. In 2018, Makhdoomzada Sayed Basit Sultan Bukhari was an independent candidate who won the election by using the slogan of South Punjab province. Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang was the candidate of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf used same slogan South Punjab.<sup>7</sup> Makhdoomzada Sayed Basit Sultan Bukhari after winning the election in 2018 became part of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and was the general secretary of the South Punjab cabinet. Their slogan was that the southern districts of Punjab should become a province.

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<sup>5</sup>Mushtaq. M., Shaheen. M., (July-December, 2017). The Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab Pakistan. Prospects and Challenges. Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society. Vol No. 30, Issue No.2. Pp.140.

<sup>6</sup>Faisal Ayub. Personal interview with author. October 10, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Bair Band) He is a student and active in new province politics.

<sup>7</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq).

Pakistan's main political parties are also using the slogan of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province to contest elections from the southern Punjab. Those parties are Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). Pakistan People's Party was first to use the name of Saraikistan.<sup>8</sup> Pakistan People's Party kept this name on the base of the language "Saraikistan". When they started Saraikistan Province Movement then they tabled a bill on the name of Saraikistan which was not passed. After this Pakistan Muslim League-N<sup>9</sup> started the slogan for South Punjab province and then Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf used the same slogan.<sup>10</sup> But the question is who can make a new province?

Pakistan People's Party can make a new province the reason is that it had done a lot of work in the Southern districts of Punjab in this way it can get the sympathy of South Punjab (Saraikistan) people.<sup>11</sup> Even now in Muzaffargarh, three MNAs are of Pakistan People's Party. Others are from Pakistan Muslim League-N they don't want to divide Punjab. They say that Punjab has its history. They just use the slogan of South Punjab to win the election. The third main party is Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf which can't make the South Punjab province. Because there is already the issue of Hazara built province, and this party is of Pashtun people.<sup>12</sup>

## 1.2. Research Questions

How does slogan of a “separate/ independent South Punjab” serve politicians during elections?

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<sup>8</sup>Sardar Abdul Qayyum Jatoi said this when he came at my home for election campaign and Gilani said during the by-election campaign in Sep, 2022. When he did a meeting with the leaders of different parties of South Punjab province.

<sup>9</sup>Lahore Times. (2019, January 19). Shahbaz Sharif on South Punjab and Bahawalpur Provinces.20.12.2018. <https://www.youtube.com>.

<sup>10</sup> Naya Din. (2022, January 19). Let's make South Punjab a province together-Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi. <https://bit.ly|2Wh8Sp8>.

<sup>11</sup>Waqar Younas. Personal interview with author. September, 2022. Waqar Younas is an ex-student of (Management of Public Administration) from QAU. Recently he is part of the new province movement. He also remains part of the different rallies related to new province.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

What is the role of people of Muzaffargarh and politicians in South Punjab province movements?

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

According to political prospect district Muzaffargarh has played an important role in South Punjab province movement. Politicians and people of district Muzaffargarh always remain part of the new province movements. I want to see that how same politicians get success in election in the name of province. Why people of Muzaffargarh poll vote to same candidates in every election?

### **1.4. Research Hypothesis**

My research hypothesis posits that, prior to elections, every prominent political party in Punjab employs the slogan of creating a new province. Candidates from each party initiate their election campaigns by endorsing the idea of a new province. People of district Muzaffargarh get a new hope for the creation of a new province near each election, and they become part of that party who give them hope of a new province. People of district Muzaffargarh become part of that party in each election, who become popular all over Pakistan and has the possibilities to win the election on federal and provincial level. People of district Muzaffargarh always support the politicians who raise the voice for a new province. People of district Muzaffargarh always become the part of South Punjab province movements. People of district Muzaffargarh always poll vote in the name of a new province. Same politicians change their political party in each election to get success in the name of new province. After the election politicians forgive their promises of new province. Politicians always use the slogan of new province to get vote.



## **1.5. Literature Review**

The article 'The Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab, Pakistan: Prospects and Challenges' argue that what cannot be solved without any change in their objectives and strategies. (Mushtaq & Shaheen 2017). Same is the issue of the Saraiki people. They demand a separate province from Punjab. They say that we demand a province on the base of language, culture, and resources. District Muzaffargarh is also the part of the Saraiki Waseeb.

The article 'Issue of Saraikistan: Post 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment' elaborates on salient dynamics for the establishment of Saraiki Province by the division of Punjab. As, the basic purpose of the Saraiki people: is to resolve their generic issues, by making themselves capable of a province with their majority population. The processes of national integration have been made complex because of regionalism. This alien feeling emerges in the minds of minority people when they are not treated equally, and their rights are not fulfilled by their government. (Ullah & Hassan 2017). People of Saraiki Waseeb consider themselves minority in a large, populated province Punjab. In Punjab province diverse ethnical people live from them there are two major group Punjabi and Saraiki. District Muzaffargarh is the part the Saraiki group who consider themselves minority and a separate new province.

Nukhbah stated insights that led to the exploitation of the Saraiki people in their traditional lands to promote the settlement of 'martial' Punjabis from East Punjab. These insights according to the author were deeply rooted in British policies before the separation from Sub-Continent. The same British colonial practices were followed by most of the Pakistani people by giving most of the government jobs to outsiders and forcing the local people to move out and learn their languages who were in majority. (Langah 2013).

The article 'Siraiki Language and Ethnic Identity' explained the connection between language and ethnic identity that interweaves one's identity with their collective ethnic identity. This article explains how the Saraiki language was used as a symbol for the creation of the Saraiki identity and the efforts made by the Saraiki nationalists to this effect. It is determined by the overall approach of the Saraiki nationalists that whether it is purely instrumental, emotional or both. (Asif 2005). Mostly provinces in Pakistan are formed on language and ethnicity basis. Even the names of the provinces are named after language: Punjab, Balochistan, Sindh and KPK. Same is the demand of the Saraiki people they say that we have our identity. In district Muzaffargarh majority people speak Saraiki. they also demand a new province and politicians of Muzaffargarh are part of the Saraiki province movement.

This paper 'Demand for Saraiki Province' inaugurates the spectrum of all political developments since 1947, through which the country passes some development changes between the political and civil-military establishments. Southern Punjab has ever been neglected by successive governments and lacks development and has not given its due share in both economic and political matters. This paper attempts to explore salient dynamics including the essential one that was the demand of Saraiki province. Besides, it traces the genesis of conflicts in the historical context to get a separate province. (Fayyaz 2011). Since 1947, many developmental projects were passed from many governments. Every government did the work in upper Punjab they always neglected the southern part of the Punjab. They never passed any mega project for the southern part of Punjab like good health institution, university, medical college and any technical institution due to which Saraiki Waseeb demand a separate province. Even the governments don't pass budget for the construction of roads which are the important for transportation. Same is the issue of Muzaffargarh

G.T road which started from Muzaffargarh city and end at Trandda Muhammad Pannah. Daily several accidents happened on this road due to bad condition of the road.

In this article, the author described: when for a long-time grievance of a particular community or people of a particular area are not addressed then separatist tendencies grow. In Pakistan, people are dispirited among its regions in terms of industry health, education, and infrastructure. Because of the personal interests of political leaders, the demands of separate provinces were ever exploited. This article focused on the analysis of whether those demands found any justification based on the lack of mentioned facilities. (Butt & Ahmed 2016). According to the prospects of politicians and the people health, education, and infrastructure are the main things of development. These three things always neglected in southern part of the Punjab. District Muzaffargarh which has very much population which is the part South Punjab province movement. District Muzaffargarh has no university, medical college, and not good health institution. Even the people of the southern districts of the Punjab have no special quota in recruitments.

Pakistan is an ethnically diverse country. The federal system has been introduced in Pakistan after the creation of Pakistan, which unite the center and units. People of different social customs, traditions, and languages live in Pakistan. Pakistan has four provinces; Punjab is the largest province according to population which has 54% of the population of Pakistan. Lahore is the center of Punjab. Common people can't go to Lahore for their problems with the provincial administration. Far-flung regions are less developed due to the long distance from the center. People of these regions are deprived economically and socially. These regions don't have well education institutions, the best facilities of health, and many other issues for the public. Politicians start their politics in the name of the creation of a new province. They mostly start their nationalism on the base of language. Near the election, every political party starts their slogans on the creation

of a new province, in this way in the name of the new province they get more and more votes from the Saraiki region. There is the main conflict between the political parties who are the creation of a new province (South Punjab). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf wants only a single province in the name of South Punjab on the other PML-N and PML-Q want two provinces one in the name of Bahawalpur and the other in the name of Saraiki Province (South Punjab). All these parties have their vote bank in this region. On the other hand, businessman, politicians and landlords are the barriers to the creation of Saraiki Province they have their benefits in the united province. Politicians just use the people of the Saraiki region near the election to get the vote. (Asif., Nazeer & Ahmad 2020).

Culture is the main thing for any nation to create nationalism. In the same way Saraiki culture and language both are important to create a new province by the name of Saraikistan or (South Punjab). South Punjab is part of the main province of Pakistan. In the southern districts of Punjab, politicians have started a movement on the name of the new province. Near the elections, they motivated the people in the name of the new province to get votes in this way from the people they get the vote. According to the population, Punjab is the largest province in Pakistan. In Punjab diverse languages people are living. They have their own identity. Saraiki is the second largest language in all provinces of Pakistan is spoken. Mostly it is spoken in Punjab. Southern parts of Punjab are deprived of good facilities for health, education, and infrastructure due to which people demand a new province on the base of language and culture. In this way, the administration will be strong, and the approach of common people will be easy towards the center. In this way by using language and culture politicians of Southern districts of Punjab create political nationalism. (Farooq., Farooq & Hussain 2014).

Bahawalpur is also the part of Southern part of Punjab. Bahawalpur has its history. It was known as a state before the partition of Pakistan. It was ruled by Abbasi Nawab's almost 228 years. It has a very large amount of population. Its native language is Saraiki which is spoken all over the region. Nawabs of Bahawalpur did work for their people. They opened many educational institutions in this region. They sent many hard worker students abroad to get higher education and introduced monthly stipends for them. Many scholarships were given to students even outside the state. They sent many students to Punjab University and Aligarh University on scholarships. A lot of work was done in the state in all fields. A railway track was laid by the Nawabs in the state. Many hospitals and dispensaries were established. Canals were dug in Sutlej Valley Project was completed to provide water to the lands of the Bahawalpur region. The state had its own administrative and judicial system. Bahawalpur merged with Pakistan in 1951 when Khawaja Nazimuddin was the Governor-General of Pakistan. Bahawalpur became part of Pakistan according to the 1935 Indian act. Rights will be given as the rights of the province. After 1971 Bahawalpur lost its status properly and merged into Punjab as a division. According to the area, Bahawalpur was the largest state. It has its defense importance. Its border meets with the Indian border. There is the main conflict on the name of the new province should be on the name of Bahawalpur some say that majority of the population of this province is Saraiki speaking then the name of the new province should be South Punjab (Saraikistan). Saraiki Province Movement started in the 1960s while Bahawalpur has a history as a state since 1727. (Javaid “n. d”).

## **1.6. Research Methodology**

The research method adopted in this study is qualitative. I explore the important factors which became the cause of the demand for new provinces in Pakistan. This study highlights the need for and importance of new federating units in general and Saraiki Province in particular, for

strengthening of democracy, federalism, and efficiency in governance and to promote national unity in the country. For the collection of data primary and secondary both sources have been used and data has been collected from different primary and secondary sources i.e., libraries, opinions, scholarly research papers, books, newspapers, and other sources from the internet which are relevant and important for this research author used. All the data has been collected from the concerned resources and arranged accordingly. During this process, it was also explored that all political parties and their leadership used the slogan of Saraiki Province at the time of the election to get maximum votes. In addition, speeches and interviews of political leaders published in the research papers and books are also consulted for this study. Some focus group interviews were also conducted for this research. Author mostly conducted interviews from those people who are part and active in the politics of a new province. Interview of the politicians also has been conducted. Author also analysed observations and point of views of the people and politicians about the creation of a new province.

### **1.7. Research Findings:**

People are more excited to get a separate province in the name of South Punjab or Saraikistan province. They always speak about the creation of a new province in every company. Even laborers talk about the creation of separate province. When author was in the field to conduct interviews then common conversation of the people was for the creation of a new province.

### **1.8. Significance of the Study**

This study is significant because it opens a new debate on the demand for a new province and the politics in the name of South Punjab (Saraikistan). Can you specify what the NEW DEBATE is? It has become the common slogan of every political party. It analyses how the demands on the new province and the necessities are used to gain power. How the politicians utilized the people to get

a vote on the name of language and culture to create a new province. The significance of this study is how human and fundamental rights became secondary matters in the context of politicians and the state.

### **1.9. Theoretical Framework**

Motivational theory is used in this research. Author used this theory because politicians always motivate the people on the name of name of a new province to get vote. People are motivated by the name of the new province near the election. This theory was produced by Rousseau where he wrote “where the laws are citizens’ general will, the law-abiding citizen obeys only his and not the command of any person, and so is free”. They are motivated on the bases of language, culture, backwardness, deprivations of health institutions, educational institutions, road infrastructure, and many others. In this way, people get hope and give the vote to the candidate in the name of the new province. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) is the best example of this slogan. At the time of the election, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) used the slogan of a separate province for southern districts and got more votes from that region in the name of Southern Punjab (Saraikistan) province.

### **1.10. Conclusion**

It is concluded that Saraiki nationalism has been created in the name of language and culture. Saraiki Waseeb has its language and culture there should be a province separate from Punjab to fulfill the fundamental rights of the depressed people. Nations are always created based on language and culture in this way the demand of the new province is based on language and culture ethnically. The demand for new provinces is a good object. Small provinces have a strong administration, and the administrative system of a small province can be strong. Strong administration has good access with the long distance (backward) areas people. Similarly, the

relationship between the massive and the administration become strong. And the demands of the people can be fulfilled. It is the best decision to create a new province in a highly populated province especially Punjab. It can be a good decision politically, linguistically, culturally, economically, socially, administratively, and federally. Saraikis have their language and culture due to which they created nationalism in the southern districts of Punjab on the base of ethnicity. Saraikis created nationalism on the base of language because they have a separate language and culture from Punjabis and others.



## Chapter 2

### **Historical Background of Political Movements in South Punjab since Partition in 1947**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I discuss the history of Bahawalpur state. The discussion of Bahawalpur state is important because the demand of a separate province started after merged of Bahawalpur state into the Punjab province of west Pakistan. After One Unit it merged into the Punjab province and became a division of Punjab. I also discuss the Bahawalpur province movement and other political parties and movements from where the history of South Punjab province started. Southern districts of Punjab are also called South Punjab. Bahawalpur state merged into the Punjab province of west Pakistan because it was part of West Pakistan, and its boundary was related to Punjab mostly. One Unit was created to create equality between East Pakistan and West Pakistan in 1955. Because there was no province in EP due which created the One Unit policy and merged all the provinces of west Pakistan merged into One Unit then it was called west Pakistan. At the time of One Unit, Bahawalpur state merged into west Pakistan (Punjab) based on the 1935 Act.<sup>13</sup>

When One Unit was dissolved in 1971 Bahawalpur state was merged into Punjab province. The status of the province was not given to Bahawalpur after dissolving the One Unit. Due to this, that time started the Bahawalpur Province movement to regain the status of Bahawalpur. From this movement, many other movements started in the name of the new province i.e., Pakistan Saraiki Party (PSP), Lok Sanjh Party (LSP), Sindhu Daish Bachao Movement (SBM), Saraiki Trimit Sanjh (Saraiki Women Association) and many others.

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<sup>13</sup> Javaid. D. U. "n. d." Movement for Bahawalpur Province.

## **2.2. Origins of Bahawalpur Province Movement (BPM)**

### **2.2.1. What is Bahawalpur?**

Bahawalpur was a princely state which was founded by the Abbasi Nawabs. After the partition of the Sub-Continent, it was merged into the Punjab province of west Pakistan. It was merged in west Pakistan based on One Unit according to the subjects of the 1935 Indian act. But after dissolving the One Unit Bahawalpur has become the largest division of Punjab. Now-a-days Bahawalpur is a division of the Punjab province.

### **2.2.2. Geography of Bahawalpur**

Bahawalpur is located in the southern part of Punjab. It has very important according to a strategic point of view. It has a three hundred miles long border with India. Bahawalpur and Rahim Yar Khan districts form its boundaries in the East and West respectively, while Lodhran and Vehari districts are situated in the North across the river Sutlej, which flows from North-East to North-West. On the South and South-East the Bahawalpur forms the international border with India.

### **2.2.3. One Unit 1955**

The main object of the One Unit was to solve the differences between the provinces of Pakistan. In fact, after the partition of the sub-continent, there were some constitutional matters in Pakistan were not decided yet. To solve constitutional matters, there were different proposals. One of them was to merge the four provinces and states into one whole which was called One Unit.

### **2.2.4. One Unit Agreement between State of Bahawalpur and Ayub**

#### **Government**

The agreement was signed by Ameer Sadiq Mohammad-v and was accepted by the Governor General of Pakistan Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din. Under the agreement, the ruler of Bahawalpur agreed

to transfer the power to the central Government all subjects mentioned in list one of the Government of India Act (1935) called central subjects i.e., defense, communications, and foreign affairs administered by the center. This was the agreement signed by high authority personalities known as One Unit.<sup>14</sup>

### **2.2.5. One Unit Dissolved- 1970**

It is a historic fact that before One Unit Bahawalpur merged with a status of a province with West Pakistan at the time of One Unit. But when One Unit was broken on 30th March 1970 Bahawalpur was made a part of Punjab province. Even though at the time of the merger, an understanding was given to the Ameer of Bahawalpur will be restored as a separate province if one unit is dissolved at any time. This is where the Bahawalpur province movement begins.

After some time there started to run news that one unit is dissolving. On 22nd November 1969, the newspapers started giving news that the government will soon end one unit and the previous provinces will be revived and it was revealed in the newspapers that Bahawalpur would not be given a separate province or state identity.<sup>15</sup> The Leader of that time called a meeting to give Bahawalpur the status of a province.

Immediately Allama Arshad called a joint session of several of Bahawalpur to stress upon the government to consider giving Bahawalpur a provincial status. These parties included the Council League, Convention League, Democratic Party, National Awami Party, Jamiat Ulema-e- Islam, Peoples Party, Chamber of commerce, Bar Association, and Jamat-e- Islami. The pressure of all these parties and pressure groups passed a unanimous resolution, declaring that at the breakup of

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<sup>14</sup>Javaid. U. D. "n. d." Movement for Bahawalpur Province.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid. Pp.50

One Unit, Bahawalpur should make a separate province, the other points in the resolution included.<sup>16</sup>

### **2.2.6. Bahawalpur Province Movement (BPM)**

Bahawalpur was a princely state at the time of the partition of British India in 1947. Bahawalpur state was founded by Abbasi Nawabs rulers. Bahawalpur state was ruled by Abbasi Nawabs for at least 228 years.<sup>17</sup> It has its history in the Subcontinent. According to the area, Bahawalpur was the largest state, now the largest division of Punjab from nine divisions of Punjab.<sup>18</sup> Bahawalpur was the only state where the majority of the people spoke Saraiki. Bahawalpur was one of the richest states. It had its own administrative and judicial and revenue collection system.<sup>19</sup> Even the educational system of the Bahawalpur state was very well. But after the partition when the people of this region saw that the region is less developed as compared to the Punjabi Speaking areas, then the people of this region started a movement name the 'Bahawalpur Province Movement'.<sup>20</sup> A separate province where is the Saraiki Speaking majority. Bahawalpur the last three hundred years has faced many common problems. The total area of Bahawalpur is 18000 sq miles. According to the 1998 census, the total population of this region is 7.518 million. This population is 10.3% of the total population of Punjab province.<sup>21</sup> Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan according to population.<sup>22</sup> Government announces the budget in Punjab according to the overall population not region-wise. According to the defense point of view, Bahawalpur has importance.

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<sup>16</sup> Mostly related to Bahawalpur Province movement material was taken from same article as given above. Movement for Bahawalpur Province author considered an important research article written from Javid. D. U.

<sup>17</sup>Javid. D. U. "n. d." Movement for Bahawalpur Province. Pp.41.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. Pp.43.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid. Pp.43-44.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. Pp.41.

<sup>22</sup>Mushtaq.M., Shaheen. M., (July-December, 2017). The Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab, Pakistan: Prospects and Challenges. Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society. Vol No. 30, Issue No.2.

Bahawalpur has a three hundred miles long border with India. Nawabs of Bahawalpur sported Pakistan economically at the initial time of separation. Nawabs of Bahawalpur donated so much money that at least the first three years Pakistan survived at that. Now Bahawalpur has the 15 MNAs and 31 MPAs. All MNAs and MPAs known as the Saraiki leaders.

Bahawalpur as a state merged with Punjab in 1955 and along with it was the end of the Abbasi Nawabs. They merged Bahawalpur State in Pakistan at the request of the ruler of Pakistan at that time on the base of One Unit. The first Nawab laid the foundation of the state in 1727, with only a small locality very soon the latter Nawabs started expanding the domain of the Bahawalpur state. Then it became one of the richest and largest states. There started two movements demanding a new province. These Movements are.

Saraiki Province Movement and, Bahawalpur Province Movement. Those two movements were very famous in the southern parts of Punjab, especially in the Bahawalpur state region was mostly a Saraiki-spoken population. First of all, Bahawalpur Province Movement started on the name of the province because Bahawalpur was a state that had its administrative system, revenue system, and judiciary system. Even the ruler of Bahawalpur started a free education system for needy and intelligent students. They introduced monthly stipends for the students. They sent many students to Aligarh University for higher education. And even they donated the land to Punjab University.<sup>23</sup> Nawabs of Bahawalpur opened many schools in their region. In this way did many good works for the people. They opened many health institutions to facilitate the people. They introduced the dispensary system in their region. These were the initial and beneficiary steps for the welfare of native people. In this Abbasi, Nawabs earned honor and made their status in the hearts of people. Due to this people want their rule of Bahawalpur as a province.

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<sup>23</sup>Javaid. D. U. "n. d." Movement for Bahawalpur Province.

The Bahawalpur province movement fizzled out in 1971 when One Unit was dissolved. Because after dissolving the One Unit government of Pakistan merged Bahawalpur in Punjab province as a division of Punjab.

"On 30th April 1951, the Pakistan Government and the ruler of Bahawalpur entered into an important agreement which put the state on the same footing as provinces under the Government of India Act of 1935 in the matter of legislation and administration.<sup>24</sup>"

## **2.3. Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party (SLSP), 1985**

### **2.3.1. When was Saraiki Lok Sanjh founded?**

Saraiki Lok Sanjh was founded on 7th Nov 1985. Saraiki Lok Sanjh was founded in Rajanpur at Bangla Korai.<sup>25</sup> Saraiki Lok Sanjh passed a resolution that has three aims to follow them.

To promote the cause of the Saraiki language and culture.

To create consciousness of rights and promote social education among the Saraiki people.

To make the Saraiki area a powerful unit of the federation of Pakistan.

### **2.3.2. First Head of the SLSP**

Initially, Saraiki Lok Sanjh (Saraiki People's Co-operative Society) was headed by Fida Hussain Gadi. Fida Hussain Gadi was a retired school master. He headed this party till 1988 and he died in January 1993. It was one Saraiki party on ethnic basis language and culture. It was their motive to promote the Saraiki language and culture on the national and international levels. As the other languages and cultures are famous and known on the national level. Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan according to population and one-third people are Saraiki but there is no importance to the Saraiki people. Due to this, they said it is the need of the time to demand a new separate

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid. Pp.46.

<sup>25</sup>Rahman.T. (1998).Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press. Pp.184.

province for the Saraiki people. Mazhar Arif who was the founding General Secretary of Saraiki Lok Sanjh said that.

"Our strategy was to go to the fairs, sing and dance. The people would respond enthusiastically."

### **2.3.3. Organization of Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party**

Saraiki Lok Sanjh party established many units. SLSP established units in towns and cities of the Saraiki area including D. I. Khan. Even outside the Saraiki area, they considered establishing units to promote the Saraiki movement. They choose to establish their offices in Lahore and Islamabad because these two are the main cities to raise the voice for Saraikis. These both are the Capitals. One is Provincial Capital and the other is Federal Capital. Saraiki Lok Sanjh party tries to make people aware of their identity and other problems. In this way, the leaders of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party started this movement. In this party, many great leaders participated to raise the voice for the rights of the Saraiki people.

### **2.3.4. SLSP- A Leftist Party**

Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party is leftist views party. It holds the views of leftist politics. Its leaders are anti-capitalist and anti-feudal. It has many intellectuals from the middle and lower middle classes. The best example of the first president of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party is Fida Hussain Gadi a retired school master. Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party is also associated with other leftist organizations.<sup>26</sup> In this way, SLSP participated in progressive (i. e. left leaning).

### **2.3.5. Manifesto of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party**

A book is written by Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party workers in Saraiki in which they described the main points of their demands and deprivation Saraiki region. It consists of articles. Through articles, it

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<sup>26</sup>Rahman.T. (1998).Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press. Pp.185.

explained the whole thing. Article 1 describes the name that its name is Saraiki Lok Sanjh and article 2 describes the whole Saraiki region called Saraiki Waseeb in this way it consists of at least 6 articles that describe the main points and struggles of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party. It is the main point of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party to build institutions for girl's education in the Saraiki region and the rights of women. Development of the Saraiki region, job opportunities for the Saraiki region, health institutions, and others are included in these articles of Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party. Participation in politics is also included in this. According to article 4, the Saraiki region has its own culture as other nations have their own culture like Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, Pakhtun, and Gilgit Baltistan have their own culture and follow it. Government should give importance to Saraiki culture, and it should be celebrated on the national and provincial levels. In Saraiki areas, Saraiki should be the official language in offices and in schools, Saraiki should be the medium of instruction. Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party is struggling to raise the voice for the rights of Saraiki Waseeb.<sup>27</sup>

### **2.3.6. Demands of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party**

The demands of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party are related to other Saraiki parties. The main and basic demands of the SLSP are that Saraiki should be a nationality. Official documents should be written in the Saraiki language and in Saraiki areas people should vote based on ethnicity.<sup>28</sup> There are many other demands like that. Leaders of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party have awareness of under-development and cultural deprivation. Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party demands that the Saraiki language should be the medium of instruction at the primary level. Improving the educational facilities and job opportunities are the same demands as the other Saraiki intellectuals.

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<sup>27</sup>Wagha. ( A. 2022 Feb, 19). Saraiki Look Sanjh Da Manrum Ateien Earth. This a book written is Saraiki.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.



"A famous Saraiki intellectual Mazhar Arif speech at the seminar on Southern Punjab held in Multan on 24th June 1992 clearly shows these demands".

### **2.3.7. Supporters of the Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party**

Saraiki Lok Sanjh was supported by many other organizations. It is also supported by Shagrid Sanjh (Students Association) created in 1986, Saraiki Lok Tamasha (Saraiki People's Theatre) which staged its first play in Multan in 1987 and has its branches in D. G. Khan and Kot Addu, and the Saraiki Trimit Sanjh (Saraiki Women Association) also supported the Saraiki Lok Sanjh which was created in 1989. All these organizations work to make the people conscious of their Saraiki identity and the problems of the region. It is possible that Sanjh may not call itself a political party, but it has a political ideology and its supporters. Such as Shagrid Sanjh (Students Association) contesting elections in universities against other groups like Islamic student parties.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Rahman.T. (1998). Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi. Oxford University Press. Pp.185-186.

## **2.4. Pakistan Saraiki Party, 1989**

### **2.4.1. When was Pakistan Saraiki Party founded?**

Pakistan Saraiki Party was founded on 7 April 1989. It was founded by Barrister Taj Muhammad Langah, Aslam Rasoolpuri, and Rasheed Qaisrani. It was founded in Layyah. Layyah is a district of the D. G. Division which is called Saraiki Waseeb.<sup>30</sup>

### **2.4.2. First Head of the Pakistan Saraiki Party**

The first head of the Pakistan Saraiki Party was Barrister Taj Muhammad Langah the founder of PSP for 36 years. He was also the founder of the PSP. He remained head of the PSP from 1989 to 2013. He died on 13 April 2013.

### **2.4.3. Organization of the Pakistan Saraiki Party**

Units of the PSP are in several cities where its members do work. Its main office is in Multan after this it has units in other cities like Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur, D. G. Khan, Layyah, Tawnsa, Rajanpur, Rhim Yar Khan, and many others. For its main purpose, it has its units in big capital cities like at the provincial level in Lahore and the Federal level in Islamabad.

### **2.4.4. Manifesto of the PSP**

The manifesto of the Pakistan Saraiki Party is to rise the voice for the fundamental rights of depressed people. Who belongs to a backward area politically, economically, socially, educationally, and culturally. The PSP aims to raise the voice against the feudal, Sardari, and Wadera systems.<sup>31</sup> PSP wants to change this traditional old cruel system and wants to get a new province for the rights of Saraiki Waseeb. Leaders of the PSP say that all southern districts of

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<sup>30</sup>Ajaz ul Rehman. Personal interview with author. October 12, 2022. Ajaz ul Rehman is Provincial Secretary General of PSP.

<sup>31</sup>Dr. Nukhbah Taj Langah. Personal interview with author. September 12, 2022. Online interview from Lahore.

Punjab including D. I. Khan and Tang district of KPK are part of Saraiki Waseeb. Leaders of PSP say that the major language of these districts is Saraiki, and these were the part of Multan region before 1901. Even members of the PSP introduced the map of the new province which is part of their manifesto.

#### **2.4.5. Demands of PSP**

The demands of the PSP are similar to other Saraiki parties. PSP also demands a separate province in the Southern districts of the Punjab where Saraiki speaking population is in majority.<sup>32</sup> It also demands the fundamental rights of the deprived people of Saraiki Waseeb like health institutions, educational institutions, infrastructure, roads, jobs, and military recruitments and Saraiki should be the official language in Southern districts of Punjab. In School syllabus should be in Saraiki at the primary level. PSP also demands before creating the new province there should be quotas in jobs, budgets, and infrastructure development for southern districts.

#### **2.4.6. Supporters of PSP**

PSP is also supported by many organizations. It is also supported by many intellectuals, students, lawyer's forms, artists, poets, and Sufis. The student also supports it at the College and University levels through their union.<sup>33</sup> Intellectuals represent it through their writing skills, poets through their poetry, and artists support it by producing Saraiki dramas and dialogues. It is also supported by many other Saraiki parties like Saraiki Suba Mahaz also supported it.

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<sup>32</sup>Muhammad Mumtaz Dahar. Personal interview with author. October 27, 2022. He is part of PSP. Online interview from Multan office. He also sent some articles to author.

<sup>33</sup>Ajaz ul Rehman. Personal interview with author. October 12, 2022. Interview with author at Multan PSP office.

## **2.5. Sindhu Bachao Tarla Movement, 2015**

### **2.5.1. The Origins of SBTM**

SBTM was founded in 2015 based on the rehabilitation of Tawnsa Barrage people.<sup>34</sup> First of all, it was raised for the rights of the fishermen. Fishermen community raised this movement. It is also supporting the South Punjab (Saraikistan) political parties. After the rights of the rehabilitation of the fishermen it is also raised the voice for the creation of the new province in the Southern districts of the Punjab. All those districts should be the part of new province where majority of the people speech Saraiki.

### **2.5.2. First Head of the SBTM**

There were many heads of the SBTM. The first heads of the SBTM were Fazl-E-Rab Lund, Zafar Lund, Khadim Khar, and Mushtaq Gaddi. All these are the first heads of the SBTM.<sup>35</sup> They led it for the rehabilitation of the Tawnsa Barrage affected people.

### **2.5.3. Organization of the SBTM**

There are no more units for the rights of this party. It has first main unit in Taunswa and Kot Addu local people are also supporting this movement. Sometime of leaders this movement travel toward Multan and Islamabad to remain in contact with the politicians that there should be a separate province for the Saraiki-Speaking people.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Interview was conducted at QAU. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Kot Addu is his native village.

Fazl e Rab Lund is an activist and part of the South Punjab or Saraikistan province politics.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Interview with author at QAU.

#### **2.5.4. Manifesto of the SBTM**

Manifesto of the SBTM is to create a new province and to rehabilitate the people who were affected from the Taunswa Barrage construction. Lands of the native people were used in Taunswa Barrage from which many people were affected and their generations. their employment was affected from the construction of Taunswa Barrage. Now the people who were affected from the construction of Taunswa Barrage and activists who are working for rehabilitation of those people both have become the part of supporter of new province.

#### **2.5.5. Demands of the SBTM**

At the first stage the demands of the SBTM were to rehabilitate the people affected by the Tawnsa Barrage. After this its demands started to increase. Their heads also started to support the political parties who were already struggling for a new province. Now to create a new province has become its top priority. They want to create a new province based on the resources. Their claim is that the revenue of resources should be used on Waseeb.

#### **2.5.6. Supporters of the SBTM**

Mostly lower middle class support this movement. Fishermen who were affected from the Tawnsa Barrage are also the supporter of the SBTM. Fisher women also support SBTM movement.<sup>37</sup> They affected on a large scale due to which they faced many difficulties. Women are also the part of this movement. They are playing an important role in the creation of a new province. Women also say that the creation of a new province is the need of the time.

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<sup>37</sup>Researcher conducted an interview with Fazl-e-Rab. Lund. Who is part of SBTM and is working for it. He is the founder of the first head of SBTM. He said that first of all this movement was started for the support and rights of women.

## **2.6. Saraiki Trimit Sanjh Saraiki Women Association F.1989**

Saraiki Trimit Sanjh (STS) is a movement. Its leader are women mostly.<sup>38</sup> They are working for the creation of a new separate Saraiki province. There was no more material available on this movement.

## **2.7. Saraiki Awami Trimit Tehreek (SATT)**

Saraiki Awami Trimit Tehreek (SATT) is an old Tehreek.<sup>39</sup> Founder of this Tehreek were thinking about this movement for a long time. Primarily it was started when One Unit was dissolved, and Bahawalpur state was merged into Punjab province. According to the subjects of the 1935 Indian act it was said that after dissolving the One Unit Bahawalpur regain its status as a province, but the government of that time could not fulfill the promise and merged the Bahawalpur princely state in Punjab province. Dissolving of One Unit was a great loss for Saraiki Waseeb.<sup>40</sup> When One Unit was dissolved then feelings of deprivation created in Saraiki Waseeb people all over the Pakistan even the working class who go for a long time on a long distance for the employment. In an interview Abida Batool active member of the Saraiki Awami Trimit Tehrik told that in the decade of the 1970 first time in Karachi many Saraiki organizations created for the rights of Saraiki Waseeb like Anjumon Etihad Saraiki Brotheri, Pakistan Saraiki Sangat, Saraiki Awami Sangat, Saraiki Adabi Sangat and many others. She also told that One Unit was also passed in Karachi it was the reason after dissolving of One Unit many organizations were created in Karachi.

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<sup>38</sup> Rahman. T. (1998). Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press. Pp-185.

<sup>39</sup>Abida Batool. Personal interview with author. November 10, 2022. This interview was conducted online from Karachi.

<sup>40</sup>Abida Batool said in an interview with author, when author asked why different political and social activists stand for the creation of new province on ethnical base. She said that Saraiki Waseeb lost its first identity on the day when One Unit was dissolved and Bahawalpur state merged in Punjab largest populous province of Pakistan which is on the name of language. She also said that with the merged of Bahawalpur princely state resources of the Saraiki Waseeb went to upper Punjab.

### **2.7.1. Why SATT was Founded?**

Already members of the SATT organization were working for the Saraiki Waseeb people. After dissolving of One Unit they started to raise the voice for the Saraiki Waseeb. When One Unit was dissolved it was a great lose for Saraiki Waseeb because Bahawalpur state was merged into Punjab province.<sup>41</sup>

### **2.7.2. First Head of the SATT**

The founder of SATT is Abida Batool. She did a lot of work for this organization. After the creation of SATT she selected elder sister (Adie) Kiran Lashari as a president of the SATT.<sup>42</sup> Other colleagues of this movement selected for other posts like Sadia Shakeel was selected as a Secretary General of SATT organization.

### **2.7.3. Organization of the SATT**

There is no any proper unit for the members this organization to held meeting. They have small unit in Kot Addu for meetings otherwise mostly they held online meetings for any discussion.<sup>43</sup> They have another source to have a meeting at the home of Abida Batool in Karachi. Members of the SATT held many meetings at her home. As we said that the members of this organization were already working for the creation of this organization for a long but properly it was created in the 2019. Several members of other organizations visited her home to do discuss about this SATT organization and courage her.

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<sup>41</sup>Abida Batool. Personal interview with author. November 10, 2022. Abida Batool is founder of the SATT. This interview was conducted online from Karachi.

<sup>42</sup> Adie a is as word which is used for the respect of sister. To give respect to women mostly use for the sack of respect.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

#### **2.7.4. Supporters of the SATT**

Many people support this organization as we discussed about other organizations. Mostly women and lower middle class people support this organization. Students also support SATT and many students are the part of this organization. They are also working for this organization on colleges and universities level.

#### **2.7.5. Manifesto of the SATT**

The manifesto of this organization is to the raise voice for rights of the women in the Saraiki region. In Saraiki region is feudal system mostly. Women always remain under the role of men. They have no properly rights for anything. They spend a stress life under their husband or according to role of elder man of their home. Even mostly women have no rights of education they are deprived from education in this age. Members of the SATT organization want to change this system in Saraiki region. They want that women should have rights for education and heritage. They should have the right to speak for their basic human rights.

#### **2.7.6. Demands of SATT**

This organization has the same demands like other organizations of the South Punjab movement. The members of this organization want a separate province for the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb people. They also say that in this way the sources of the Saraiki Waseeb can be used for the Saraiki Waseeb.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Abida Batool. Personal interview with author. November 10, 2022. She told all about it like Supporters of the SATT, Demands of the SATT, Manifesto of the SATT. This interview was conducted online from Karachi.



## 2.8. Conclusion

It is concluded that many parties were created for the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb people (Saraiki Province). Saraiki Waseeb (Saraiki Province) consists of the southern districts of Punjab including some districts of the Khyber Pakhton Khawa (KPK) i.e. D. I. Khan and Tang. It is the claim of the Saraiki (Saraiki Province) movement's leaders that historically these two districts are part of the Multan. In these two districts, the majority of people are Saraiki speaking and the government of KPK introduced the syllabus of Saraiki compulsory subject on the primary level due to the mother language of these districts. The Saraiki province movement was also started by the middle and lower middle classes people i.e. Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party (SLSP) started by the retired school master Fida Hussain Gadi and Pakistan Saraiki Party (PSP) by Barrister Muhammad Taj Langah. Sindhu Tarla Bachao movement is also the part of Saraiki province movement which primarily was created for the rehabilitation of fishermen then the members of this movement started to raise the voice for separate province. Saraiki Awami Trimit Tehrik is single who created on the name of Trimit (women). SATT is also anti feudal anti capitalist like movements are working. SATT was also created to raise the voice for the rights of the women who cannot speak for their basic rights like education, heritance, and domestic values. All Saraiki province movements are anti-capitalist and for the rights of the depressed Saraiki Waseeb people. All Saraiki parties demand a separate province and the fundamental rights of the Saraiki Waseeb. The demands of the Saraiki Waseeb leaders are on the nationalism and ethnic base. After the creation of the new province, demands can be fulfilled in this way their administration can be strong and its benefit can go to the federal strength. It can be easy for the Federal and administrative system to solve the problems of the small provinces. All Saraiki province movements have the same agenda to get a separate province.

## Chapter 3

### Use of Language and Culture for the Struggle of South Punjab

#### 3.1. Introduction

Pakistan is an ethnic country. It was created on the base ethnicity. Different ethnic group of people lives in this country, every group wants the presentation of their group. As Pakistan was created based on language and culture in this many groups want their presence in the form of a province etc. After the creation of Pakistan Bengali language was a challenge for west Pakistan because east Pakistani (Bengali) nationalists demanded that Bengali should be the national language. There was the claim of east Pakistani (Bengali) that we have our own identity through our language and culture.

After the issue of the Bengali language there created many other issues based on language and culture i.e. Sindhi language and culture is one of them. The Sindhi nationalists demanded that the Sindhi language should be the official language in the Sindh province. They claimed that the Sindhi language and culture have their history. This problem there creates a conflict between Mohajirs and Sindhi communities in Sindh. Mohajirs claims that we have our identity. There should be a new province for our presence. On the other hand, Sindhi nationalists say that Karachi is part of Sindh there should not be a separate province for the Mohajirs community. In this way, another issue is between Pashtun and Hazara communities. Hazara community nationalists claim that we have our identity language and culture.<sup>45</sup> Then the government should give us a new province for our presentation on the name of Hazara. While Pashtun nationalists say that Hazara built doesn't

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<sup>45</sup>Ajaz ul Rehman. Personal interview with author. October 12, 2022. Interview with author in Multan at PSP office.

have its own identity. Pashtun nationalists say Hazara is part of Khyber Pakhton Khawa. On the other Hazara nationalists and people say that we have our identity language and culture.

It has always remained the history of the world and Pakistan that most nations created on the base of language and culture. Saraiki nationalists are also using language and culture to create a new province. Punjab is the biggest province of Pakistan according to population. Different ethnicities live in Punjab. The major two are Punjabi and Saraiki. These two ethnicities are in majority. Both ethnicities have an old history in Punjab. In this way nationalists, activists and politicians are struggling to create new provinces. They use language and culture as basic things of need. After this, they use other things of their demand i.e. health institutions, educational institutions, roads, etc.

Language and culture are the main identities of a nation. Without these two things, the identity of the nation is impossible. These two things are the base of a nation. Same here the Saraiki nationalists want the presentation of the Saraiki language and culture at the national and international levels. They want to give importance to their cultural dance, music, and folks, at the national level. Some poets also represented the Saraiki language and culture through their regional and national levels. The author interviewed Faisal Ayub an M.Phil student and political worker student he said that poets are playing an important role to represent the Saraiki language and culture. In their poetry, they also resist the creation of a new province under the name of Saraikistan which shows based on language and some people say that the name of the new province should be Bahawalpur province which is the oldest Saraiki identity. There are conflicts regarding the name of the new province.

### **3.2. Why is the Saraiki language used in provincial politics?**

It is very important to know why the Saraiki language is used in province politics. At the time of the construction of canals, a scheme that was introduced by the British in 1886 a huge number of Punjabi people mobilized from central Punjab to western Punjab now-a-days which is called the Saraiki region. A large number of amount Punjabis (Non-Saraiki) were settled in Saraiki areas.<sup>46</sup> After this, another big problem was created at the time of the partition of the Sub-Continent. In 1947 a large amount Non-Saraiki speaking replaced the Saraiki-speaking population that was a great effect on the Saraiki Waseeb. Even after the big migration of 1947 internal migration of the people of Punjab toward the Saraiki Waseeb remained to continue which had a big effect linguistically and culturally. After this, the main things under the Thal irrigation scheme in the 1950s in a large number of barren lands were allotted to Punjabi-speaking migrant people hundreds of thousands of acres. This thing brought the feeling of deprivation in the Saraiki-speaking district people i.e. Muzaffargarh, Layyah, and Bhakkar. This thing gave rise 'local versus Punjabi' division which replaced the existing one.

This thing of deprivation was brought first time on the floor of the national assembly in 1963. It was brought by Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi when he said Multani (Saraiki) is spoken in ten districts of west Punjab. This area has no radio station to represent their native language. He talked about these things for the promotion of the Saraiki language and culture. These two are the main things through them the identity of a nation created and nationalism created.

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<sup>46</sup>Ullah. S., Khalid. I., Hassan. S. (Spring, 2017). Issue of Saraikistan: Post 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment. Global Social Sciences Review (GSSR). Vol. II. No. I. Page: 163 – 171.

### **3.3. History of the Saraiki language**

The history of the Saraiki language is very old. There are many claims about the Saraiki language. Saraiki is the language of south-western Punjab its identity was created from this region. In the early stage, it was called Multani or Riasti. Multani or Riasati was its local name due to the dominancy of Punjabi. Saraiki came to be used probably for all dialects of the Saraiki-speaking through conversation between the Saraiki nationalists in 1960.

### **3.4. Grammar of the Saraiki Language**

First of all Hafizur Rahman S/O Azizur Rahman translated Quran into Saraiki. Azizur Rahman was a great intellectual who wrote books on the history of Nawab Sadiq Ali Abbasi and his family. After this, a Saraiki magazine was published under the name of Panjnad from Karachi in 1950. Grammar of the Saraiki language was published in 1953 in Multan, at that time there was nothing like the Saraiki movement or any politics in the name of the Saraiki language.<sup>47</sup> But at that time writing in Saraiki beginning started and along with it consciousness of a distinct identity also emerged.

### **3.5. Political Narrative around Saraiki Language**

There are different claims about the Saraiki language. Some researchers wrote that Saraiki was the language of the sun-worshiper Asury people who ruled on Multan three thousand years ago. It is also said that Saraiki was the language of a village Sarwa in Rahim Yar Khan District.<sup>48</sup> There are many explanations for the Saraiki language. Another explanation is that Saraiki was the language of the Kalhoras, who ruled Sindh for many years. Kalhoras were from Multan. The most popular

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<sup>47</sup> Raman. T. (1998). Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

view about the Saraiki language is that Saraiki is the language of northern Sindh. The north side is also called Siro in Sindhi, Siro means head (upper side). At that time Multan was part of Sindh.

### **3.6. Use of Saraiki language by different political parties**

Saraiki language is used by different political parties who are working for the creation of the Saraikistan (South Punjab) province. As we described in Chapter-1 Bahawalpur Province Movement, Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party, Pakistan Saraiki Party, Bachao Movement, and Saraiki Trimit Sanjh, etc. These parties are also working on the base language and culture to create a new province in the Southern part of Punjab to protect the fundamental rights of the Saraiki-speaking people. Saraiki Waseeb is more deprived as compared to central Punjab in developmental work. The Bahawalpur province movement was the first that used the Saraiki language as a tool for the creation of a new province at the time of One Unit when Bahawalpur state was merged into Punjab province. Then the leaders of the Bahawalpur province movement started a movement for the recreation of Bahawalpur province after that this movement merged into other Saraiki province movements like Pakistan Saraiki Party. In this way, all Saraiki political parties use the Saraiki language as a tool for the creation of new provinces.

### **3.7. Saraiki as a Separate language**

Saraiki is a separate language from other languages. It is not a dialect of any language. It has its own identity. It has its history. It has its right to language. It is not a dialect of the Punjabi language. There is a view that Punjabi is a dialect of Punjabi. Saraiki and Punjabi are different phonological, phonetic, and grammatical differences. Saraiki and Sindhi both have some similar words and Saraiki is different from Punjabi. Punjabi does not have any polite consonants as Saraiki and Sindhi possess and the pattern of rhythm. Often there is a claim that the Saraiki language is the mother

of the Urdu language.<sup>49</sup> As there is the symbol of politeness in Sindhi (Sain) is used with a slightly different pronunciation is Saraiki. The same is the claim of the people of the district Muzaffargarh. When the author conducted interviews with the people then people said that we have a different language from Punjabi and other languages. They also said that provinces in Pakistan are based on ethnicity (language and culture) so Saraikistan should be a separate province on the name of the language for the identification of the Saraiki language culture and people of the southern districts. People from the author who conducted the interviews gave some examples of this kind i.e. they said that Baluchistan, KPK, Sindh, and Punjab are the provinces on the name of languages.

### **3.8. Start of the Saraiki Culture**

Saraiki culture identity was started in 1960 when activities began in the Saraiki region. It was started when Riaz Anwar a lawyer from Muzaffargarh, celebrated the Jashn-e-Farid (A Mela the in the honor of Ghulam Farid) at Muzaffargarh.<sup>50</sup> Saints were becoming the distinctive cultural identity of the Saraiki Waseeb. This was an important thing in cultural identity. This thing of cultural tradition was important and helped to create a sense of identity for the Saraiki region. The anniversary of the Khawaja Ghulam Farid was celebrated every two years and contributed to the movement. After this Riaz Ahmed 1961 formed his Bazm-e-Saqafat (a cultural organization) which arranged the conferences such as the Khawaja Farid Conference in Multan. In this way, the identity of the Saraiki culture was raised and showed Saraiki culture is different from Punjabi.

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<sup>49</sup>Rahman.T. (1998).Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press. (An Article 'The Saraiki Movement').

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

### **3.9. Use of Saraiki Culture in Politics**

Culture has also become part of the Saraikistan (Southern Punjab) province politics. Culture is an important part (base) of any nation i.e. Sindhi culture strongly presents the identity of Sindh. All other divisions and district politics use culture in politics of the Saraikistan (Southern Punjab) except Bahawalpur. Bahawalpur also uses its status of state and province after merging into One Unit. In other districts, divisions and cultures also use in politics in the name new province even after the Multan conference in 1975. Many publications like Sanhiya, Sanjh, Sochan, Saraiki Sangat, Parchol, and Saraiki Majlis were also published. Politics in South Punjab is also continuing directly through literary works. Most writers and intellectuals contribute to the culture. Culture is an important symbol used in regional politics.<sup>51</sup> Writers and intellectuals want to promote the Saraiki culture and language through politics. First of all Saraiki culture was used in politics by Saraiki Lok Sanjh Party.

### **3.10. Components included in the Culture**

There are many things in culture that they want to promote/upgrade through culture. Those things also included the fairs (melas), singing, and Saraiki cultural dance. These are what they want to promote in the Saraiki culture. Even when the author was in the field and was conducting interviews people also described the traditions of marriage; happiness and sadness are also part of the culture. People said that all these things are different from other cultures and traditions. Nations also create on the base of these things. General Secretary (Rehman. A. U) of the Pakistan Saraiki Political Party (PSP) in an interview told the author that culture is important on which base we

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<sup>51</sup> Rahman. T. (1998). Language and Politics in Pakistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press. Mostly material about the Saraiki province Movement, Language, and Culture taken from book 'Language and Politics in Pakistan (Article The Saraiki Language)'.



want to create a separate province in the Saraiki Waseeb region (Saraiki-Speaking districts).<sup>52</sup> In culture, he told about the marriage system that in Saraiki Waseeb marriage takes some of the processes and some traditions (nuptials) like Mehndi. After Mehndi and before the wedding day one there remain week continuous function.

### **3.11. Conclusion**

It is concluded that language and culture are different from the Punjabi language and culture. These both things have own history. Language always used in politics but culture has become the part this tool. All the provinces in Pakistan are based on language and culture. Even the name of the province given on the name of language. Mostly people, nationalists, and politicians say that Pakistan itself was created on the base of language and culture then they say that it is our right to get a province based on language and culture. Language and culture are primarily identities of the people. All the organizations who are working for the creation of a new province in the southern districts of the Punjab they use language and culture as a primary source for the creation of a province. Separate province is the main demand of the people and people and politicians of the southern districts of Punjab in this way they can use their source properly. Sources are the main issue which are hidden behind language and culture. People and politicians also say that sources are the part of our movements but on the front page we use language and culture for the creation of a new province. It is a easy way to get the province because in Pakistan are diverse ethnicities who are demanding province based on their history Saraiki is one of them who want to get a separate province in southern districts of the Punjab where mostly people speak Saraiki language. Language is the important thing who identify the culture of the people that area. At the end the

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<sup>52</sup>Ajaz ul Rehman. Personal interview with author. October 12, 2022. Interview with author in Multan at PSP office.

author can say that after a long struggle for the creation of a new province they can get a separate province based on language and culture, these two things are playing an important role in the creation of a new province movement. The reason is that primarily this movement for the creation of a new province in the southern districts of the Punjab was started on the name of language and the name for the new demanding province was decided Saraikistan. After while the name of the movement was changed like South Punjab. At the end first their demand is a separate province. After the creation of the province name can be decided.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Role of District Muzaffargarh's Politicians in South Punjab Province Movement**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

Muzaffargarh is a district of the Punjab province of Pakistan which is a highly populated province of Pakistan. In the Punjab province started a movement for the establishment of a new province in the Southern districts, district Muzaffargarh is also part of that movement. Politics of the district Muzaffargarh politicians have a great impact in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. When we see the history of a new province movement since 2008 election after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment primarily demand of the Saraikistan province was started from district Muzaffargarh.<sup>53</sup> First of all Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoi asked about the province in a meeting who remained the part of the Pakistan People's Party. According to the census, in 2017 total population of district Muzaffargarh is 4322009. Muzaffargarh has 4 tehsils, tehsil Jatoi, tehsil Alipur, tehsil Kot Addu, tehsil and district Muzaffargarh. But currently, Muzaffargarh has three tehsils because recently Kot Addu got separation from Muzaffargarh and got the status of a district. In every election MNAs and MPAs of the district Muzaffargarh win the election on the name of a new province in the Southern districts of Punjab where a majority of the population speaks the Saraiki language and they have Saraiki culture. Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoi is a famous politician of district Muzaffargarh who is from tehsil Jatoi. In the 2008 election mostly MNAs and MPAs were elected on the tickets of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). In the 2013 election, mostly the same MNAs and MPAs won the election on the tickets of Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N). The reason is

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<sup>53</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Interview with author at Muzaffargarh.

that they use the slogan of a new province in the southern districts of Punjab. They also raise their voices in the National Assembly of Pakistan and the Provincial Assembly of Punjab to create a new province in the Southern districts of Punjab. Politicians of district Muzaffargarh are working to create a separate province and they are part of the South Punjab province movement. In every election campaign, they use the word a new province, even in the general meeting they use the same word the creation of a new province is more important. Now to construct a new province is the priority of the politicians of district Muzaffargarh because it is the demand of the public of district Muzaffargarh. Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh change the party in every election on this commitment with the head of the party that their demand is to construct a province for this purpose they changed party in every election since 2008 to till now. The main thing is this in every election mostly candidates from district Muzaffargarh succeed as an independent candidate and become the part of ruling party at the National and Federal level. In this way, the same politicians get success in every election one by one in the name of a new province which is the need of the Saraiki Waseeb. Muzaffargarh is also part of the Saraiki Waseeb. District Muzaffargarh currently has 6 MNAs and 12 MPAs the name are given in the below table. All these MNAs and MPAs were elected in general election of 25 July 2018 and in by-election election of 17 July 2022.

MNAs of the District Muzaffargarh elected in 2018 election:

Constituency Name	MNA Name	Party
181	Dr Shabbir Ali Qureshi	Independent
182	Mehar Irshad Ahmad Khan Sial	PPP
183	Malik Raza Rabani Khar	PPP

184	Nawabzada Iftikhar Ahmad Babar	PPP
185	Makhdoom Syed Basit Sultan Bukhari	Independent
186	Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang	PTI

MPAs of the District Muzaffargarh who elected in election 2018 and in by - election 2022

Constituency Name	MPA Name	Party
268	Malik Ghulam Qasim Hinjra	PML-N
269	Azhar Abbas	PML-N
270	Sardar Abdul Hai Khan Dasti	Independent
271	Nawabzada Mansoor Ahmad Khan	PTI
272	Sardar Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi	PTI
273	Syed Muhammad Sabtain Raza Bukhari	PML-N
274	Muhammad Raza Hussain Bukhari	PML-N
275	Khurram Sohail Khan Laghari	Independent

276	Muhammad Aoon Hamid Dogar	PTI
277	Mian Alamdar Abbas Qureshi	Independent
278	Niaz Hussain Khan	PTI
279	Muhammad Ashraf Khan Rind	PTI

All the MNAs and MPAs name are given in the above tables who were elected in the 2018 election and in the by - election of 2022. All these are the ticket holders of the different parties in the same district Muzaffargarh but the motive of all is to get a province. Every party head convinced their ticket holder that we can give you a province, based on this they do satisfy to their ticket holder. Based on the creation of a new province politicians of the district Muzaffargarh go towards different parties that one of these can give us province, if one not then other party may be give us province. Politicians of the Muzaffargarh convince the people and win the election based on province, on the ticket of different parties.

## **4.2. Muzaffargarh**

Muzaffargarh is a district of the Punjab province. Muzaffargarh has its history. Its name was given in the British era when a commissioner came to rule on D. G Khan. D. G Khan is the division of Punjab. it has 4 districts. Muzaffargarh is also the district of the D. G Khan division. It has 4 tehsils, 6 National Assembly constituencies, and 12 Provisional Assembly constituencies. The name of the commissioner was Muzaffar. He ruled in this region for a long time. He gave the status of a

district and then selected its name on his name Muzaffargarh. After that its name is Muzaffargarh. Muzaffar is the name of a person and Garh means a home where Muzaffar lived.<sup>54</sup>

### **4.3. What is Waseeb**

Waseeb is a Saraiki word that is mostly used for the same company. The place where people live of the same ethnicity. This word is particularly used for the Saraiki region for peaceful and calm people. All those districts of Punjab where the majority population Speak-Saraiki language is called Saraiki Waseeb. Most Southern districts of Punjab consist of a Saraiki-Speaking population. These districts are the part of new province movement. In an interview an activist nationalist told the author that two districts of KPK are also part of Saraiki Waseeb. Those two districts are District D. I Khan and district Tank because the majority population of these two districts speaks Saraiki. The interviewee said to the author that these were part of Multan state before 1902.<sup>55</sup> When ‘Northwest Frontier Province’ now KPK was yet not a province. In this way all those districts in that districts majority of the population speak Saraiki and are the part of separate province called Saraiki Waseeb.

### **4.4. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Jatoi in the 2008-2013 Election in South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

Tehsil Jatoi is the tehsil of district Muzaffargarh. In the 2008 election, Jatoi consisted of one National Assembly constituency NA-179 and the two Provincial Assembly constituency respectively PP- 258 and PP- 259 in the 2008 election. In Jatoi, there are two major political groups: one is the Jatoi group and the other is Bukhari. In the 2008 election MNA was from the

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<sup>54</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Interview with author at QAU.

<sup>55</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Interview with author at QAU.

Jatoi group Sardar Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi and the MPAs were from Bukhari respectively Syed Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari and Makhdoom Syed Basit Sultan Bukhari. MNA Sardar Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi was the ticket holder of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the MPAs were the ticket holders of the Pakistan Muslim League. Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi was the supporter of a separate province movement and he demanded from ex-President Asif Ali Zardari that in Southern districts of Punjab should be a province in the name of Saraikistan.<sup>56</sup> Pakistan People's Party always supported the Saraikistan (South Punjab) province, 18th was also passed by the PPP government was a great loss for Saraiki Waseeb resources, and was the opportunity for the politicians of the Muzaffargarh to raise the voice to create a new province for the Saraiki Waseeb people. As in the 18th amendment, it was decided that the budget and resources will go to the province according to population. After the 18th amendment, a bill was passed in the National Assembly of Pakistan for the creation of a separate province, but the bill could not pass from the Provincial Assembly of Punjab because that time in Punjab Assembly was the majority of Pakistan Muslim League-N and PLM-N was against the creation of the province due to get credit of new province. The main thing is that politicians of that time from the district Muzaffargarh tehsil Jatoi fully supported the movement of province. They also demand a province from the government of that time and convinced the member of the government for a province and their demand was accepted. the government of the time supported the member of the Saraikistan (South Punjab) province. Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi was appointed as minister of state for food. He was elected first as an MNA and supported the demand of Saraikistan on the other side MPAs were from the opposite group and they could not do anything not raised voices for the province. Next time in the

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<sup>56</sup>Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi. Personal interview with author. November 11, 2022. Interview with author at Jatoi city. Muzaffargarh (Jatoi). He is a politician of Tehsil Jatoi. In 2008 he was elected as an MNA and in by-election of 2022 he was elected as an MPA.



2013 election Basit Sultan Bukhari was elected as MNA of the same constituency on the ticket of PML-N and supported the movement of Saraikistan province.

#### **4.5. Role of the Politicians of the Tehsil Jatoi in the 2013-2018 Elections**

The politicians from Tehsil Jatoi who won seats in both the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly ran for office in the 2013 election. In the 2013 election, Basit Ahmad Sultan Bukhari was elected as an MNA of the NA- 179 constituency and his brother Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari was elected an MPA of the PP- 258 constituency. Khan Muhammad Khan Jatoi was elected as an MPA of the PP- 259 constituency. Khan Muhammad Khan Jatoi was also a member of the Bukhari group. All these were elected on the tickets of PML-N which was in majority in the National Assembly and Provincial Assembly. In 2014 in a speech, author himself was present when Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari said we all three members of the three constituency respectively MNA Basit Ahmad Sultan Bukhari, MPA Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari, and Khan Muhammad Khan Jatoi are working for the province. He said that we are part of Saraikistan province movement. He said that we are demanding province from the government of PML-N. Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari said that my brother MNA Basit Sultan Bukhari in a meeting with Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and kept the demand of Saraikistan.<sup>57</sup> In that speech people asked Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari what you are doing for the province movement on the provincial level then he replied that on a provincial level, both MPAs are working for province and demanding. He said that both MPAs respectively Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari and Khan Muhammad Khan Jatoi as a member of the PML-N had a meeting with the Chief Minister of Punjab Mian Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif and we informed him about the demand for

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<sup>57</sup> Author himself was part of this gathering, at the Baithak (Guest House/Daira) of a wadera.

a separate Saraikistan province and we said him to pass a bill for the separate province Saraikistan. In the end, he said that our struggle continues for the province and all three MNA and MPAs are working for the province. Creating a province in the Southern districts of Punjab is our first demand and motive.

#### **4.6. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Jatoi in the 2018 election in South**

##### **Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

In the 2018 election, the constituency number of the National Assembly and the constituency number of the Provincial Assembly were changed. Respectively the tehsil Jatoi consists of the National Assembly constituency NA- 185 and Provincial Assembly constituency PP-272 and PP-275. In this election, the candidates who were elected in the tehsil Jatoi were independent candidates. Respectively they are MNA Syed Basit Sultan Bukhari, MPA Syeda Zehra Abdullah Bukhari mother of Syed Basit Sultan Bukhari, and MPA Khurram Sohail Laghari were elected. All these were elected as independent candidates. Two candidates were from the same group who were elected in the previous elections in 2008 and the 2013 elections. The motive of these candidates was to be part of the South Punjab province movement and to get a separate province. At the time of election, the slogan of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) separate South Punjab within 90 was at its peak then people asked these candidates if they can be part of PTI then we can support them. The slogan of the PTI was to establish a separate province in the Southern districts of Punjab. After their success as an independent, they become part of PTI, and Syed Basit Sultan Bukhari was appointed the general secretary of the South Punjab province movement committee.<sup>58</sup> As the government of the PTI established secretariats' in the famous central cities of South Punjab in

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<sup>58</sup>Syed Zaffar Shah Bukhari. Personal interview with author. November 14, 2022. Interview with author at Shaher Sultan. Muzaffargarh (Shaher Sultan). Shaher Sultan is residential place of interviewee. He is part of local politics.

Multan, Bahawalpur and D G Khan. After passing the 4 year PTI government did not any special work for the South Punjab province. After four year PTI government was dismissed due to non confidence vote. In this cause MPA Syeda Zehra Abdullah seat PP- 272 was dismissed and in PP- 272 by-election was arranged in July 2022. Current MPA Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi of PP- 272 was the candidate of PTI. When Muazzam Ali Khan Jatoi was campaigning for the votes in a speech he reminded his 2008-2013 struggle for the South Punjab province. He said that as an MNA and minister in 2008 I did work for the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. He also said that after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment I raised voice for the province in the National Assembly of Pakistan and said to the ex- president Asif Ali Zardari that in the Southern districts of the Punjab where the mostly population is Saraiki-Speaking should be a separate province it is our first demand for the basic rights of the Saraiki Waseeb.<sup>59</sup> At the end of his speech, he said province is the need of the Saraiki Waseeb and my struggle is always for the province. He said that as politician and the member of the Saraiki Waseeb province is my priority if will be the part of the Provincial Assembly or the part of the National Assembly.

#### **4.7. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Alipur in the 2008 - 2013 election in South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement**

MNA Name of the Tehsil Alipur in 2008 Election

Constituency	MNA Name	Party
NA-180	Abdul Qayyum Jatoi	PPP

MPAs Name of the Tehsil Alipur in 2008 Election

Constituency	MPA Name	Party
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<sup>59</sup> Author himself was part of this gathering.

PP-260	Sardar Shehzad Rasool	PPP
PP-261	Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang	PML-N

In the 2008 election tehsil Alipur consisted on one National Assembly constituency and two Provincial Assembly constituencies. Respectively the number of the constituencies are NA- 180, PP- 260, and PP- 261. In tehsil Alipur two main political group are famous who compete the election one is Jatoi group and the other is Gopang group. In the 2008 election from tehsil Alipur won the election mostly ticket holders of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) because at that time incident of the Benazir Bhutto’s assassination recently happened due to which sympathy of the people was with them and they gave the vote to the candidate of PPP. Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoi was the candidate of PPP and won the election. He was elected MNA of PPP. Sardar Shehzad Rasool Khan was elected MPA of PP- 260 candidate of the Pakistan People’s Party and Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang was elected MPA of PP- 261 as an independent candidate. Primarily Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoi was one from Muzaffargarh who raised the voice to create a separate province in the southern districts of Punjab after passing of the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment. In the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment it was decided that the budget will be given to the provinces according to the population wise. It was a good thing, but it was a big loss for the Saraiki Waseeb. Abdul Qayyum Khan said that in Saraiki built that is an agrarian region should be a separate province to fulfill their necessities. A conference was held in Multan in which he said that if the demand of a separate province not be accepted then people of the Saraiki Waseeb can come on the roads for their rights.<sup>60</sup> Pakistan People’s Party always favored the creation of a new province in the Southern districts of

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<sup>60</sup> 2009 May, 2. Saraiki Nationalism in Focus. <https://www.dawn.com/news/881140>.

Punjab. As PPP always opposed the merger of Bahawalpur State into the Punjab. After the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment in 2010 separate province movement again started its work for the province. Pakistan People's Party always in the National Assembly and in the Provincial Assembly of Punjab supported the member of separate province. They passed a bill for the creation of a province. In this regard in 2010 a meeting of the intellectuals, scholars, and poets was held in Multan for the discussion about the creation of a new province. As all the politicians were the part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement in this way same the politicians of the tehsil participated in this movement and demanded a new province in the Southern districts of the Punjab. Government of that time PPP in the center (Federal) accepted their demand and passed a bill in the National Assembly of Pakistan to create a new province in the Southern districts of the Punjab. Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh tehsil Jatoi always raise the voice for the new province and demand a province in the Southern districts (Saraiki Waseeb) of the Punjab.

#### **4.8. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Alipur in the 2013 - 2018 Election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

MNA Name of the Tehsil Alipur in the 2013 Election

Constituency	MNA Name	Party
NA-180	Sardar Ashiq Hussain Gopang	PML-N

List of MPAs from tehsil Alipur, 2013

Constituency	MPA Name	Party
PP-260	Muhammad Sabtain Raza Bukhari	Independent

PP-261	Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang	Independent
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As in the previous election of the 2008 Saradar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang was elected MPA on the ticket of the PML- N but in the 2013 election was an independent candidate and got success on the seat of MPA constituency PP- 261. In the 2013 election from tehsil Alipur MNA was elected on the ticket of PML- N and the both MPAs were elected as an independent candidate respectively in PP- 260 Muhammad Sabtain Raza Bukhari and in PP- 261 Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang. The slogan of all three candidates in the election campaign was to create a separate South Punjab (Saraikistan) province for the reformation of the public of Saraiki Waseeb. With the creation of a province more and more job opportunities can be created for the young, educated generation of the Saraiki Waseeb, Schools, Colleges, Universities, Health Institutions, Medical Colleges and good road infrastructure can be passed for the province.<sup>61</sup> With all these things the independent candidates of MPA said we will become the partner of that party who will give us separate South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. After the final election independent candidates were elected and they joined the PML-N because this party is in majority in the Punjab Provincial Assembly and in the National Assembly and this government can give us a separate province in the Saraiki Waseeb. MNA of this constituency was already elected on the ticket of PML-N then MPAs thought to be the part of the same party in the Provincial Assembly of Punjab. All the candidates in the districts Muzaffargarh always elected for the struggle of a separate province and they became the part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. All politicians of the district Muzaffargarh

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<sup>61</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Interview with author at Muzaffargarh. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq).

anyway remain the part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh always became the part of that party who gave the hope of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province.

#### **4.9. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Alipur in the 2018 Election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

As the wind of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement changed in previous elections same was the cause in the 2018 election. Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI) slogan of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province within 100 after the election of 25 July 2018 was at the peak. Mostly politicians from Southern districts of the Punjab were becoming part of the PTI party to create a new province. Province is the need of the time. It was a great shift of politicians and hope of a new province. In this way politicians of the tehsil Alipur became part of the PTI party.

MNA elected from Tehsil Alipur

Constituency	MNA Name	Party
NA-186	Sardar Aamir Talal Khan Gopang	PTI

MPAs Name of the Tehsil Alipur in the 2018 Election

Constituency	MPA Name	Party
PP-273	Syed Muhammad Sabtain Raza Bukhari	PML-N
PP-274	Muhammad Raza Hussain Bukhari	PTI

All three candidate respectively MNA and MPAs were elected on the tickets of the PTI from the tehsil Alipur of district Muzaffargarh on the promise of a new province South Punjab (Saraikistan). It was a new hope of the politicians and people of the tehsil Alipur to establish a new province but PTI could not fulfill his promise with the politicians of the tehsil Alipur and after 4 year government of PTI in the National Assembly of Pakistan was held the vote of Non- Confidence then politicians took shift toward the other party mean Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM). This shows that it was a great lose for the PTI government in the center and the province. The main demand of the politicians also remained a separate province based on this they become the part of the new emerging party with the promise of a new province that is role of the politicians of the tehsil Alipur district Muzaffargarh.<sup>62</sup> In the voice of the province on national and province level politicians of the district Muzaffargarh become the part of the new province movement and they demand a separate province from the government of the time. They are plying their role and struggling for the province.

#### **4.10. Role of the Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh in the 2008 - 2013**

##### **Election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

Muzaffargarh itself is also a tehsil and district. The politicians of this district also remain part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. Primarily the candidates in this district, win the election on the bit of a province that they will be part of a new province movement and they will raise their voices in the national and provincial assemblies of a province. In this district, are many groups who become the candidate of the different parties on the hope of a new province but

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<sup>62</sup>Muhammad Kashif Muneer. Personal interview with author. October 11, 2022. Interview with author at Bair Band. Muzaffargarh (Bair Band). Muhammad Kashif Muneer is active in local politics and Bair Band is his native village.



the candidate of that party get success who satisfied the people for a province and show his interest in the South Punjab province movement. In the 2008 election Jamshid Ahmad Dasti was elected the MNA first time of NA- 178 of district Muzaffargarh. Malik Jawad Kamran, Muhammad Imran Qureshi, and Malik Ahmad Karim Qaswar Langrial were elected MPAs of the tehsil Muzaffargarh due to population of this district MPAs were more as compare to tehsil Jatoi and tehsil, Alipur. The MPAs were elected respectively on the constituency number of PP- 255, PP- 256 and PP- 257. These are the constituency of the Provincial Assemblies of district Muzaffargarh. On these seats candidates were elected on the tickets of different parties. After the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment as the voice of the South Punjab Movement was at the peak all these candidates of the different parties became part of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. That was the time when autonomy was given to the provinces and the budget was given to the provinces according to the population. Politicians of the Muzaffargarh raised voice for their rights and a separate province, ex- MNA Jamshid Ahmad Dasti did many speeches for the creation of separate province and the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb people.<sup>63</sup> He also launched a rally from different districts of the South Punjab like, Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, D. G Khan, Layyah and many other districts. Rally was headed by Jamshid Ahmad Dasti and ex-Deputy speaker of the National Assembly.<sup>64</sup> Politicians of the Southern Punjab supported him and became part of the of the rally. They also raised their voices for the South Punjab province. Hina Rabani Khar was foreign minister of Pakistan from district Muzaffargarh she also supported the rally. Rally was launched from Muzaffargarh toward Lahore. Jamshid Ahmad Dasti remained on the front line to raise their voices

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<sup>63</sup>Dr. Muhammad Ateeq. Personal interview with author. December 06, 2022. Interview with author at Muzaffargarh city. Dr. Muhammad Ateeq is part of politics and Muzaffargarh is his residential place.

<sup>64</sup>Jafri. O. (2011 November, 24). New Provincial Units: Saraiki Movement Started by Kundi, Dasti (Hina Rabani Khar Announces Her Support). Express Tribune.

for a separate province. Province has become the priority of the politicians of the district Muzaffargarh overall. In every election they become part of that party who give them hope of the separate province. All these elected members of the tehsil Muzaffargarh became the part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement.

#### **4.11. Role of the Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh in the 2013 - 2018 election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

In the 2013 election the position of the district Muzaffargarh politicians was change. They already were the part of a South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. Already in the 2008 election the government of the Pakistan People's Party did not fulfill their dream of a separate province due to which they were disappointed. They thought the government of any major political party can't give us a separate province in Saraiki Waseeb region. But as a person of the tehsil, Muzaffargarh and MNA of the constituency NA- 178 Jamshid Ahmad Dasti did very much work for the Saraiki Waseeb not even in his constituency. Jamshid Ahmad Dasti playing an important role in the South Punjab province movement. To get a separate province is first priority of the district, Muzaffargarh politicians. Politicians of this tehsil, always become the part of that party who give them hope of the new province. Jamshid Ahmad Dasti is one who is famous in the separate province movement. He started free bus service for daily wages labour and students. After this he started free tractor service in his constituency for the poor farmers.<sup>65</sup> In the 2013 election Jamshid Ahmad Dasti won the election as an independent candidate because his mission was to become part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. Jamshid Ahmad Dasti himself belongs to a poor family. He became very much famous in the poor people of his constituency and

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<sup>65</sup>Dr. Muhammad Ateeq. Personal interview with author. December 06, 2022. Interview with author at Muzaffargarh city.

in the surrounding area due to his great services for the people free of cost. In the 2013 election two MPAs were elected on the ticket of PML- N and one candidate was elected as an independent candidate. All three MPAs were Mian Alamdar Abbas Qureshi, Mian Muhammad Imran Qureshi and Malik Ahmad Karim Qaswar Langrial all these were elected respectively on the constituencies numbers of PP- 250, PP- 256, and PP- 257. These all three were the elected members of the district Muzaffargarh. All candidates were elected on the hope of a separate province. They became the part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. One nearest close member of Jamshid Ahmad Dasti became part of the separate province movement on the advice of Jamshid Ahmad Dasti. Name of the closest member is Ajmal Ahmad Dasti. In this era, from 2013 – 2018 as Jamshid Ahmad Dasti was elected an independent candidate he did work for the Saraiki Waseeb and he did many speeches for the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb people in the National Assembly. Once in the 2017 summer canal water was very short in the in the Saraiki Waseeb area and government was not giving permission to water authority department to leave the water in the Waseeb area canals. Even he made a speech in the National Assembly for opening the water in the Saraiki Waseeb area canals but no action was taken on this matter. When he was going back from Islamabad then in his presence a canal was cut in Layyah to provide the water to the poor farmers. On this action he was arrested. When he came out from jail then he started to introduce his party in the Saraiki Waseeb on the name of “Awami Raj Party”. This party was started for the rights of the Waseeb people and to create a province. The main of this party was a separate province for the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb. People of his region always supported him due to his good deeds and to raise the voice for their rights. He did and doing very much work for the Saraiki Waseeb. His slogan of separate province in the Southern districts of the Punjab is continue. Due to his activity as a politicians and

part of the South Punjab province movement many people started to follow him, supported him and became part of this movement.

#### **4.12. Role of the Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh in the 2018 election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

In the 2013 election the slogan of the South Punjab province movement was very important for every political party both on the national and local level. Participation of the Muzaffargarh politicians was also important as the other districts politicians of South Punjab Province Movement. But the demand of the Muzaffargarh politicians was a separate province. Politicians of the district Muzaffargarh always did work for the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. The first and primary demand of the Muzaffargarh politicians was province in this matter leaders of all political parties tried to do convince them, but they could not succeed. As the slogan of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was at the peak in the 2018 election after the election within 100 days we will make South Punjab province. Khar family already had done work for the province movement and they demanded a separate province from the Pakistan People's Party government after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment. For the purpose of the province, they held a speech of the Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, chairman of the Pakistan People's Party in Muzaffargarh for the both Muzaffargarh and Kot Addu tehsils.<sup>66</sup> In his speech Bilawal Bhutto said to the people that it was the promise of Pakistan People's Party that it would give you a separate province in the Saraiki Waseeb as already PPP has done work for the separate province in the 2008 election; and earlier at the time of the merger of the Bahawalpur state in the Punjab province 1955. At the time of the dissolving of the One Unit PPP opposed the merger of the Bahawalpur state in the Punjab province and supported

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<sup>66</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. A personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Interview with author at QAU. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu).

to give it the status of the province. Khar family already is in the favor of the separate province and Nawabs of the Muzaffargarh are on the same page. Nawabs always remained part of the Pakistan People's Party and demanded the new province for the Saraiki Waseeb. Nawabs did a lot of work voluntarily for the Saraiki Waseeb and raised the voice for a separate province in the National Assembly of Pakistan and the Provincial Assembly of Punjab. According to the new constituency number in the 2018 election the constituency number of the National Assembly are NA- 183 and NA- 184. The name of the elected members of the these constituency respectively are Malik Raza Rabani Khar and Nawabzada Iftikhar Ahmad Khan Babar. The constituency number of the Provincial Assembly are PP- 276, PP- 277, PP- 278, and PP- 279. The names of the elected members respectively are Muhammad Aoon Hamid Dogar, Mian Alamdar Abbas Qureshi, Niaz Hussain Khan, and Muhammad Ashraf Khan Rind these four are the MPAs of the Tehsil Muzaffargarh. Both MNAs got success on the tickets of the Pakistan People's Party and on the side MPAs mostly won the tickets of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and one MPA succeed as an independent candidate. All these MNAs and MPAs were in contact with the members of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province active members. The MPAs of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf ticket holders already got success on the slogan of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. In an interview with the author, interviewee told that Khar family always did work for the separate province and became the part of the South Punjab province movement. The interviewee told that they always supported "Sindhu Bachao Tarla Movement" and they are doing work for this. Sindhu Bachao Tarla Movement now has become a movement for the rights of a separate province.<sup>67</sup> Primarily it was created for the rehabilitation of the fishermen who were affected from the

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<sup>67</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Interview with author at QAU. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu).

Taunswa Barrage and for the rights of the women. The interviewee who told this himself is the part of the Sindhu Bachao Tarla Movement. After all this the author reached at this point that all the politicians in every government are doing work for the separate province movement and are part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. Khar were already part of the government from 2008–2013 and they became part of the Saraikistan province movement after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment when budget was directly given to the provinces according to the population of the province. They also said to the government for the province.

#### **4.13. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Kot Addu in the 2008 - 2013 Election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

Tehsil Kot Addu is the largest tehsil, of the district Muzaffargarh. This tehsil was consisted on the two National Assembly constituencies and four Provincial Assembly constituencies. The constituencies number respectively were NA-176, and NA-177 and the Provincial constituencies number were PP–251, PP–252, P –253, and PP–254. The candidates of the national assembly in these constituencies were Muhammad Mohsin Ali Qureshi and Hina Rabani Khar were elected on the tickets of the Pakistan People’s Party. The MPA in the Provincial assembly Malik Ahmad Yar Hinjra was elected on the ticket of PML- N and other three candidates were Engineer Bilal Ahmad Khar, Ehsan–ul–Haq Ahsan Nolatia, and Mehar Irshad Ahmad Khan were elected on the tickets of the Pakistan People’s Party. As the majority from these were the ticket holders of the Pakistan People’s Party from their leader, they demanded a separate province based on population, ethnicity, and resources. That time Hina Rabani Khar was appointed as minister of state for finance and economic affairs after that she was appointed minister of foreign affairs on July 19, 2011. She always supported the South Punjab (Saraikistan) movement. When in 2012 Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani did visit of Kot Addu (Muzaffargarh). Gilani said that I know what people of the

Saraiki Waseeb want. Separate province is the right of the Saraiki region people.<sup>68</sup> He said that people of Saraiki region always deprived from their rights, but Pakistan People's Party always raised voice for the rights of the Saraiki people and did work for it. In this speech Gilani said that leaders of the Saraiki region rejected the bill of the Pakistan Muslim League – N to construct the administrative units in the South Punjab and they demand a separate province for their rights, demands, and resources.

In this speech after Gilani speech Hina Rabani Khar said that it is the 4<sup>th</sup> visit of the Prime Minister toward this backward area allotted 179 houses for the flood affected people the name of that basti is Shaheed Benazir basti.<sup>69</sup> She said we always support the demand of South Punjab province and are working for it. She said that Gilani visited this deprived area to raise their voice at national level. She said that we are part of the Pakistan People's Party and PPP want to create a separate province for the Saraiki people. It is our demand from the PPP a separate province in the Saraiki region to remove their deprivation.

When rally was launched from the different districts of the South Punjab i.e. Muzaffargarh, D.G Khan, Jalalpur Peer Wala, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Layyah, Bakhar, and many others to raise the voice for a separate Saraiki province. This rally was headed by Jamshid Ahmad Dasti and deputy speaker of the National Assembly Karim Kundi. Hina Rabani Khar supported this rally and said a separate province is right of the Saraiki people.<sup>70</sup> She said Saraiki region is a deprived backward area which always ignored from all the governments. She said a large number of youth generation of the Saraiki region is unemployed. There is no good health institution, university for

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<sup>68</sup>"Saraiki Province Right of People : Gilani. The Newspaper's Correspondent". 5-2012-03.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Jafri. O. (2011 November 24). New Provincial Units: Saraiki Movement Started by Kundi, Dasti (Hina Rabani Khar announces her Support). Express Tribune.

higher education, medical college and road infrastructure. This rally was against the feudal system and the rights of the Saraiki people. In this rally politicians said that feudal have the alliance with the Lahore and Islamabad governments which is a big barrier in the creation of a separate province. Leaders of all Saraiki interest groups including the Saraiki Ittehad, Saraiki Front and the National Saraiki Party participated in the rally.

The leaders of the rally planned to march towards Lahore. They had all political parties to support the rally for a new province. Foreign minister Hina Rabani Khar announced to support the movement. She also supported this movement as foreign minister and politicians from the Saraiki Waseeb. She said that for the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb new province is compulsory. Resources of the Saraiki Waseeb are main thing. Poor farmer of the Saraiki Waseeb is deprived from the resources.

#### **4.14. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Kot Addu in the 2013 - 2018 Election in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

Same were constituencies number in this 2013 election. MNAs of tehsil, Kot Addu were elected Malik Sultan Mehmood Hanjra and Malik Ghulam Noor Rabani Khar respectively on the NA–176 and NA–177. In the Provincial Assemblies MPAs were Ahmad Yar Hinjra, Muhammad Zeshan Gurmani, Malik Ghulam Murtaza Raheem Khar, and Hamad Nawaz Khan respectively on the constituency PP– 251, PP– 252, PP– 253, and PP– 254. In the National Assembly Hinjra was elected on the ticket of PML- N and Khar was elected on the ticket of Pakistan People’s Party. In the Provincial Assembly Hinjra was elected on the ticket of Pakistan People’s Party, Gurmani and Khar were elected independent and Hamad Nawaz Khan was elected on the ticket of PML– N. All



these candidates are from the feudal families.<sup>71</sup> In every election they always use the word of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province.

Already Hina Rabani Khar daughter of the Malik Noor Rabani Khar remained foreign minister of Pakistan. She did work for the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement and participated in the rally which was launched for the rights of a new province.

Author was in the field to conduct interviews. One interviewee told to the author Malik Ghulam Noor Rabani Khar in one politician who supported the supporter of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. Interviewee himself was the activist of a separate province movement. He said first I started work for the rehabilitation of the affected people from the Taunsa Barrage then turned toward the supporter of a new province for the people of Saraiki Waseeb. Khar always supported activist of the Sindhu Bachao Tarla Movement. Interviewee is the personal man of the Khar. He said that Khar supported many of the poor families. His family always remained the part of the Pakistan People's Party and the PPP gave the favor to the activist of the new province and the leaders of the PPP raised voices in the National Assembly of a new province.

Interviewee told that Malik Ghulam Noor Rabani Khar played an important role in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) movement. People support him because he raises voice for the rights of the people and a separate province. In this way all other members in this era of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly also raised the voice for a separate province. Independent candidates of the Provincial Assembly became the part of the Pakistan Muslim League–N because PM–N was in majority in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly. It was the hope and commitment with leader of the government we become the part of the government instead of

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<sup>71</sup>Naseer Shabeer. Personal interview with author. December 23, 2022. Interview with author at QAU. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Naseer Shabeer is a student and active in South Punjab Province politics. Kot Addu is his native village.

opposition you will support us for a new province in the Southern Punjab. instead of giving a separate province government wanted to make administrative units in the main cities of the South Punjab but people rejected it. In all the elections politicians of the South Punjab remained part of the government on their ticket or independent and became part of the separate province movement.

#### **4.15. Role of the Politicians of the tehsil Kot Addu in the 2018 in the South**

##### **Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement**

In the 2018 election the wind of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was at the peak. In the same way the slogan of the PTI of South Punjab within 100 days after the election was also at the peak. Politicians of the South Punjab were joining PTI one after another. If we recall history of the South Punjab in the 2018 election, Makhdoom Khusro Bukhtiar was selected as the president of the South Punjab movement. But in tehsil, Kot Addu mostly members of the National Assembly were elected on the tickets of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) because Bilawal Bhutto Zardari visited the tehsil, Kot Addu and Muzaffargarh jointly. In his speech he gave the hope to the people he said if our government came we will create a new province for the Saraiki Waseeb. He recalled history of the PPP and said that the PPP always gave the favor to the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province.<sup>72</sup> The candidates who were elected in the National Assembly in the 2018 election were Mehar Irshad Ahmad Khan Sial and Malik Raza Rabani Khar. Both were elected as candidate of the PPP respectively on the seats of NA-182 and NA-183. On the other side MPAs were elected on the tickets of the PML-N and on the tickets of the PTI. Elected MPAs in the 2018 election are Malik Ghulam Qasim Hinjra, Azhar Abbas, Niaz Hussain Khan, and Muhammad Ashraf Khan Rind in the Provincial Assembly of Punjab. All these MPAs were elected respectively in the constituencies

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<sup>72</sup>Naseer Shabeer. Personal interview with author. December 23, 2022. Interview with author at QAU. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu).

number PP–268, PP–269, PP–278, and PP–279. In all these elections people played an important role to elect the members of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly. They give the vote mostly to the same candidate in every election on the hope of a new province.

During the 2018 election Hina Rabani Khar held a speech at the Chowk Qureshi in which she said we are part of the new province movement and always supported the movement of a separate province. She recalled her previous services to the movement of a province and supported to the rally which was launched by Jamshid Ahmad Dasti. She said that it is our priority to construct a separate province in the Saraiki Waseeb for the rights of the Saraiki Waseeb and use of resources of Waseeb properly on the Waseeb. Saraiki Waseeb is a deprived backward area who has no proper rights from the budget.<sup>73</sup> Most part of the budget used in the upper Punjab. Saraiki Waseeb has no proper quota in the recruitments. District Muzaffargarh is the deprived area of Saraiki Waseeb. It has a large amount of the population and has no good educational institution like University, no good Health institution, no Medical college, and not good infrastructure like roads. Infrastructure is the main issue of district Muzaffargarh. Muzaffargarh is an agrarian district for the farmer infrastructure is most important. They can't send their goods to cities. All politicians of district Muzaffargarh in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly even they win the election on the tickets of the different parties, but they demand a separate province in the Saraiki Waseeb.

#### **4.16. Conclusion**

It is concluded that all the politicians of the district Muzaffargarh are struggling for a separate province in the Saraiki Waseeb. Mostly same candidates win the election in every election since the 2008. Candidates of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly candidates win the

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<sup>73</sup>Muhammad Muzamil Aslam. Personal interview with author. November 03, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Bair Band). Interview with author at Bair Band. Muhammad Muzamil Aslam is a PHD student and part of local politics.

elections on the tickets of the different parties in the same election from the same tehsil. Mostly independent candidates become part of that political party who give them hope of the new province in the Saraiki Waseeb and currently is in majority in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly. In this way hope of the separate province increase and the independent politicians do alliance with them. All three main political parties Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League-N and Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf always used the politicians of the district Muzaffargarh for their own interests at the National level and the Provincial level. Major political parties use slogan of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province just as a tool to get success in the election. Through this slogan they get the favor of the district Muzaffargarh politicians in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly for their own interests. After getting the government at the Federal and the Provincial level they forget the promise of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province with the politicians the district Muzaffargarh. Many politicians launched rallies from district Muzaffargarh for the rights of the South Punjab province. Leaders of the some main political parties used them by passing the bill of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly. On the other hand other party said to construct the administrative units in the main cities of the South Punjab but this offer was rejected from the politicians of the district Muzaffargarh and other politicians of the South Punjab. Demand of all politicians is the achievement of basic rights of the Saraiki Waseeb. They say that resources of the Saraiki Waseeb should be expense on the Saraiki Waseeb deprived people. All major political parties who rule on the National level and the Provincial level just take their own interests from the politicians of the district Muzaffargarh

## **Chapter 5**

### **Role of the People of the District Muzaffargarh in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) Province Movement and their Demands**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

People of the district Muzaffargarh are playing an important role in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement at the local, provincial, and national levels. People of the district Muzaffargarh demand a separate province for their basic rights and resources. Resources are the tussle for the

creation of a separate province. They support the different parties' members for the purpose of a separate province. They have their own problems based on which they support the movements of a separate province. They support the province movements through different ways like social media, rallies, election campaign, and via physical meeting. It varies upon generation to generation. They support the province movements on different basis and different parties for the purpose of a separate province.

When the author was in the field and was conducting interviews from the people. He conducted interviews mostly from those people who are playing role in the creation of a new province movement either as a student or an activist or a businessman. . Their support was based on different ideas to the different political parties. The demands of the district Muzaffargarh people are road infrastructure, good educational institutions, health institutions, medical college, and use of the resources.

People always make groups for the support of South Punjab province movement through different platforms. As for as Muzaffargarh is the neighboring district of Sindh and Balochistan. Culture of these two provinces have much effect on the people of district Muzaffargarh. Mostly people do any work based on feudalism in the district Muzaffargarh. As feudal say the people follow it. Mostly poor people follow them. Feudal lords are also in the favor of a new province. Based on this they support the politician of their constituency. Feudals organized a session at the guest house (baithak) and call the candidate of their constituency. When feudal organized a session then they also call the people who follow them to show the politicians that we have a great strength. They say that we can poll you vote if you accept our demand of a new province for the Saraiki Waseeb. They keep their demand on the front of politician of their constituency that when we will nominate you and after your success you will go in the National and Provincial Assemblies you will raise

there our voices for a new province. Author himself attended some sessions of this kind where feudal held meetings with the politicians of their constituency and asked from them about the construction of a new province.

Without feudal involvement people personally are interested for the construction of a new province. They support the province movements and donate fund for them. In local meetings they discuss about the construction of a new province. People held weekly or monthly meetings to do discuss about the construction of a new province and ask from the politicians about the progress of a new province. Mostly at the evening when they sit in the form of a group on any place they discuss about the construction of a new province. They also give information to their generation about the province and say them it is our basic right to get a separate province.

Youth generation is also interested in the construction of a new province. They are part of the different movements. In youth generation students are also part of these movements. Students are doing work for the construction of a province on different stages. At the university and college levels mostly, they are part of a new province movements. They launch rallies on the National and Provincial levels with the federation of students. Mostly they launch rallies on the Saraiki Culture Day for the right of a separate province. One student who is part of these movements in an interview with the author said that we launched many rallies on the front of Chief Minister and Governor Punjab House in Lahore. Same is the case in Islamabad, students launch rallies on the front of Parliament and Prime Minister house. They also raise voices of the Saraiki Waseeb for a separate South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. Rallies also supported by the province interested parties and politicians. Students support province movements based on basic rights of the Saraiki Waseeb. They also support province movement through social media to highlight the issues of the Saraiki Waseeb and it is easy way to raise the voice for the rights for the South Punjab (Saraikistan)

province. Students support the movements of the new province based on ethnicity, language, culture, and history. As well as the other provinces in Pakistan named based on the ethnicity i.e., Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and KPK. According to them name of the new constructed province is important thing.

Social media supporters have their own participation in the province movements. They gave the further information about the province time to time through social media.

## **5.2. Role of the People Generation to Generation**

Generation to generation people are playing an important role through different ways to support the province movements. Some people are the province movement through feudal system, some are directly involved in the province movements, youth generation and students support the province movements on their levels. They always introduce their ethnicity and class division in the support of a new province movement.<sup>74</sup> They also talk about their problems connected with the demand of a new province for the Saraiki Waseeb. District Muzaffargarh is an agrarian district due to infrastructure poor farmers are in lose. Due to bad infrastructure, the farmers can't get suitable prices of their produce. Many accidents happen on the G. T. Road of Muzaffargarh and daily many precious lives are lost.

## **5.3. Role of the Generation above 30 years and Their Demands**

People above 30 years have their own points and interests due to which support the movements of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province. They support the different political parties for the hope of a new province in the Saraiki Waseeb. They support individually and collectively to the movements. They also donate money to the leaders of the province movement. People who are

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<sup>74</sup>Muhammad Muzamil Aslam. Personal interview with author. November 03, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Bair Band). Interview with author at Bair Band. Bair Band is his home town village.



mostly above 30 years organize groups and call the politicians of their constituency at their guest house (baithak), ask from them about the demand of a province.<sup>75</sup> Based on the separate province voice they promise to give the vote. They support any party for a new province. Businessmen, poor farmer, and even labour men are supporting the movement of a new province. All these playing different roles in the province movements. They support different political parties on the promise of a new promise.

#### **5.4. Farmers' Political Party**

Poor farmers playing an important role in the support of a new province on their level. When author was in the field and was conducting interviews, people said that they support the movements of a new province for their basic rights, administrative system, and resources. Poor farmers of the district Muzaffargarh mostly support the Pakistan People's Party for a new province. They also recall history of the PPP. They say that PPP was the single political party at the time when One Unit was dissolved who was in the favor of the Bahawalpur province and they give the reference of the Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) that was started for the poor people in 2010.<sup>76</sup> People say that after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendments the government of the PPP talked about a separate province for the Saraiki Waseeb.

#### **5.5. Role of the Businessmen**

Businessmen are the part of the province movement. They also support the province movements and donate the funds for the movements. They also remain in touch with the politicians of their constituency and ask about the position of a new province demand condition. Businessmen

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<sup>75</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Interview with author at Muzaffargarh.

<sup>76</sup>Amir Saeed. Personal interview with author. December 25, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Bair Band). Interview with author at Bair Band. Amir Saeed is a lawyer and an activist at local level. Bair Band is his home town village.

launched many rallies on tehsil, and district levels for the voice of a new province in the district Muzaffargarh.<sup>77</sup> They also become part of the rallies on Provincial and National levels. Mostly businessmen support the Pakistan Muslim League–N political party. They argue that only PML–N can give us a separate province. They say that PML–N was the first political party who first of all talked about the construction of Secretariats in the main cities of the Southern Punjab. According to them PML–N can construct a separate province for the Saraiki Waseeb.

### **5.6. Role of the Young Generation from 18– 30-Year-Old**

Young generation has their participation in the new province movements through different activities. They also launch rallies for the voice of a new province at the National and Provincial levels. Students are the part of young generation in the province movements. They have student federations at colleges and universities levels. They organize meetings for the purpose of a new South Punjab (Saraikistan) province.<sup>78</sup> They also became part of the rallies and movements who launched for the voice of a new province at the National, Provincial, and district levels. They themselves launched many rallies and were supported by the politicians and interest groups of the South Punjab.

### **5.7. Why Young Generation Support the Province Movement**

In youth generation mostly are the students who are active in the province movements. They face many difficulties on the way of education. With the construction of a new province these difficulties can be solved according to them.<sup>79</sup> They go toward other districts for higher education.

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<sup>77</sup>Faisal Ayub. Personal interview with author. October 10, 2022. Muzaffargarh Bair Band. Interview with author at Bair Band.

<sup>78</sup>Naseer Shabeer. Personal interview with author. December 23, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Interview with author at QAU.

<sup>79</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Interview with author at Muzaffargarh.

Due to which more than half brilliant students shun their study mostly after matriculation and intermediate, because they can't bear the expenses of rent and other things in other districts out of area.

## **5.8. Demands of the Young Generation**

Young generation demand a new province based on various issues. They say that with the construction of a new province employment rate will increase in the Saraiki Waseeb. Now South Punjab (Saraikistan) has no special quota in any kind recruitments, all the seats mostly go to the upper Punjab people. There are many good educational institutions. They also compete the Saraiki Waseeb backward area people with upper Punjab people.<sup>80</sup> In district Muzaffargarh is no notable campus of any University even it has large population and there is no women good educational institution. As compared to this in district Gujranwala are at least 23 colleges and several Universities campus. Boys can survive in other districts for education, but girls can't too far-flung areas because families don't send them other areas alone because there are no such good roles for the security of girls. Every year many brilliant minds wasted in district Muzaffargarh due to these issues. Even many of the medical merit students shun their education because they can't afford.

## **5.9. Collective Demands People of the District Muzaffargarh**

Collectively all young generation, old generation and students have multiple demands. They demand that in district Muzaffargarh should be University, colleges, good health institutions, medical colleges, and infrastructure. In infrastructure main GT road of district Muzaffargarh is primary demand. It started from district Muzaffargarh city and ended near Trandda Muhammad Pannah. It is in the hands of the politicians due to which its condition is very bad. Daily many heart

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<sup>80</sup>Amir Saeed. Personal interview with author. December 25, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Bair Band). Interview with author at Bair Band.

wrenching accidents oftenly happen on the only main GT road in district Muzaffargarh which is called as Qatil road.<sup>81</sup> As “out of the frying pan into the fire” after deadly accidents, it is not possible for victims to timely reach big hospital in the city like Multan, and on the people lose their lives or loved ones. It also creates many problems for the people like jobholders, businessmen, students, laborer, and other people who daily routine wise have any work from one city to another city. In the same good higher educational institutions will be beneficial for the students. Many poor brilliant students will be able to secure their future by getting education. Education of the girls is very important as there is a famous quotation “to teach a woman is the education of whole family” because education of the children is in their hands. Then they can educate them best as compared to man. People of the Muzaffargarh also demand good higher educational institutions for women. They have many demands, but these are main demands which are on the front.

### **5.10. Which Political Party can give a new Province?**

Generation to generation people have different point of views about the political parties who can give a new province. Mostly old generation say that PPP can give a separate province to the Saraiki Waseeb. They also recall the history of the PPP. They say that after dissolving of the One Unit only PPP was in the favor of Bahawalpur province. The leadership of the PPP said Bahawalpur should be a separate province, it should not merge into Punjab, based on these arguments they have hope from PPP of a new province.<sup>82</sup> The argument of the people was that it is one of the older political parties of Pakistan. On the other hand, youth including students are expecting a new province from the PTI. They argue that people had tested PPP and political parties, but they did

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<sup>81</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Interview with author at Muzaffargarh.

<sup>82</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Interview with author at QAU.

not create a separate province, according to them when PTI will come with 2/3 majority in the government it will create a separate province.<sup>83</sup> Young generation is also excited that PTI created secretariats in the Southern Punjab that good administrative step. Small administrative units are the prove of federal and provincial strength. It was seeing in the young generation that they were saying first time PTI government talked about the administrative setup in the Southern Punjab. One thing in the young generation was new they said that PTI is the new political party, and it has done work already for the poor people and in the favor of farmer, then it can create a new province.

### **5.11. Name of the New Province**

According to some intellectuals, scholars, province should be called South Punjab. But when author was conducting interviews, views of the people were different about name of the province. Some people said that name is not a main thing first the government should create a new province after that will see the name. Their points were as after a long time KPK has changed its name in this way we will change the name after creation of a new province<sup>84</sup>. Many people said that name of the new province should be “Saraikistan” as names of the other provinces of Pakistan like Sindh, Balochistan, KPK, and Punjab are on the names of regional languages. People also said that name of the new province should be considered ‘South Punjab’ because it is the part of the Punjab historically. A new name the author saw was that the suggested name of the new province should be ‘Southern Province’ because since independence saraiki people are living in the southern part of the Punjab their lives might go miserable in this ethnic confrontation.<sup>85</sup> In other of the country,

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<sup>83</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Interview with author at Muzaffargarh.

<sup>84</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Interview with author at QAU.

<sup>85</sup>Rafia Abbas. Personal interview with author. November 01, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Binda Ishaq). Interview with author at Muzaffargarh.

many more movements may arise, and the harmony or unity of Pakistan ideology may be damaged by ethnic provincialism.

### **5.12. Class of the People who demand a new province**

Majority of the people who are struggling of a new province belong to middle and lower middle class.<sup>86</sup> They are the part of the movement's leadership and activist. Other like feudal and businessmen are the part of politics who just motivate the people or donate little bit money to leaders of the province movements.

### **5.13. Ethnicity of the People who demand a new province**

Ethnically people are Saraiki who are parts of the South Punjab "Saraikistan" province movement.<sup>87</sup> Their language, culture and living style is Saraiki. If some people who are part of a new province movement write with their name other caste like Baloch but they say that our ethnicity is Saraiki, we love with Saraiki, Saraiki is our identity. They also say that Saraiki is our mother tongue, but Baloch is our caste not ethnicity. They claim that our ancients migrated hundreds year ago from Baloch tribes due to which we just write our caste Baloch not ethnicity.

### **5.14. Conclusion**

In this chapter it is concluded that people of the district Muzaffargarh are playing an important role in the South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movements, and they have their demands behind this. Their demands are reasonable and general. Mostly people have Saraiki ethnicity who are part of the new province movements. Name of the province is not a big thing, first the federal and provincial government should construct a separate province with any name. After the construction

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<sup>86</sup> When author was in the field and conducted interviews then I observed that mostly people who are struggling for a province are mostly from middle and lower middle class.

<sup>87</sup>Fazl e Rab Lund. Personal interview with author. December 16, 2022. Muzaffargarh (Kot Addu). Interview with author at QAU.

of a separate its name can be change. District Muzaffargarh is an agrarian district and its population mostly speak Saraiki and Muzaffargarh is part of the Saraiki Waseeb based on this they are part of the South Punjab (Saraikistan) movement.

First chapter of this thesis concluded that everything is possible to construct new province for the backward areas people. The people who don't have the right to get their basic rights. In Pakistan province created based on ethnicity, and their names are known on the name of regional languages like Punjab, KPK, Balochistan, and Sindh. Saraiki also spoken in all these four provinces of Pakistan. Mostly people who speak Saraiki and usually practices culture and language live in the southern districts of Punjab which is the largest province of Pakistan according to population. According to ethnicity in Pakistan should be created more province for easiness of administration and strength of federal system. All politicians of the Saraiki Waseeb are demand a new province on ethnic base language and culture. These two are main tools of new province.

Second chapter of the thesis concluded that many political parties were created for the construction of a new province after dissolution of One Unit in 1970. Bahawalpur princely state merged into Punjab province of West Pakistan that after dissolution of One Unit Bahawalpur will get the status of a province according to the subjects of 1935 Indian act. When One Unit was dissolved the status of province was not given to the Bahawalpur. Leaders of the Bahawalpur said that Bahawalpur should be a separate province not part of the Punjab. But they forget their promise and merged Bahawalpur princely state into Punjab. Leaders of the Bahawalpur state started a movement on the name of "Bahawalpur Province Movement. After that many other movements started for a separate province like PSP, SLSP, SAAT, and SBTM in southern districts of Punjab. After Bahawalpur Province Movement, PSP was started from barrister Muhammad Taj Langah. When PSP was started BPM became the part of it and leaders of the BPM started to support PSP. In this way many

other movements are raising voice for a separate province in southern districts of Punjab (Saraiki Waseeb). All parties who are demanding a new province mostly have the same points for the basic rights of the Saraiki people. All parties are anti-capitalism and against feudalism. These parties mostly started from the middle class people. Founders of these parties belonged to middle class like master Fida Hussain founder of SLSP. We can say that all parties want a separate province for the basic rights of Saraiki People.

Third chapter consist on use of the language and culture in the movements of a new province. Language and Culture are main tools based on which leaders of these parties demand a new province in Saraiki Waseeb region. Mostly leaders of the parties describe that Saraiki is a separate language from Punjabi and Saraiki people have their own culture. Saraiki is soft language in speaking as compare to Punjabi. Saraiki has some similarities with Sindhi for example word ‘Sain’ is used in both languages for respect. It is also part of their culture while this is not in Punjabi language. In Pakistan provinces name also are on the name of their regional languages like Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and KPK based on this they demand a new province in Saraiki Waseeb region. Fourth chapter consist on role of the politicians of district Muzaffargarh in South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. Politicians of district Muzaffargarh have an important role in the movement of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement. They always become the part of that party who give them hope of a new province. Politicians of Muzaffargarh launched rallies many times for the voice of a separate province. In every election some candidate win election on the ticket of any party and some who give the hope of a separate province to politicians and people. On the other hand some candidate get success as independent candidate from same constituency, if MNA get success as part of any then MPA elected as independent candidate. People poll vote on both side on the hope of a new province. politicians of district Muzaffargarh always become



part of that party who give them hope of new province before election and after election based on this they win election. Mostly same politicians elected in every election and became the part of different parties as PPP, PML- N, and PTI.

Fifth chapter consist on role of the people of district Muzaffargarh in South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement and their demands. People of the district Muzaffargarh have important role in politics of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province movement as politicians. They always poll vote to that candidate who give them hope of new province. Mostly people remain in touch with politicians of their of their constituency whom they elect as MNA and MPA. They always ask from the about the progress of province in the National Assembly and in the Provincial Assembly. What they tabled of the province after going to the assemblies? In district Muzaffargarh is mostly feudal system people individually and collectively tae information about the progress of construction of new province. in Muzaffargarh people generation to generation have different views about the province and their demands. Generation to generation people support different parties in election and have expectance of new province, as people from 18-30- year old support PTI, people above 30-year support PPP, and other people lie businessmen support PML-N for the purpose of new province. People have their demands like infrastructure, health institutions, educational institutions, universities and many things. G. T. road from Muzaffargarh to Alipur is main demand, which known as “Qatil Road” for this they support new province movement. Due to insufficiency of these things daily they lose many lives their loves.

It is analyzed that main political parties like PPP, PML-N, and PTI always use the politicians of Muzaffargarh for their own interests. Leader of every party use a slogan of South Punjab (Saraikistan) province near election just get votes from Muzaffargarh and to make politicians of Muzaffargarh part of their party. To make their government at center and provincial level they use

slogan of new province not for the construction of new province. When they to assemblies forget their promises of South Punjab province. They just tabled the bill of new province not pass it. After this create problem of 2/3 majority. Present government doesn't have 2/3 seats in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly due to which opposition is not in the right of new province. After every election since 2008 this problem remain common. One party talk about new province other reject them. In this way people of district Muzaffargarh used from the hands of local politicians. Mostly same politicians win election in Muzaffargarh since 2008 just change party near election on the name of new province for their own interests. In 2018 election slogan of PTI was at the peak that we will create South Punjab within 100 days after election but after wining they didn't show anything related to new province. Only PPP can create a new province in Southern districts of Punjab because leader of the PPP always favored new province after dissolution of One Unit and after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendments leaders of the PPP talked about a separate province. At the time of One Unit dissolution when leaders of BPM met Z. A. Bhutto he supported them and said Bahawalpur should be a separate province. it clearly shows that PPP can create a separate province.

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