

**THE POLITICAL IMPLICATION OF FEUDALISM IN PUNJAB
(2000-2010): AN ANALYSIS**



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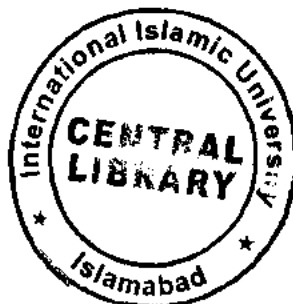
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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master of philosophy degree in
discipline Politics & International Relations with specialization in the Faculty of Social
Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad.**



In The Name Of Allah the Most Gracious the Most Merciful

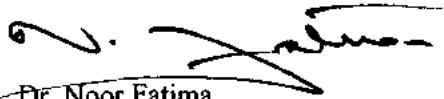
Dedication

Dedicated to my father, who was the finest person the noblest soul, the most innocent person I ever saw in my life. Dedicated to my mother, who left me early, but her love and care is with me.

Certification

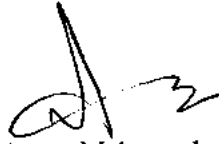
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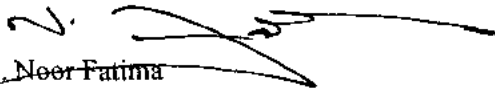


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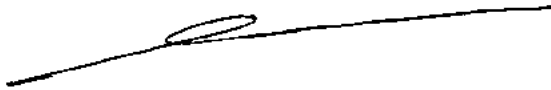
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Abstract

Feudalism signifies private ownership of land, which leads to the concentrated and unequal distribution of wealth. Essentially, feudalism is consisted of three elements fief [land] noble or lord [landlord] and vassal [revenue collector, labour]. Feudalism is a mode of production in which land is considered as resource, lord is the proprietor and the vassal as manager or labour. The major portion of the yield is taken by the proprietor. By virtue of his wealth and resources landowner establishes his control over the socio-political structure of the society.

The institution of feudalism was originated and developed in Europe during middle Ages. It was in shape of an economic arrangement to strengthen the hold of local landlords. French Revolution 1789 weakened the hold of aristocracy, but it still exists in many undeveloped and developing countries of the world, including Pakistan.

In Subcontinent of India, feudalism was not imposed from outside but originated and developed, in a particular form, in Indian society. It went through different phases during Hindu dynasty, Mughal rule, British colonial period and Sikh regime. The British rulers altered land tenure system and granted property rights on permanent basis, in return landed elites supported the colonial rulers. The Punjabi feudals established Unionist Party in 1923 to serve the interest of the rulers.

Mainly, the study focuses feudal politics in Punjab, during military government of General Pervez Musharraf and civil government of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, who himself was one of the largest landlords of South Punjab (Multan).

In addition to fertile lands and natural resources, political activism is a significant feature of Punjab. Pre- independence, it was the center of political activities, after independence, feudal politicians of Punjab played active role in provincial and national politics. First -ever provincial elections of the country were held in Punjab in March 1951, in which big landlords won 80 percent of seats.

During his regime, General Musharraf sought the political support of the feudals of Punjab to strengthen his political base; he overtly sought their support in 2002 general elections. The landlords of Punjab actively participated in local body politics, more than 80 per cent of the

nazims elected in the 2005 local body elections, were feudals and sardars belonging to powerful tribes, Lund, Leghari, Chattha, Makhdoom, Kanju and so on. Under the influence of powerful feudals, land reforms were neither planned nor implemented during this regime. General Musharraf government not only secured the interest of big landlords but also protected middle size landlords belonging to army families of Punjab. Agricultural lands in rural and housing plots in urban areas were granted to the army personnel. Thus the interest of civil and military bureaucracy was directly involved in protecting landownership as they themselves became big land-owners in rural and urban areas of Punjab.

After February 2008 elections, at center, the cabinet of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani and in Punjab, the cabinet of Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif, were mostly consisted of feudal lords, thus central and provincial politics revolved around feudal politicians and politics. Here study focuses the comparison between the military and civilian regimes, with reference to feudal politics. Due to the dominant feudal factor, no drastic change was witnessed in the socio-political conditions in civil regime. The landed gentry maintained their political hold in civilian government. In Punjab, the members of powerful feudal families have been part of every civilian and military government.

The landed elites, who belong to a privileged class, neither understand nor represent the problems of unprivileged classes of society. Theoretically and practically, study would be helpful to find out how to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions, which are responsive to the needs of common people. The findings of the study suggest that the sociopolitical hold of landed aristocracy should be weakened. The powers of change should replace powers of status quo.

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List Of Synonyms

Badshah (monarch, king)

Banyas (a person who provides money on interest)

Bradri (kinship)

Jagirs (large land tracts)

Mandis (markets)

Mansabdar (state official)

Nazims (local representatives)

Patwari (state official to maintain lands record)

Pir (spiritual head)

Riaya (subjects)

Sardars (head of tribe)

Sepoys (soldiers)

Thana (police station)

Zamindari (feudalism)

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CHAPTER 1

Background And Theoretical Framework

1.1 Introduction

In the post colonial era, the political society of Pakistan could not play effective role in developing democratic structure of country. The main reason of its failure can be ascribed to the undemocratic elite groups, including landed aristocracy as affirmed by Tufail Abbas (2003) that when Pakistan came into existence this whole region was under the domination of feudal lords. The socio-political structure of the country has been under strong influence of feudals and the dominance of landed aristocracy obstructed the development of democracy and democratic institutions. Shuja (2000) is of the opinion that freedom of thought, freedom of speech and expression, which mobilize public opinion and generate movements for establishing a democratic society, was suppressed to maintain political hold of the feudals.

The landed aristocracy was successful in maintaining their hold during every civil and military regime; they supported every ruler to secure their class interest. The civil and military governments were made and run with the covert or open support of these powerful feudals. The study has focused the period from 2000 to 2010, during which two general elections were held, in October 2002 and in February 2008, the support of the powerful feudals was considered vital for winning these elections as affirmed by Hasan (2008) that only the feudals can assure certain victory. By dint of landholdings, which they rent to tenant farmers, the feudal lords are able to exercise immense financial and political influence.

Since long, the political scenario remains the same as few leading feudal families have been ruling the country. Most of the Pakistan's leading politicians belong to feudal background.

The socio-political structure of Punjab is also under strong influence of feudals, the powerful landlords of Punjab played important role in politics. Docherty (2008) is of the opinion that in Punjab, feudal landowners are also the political elite holding tenant-voters firmly in their grip. For many villagers in the Punjab, casting a vote has more to do with feudal allegiance than expressing a political opinion.

In Punjab feudal lords use their dependent peasants as their vote bank to win elections and maintain their political hold. Punjab, the most populous province of Pakistan is mostly consisted of rural population, who work on the lands as hired labour. These tenants are dependent on

landowners in many ways and vulnerable to the immense political control of feudals. The feudal lords secure seats in assemblies in to protect their class interest. Ghazali (2008) is of the view that the worsening moral, social, economic and political crisis facing this country can be attributed mainly to the powerful feudal influences operating there.

To maintain their sociopolitical dominance feudal lords discourage opening of schools and colleges in their constituencies to repress political awareness and suppress public opinion as education is the most useful tool to develop political consciousness in people. Educated and vigilant citizens can decide their political future independently with the power of their vote.

1.2 Significance Of The Study

The research will be helpful to find out and analyze the causes of ineffectiveness of the democratic institutions, mainly, due to the strong feudal influence. Research has focused Punjab, the most populous and politically significant province of the country. Research will be helpful to answer many queries relating to our political system. Although few articles and books are available, focus political implications of feudalism, but in detail and in-depth analytical research is not available focusing political role of landed elites of Punjab. The study has focused the political exploitation of the vote bank of dependent peasantry and of the poor urban population by the feudals. The feudal influence hindered the establishment and development of democratic institutions in Punjab. The resourceful and wealthy landlords strengthened their hegemonic hold over sociopolitical structure of Punjab.

The practical significance of the research is, to find how to come out of the influence of feudal politics to strengthen democratic institutions. The focal point is how feudal politics hindered the development of democratic institutions in Punjab and how feudals maintain their hold in civilian and military regimes. The study suggests empowering the people to decide their political future independently and to play more active role in politics.

I have selected this topic to reaffirm my viewpoint that for establishing true democratic society, feudal politics should be diminished. I have selected Punjab, which signifies the political dominance of landed elites, who have maintained their dominance since generations.

Study has focused time period from 2000 to 2010, which is important for a researcher, as during this period, a comparison between two general elections of October 2002 and February

2008 and two governments (military and civil) developed. Apparently these governments were titled as military and civilian but both sought the support of feudals for establishing and strengthening their rule and enhancing their political power. The core significance of the research is to identify the deficiencies of our political system, which obstructed the growth of democratic institutions and resulted in the shape of social disorder.

Research has a significant contribution in finding out, how to come out the influence of feudal politics to establish true representative institutions. From the perspective of the present scenario the research would be helpful in finding out, how to empower masses for developing a democratic society on the base of power of vote.

1.3 Statement Of Problem

In subcontinent of India, British rulers strengthened the institution of feudalism. In post colonial period, it was strengthened by the undemocratic elements to maintain their hegemonic hold on socio-political structure of the country. During civil and military regimes, rulers sought the support of feudals to stay in power; the feudal influence hindered the growth of democratic institutions in society. Under the socio-political influence of the feudals, elections and balloting became futile; the representative institutions were unable to represented public opinion.

In military and civil regimes, the landed aristocracy ruled the country directly or indirectly. Despite two elections and two types of government political scenario remained the same from 2000 to 2010. As the majority of uneducated and unaware voters could not utilize their right to vote to establish and strengthen representative institutions. At this point, main question arises how to come out of the influence of the feudalism and the answer is to educate and train the voters and to enable them to express their political opinion openly without any fear or favor.

During research the researcher would seek to answer following questions:

1. How feudalism established and developed in colonial and post colonial era of Pakistan?
2. How feudalism established and developed in Punjab in pre and post era of independence?
3. How the landed aristocracy maintained their hold in Punjab from 2000 to 2008, in military regime?
4. How the landed aristocracy maintained their hold in Punjab from 2008 to 2010 in civil regime?

5. How the other powerful segments of society supported feudals in maintaining their hold in military and civil regimes?
6. What are the political implications of feudalism in Punjab?
7. Why it is important to come out of shadow of feudalism to strengthen democracy?

In general, Main Research Question will be:

How feudalism hindered the growth of democracy and democratic institutions during military and civilian regimes, from 2000 to 2010 in Punjab and how to utilize the power of ballot and public opinion to come out of the influence of feudalism to strengthen democracy?

1.4 Hypothesis

The study showed that democracy and democratic institutions could not flourish in Punjab, which is hypothetically because of the feudal politics, therefore vigilant public opinion and active mass participation should be used to strengthen democracy.

1.5 Review Of Literature

The issue of feudalism and its political implications in Punjab has been discussed by few writers. Few significant and researchers and writers have discussed the socio-political and politico-economic effects of feudalism on representative institutions in Punjab during recent years. Feudalism not only signifies a powerful landed aristocracy but also shows the influence of the feudals on policy and decision making in state. Renowned writers Dr. Siddiqa (2010) stated in her article "The Green Revolution" that feudalism is land related aristocracy, concentration of wealth and labour in one hand. The writer quoted Karl Marx defined feudalism as a particular mode of production in which capital and labour are concentrated in single hand. In the same article the writer added that feudalism has a politico-cultural dimension, which was not explained by Karl Marx but exists in every part of Pakistan, which indicates the use of power by the feudals to impose their will on the ordinary people. Although the writer believes that the big land holdings have reduced in the Punjab but many writers disagree and argue that large land holdings still exist in Punjab especially in Southern Punjab, as feudalism is deep rooted in the society. Abbas (2003) pointed out in his article "The Present Government and Feudalism" that when General Pervez Musharraf came to power he spoke against feudal lords and was determined to control them but he could not establish democracy, which was possible only if feudalism was

uprooted. The writer is of the view that the feudal system was bestowed upon Pakistan by British Colonialists and the sons of those feudals still control the power structure of Punjab and Sindh.

As state in Encyclopedia Britannica, Punjab is Pakistan's second largest province, after Balochistān, and the most densely populated. Area 79,284 square miles (205,345 square km). Pop. (2003 est.) 82,710,000 people comprising 56 percent of the total population of the country. In democracy political decisions are made by the majority of people therefore Punjab plays significant role in shaping the political future of the country but the politics of Punjab are dominated by influential landlords. Ghazali (2008) pointed out in his article "Feudal Factor to Determine Polls in Pakistan" that in Punjab political parties are organized around land lords, as they are the political elite who use their tenants as their vote bank. For the tenants casting a vote has more to do with feudal allegiance than expressing a political opinion. The writer added that the February 2008 elections were conducted in the same socio-political scenario. Pakistan People's Party, a minority party in Punjab, also depends on feudalism to get votes.

Feudal influence prevails in many parts of Punjab, especially in Southern Punjab as revealed by Syed (2010) in his article "Improbable Predictions of a Revolution in Pakistan" that feudalism is mostly found in the Southern parts of Punjab although few big land estates are in Central and Northern Punjab.

Under the shadow of feudalism social equality could not flourish, and in feudal culture, class differences are deepened and society is divided between extreme poor and extreme rich classes. This kind of social disintegration weakens the political institutions and fosters political instability and nonpolitical elements are encouraged to seize political power. Anderson (2008) stated in an article "Analysis: Looking Beyond Feudal Politics in Pakistan" that February 2008 election is revolving around feudals and family dynasties, seats in national assembly are kept by feudals for generations. This kind of feudal political system instigates military to take over in political turmoil.

To maintain their hold landed aristocracy seek the support of other powerful segments of society. In Punjab almost all leading political parties are dominated by big landlords who maintain good relations with military and bureaucratic elites. Safri (2008) stated in her article "The Marriage of Feudalism and the Military in Pakistan" that in February 2008 elections, Pakistan People's Party and Muslim League (N) got majority votes, both these parties represent feudals, Muslim league (N) represents the feudals of Punjab, where feudal play an important role

in politics. Pakistan People's Party represents the feudals of Sindh. The coalition government placed Yousaf Raza Gillani as Prime Minister who belongs to powerful feudal family of Multan, thus the feudals found a strong ally in Prime Minister. In the same article writer added that a set of feudal has been exchanged to a military ruler (General Musharraf). Military and landed elites strengthen their ties through intermarriages.

The alliance between military ruler and the feudal elites continued during General Musharraf regime, the feudals of Punjab were the allies of General Musharraf as affirmed by Khrshid (2008) in his article "Crushing of Feudalism a Must for Controlling Terrorism" that political parties are controlled by few feudals in Pakistan, who opposed democracy in Pakistan. If democracy is introduced, in a real sense, then these feudals will lose their power. In Musharraf regime these feudal were the main beneficiaries who maintained their grip on power. The hold of the feudals was maintained through different strategies, for example, introducing Local Body system on 14 August 2001. Like other military rulers of Pakistan General Musharraf wanted to supersede political forces and strengthen his political base with the help of local feudal. The Devolution Plan [local government system] of General Musharraf was designed to empower the local feudals with administrative powers as pointed out by Usto(2008) in his article "Pakistan Feudalism: Anachronistic Reality" that undemocratic regimes seek the support of influential feudals to remain in power. The military government employed local body system to work with feudals in collaboration. The writer further explains his point by giving figures that more than 80 per cent of the Nazims elected in the local body elections of 2005 were feudals.

To strengthen his political base, General Musharraf, mostly relied on the feudals of Punjab. In 2002 General Elections, 65% elected members of Punjab assembly were influential landlords, as affirmed by Dr. Bhatti that due to the electioneering tin pot feudal lords with their sway restricted to villages have become General Councilors and Union Council Nazims and Naib Nazims while chief landlords of the various locales have turn out to be the heads of the tehsils and districts. Husain Haqqani (2009) stated in his article "Military 'Fact', Mostly Fiction" that democracy cannot work under a feudal system, each military regime utilized feudal influence to counter the influence of populist politicians. General Musharraf's allies were also the land-owning families of the Punjab.

The feudals use the vote bank of their peasantry to return to assemblies, the poor workers could not cast their votes against their landlord as revealed by Ali (2008) in his article

“Development: Feudal Politics” that the feudals have acquired enormous political power using political support of their sharecroppers; the elections do not represent the genuine political participation.

Members of few famous feudal families participate and win elections on ethnic or bradri basis. In assemblies, these feudal representatives do not represent the wishes of common man but secure their class interest, which is against the basic principle of democracy as stated by Ward (2008) in his article “Looking Beyond Feudal Politics In Pakistan” that the country's feudal political system organized around ethnic tribes, family dynasties and personality cults has retarded the development of democracy.

In a nutshell, to develop a true democratic society, active and vigilant public participation is important to elect the candidates who belong to masses and can represent them. Pal (2010) stated in article “Revisiting Feudalism and Land Reforms” that the focus then is put on the ‘progressive forces’ to work against the decadent feudalism in the country to remove this major hurdle in the achievement of the goal of democracy. To develop democratic values and institutions feudalism should be up- rooted.

The literature review reflected that the questions which were pointed out earlier, the feudal elites maintain their political hold during military and civil regimes, this issue has not been addressed in depth and the core issue behind the problem is still in question.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Political Science Theories have been applied to justify a commitment of the political science to the humanistic study of politics. Power elite theory is one of the significant theories of political Science; the study will follow the theory of power elite. The study focusing power elite theory elucidates the substance of Social Distinction Theory and Class Domination Theory, as a theoretical background for understanding power elite theory.

In Political Science, power denotes the ability of individual /group to persuade or push people towards a specific direction, power signifies the ability of individuals /groups to control or influence the thoughts or behavior of the people. Martin (1989) explains in his article “Gene Sharp's Theory of Power” that it is useful to start with a basic question: what is the point of having a theory of power in the first place? The usual answer to this question in social science would appeal to some unexamined notion of achieving a better 'understanding' of social reality.

The theory of power focuses power elites in a society, who hold socio-political or economic powers and have the ability to rule over the ordinary people. Vergara (2013:p.35) stated that (Vilfredo) Pareto was one of the first sociologists to define the concept of ruling elites which consisted in a small and selected political group of people. Jean-Pascal Daloz (2010:p.78) explains that an elite is a selected and small group of citizens and/or organizations that controls a large amount of powers. Based on the social distinction with regard to other groups of lower strata. C Wright Mills (1959:p.3-4) shed light on the concept of "Power Elite" that the power elite is composed of men whose position enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women, they are in a position to make decision having major consequences.

In a society, a small group of power elites holds economic power on the base of private property and material resources and their economic power enable them to hold political powers. The elite exercise power on the ordinary people. Important political scientists, who believe and advocate the theory, are Karl Marx, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels author of "The Iron Law Of Oligarchy" and C. Wright Mills author of "The Power Elite".

The power elites constitute a distinctive group above and over ordinary people. Martin (1989) quoted Gene Sharp's (1980, p. 22) theory of power, that the 'ruler' includes not only chief executives but also ruling groups and all bodies in command of the state structure.

In social hierarchy, People put powers elites on the top of the ladder and accept their commands habitually without questioning their validity. Martin (1989) defined that this is where the second key concept of Gene Sharp's (1973:p. 12) enters in. He says that these sources of the ruler's power 'depend intimately upon the obedience and cooperation of the subjects'. This can be called the consent theory of power.

Albeit, it is not possible to apply all assumptions of a theory in a given study but the study will follow power elite theory assumptions as a theoretical frame work, which will focus the landed elites and political implications of feudalism during civil and military regimes.

The elite groups collaborate with each other to protect their class interests; due to close collaboration power elites share same thoughts, ideas, behavior, social norms and social symbols.

Reynolds quoted C. Wright Mills that the members of the elite agree on the basic outlines of the free enterprise system including profits, private property, the unequal and concentrated distribution of wealth, and the sanctity of private economic power. The feudal power elites would be the main line of argument of this proposed study as Bhardwaj (1996: p.151) quoted that according to Gunnar Myrdal, Power in Pakistan changes hands but remain within the same elite. Dr. Johnson has defined Elite Theory in his article "A Glossary Of Political Economy Terms" stated that all such theorists broadly share the notion that it is these few thousand "movers and shakers" who really run the country and determine the basic directions of public policy, certainly not the manipulated and powerless masses of ordinary voters choosing among candidates at election time.

1.7 Theoretical Model

The studies show that the feudal elites have been part of every ruling class during civil and military regimes in Punjab. The feudals possess large land tracts, which are cultivated by hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers, who get little share of the yield while the major share is taken by the landowners. The yield of the fertile lands of Punjab brings prosperity and affluence to the landowners and financial resources enable feudals to hold political power. Mosca (1939: p.35) explained that the formation of elites was strictly determined by the social structure. The ruling elite were formed by the members of upper class, which was composed of the wealthiest members of society who also wielded the greatest political power. Martin (1989) quoted Gene Sharp (1973, pp. 11-12) Theory of Power, he gives the following key sources of power: authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors, material resources and sanctions.

The feudal are not part of the unprivileged majority of the society but constitute a privileged and distinctive elite class, which is distinctive due to their status and powers. During civil and military regimes, the landed elites secure majority seats in assemblies and play effective role in decision and policy making. The feudal elite dominate the socio-political structure of the society therefore the study is conducted under elite power theory as Reynolds quoted C. Wright Mills that at the top, tiny elite makes all of the most important decisions for everyone below.

The model of the study has focused the political implications of feudalism and how landed elites maintain their political hold during civil and military regimes. An understanding would be developed by comparing socio-political hold of landed elites during military government of General Pervez Musharraf and civilian government of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani. The study has discussed the political dominance of landed elites during civil and military governments.

The Power elite theory, with reference to feudal elite can focus on following aspects, with reference to political aspect, that the landed elite have been shaping political policies and decision during civil and military regimes. With reference to economic aspect, that the landed elites possess large land tracts and hold economic power. With reference to social aspect, that the feudals are considered the privileged class at the top of the social hierarchy.

The study would examine various factors that how landed elites maintained their hold during military regime of General Pervez Musharraf and civil government of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani. One of the most important factors is, that the feudal elite hold large land tracts and hired labour / sharecroppers are dependent on landlord in many ways, during elections poor peasantry constitute vote bank for their lord.

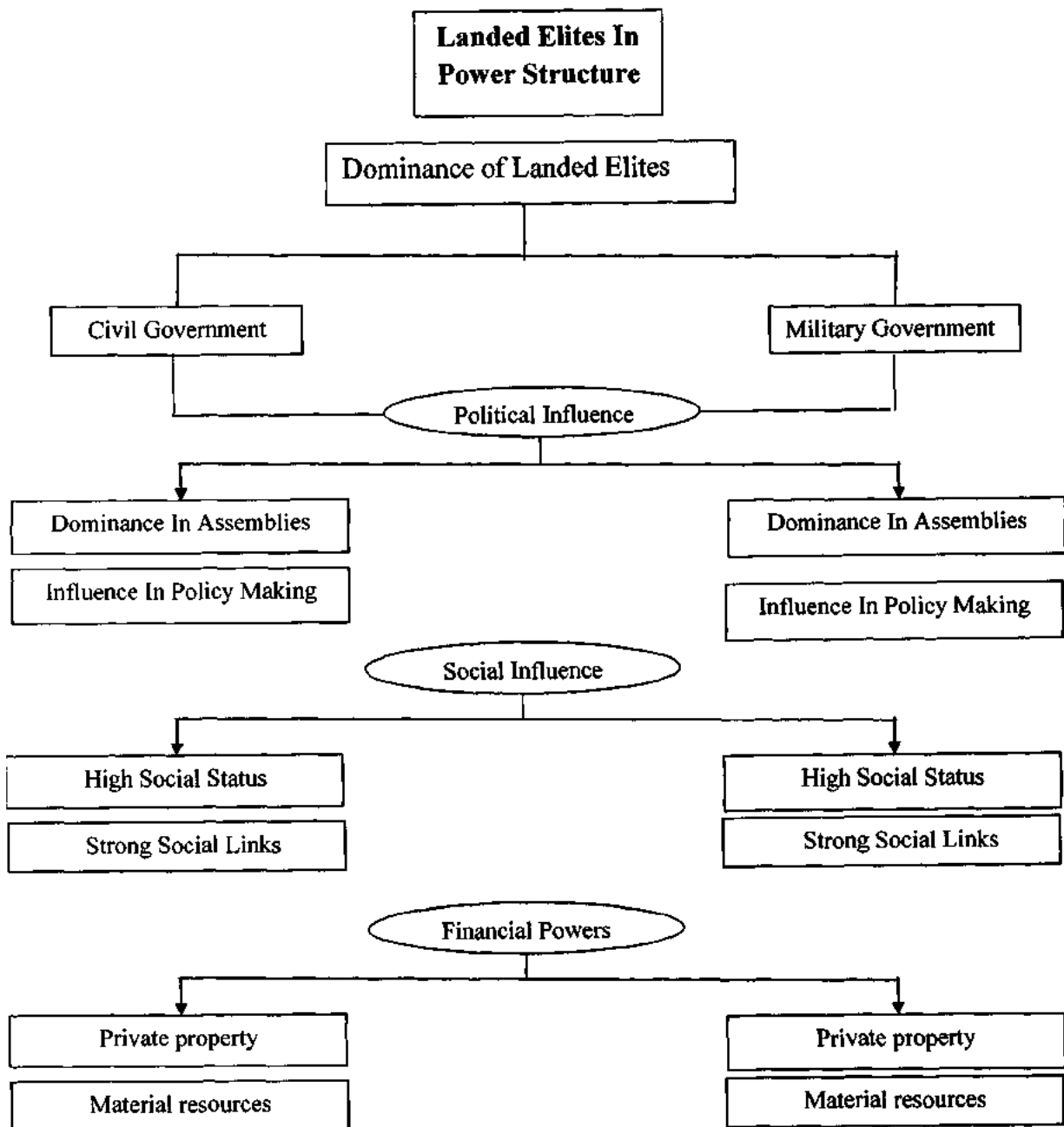
The landed elite represent a distinctive class, whose members share common ideas and beliefs. Reynolds quoted C. Wright Mills in his article "THE POWER ELITE" that the elite tend to read the same newspapers, join the same clubs, live in the same neighborhoods, send their children to the same schools (usually private and the ones they themselves attended), they work and play together, employ one another, and intermarry. They share, in a word, a life-style that brings them together in mutually reinforcing contact.

The authority and domination of the landed elite is accepted in rural and urban Punjab, usually no common man has the financial resource or social links to compete with the influential land lords in elections in their particular constituencies. The landed elites establish and maintain their hegemonic hold over other classes of society. This is where the concept of hegemony enters (Gramsci, 1971), hegemony refers to the processes by which a given way of organizing social life, in which one class dominates another, becomes accepted as inevitable and desirable by most people.

Landed elites have no permanent political ideology and offer their political support to military and civil rulers to protect their class interest, in this way they maintained their hold. The analysis of the study elucidates that the line of argument for proposed study would be landed elites as part of ruling elites.

I attempted to sketch a model depicting the applicable assumptions of power theory, with reference to landed elite, in the given study to interpret and understand the theory.

Theoretical Model



1.8 Aims And Objectives Of The Study

Important objectives of the study are as follows:-

- Main objective is to find out the causes of inefficiency of democratic system and of democratic institutions in our country. The study not only examines the causes of ineffectiveness of democratic system but also suggests the ways to improve it.
- Main purpose is to question existing status quo in politics, which is due to the dominance of powerful elite classes including landed aristocracy. The focal point is how to come out the shadow of feudalism to strengthen democracy and how to break the hold of elite classes to make representative institutions more responsive to the problems of common people.
- The main area of the research is Punjab, that how to transform the feudalistic culture of Punjab into a true democratic culture.
- Practically, the research would be helpful for researchers as well as for students to analyze socio-political and politico-economic implications of feudalism. The objective is to understand and analyze the role of feudal elites and their feudal politics in Punjab and to recommend the ways to come out of their influence.

1.9 Research Methodology

This research will be descriptive and analytical. It will be basic or informal in nature, which would reveal new dimensions of subject material for the better understanding of the basic issue. It will be qualitative research and necessary primary data will be consulted and secondary sources will also be utilized. Secondary sources such as journals, books, news papers and articles will also be cited. Electronic sources such as internet will be used for this research.

CHAPTER 2

FEUDALISM: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Origin Of Feudalism

Feudalism is a vast term which has been used in different periods of time, in different parts of world, differently. Originally, feudalism was a socio- economic system which signified ownership of big land tracts by the landlords who used to hire vassals [revenue collector] to render services including army service for the landowners. In "Nation Master Encyclopedia" it is defined that feudalism comes from the Late Latin word feudum that was borrowed from a Germanic root fehu, a commonly used term in the middle Ages which means fief, or land held under certain obligations by feodati.

Since long the term of Feudalism has been used to signify a relationship between landowner and tenant based on land, the landowner used to grant land to tenant for cultivation and in return the landowner was under obligation to provide protection to the tenant. These big land estates were cultivated by the tenants, the yield brought prosperity to the landowners and the wealthy landlords obtained socio-political power to rule over local community. In Oxford Dictionary "Feudalism" is defined as feudalism is used to describe pejoratively "anything reactionary, old-fashioned, or resonant of aristocratic values". Many renowned writers described the concept of feudalism, Dr. Fatima (2000) explained that under the original feudal system, a vassal or a feudal tenant would hold land and would in return perform military duties for an overlord. The overlord would, in turn, provide protection and land tenure to the tenant.

Feudalism is not an incident which happened at a particular point of time in particular part of world but a phenomenon which emerged in many countries and prevailed for centuries. Another feature of Feudalism is regionalism; it is concentration of powers in the hands of powerful local authorities to control a specific territory and people.

Broadly speaking, feudalism is the political hold of the local feudal lords, socially, it signifies the dominance of one class over other classes of society and economically feudalism is an arrangement by which landowner extracts surplus from the peasants. It is a system of concentration of political power in the hands of landed gentry and indicates the disparity between

the powerful and powerless classes of society. Marc Bloch (1989:p.162) quoted that the basis of feudal society, Benjamin Guérard has said is land. No, it is the personal group, rejoins Jacques Flach.

The socio-political and socio-economic conditions and institutions of a feudal society are dominated by feudal influence. Memon (1997:p.10) defined feudalism as (a) a political system of local government and of military organization for protection;(b) an economic system of self-sufficient agricultural manors and of land holding in return for goods and services;(c) a social system of rigid class distinction and an unchanging way of life.

Feudalism was originated and developed in Europe during middle Ages. It emerged in shape of an economic arrangement to strengthen the hold of local landlords. Feudalism emerged after the disintegration of big states and decline of strong central authority in Europe. The local landlords established their rule over large land tracts and ruled for centuries.

Feudalism emerged in Europe after the fall of Roman Empire and existed for centuries. Originally the concept of feudalism is consisted of three elements fief [land] noble or lord [landlord] and vassal [revenue collector, labour]. Memon (1997:p.100-101) explained that historically feudalism arose in Europe between the 5th and 9th centuries. After disintegration of great civilizations of Greek and Romans, many local landlords emerged and establish their hold on big territories. The source of their power was land, on the base of ownership of vast territories; they accumulated wealth, utilized services of serfs and captured political power.

Ahmed (1989) defined classical feudalism that classical feudalism emerged in Western Europe when the old city-based high cultures of the Greeks and the Romans disintegrated. The local landlords established their claims on big land estates and hired the services of cultivates to work on their lands in return of their services cultivators were provided security against other powerful landlords. Martin(1977) explained feudalism as [Surrender] ‘of one man into the hands of another, in return for which he received protection and maintenance, usually through a grant of land, in the case of king and vassal, or the direct grant of land, in case of vassal and peasant’. Nizamani (2008) quoted the definitions of Simon Bromley and William Brown that politically as a personalized and geographically decentralized system of rule, and economically as the local and coercive extraction of surplus from a dependent peasantry, the two dimensions being fused in the institution of lordship and the feudal-vassal pyramid.

In Europe, feudalism was originated, developed and lasted for centuries, it changed many shapes but the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of landowner was the base of the system. Bloch (1989:p. 162) explained feudalism that in the eyes of Montesquieu, the establishment of 'feudal law' was a phenomenon *sui generis*, 'an event which happened once in the world and which will perhaps never happen again'. Voltaire less experienced, no doubt, in the precise formulation of legal definition, but a man of wider outlook demurred. 'Feudalism', he wrote, is not an event; it is a very old form which, with differences in its working, subsists in three -quarters of our hemisphere. Modern scholarship has in general rallied to the side of Voltaire.

2.2 (1) Elements Of Feudalism

Dr. Siddiq (2008) defined the classic composition of feudalism consisting of lord, vassal and land. She is of the view that if we look at the concept from the perspective of the historical and textbook definition of the term. The term was first used in the 16th century referring to an institution which was distinguishable due to three elements: (a) the feudal lord, (b) the vassal and (c) fiefs.

Admin (2010) explained that before a lord grant land, or fief, to someone, he had to make that person a vassal. Since the lord had not given the land away but only loaned it, it was still the lord's responsibility to maintain the land, while the vassal had the right to collect revenues generated from the land.

Feudalism is a mode of production in which land is considered resource; lord is the proprietor and the vassal as manager or labour. The major portion of the yield is taken by the proprietor. By virtue of his wealth and resources landowner establishes his hold over the socio-political structure of the society.

Initially, the term of "feudalism" was used in 17th century by the French and English lawyer to refer to a conventional mode of production. Even though the word origin is from the Middle Ages, the concept of feudalism was not invented until the 17th Century in the modern era. Admin (2010) explained that the word feudalism was not a medieval term. It was invented by French and English lawyers in the 17th century to describe certain traditional obligations between members of the warrior aristocracy. The term first reached to popular and wide

audience in Montesquieu's *De L'Esprit des Lois* ("Spirit of the Laws") in 1748. Since then it has been redefined and used by many different people in different ways.

Bloch a renowned historian has explained the concept of feudalism and feudal society in his famous book *Feudal Society* (1989) in which he introduced a new concept that feudalism is not a mode of production but a type of society, and time has proved his point right. If we took at present form of feudalism, it is more a type of society than a mode of production.

Admin (2010) quoted that it is Ganshof's classic definition of feudalism that is the most widely known today and also the easiest to understand. Simply, when a lord granted a fief to a vassal, the vassal provided military service in return. He [Marc Bloch] approached feudalism not so much from a legal and military point of view but from a sociological one. Marc Bloch did not conceive of feudalism as being limited solely to nobility, but as a type of society. This radical notion that peasants are part of the feudal relationship is what set Bloch apart from his peers.

2.2 (2) Karl Marx On Feudalism

Karl Marx a renowned economist and historian of 19th Century, defined the term of feudalism as a preliminary situation leading towards the rise of capitalism. He described feudalism as an exploitive system in which the fruit of the labor of the workers (surplus) is extracted from the labour and is transferred to the owner of the land. Admin (2010) stated that like the French revolutionaries, Karl Marx also used the term feudalism for political ends. In the 19th Century Karl Marx described feudalism as the economic situation coming before the inevitable rise of capitalism. For Marx, what defined feudalism was the military elite accumulating the surplus wealth of those under them by exploitation through military dominance. This was the definition of feudalism to Marx, a purely economic model.

Dr. Siddiqa (2008) defined feudalism as that the feudal lord exercised power based on land which he would grant to the vassal who, in turn, would pay a certain amount to the lord or serve in his military force. Here was an issue of concentration of power, capital and labour. Feudalism is concentration of wealth and powers in hands of landowners. Feudalism deepens class differences in society and society is divided between extreme rich and the very poor. Naqvi, Hassan Khan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989:p.4) stated that to him [Karl Marx] both the

feudal and the capitalist systems, based on private property in the means of production, were inherently exploitive. These promoted class conflict and led to an uneven pattern of development.

Yahdian (2008) quoted Robert Brenner who defined feudalism using three main 'complementary' and 'integrally related' conceptions: feudalism as a legal relationship between vassals and overlord in a fiefdom, as a form of political domination characterized by geographic fragmentation, divided political authority and a prominent role given to privately contracted military, in which surplus is exploited by landlords through the use of extra-economic coercion. This definition is very much related with Karl Marx's definition of feudalism.

2.3 Decline Of Feudalism In Europe

French Revolution 1789 weakened the hold of aristocracy and liberal democratic concepts such as the theory of General Will of Rousseau changed the old socio-political structure of the society. As Younkins (2005) stated that according to Rousseau, in the order of nature all men were equal, distinction and differentiation among men are the products of culture and civilization. Memon (1997:p.101) is of the view that the decline of feudalism in Europe began around the 12th century when the crusade began to broaden the outlook of people, simultaneously trade, weaken the nobility, and weaken serfdom. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the rise of nation-state and stronger central governments in England, France, and Prussia resulted in the weakened power of feudal lords. In 1789, the French revolution led to the decline of nobility and class distinction. However, in many less-developed countries such as Pakistan feudalism is still alive and strong even today.

2.4 (1) Feudalism In Sub- Continent Of India

In Sub-Continent of India the revenue of the fertile lands was used to enhance political power of the ruling class, strengthen their defense and to fulfill their political objectives. During Hindu dynasties the revenue of land was utilized to strengthen the political hold of the rulers and to fulfill the expenses of wars. In Mughal era the revenue extracted from land was spent on the maintenance of big armies and on huge defense budget. British colonialist modified the institution of feudalism to achieve their political goals. The feudals, who were created by British

government, supported the colonial power to strengthen their rule in India. After independence, feudal politicians took the charge of the new state; especially the feudals of Punjab have been very active in politics at provincial and central levels throughout the history of the country. The institution of feudalism was modified according to the requirements of the rulers, during periods of Hindu rule, Mughal Empire, Sikh- Raj and British rule. Ishtiaq Ahmed (2008) pointed out that feudalism in the strict Western sense may never have existed, but existed its sub-continental forms during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

The feudalism was deeply rooted in the society of sub-continent of India and different foreign rulers and colonial powers adapted it according to their political requirements. Haider Naqvi, Hassan Khan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989:p.5) explained that this land tenure system was an old structure rooted in the Indian society. It was shaped during the Hindu rule and the reign of the Mughal kings, and was not imposed from outside. But it was concretized by the British through a series of comprehensive 'Settlement'. The Mughal kings like the Hindu rulers before them, were mainly concerned with raising enough money to finance large expenses of administration and defense.

2.4 (2) Mansabdari System Of Mughal Period

Huge military establishment contributed a lot to establish and maintain Mughal Empire in India. To keep a large army, huge financial resources were required; to fulfill their requirements Mughal rulers utilized yield and revenue of land. Under the *Mansabdari* system of Mughal era, all agricultural lands legally belonged to the emperor and Mansabdar [state official] used to accumulate revenue from the peasants on behalf of the ruler. The system was exploitive in its nature as the mansabdars extracted maximum output from the cultivators to send to the emperor. Mansabdar was a political title as Ikram (1964:p.213) explained that military establishment was known as Mansabdari system. Elite recruitment to it depended on the emperors who selected their mansabdars mainly from the landed aristocracy. Abbas (2003) is of the view that if we evaluate our history we find that feudalism had its roots in the Mughal period.

The mansabdar was supposed to render dual duties for the ruler, mansabdar had to collect revenue from the cultivators and retain a particular number of soldiers to fight for the king. Zaidi (1999:p.3) stated that in 1647 the ruling class comprised the Emperor and 8,000 *mansabdars* or

nobles who were supposed to maintain large armies to serve the Emperor whenever he requested them. These mansabdars were either paid salaries in cash or, as was more common, were given jagirs or large tracts of territory in which they were responsible for collecting revenue from peasants and then transferring it to the state. The Mughal state was feudal state as the huge share of the yield was transferred to the rulers. Hussain (1979:p.20) stated that the Mughal feudal state was therefore centralized, militaristic and hierarchical, with power vested in the hands of Mughal ruler and his nobility. On the contrary, Osborne (1983:p.33) is of the opinion that Mughal rule is seen as the 'golden era' in the Punjab history. Following this the Sikhs assumed power until their defeat by the British in 1849. With the disintegration of Mughal Empire, the big landowners started to establish their claims on large tracts of lands under their control; soon many huge estates emerged under the control of local landlords.

2.4 (3) Land Tenure System During Sikh Regime

During forty years of rule in Punjab, Ranjit Singh introduced a land tenure system bearing many similarities with that of Mughal Mansabdari system, with a difference that he stated to receive revenue in cash. To remain in power, Ranjit Singh had to maintain huge army and defense budget therefore he was in need of cash. In "Notes on Punjab and Mughal India" Ahmed (1988:p.157-158) it is stated that during this period the mode of raising the revenue from land consists in a pure and simple division of the crops between the state and the cultivator. The point is elaborated in the same book that Ranjit Singh gave greater encouragement to the system of assessment known as *Kankut* which already prevailed in certain parts of his territory. According to this system, the standing crops were estimated, and the share of the state converted into its money value which the cultivator had to pay in cash.

The "Kankut" system of Ranjit Singh bore a resemblance to that of mansabdari system of Mughal's, as both squeezed the share of peasantry to transfer more to royal treasury. Ziring (1971:p.147) quoted the statement of Moore who summarizes the traditional features of Indian society as: a sovereign who ruled, an army that supported the throne and a peasantry that paid for both.

2.4 (4) Permanent Settlement System During British Rule

Zamindari system which was maintained during Mughal and Sikh era was adopted and modified to fulfill the political objectives of the British rulers. During Mughal period, the property rights were given to mansabdars on non-permanent basis. The British rulers changed the land tenure system and granted property rights on permanent basis. The British rulers introduced a modified feudal system in different parts of India specifically in Punjab to achieve their political goals. Colonial rulers wanted to have a loyal class of landowners who could support them to maintain their rule in India. They introduced “Permanent Settlement Scheme” which strengthened the financial hold of local landlords, who were supposed to work as an intermediary between peasantry and the state and they were called “the pillars of British imperialism”.

Iqbal Chaudhry (1980:p.361-362) stated that the zamindars were vested permanent heritable and transferable rights on land, and paid a fix amount to the state as revenue. British government introduced Permanent Tenure system in 1793, under the pretext of this scheme property rights were given to rent collectors permanently. Khalid (2003:p.351-352) stated that the feudals were created by the British as “Friends amongst enemies in India”. During the Mughal period they were merely “rent collectors” on behalf of king who owned entire land in the country. The British made the “rent collectors” owners, thus creating a powerful friendly class. Hussain (1979:p.22) added to the point that the colonial rulers exploited the country’s vast agrarian resources in collaboration with the jagirdars who were given permanent settlement rights in 1793.

In 1857, the rule of East India Company was challenged by the local Indians, after suppressing freedom movement British rulers conferred rewards and land tracts on their faithful Indians who supported them during the movement. In this way the British government increased the number of landlords by bestowing land ownership on their loyal, this class stood by them in thick and thin. Ahmed (2002) stated that after the British had ruthlessly crushed the 1857 uprising, they established a more stable structure of landlordism by conferring property rights on those who remained loyal to them.

Almost all feudal lords of today have inherited lands from their ancestors who got lands in reward for the services they rendered for the British government in colonial rule, particularly

following the mutiny of 1857. Memon (1997:p.10) wrote that the *Sepoys* loyal to the British were favored with land and government positions. Desai and Ahsan (2005:p.84) are of the view that the British now began to strengthen, and to depend upon, the landowners. In fact, they themselves first installed the feudals, and then began to empower and use them.

The colonial rulers made policies to strengthen the hold of landed aristocracy and made alliances with them, particularly in the province of Punjab the politics were under strong influence of landlords. For instance, when elections were held in Punjab, in 1937, Unionist Party won majority Muslim seats and formed coalition government with congress. Many members of Unionist party were big land lords who were granted lands by the British government. Khalid (2003:p.347) is of the view that The British through the government of India act of 1935 made sure that only feudals and rich reach the assemblies.

2.5 Feudalism In Post -Colonial Period In Pakistan

All India Muslim League escorted the freedom movement for separate homeland for the Muslim of India. After independence, Pakistan Muslim League became the ruling party of the new state. Muslim League was dominated by the feudals but Quaid-e- Azam effectively tackled them and made them part of freedom movement as Beg (1998:p.29) affirmed that the towering personality of Quaid-i- Azam countered the offensive movements and selfish interests that could create undisciplined environment and tried to bring unity and discipline in the ranks and files of Muslims of British India. But the actors who were to take over were the feudal landlords.

Feudal politicians played a significant role in Pakistan movement as when they realized that Pakistan was going to be a reality the feudal politicians joined Pakistan movement; they did not want to miss the opportunities which new country could offer to them. After independence they were compensated with the lands which they have left in India as Ali (1992:p.93) affirmed that the feudal system, after partition, became very strong as the majority of landlords got back their mortgaged lands after the departure of Hindu Banyas (businessman). Memon (1997:p.102) is of the view that their [feudal's] power grew and by the time of independence in 1947, they represented a significant element in the country that could demand and receive considerable privileges from the government.

Pakistan came in to being with a legacy of feudalism and the norms of feudalism were adopted in the new state, particularly in Punjab feudal politics and practices continued. Quaid-e Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan could not get enough time to build up new country on democratic ideology, after their demise, feudal politicians established their hold on socio-political structure of the society. To maintain their hold they obstructed the development of democratic institutions and suppress the democratic values as Rizvi (1989: p.269) stated that they [Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan] got insufficient time to establish and legitimize the participatory institutions and processes. Their successors who did not possess national stature, lacked imagination and were unable to inspire people, let alone deal with difficult political and economic problems. A large number of them had feudal and semi feudal background and were primarily motivated by their personal ambitions and parochial considerations.

The feudal lords established their huge estates in new country and started to take active part in politics by joining ruling Muslim League. They used the vote bank of their peasantry to win elections, they utilized their social contacts and wealth, to secure seats in national and provincial assemblies as Aziz (2001:p.27) avowed that in the center and the entire provincial the greater part of the League members were either landholders or tribal chiefs. To protect their class interest, they harmed the democratic process in new state. Karma (2009:p.257) extended this view by commenting that the big feudals captured leadership of Muslim League, the ruling party. To remain in power, they used all tactics; they delayed provincial election in Punjab till 1951. Power seekers deferred constitution making for nine years.

The socio-political structure of the new state was not appropriate for the growth of democracy as a political system. The educated middle was ignored, who could had played effective role in strengthening democracy. Ghulam Kibria (1999:p. 140) is of the view that what became Pakistan had feudals and serfs and very small educated, urban, middle class, and feudal societies are not ideal breeding grounds for young men and women having qualities of entrepreneurship. Influential landlords made it difficult for the average middle class candidates to compete with them in elections. As Shuja (2011) affirmed that armed with a monopoly of economic power, they [feudals] easily pre-empted political power. Mohammad Khalid (2003:p.347) stated that having assumed the rule of new nation, the feudal leadership embarked upon safeguarding its narrow interests and no attempt was made to free the people from the age

old forms of repression. As a result, from the inception of country, feudal lords holding vast areas of fertile lands, are ruling the country and controlling the government in power.

The culture, behavior and life style of the landed aristocracy have strongly influenced the behavior and life style of the civil society of Punjab. Due to the prevailing feudal culture, the culture of Punjab is generally characterized with arrogance, biases and intolerance, in the words of Ali (1992:p.92) basically Punjab society is feudalistic and culturally it is dominated by the feudal values and traditions.

Political history of Pakistan reveals that many forms of government were tried in the name of democracy; however the feudals were successful in maintaining their hold in every civilian and military government. In collaboration with the civilian and the military rulers the feudal lords fully exploited the resource of the state and no civilian or military ruler resisted them as Ahmed (2005:p.121-122) affirmed that Field Martial Ayub Khan was the first head of state and government in the long line of succession to make an attempt to reform the system [of land tenure]. Lacking the zeal of a reformer, it was half-backed attempt. Bhutto had promised to put an end to this oppressive medieval system by slashing the size of the holding first to 150 acres and later 100 acres. The reforms were not radical enough to justify the hopes he had so fondly raised. The influence of the feudal lords was consolidated in every civil and military government and the sordid story of Pakistan goes on; the military government of Zia-ul-Haq sought the support of feudals to remain in power. During the civil governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, the feudal politicians were in majority in national and provincial assemblies; Benazir Bhutto herself belonged to a powerful feudal family of Sindh. During military regime of General Pervez Musharraf, a very influential feudal lord of Baluchistan Zafar-Ullah- khan Jamali was chosen Prime Minister. After February 2008 elections, Yousaf Raza Gillani a feudal politician of Punjab [Multan] was chosen as Prime Minister and the story of Pakistan goes on.

2.6 Characteristic Of Feudal system Of Pakistan

British colonial rule left the legacy of feudalism, which, with few changes, still exists in the different regions of Pakistan. Shehab (1988:p.120) is of the view that the Europeans colonialists introduced it [feudalism] in the Muslim countries in the eighteenth century. Although the European concept of "Feudalism" is not applicable to the present form of feudalism in

Pakistan, but the feudal norms and traditions are the same and dominate the socio-political structure of the society.

In Pakistan the term “feudalism” signifies the ownership of big land tracts by the landlords who do not work on lands themselves but hire the services of peasants to cultivate land. The peasantry not only provides workforce but also acts as vote bank for the landlord during elections. Anwar Syed stated that it may be useful to take a quick look at the nature and scope of feudalism in Pakistan. It is, to begin with, a system under which an individual may own any amount of land, even tens of thousands of acres, which small peasants and hired workers under his control cultivate while he takes most of the yield.

Shuja (2000) stated that throughout history, feudalism has appeared in different forms. The feudal prototype in Pakistan consists of landlords with large joint families possessing hundreds or even thousands of acres of land. Ibad Khan (1996.p.47) is of the opinion that Pakistan is one of the very few countries of the world where tribalism/feudalism not only exists but seems to go from strength to strength.

The peasantry gets meager share of the yield, therefore the social status of peasantry has been very low. The power balance tends to determine landowner as powerful and the landless cultivator as powerless segments of the society. The feudal system has intensified class differences in society. Beg (1998:p.25) is of the opinion that the feudal system had the wealth and power concentrated in the *zamindar* and his family.

With the huge vote bank of peasantry, powerful landlords win seats in national and provincial assemblies. In legislative assemblies they are in a strong position to control the decision and policy making of the country. In legislative chambers, usually they do not represent public interest and public aspirations but secure their class interest. They are considered the privileged class of the society who secures their interest at the cost of interest of all other classes.

2.7 Feudal System Of Punjab

The British rule was established in Punjab in 1849. Pakkar (1989:p.35) stated that the Muslim had considered the establishment of British rule in the Punjab in 1849, as an act of

providence designed to liberate them from the Sikhs under whose rule they suffered some inconvenience.

The British rulers strengthened their rule in this region through the "politics of land", canal irrigation system was introduced, which brought prosperity to the big landlords of Punjab and in return they supported the colonial rulers. The feudals politicians of Punjab established Unionist Party in 1923 to serve the interest of the British rulers. Unionist party was formed by a group of rural members of the Punjab Legislative Council. These members were the largest landlords and influential politicians of the Punjab. Since that time the politics of Punjab has been revolving around land.

Naqvi, Hassan Khan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1889:p.44) stated that Punjab was annexed after Sindh, and the British took into account the existing claims of zamindars and jagirdars on large tracts of land, provided the landowners were friendly to the British. In fact land -grants were made mainly to those families who had supported the new rulers in a significant way. In British India the *zamindari* system brought enormous prosperity to the big Muslim *zamindars*, but the owners of small land tracts and the cultivators were under severe poverty. Most of them were compelled to borrow money from Hindu money lenders. The rural population of Punjab was consisted of two classes, one of the exploitive Hindu money lenders and other of the poor Muslim cultivators. Many times, the poor cultivators were unable to return money, or pay interest to the lender; consequently they had to surrender their lands to the lender. In 1900 the British government passed the Punjab Land Alienation Act, to protect the small Muslim farmers from the exploitation of the Hindu money lenders. The Land Alienation Act prohibited the transfer of land from the original landowner to other classes. The wealthy Hindu community agitated against the act, this reaction was an eye opener for the Muslim to realize that Hindu community only safeguards their interest even at the cost of the interest of Muslims. This was one of the reasons to realize that Muslim should have their own political party to secure their interest.

Pakkar (1989: p.45) affirmed that the land alienation act soon became a rallying point and a fixed faith with Punjab Muslims. The vehement Hindu opposition and the pro- rural sentiments exhibited by the act stimulated political awareness among the Muslims. The sentiments of distrust entertained by agriculturalists generally against the monied and urban Hindu classes ,

long inchoate and lacking in organized expression, gained momentum and direction by passing of the Act. The act thus reinforced communal identity of the Muslim and stimulated their political identity. The bitter opposition of the Hindu urban classes to the act strengthened their conviction to have a political association of their own. In this way the "Punjab Land Alienation Act" invigorated the identification of the Muslim community of Punjab.

2.8 Cropsharring System Of Punjab

The land tenure system of Punjab, indicates the terms and conditions of land ownership and use of agricultural land. An important feature of land tenure system is "batai" [crop-sharing arrangement] under which the yield or income of land is divided between the owner of the land and the tiller of the land. Mahamood Hassan Khan (2006:p.304) defined the ratio of the division of the yield between the owner and the tiller, according to writer, the crop-sharing arrangement [batai is] on a 50:50 or 40:60 basis. Usually the landowner gets bigger share than the cultivator as Iqbal Chaudhry (1980:p.373) is of the view that the "Batai" and "lease" systems are also defective as the landlords get a lion's share without any labour or investment. Zaidi (1999 : p.20) explained that the tenants were mainly landless sharecroppers, who traded their labour with that of a pair of oxen for a return which in theory was about one-half of the crop output they produced on zamindar's land.

Batai system does not provide any protection to the cultivator against the exploitation of the landlord. Naqvi, Hassan Khan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989:p. 50-51) are of the opinion that in the disputes arising from the *batai* system, no legal protection existed for the landless tenants in any province of Pakistan. Even in the case of the occupancy, tenants in the Punjab and the N.W.F.P, where such legal protection did exist, the political influence of the zamindar on revenue officials at the local level determined the outcome of disputes.

The profit of the yield of land, which is the fruit of the labour of the peasantry, is taken by the landowner. Thus Karl Marx's theory of surplus is applicable to the present system of feudalism in Punjab, according to which the surplus is taken by the landowner. Naqvi, Hassan Khan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989:p. 51) explained that transfer of surplus from the tenant to landlord was ensured by enormous social and political power enjoyed by landlord in society, buttressed by the legal and administrative structure of the state.

CHAPTER 3

FEUDAL POLITICS OF PUNJAB

3.1 Significance Of The Region Of Punjab

Punjab is the most populous province of Pakistan, which plays important role in determining socio-political features of the country as Zaidi (2013) stated that whoever rules Punjab, rules Pakistan. For some, Punjab is Pakistan, and vice versa.

Punjab is known for fertile lands and vast irrigation system but fertility of land has not brought prosperity to the cultivators and common man as the province is under the shadow of feudalism. Rehman (1997: p. 19) defines the meaning of Punjab, that Punjab derives its name from two Persian words, Panj (five) and Abb (water) having reference to the five rivers which confer on the country its distinguishing physical features. The land of Punjab remained important throughout the history of India subcontinent in terms of history, geography, economy and natural resources.

The rich land of Punjab has been a source of attraction to allure foreign invaders, history of Punjab shows that numerous foreign invaders attacked the territory of Punjab to exploit its resources as Lieven (2011:p.280) stated that approaching from the West, invaders always set their sights on the fertile Punjab, which was first occupied by Persian and subsequently by the Greek, becoming part of the Mauryan Empire when the people were converted to Buddhism. The early Christian era witnessed many invasions, but few conquerors remained long. Under the Kushan dynasty the middle Indus became the heart of the Kushan Empire. In the fifth century it was overturned by the Huns. Islam reached the province in the eighth century, when Multan came under Arab rule. Muslim influence was consolidated by the invasion of Mahmud of Gazni. In the words of Aziz (2001:p.44) Punjab was also the site of the world's biggest irrigation scheme and the resulting canal colonies and settlements. Thus the Punjab came to be the warden of the marches, the military shield of the Indian empire and the cultivator of the newly-watered lands.

Besides fertile lands and natural resources political activism has been a significant feature of Punjab. Pre- independence, it was the center of political activities; Unionist Party was founded here in 1923 to support British policies. After independence, feudal politicians of Punjab played active role in provincial and national politics, first -ever provincial elections of the country were held in Punjab in March 1951. In a book on Punjab "History, Politics And Society: The Punjab" Massarrat Abid and Qalb –I- Abid (2009:p.175) stated it is stated that Punjab was considered to be the key of Indian Muslim politics not only by Quaid-I- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, but also by the congress hierarchy, the Sikh leadership and the British policy-makers in India and London.

3.2(1) Pre- Partition Politic Of Punjab

Pre-partition, the Muslim feudal politicians of Punjab played important role in politics, their role revolved around supporting policies of their colonial rulers. These feudal politicians secured their class interest even at the cost of their countrymen. They persuaded their countrymen to accept and abide by British policies; one of the examples is of the army recruitment policy of British rulers. During British rule, no important industry was set up in Punjab; the purpose was to recruit unemployed youth in British Indian Army. The influential landlords persuaded poor youth and the sons of their peasants to join British army to fight for the British government, anywhere in the world. The landlords of Punjab played major role in providing man power to their British rulers. These landlords were the beneficiaries of the British raj and they wanted to protect their vast landholdings.

Aziz (2001: p.44) extended this view by commenting that The Punjab was the major recruiting ground for the British Indian army and provided a large portion of the imperial forces in the two world wars. The zamindar was used as the chief recruitment agent for the army and was awarded honorary ranks. Ishtiaq Ahmed (2008) affirmed that with regard to Punjab and the NWFP the landlords compelled their peasants to join the British Indian Army. In the words of Nawaz (2011: p.89) traditionally, the army was a predominantly Punjabi force. In British India, three districts: Campbellpur (now Attock) Rawalpindi and Jhelum dominated the recruitment flows that helped India send some 2.5 million soldiers to fight in second world war, on behalf of the British Empire. Few of the feudals went to the extent that they sent their own sons to join British army to prove their loyalty to the rulers. Aziz (2001: p.45) affirmed that some feudal

families sent one of their sons into army with various motives: please the British, enter the sophisticated and westernized social circle, beat the rival or neighbouring zamindar, etc. in this way a part of the feudal class was militarized and made more loyal. Nagy (1989: p.11) extended this view by commenting that it is, therefore, not surprising that the Punjabi was the most loyal ally of the British in India. He not only constituted the bulk of their army but at their behest fought anywhere in the world. Sometime even against his religious belief.

Usually, these feudal politicians of Punjab left their county men in difficult times. For example, during the uprising of 1857, when the Muslims of Northern and Central India –from Delhi in the West to Benares in the East, revolted against colonial policies; the majority of the feudals of Punjab remained on the side of British government. After suppressing uprising, British government rewarded these loyal feudals with vast land pieces and titles. They remained loyal to the rulers until the time when they realized that Pakistan was going to be a reality; they were the last to join Pakistan movement. Pakkar (1989: p.32) is of the opinion that [During British Empire] the Muslims were well represented only in the police force of the Punjab. The Muslims were also well represented in the military service. That might be the one of the reasons why they [Punjabi] absented from the rising of 1857.

3.2 (2) Establishment Of Unionist Party

In the politics of Punjab the feudal element has been dominating especially after the establishment of Unionist Party, which was formed with the support of government officials of Punjab. Influential landlords formed Unionist Party to represent the viewpoint of the pro-government Muslims of Punjab as Massarrat Abid and Qalb –I- Abid (2009:p.176) affirmed that the Punjab administration was able to create a very dedicated class of loyal supporters of the Raj among the Punjab Muslims. This loyalist class was seriously and most sincerely believed that the interest of their communities, they represent, was identical with those of British government. In 1923, the Punjab Unionist party was established to follow this policy as a role model among of course other objectives such as to protect the interest of the landed classes. In the words of Beg (1998: p.22) the landlords of all communities had earlier, joined hands to form the Unionist Party in Punjab. Sir Fazl-i- Hussain, the chief architect of the party, his followers Sir Sikandar Hayat and Sir Khizer Hayat Tiwana remained most loyal to the British and the feudal landlords and in

that capacity the most loyal to the landlord class of Punjab. They were opposed to the creation of Pakistan and partition of Punjab.

Unionist party dominated the political scene of Punjab for almost two decades. Feudal leadership of the province could not come in to the momentum of the freedom movement till the last days of the movement. In the words of Wilder (1999:p.70) that following the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, and until the election of 1946, Punjab politics were controlled by the landlord-dominated Unionist Party.

The Unionist leader Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan ruled over Punjab as Chief Minister from 1937 to 1942. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan made alliances with Indian National Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal to form coalition government in the Punjab. Massarrat Abid and Qalb –I- Abid (2009:p.176) stated that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, who later became Punjab's Chief Minister being extremely rude advised Jinnah to keep his finger out of Punjab pie- 'and if he meddles- Jinnah might burn his fingers'. Massarrat Abid, Qalb –I- Abid (2009:p.176) added that Quaid-i- Azam issued a statement saying that the Punjab is the most official ridden province and that some leaders of the Punjab were the creatures of the British government.

3.2 (3) All India Muslim League Under Feudals Influence

The feudal politicians of Punjab participated in politics to secure their class interest and not to protect the interest of Muslim community. When the huge victory of All India Muslim League in 1945-46 elections ensured that Pakistan was going to be a reality, the Punjabi feudal politicians started to join Muslim League. Aziz (2001:p.22) affirmed that in Punjab this landed class gave its loyalty to the Unionist Party because the League had virtually no existence in the province. However when the League was seen to have won the final nationalist battle or to be on the point of winning it, the entire feudal ballast of the Unionist Party swung over to it in the 1945-46 elections. Desai and Ahsan (2005:p. 95) are of the opinion that the feudals in that region [Punjab] were not prepared to join their ranks until a League victory became inevitable. Beg (1998: p.24) affirmed that Prominent among those who joined the party before the election of 1946 were Major Mubarak Ali Shah, uncle of Abida Hussain, Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Iftikharuddin, Mumtaz Daultana, Nawab Muzaffar Khan and Syed Amjad Ali. Therefore Junejo (2010) commented that League was non- democratic in its nature led by elitists.

3.3 Post Independence Feudal Politics Of Punjab

In post-independence era, the landed aristocracy established their hold over socio-political set up of Punjab, to maintain their hold they used undemocratic tactics. Feudal politicians severely harmed democratic values and institutions in the words of Beg (1998:p.24-25) when it came to the stage of having an independent state as created as Pakistan, it [feudal class] started to get itself restructured to take full advantage of the prevailing social pollution, fragile democratic infrastructure and the economic depression with which the nation was likely to be faced. Status quo was maintained on the system of operation since it was well established already and was providing maximum benefit to the landlord.

First provincial elections in Punjab were held on 10-12 March 1951. In the election the ruling Muslim League party offered most of the party tickets to the members of famous feudal families, the educated middle class was ignored. In the words of Ayesha Jalal (1999:p.148) in 1951 Election in Punjab the majority of party tickets were issued to members of landed gentry-the nawabzadas of Gujarat, the sayids of Jhang and the sardars of Muzafargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 27 February 1951. Khalid (2003:p.347-348) affirmed that they [feudals] won 80 percent of the seats in the provincial elections held in Punjab in 1951.

In Punjab, Muslim League was dominated by the landlords who selected Mian Mumtaz Daultana as Chief Minister [06-04-1951 to 03 -04-1953], an influential landlord to protect their class interest. Jalal (1999:p.149) stated that his [Mian Mumtaz Daultana's] cabinet consisted wholly of landlords, large and small, of whom only one was refugee. The landlords supported Mumtaz Daultana as long as he protected their class interest. When Mumtaz Daultana proposed lenient land reforms, the landlords were offended and in revenge they tried to destabilize Daultana's government through filthy tactics. The provincial government of Mumtaz Daultana was threatened by the artificial food shortage created by the landlords. Hamid Khan (2009:p.71) stated that Daultana was elected unopposed as Chief Minister and the leader of the League's parliamentary party. The Punjab soon faced serious food shortage, partly created by landlords who had turned hostile due to the modest reforms made by Daultana government in favour of agricultural tenants.

Early Politics of Punjab revolved around feudal politicians such as Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the first finance minister of Punjab, Mian Ifikhar Hussain Mamdot the first chief minister of Punjab and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan. The power tussle between these feudal politicians initiated the practice of using unethical tactics to seize and grab power. Ahmed Khan (1979:p.28) affirmed that as it was amply borne out by later events, both Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan have been mainly responsible for the ruination of the Punjab through their Machiavellian politics and their insatiable lust for power and money respectively.

Ahmed Khan (1979:p.17) is of the view that the sordid story of Mumtaz Daultana and Shaukat Hayat, which so morbidly applies to the entire feudal class of Pakistan reaching its climax as well as anti- climax in Z.A. Bhutto.

3.4 (1) National Politics Under Feudal Influence

The Feudal politicians of Punjab were not only involved in power politics of Punjab but also in national politics. The newly established state was severely in need of a constitution but the feudal politicians of Punjab used delaying tactics to defer constitution making. They complicated the issue of ratio of provincial representation, especially with East Pakistan. To the feudals of Punjab, the interest of feudal class was identical to the interest of Punjab as Haroon (2000:p.251) affirmed that in actuality, the landed aristocracy of Punjab was apprehensive of the enactment of a law on the pattern of the permanent settlement of Bengal in 1950, which had broken the stranglehold of the landlords in East Pakistan. In their bid to retain ascendancy in power politics of the country, they inflamed Punjabi Bengali rivalry. The crude campaign launched by the Punjabi group proved disruptive and frittered yet another chance to frame the much needed constitution by consensus

In the process of constitution making, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan deferred the first report of the Basic Principles Committee. On 22 December 1952, the second report presented by Prime Minister also met a similar fate. The Punjabi group dominated by feudal lords opposed it sternly on the ground that notwithstanding the parity formula, the probable alliance between East Pakistan and with smaller provinces of West Pakistan would prove harmful to the interest of Punjab. Furthermore, when the Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra presented "Bogra Formula" to the Constituent Assembly on 7th October 1953, the Punjabi politicians considered it

as a threat to the dominance of Punjab and to their class interest. Haroon (2000:p.271-272) is of the opinion that the politicians of Punjab apprehended that by virtue of Bogra formula, East Pakistan's undivided vote in conjunction with smaller provinces could be detrimental to the interest of Punjab. In This way the feudal politicians of Punjab deferred constitution making for almost nine year and the nation got its first constitution on 23rd March 1956.

In Punjab, feudal lords effectively resisted any threat to their class interest, initially their resistance was shown against the proposed land reforms of Mian Mumtaz Daultana, when chief minister Mian Mumtaz Daultana introduced a bill to amend Punjab Tenancy Act of 1950 and recommended mild land reforms, he had to face stern resistance from the feudal members of Punjab assembly, in the enactment of the bill. The landlords used filthy tactics to destabilize Daultana government such as creating fake food shortage in Punjab. Jalal (1999:p.150) affirmed that it was only threatening to resign that Daultana managed to convince the League parliamentary party to pass the tenancy bill. But it was a hallow victory. The larger landlords retaliated by refusing to bring wheat to the *mandis*. By the middle of 1952, speculation and hoarding had played havoc with the provincial distribution machinery. In spite of repeated requests for emergency food supplies, the center was unwilling to pay for provincial mismanagement. So the politics of a province – once the 'bread basket' of India- had left it facing a man-made famine. The Punjabi landlords could not have struck back more cruelly. Afzal (1986:p.60-61) reaffirmed that in retaliation, the landlords resorted to extreme measures. According to alarming reports received from the districts in Autumn of 1952, besides hoarding food-grain, the landlords were persuading their tenants to sow cash crops rather wheat. They thus aimed at the political killing of the hateful Daultana ministry.

During this period the feudal politicians were also busy in playing tricks to remove Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin from premiership as they considered him a threat to their class interest. Kibria (1999: p.110) stated that the West Pakistani feudals felt threatened by Nazimuddin when he became Prime Minister of Pakistan because of his leading role in abolishing zamindari in East Pakistan, while the bureaucracy, headed by Ghulam Mohammad, felt threatened by an experienced administrator and a great statesman. Together they hatched a conspiracy to remove Nazimuddin, with the tacit approval of army chief, General Ayub Khan.

The feudals of Punjab left no stone untouched to protect their class interest and in the pursuance of this objective they got involved in palace intrigues. In 1953, anti-Qadiani movement was triggered by the feudal chief minister of Punjab Mumtaz Khan Daultana to destabilize the central government. Haroon (2000: p.252) stated that Anti-Qadiani movement raised its head in Punjab with ferocity. The Chief Minister of Punjab Mumtaz Khan Daultana made no efforts to quell the disturbance and it was generally perceived that he had engineered the uprising since he was cross with Nazimuddin [Prime Minister 17 October 1951 – 17 April 1953].

Hamid Khan (2009: p.71) is of the opinion that the anti-Ahmediya agitation and food shortage caused serious difficulties for Nazimuddin government. In early March 1953, anti-Ahmediya riots erupted throughout Punjab. The situation for Nazimuddin further deteriorated due to slashing of defense budget by one third because of stringent financial conditions. This annoyed military leaders and the stage was set for action against Nazimuddin government.

Thus the feudals were successful in removing Khawaja Nazimuddin from premiership to secure their class interest. Kibria (1999:p. 111) is of the opinion that by ousting Khawaja Nazimuddin, the feudals hoped to safeguard their British-bestowed fiefdom.

3.4. (2) Politics Of One Unit

On 5 October 1955, four provinces and 10 princely states of West Pakistan were unified into One Unit to form one province. After the formation of One Unit, East and West Pakistan were given representation in national assembly on parity basis. One Unit scheme 1955 [30 September, 1955- 1 July, 1970] was another trick to maintain the political hold of Punjab. After the unification and declaring Lahore as its provincial capital, Punjab emerged as a very powerful component of One Unit. The feudals of Punjab got a chance to maintain their dominance over the weaker components of the unit and over East Pakistan. The scheme was considered against the interest of East Pakistan and against the three weaker components of West Pakistan.

Wilcox (1963:171) stated that one of the vital issues that had caused delay in the framing of the constitution was the question of representation of various constituent units of the new state. East Pakistan with 56% of the total population was not ready to accept anything less than its due while Punjab, which already dominated the civil and military services, was not prepared

to sit in the house in an insignificant position. They, therefore, came forth with two proposals: (1) unification of West Pakistan into a single unit, “preferably under the leadership of the Punjab,” and (2) creation of a sub federation of West Pakistan. Ghulam Mohammad [Governor General] had a strong preference for the one unit plan. Asif Haroon (2000: p.271-272) is of the opinion that merger of the provinces and states of West Pakistan into a single province was essentially motivated by the fear of Bengal’s domination over Punjab. The one unit rather than integrating the two wings caused greater polarization and mistrust and was another watershed in national disintegration.

To protect their narrow interest, feudal lords of Punjab harmed the national integration and unity of the country, the consequences of the wrong policies were awful, in the words of Kibria (1999:p. 110) one of the major conclusions that I have drawn over the years about the action of the government of East Pakistan on land reforms was that it gave the governing feudal classes in West Pakistan that as a major province East Pakistan would enforce similar land reforms in West Pakistan. Since this measure would have broken the political and economic stranglehold of the feudal classes in West Pakistan, a decision must have been taken to keep East Pakistan out of decision-making. This tacit understanding among the feudal class by Kalabaghs, Gardezis, Gilanis and Qureshis was to prove a major factor in the feeling of deprivation in decision-making on the part of East Pakistan and sow the seeds of the eventual separation between the two wings of the country. In the opinion of Aziz (2001 p. 60-61) the succession of East Pakistan was a gift from heaven to the West Pakistani feudal *pir* leaders. With the departure of Bengalis, the feudal *pir* could now dominate the new Pakistan without any democratic pressure from the East. In the company with the zamindars they consider the country as a personal fiefdom and rule it accordingly.

The feudal politicians of Punjab did not accommodate the wishes and requirements of East Pakistani majority; the feudal lords were not prepared to surrender their wealth and lands for the sake of country. In the opinion of Khalid (2003: p. 350-351) in 1971, this landed aristocracy of West Pakistan got rid of East Pakistan which became a blessing in disguise for them.

3.5 Alliance Of Military And Landed Elite

Since inception of the country, the Punjabi feudal lords have been one of the components of the ruling elites. To maintain their hold landed aristocracy made alliances with other powerful segments of the society, the landed and military elites joined hands to strengthen each other to secure their class interests. In 1953, when Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin posed a threat to the interest of landed elites he was dismissed by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad with the approval of higher military command. Kibria (1999: p.119) affirmed that now it is common knowledge that in the 1953 coup, [General] Ayub provided tacit but immense help to those who conspired to remove Nazimuddin from power because of the threat he represented to the feudal order.

The political history of Pakistan illustrates that during early years, influential landlords of Punjab supported military rulers General Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan to remain in power. General Ayub Khan selected Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan, the largest feudal of Mianwali [North West of Punjab] as the governor of West Pakistan as Saeed Shafqat (1995: p. 85) quoted that Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh, one of the most conservative and powerful landlords of Punjab, was appointed governor of West Pakistan in 1959. Shafqat (1995: p.84) is of the view that the military recognized the feudal as the legitimate power holders in the rural Pakistan.

3.6 Land symbolizes Political Power In Punjab

In rural and even in urban Punjab, land is one of the important determinants to determine socio-political status of a community. Landowners enjoy higher social status than other classes of the society; on the base of their status they influence the political opinion of their peasants. Very few tenants have the courage to cast vote against the wishes of their feudal. Lawrence Ziring (1971: p. 145) stated that the zamindars are the most influential sub-caste within their category and it is customary for them to control the political life of community.

Shafqat (1995: p. 71) is of the opinion that in the rural setting, despite the effects of modernization and change, the land owning elites continue to enjoy power. The landlord-tenant relationship continues to be that of dependence. The tenants and rural masses despite growing

political awareness, continue to serve as “vote banks” for the land -owning elites. Their social, economic, political and cultural revolves around this relationship.

Feudalism intensifies class differences between wealthy landlord and poor peasants, the poor peasants are vulnerable to the exploitation of landlord. The peasants are considered as *riaya* of the feudals and are bound to obey their orders. Hasan Khan (1998: p.17) stated that the rural landless (share-cropper tenants and wage workers) present a majority of those deemed to be functionally vulnerable and a large proportion of them are living below the poverty line. Regionally, a high incidence (much above the national average) of rural poverty is observed in the Punjab districts of Mianwali, Bhakkar, Muzaffargarh, Leiah, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Rajanpur, which are low intensity areas dominated by a feudal- type tenancy.

3.7 Politics Of Feudal Families Of Punjab

Since generations, few powerful feudal families have been dominating the politics of Punjab, socially these families enjoy high status and politically they have been ruling the province. Either civil or military rules, the members of these families win seats in every election. These families draw their strength from bradri system [kinship]; these candidates win election with the support of his clan or tribe. Mirza Arshad Ali Beg (1998: p.47) extended this view by commenting that the emergence of this country, superimposed a feudal state on a tribal society or the system called biradri or clan. The directives of the village head, who is usually the landlord, are based on kinship and that govern the *biradri*. Biradris have played a major role in allowing the politically active families in the sub-continent to continue to remain active in politics after independence. Ali (1992: p.92) stated that in Sindh and Punjab, the feudal system has deep roots and there is few number of feudal families who are famous and prominent in state politics since the partition.

These landlords were created by the colonial rulers of Sub-continent of India to safeguard their interests. When these landlords migrated to Pakistan after independence, they were compensated with lands which they have left in India. Thus they recaptured social status and political power. Desai and Ahsan (2005:p. 126) are of the opinion that almost without exception, Pakistan’s feudals in the colonized lands of NWFP, Punjab and Sindh had obtained their

landholdings from the colonized regime, mainly for loyal services rendered. Not more than handful could trace their ancestor's names in the land record preceding the British colonization.

Amir (2012) stated that a few Punjabi politicians attained prominence under the British: Sir Fazal-e-Hussain, Sikander Hayat of Wah and Khizr Hayat Tiwana [are few of them]. Abbas (2003) is of the opinion that the sons of these very feudal forces dominate the scene in Pakistan today, especially in Punjab and Sind provinces.

Powerful and famous feudal political families of Punjab are, Awans of Western and Central parts of Punjab, Chaudhris of Gujarat, Khars of Muzaffargarh, Khosas of Dera Ghazi Khan, Makhdooms of Southern Punjab, Mazaris of Rajanpur, Legharis of Dera Ghazi Khan, Tiwanas of Khushab and Sadars [chief of] various regions of Punjab. Mirza Arshad Ali Beg (1998: p.48) extended this view by commenting that the same families dominate the political scene. There are changes in the faces but the family remains the same. The seat vacated by a father passes on to his son, brother, cousin or nephew and many of them are members of parliament at the same time. The parliamentarians, if one takes a close look, belong to families of Awans, Chaudhris, Khars, Khosas, Legharis, Makhdooms, Mazaris, Sardars, Tawanas etc in Punjab.

In Punjab, landed aristocracy inculcated feudal culture in rural and urban communities and the society was converted into a feudal society, divided into upper and lower classes. These feudal families represent power and status. Khalid (2003 p. 347) explained that at the time of partition i.e. 1947, owners of over 100 acres constituted only 2 percent of land owners but owned 41 percent of area in Punjab.

Wilder (1999: p. 72) is of the opinion that in Punjab provincial politics, in contrast with national politics, it was rural rather than urban politicians who inherited power after independence. Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot became Punjab's first Chief Minister and Mian Mumtaz Daultana the president of Punjab Muslim League. The new urban, progressive League leaders, such as Mian Iftikharuddin, either left or were forced out of the party.

In elections, the Members of these feudal families are considered strong candidates, political party issue them party tickets. In every government they make their space in assemblies and cabinet. Mubarak Ali (1992: p.93) stated that in Sindh and Punjab, the feudal system has

roots and there are few number feudal families who are famous and prominent in state politics since the partition. Ali Nawaz Memon (1997 p.104) explained that the well-known feudal families (in Punjab) of Piracha, Tiwana, Janjua, Chata, Chaudhri, Cheema, Daultana, Abbasi, Qureshi, Khar, Khosa, Ghilani, Laghari, Makhdoom, Nawabzada, and Others Continue to Prosper.

In Punjab, these feudals are not affiliated with any political party or political agenda permanently; they join and quit political parties for personal benefits. In the presence of feudal influence, educated middle class has been ignored and was unable to play active role in politics as Aziz (2001 p. 30-31) affirmed that in Punjab, men of severely limited education and intelligence like Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, or men of no experience at all and of no credentials except feudal parentage like Captain Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, or men who had jumped on to the League bandwagon when its victory seemed assured to safeguard their future careers like Sir Firoz Khan Noon and Mian Iftikharuddin...this tradition destroyed the Muslim League after 1947. It also destroyed democracy in Pakistan.

Shfqat (1995 p. 72) stated that in the Punjab, Legharis, Mazaris, Qureshis, Noons and Tawanans are not merely feudal families but also act as factional leaders. Garewal (1988: p .75) is of the opinion that big or small, the zamindar families exercise great influence on rural life. Not to speak of their influence on rural life, these zamindar families, having their wealth, property, vast tracts of lands and constituencies in rural area, have immense impact on politics. Almost every regime is obliged to win the support of these families, who, in return share power in the government by one way or the other.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES OF FEUDALISM

4.1 Socio-political Attributes Of Feudalism In Punjab

Characteristically, the feudal societies are deeply divided into socio-economic classes; feudals are considered upper class of the society which dominates weaker segments of the society. In Punjab, most of the ruling elites belong to the feudal class, who believe that they are born to rule. Ahmad (1987: p.171) stated that the landlords are the most favored class in society in terms of their social status, political leverage and even financial standing.

This class draws its power from land, the amount of land determines the social status of the landowner, more land attaches more power and status to the landlord. Sharif M Shuja (2006) is of the opinion that the political power of the feudal class is derived from their economic power, while their political power enables them to consolidate and expand their economic power.

Khalid (2003:P.357) stated that it has been reported that feudals in PPP [Peoples Party Parliamentarian] owned 75 percent of cultivatable land in Punjab. During their term of service these feudal MNAs (member National Assembly) and MPAs (member provincial assembly) get huge amounts of money in the name of development funds. During their term, feudal lords build up and expand their business establishments, in this way they become business tycoons. They frequently travel abroad to spread their business network to other countries. Waseem (1989:p. 218) is of the view that a formidable number of landlords kept all economic initiative in their own hands and stunted any efforts at encroachment on their dominating position.

The peasants who earn their livelihood from the lands of feudals, are dependent on feudal in many ways, they get loans from the feudals, build homes on his land, therefore, the cultivators have no other option but to obey their lord. Docherty (2008) avowed that in the heart of the Punjab, feudal landowners are the also the political elite holding tenant-voters firmly in their grip. Ziring (1971: p. 144) is of the opinion that the landlord's grip remains strong and irrespective of signs that the order is being challenged, there is not enough evidence to prove that

changes of a fundamental nature are occurring. Where socio-economic mobility is restricted, political power remains a monopoly.

In rural Punjab, the income of lands has created two classes, one of affluent landowners and other of the poor peasants, who are vulnerable to the socio-economic exploitation of the landowner. Not only in rural but in urban Punjab, landlords enjoy high social status. Feudal lords show their status by using big cars, keeping huge farm houses and spending lavishly. Ali (1992 p.94) affirmed that their [feudals] way of living is completely different from other classes.

On the contrary, the social status of the peasantry is comparatively very low as Beg (1998: p.19) affirmed that the majority of peasants have continued to remain under serious debt burden and every facet of their life is controlled and dictated by the landlords. Ghulam Kibria (1999: p. 118) stated that now, it is well known that the root cause of the social and political problems in the province of Punjab was largely, though not solely, due to the concentration of land in a few hands.

Feudalism is not only an economical system but also a socio-political system as the political institution is dominated by economic institution at village level. M. Iqbal Chaudhry (1980:p.170) affirmed that the village headman, landlord, retired civil or military officials and such other persons with high socio-economic status dominate the political institutions. Iqbal Chaudhry (1980 p.367) added that the concentration of land in the lands of zamindars led to the centralization of power in few hands.

In Punjab, majority members of Muslim League N (Nawaz) Muslim League Q [Quaid-e-Azam], and Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians are powerful feudals of their respective constituencies. The feudal culture not only exists in rural Punjab but the big cities such as Lahore, Rawalpindi and Faisalabad are also under the strong influence of feudal culture. Decision making and policy making in legislative chambers, reflect the interest of the landed aristocracy.

Beg (1998: p.28) affirmed that the feudal system has now penetrated in to urban area and thus holds firm control of the democratic infrastructure. This is how the feudal system has corrupted the system of governance, polluted the social structure of the society and is now engaged in protecting its interests.

4.2 Representative Institutions Of Punjab

In democratic countries, legislative bodies reflect the will of people but in Punjab it is difficult to locate the political will of people. The assemblies do not transform the will of people into policies but secure the interest of the powerful classes of the society. Ahmad (2009: p.19) is of the view that given our country's peculiar socio-economic and political culture, based on a feudal and tribal structure, and a high rate of poverty and illiteracy, and also in view of our long tradition of remote –controlled elections, the prospects of a robust democratic order, genuinely rooted in the will of the people, are very slim. Ahmad (2009: p.19) added that in the process, the people had no role in their country's decision-making. Parliaments and election have been used as the means of serving only selfish group interests or the interests of opportunist feudal, moneyed, law-evading, land grabbing and privileged elites and classes.

Shuja (2000) is of the view that many members in the national and provincial legislatures have landed backgrounds. Rural Pakistan continues to languish under the yoke of 'feudalism'.

4.3 Determinants Of Voting Behavior In Punjab

In the political culture of Punjab, power is the most important determinant to influence voting behavior. People vote to the powerful candidate to seek protection against other strong groups of society. Money is another important determinant, influential candidate spends lots of money to buy votes in rural and urban Punjab. Strong family background and spiritual lining is another determinant, people prefer candidates belonging to pir (spiritual) families. Fear and threat is another determinant, if people do not cast vote for a powerful candidate they could face damaging consequences. Safri (2008) stated that Ghulam Abbas, an unemployed villager in rural Dosera, Punjab province, describes a climate of fear on Election Day. 'The feudals have their own cronies on every street. They know who is favoring whom. If they lose in any polling station they can figure out through this system and take revenge.' Revenge can come in the form of false police cases, he says, or unfair prices at the mills, which are owned by the feudal lords. Bhatti (2013) is of the opinion that the majority of feudal dominated rural population in rural Sindh, Baluchistan and in South Punjab cannot exercise their right of vote in a democratic, open and transparent way.

Most of the political parties offer party tickets to the influential landlords. Hasan (2008) stated that in such circumstances, all parties have to field a number of feudal politicians," explains one analyst. "As they see it, only the feudals can assure certain victory.

Buying and selling of votes has become a common practice in rural Punjab. Usually, the elder of the family or the head of a tribe plays the role of mediator between his people and the candidate. Bhatti (2013) is of the view that they openly offer poor families money in return for their votes. This practice has become a norm in last two decades. No political party has resisted this practice but instead they encouraged candidates to do so. Bhatti (2013) added that in rural areas, people do not vote individually but in blocks. In villages, the elders of different clans and tribes decide to which candidate their clan and tribe is going to vote.

In rural Punjab, the image of the leader is of a powerful and superior man, as they do not want to be ruled by an ordinary man, therefore they vote for powerful feudal lord. Ziring (1971: p.147) explained that it matters little to the average villager what form government takes. Insofar as he is concerned the power of the ruler is the historical power of "Badshah" [monarch] and there can be no check on his authority. Ziring (1971: p.146) added that by and large, villagers visualize the distant government as monarchial in form. Government, in order to perform the supreme function of safe-guarding the traditional mode of life, must wield absolute power – and this only a king can conceivably do.

4.4 Feudalism And Political Participation In Punjab

In Democratic system voters elect their representatives and those representatives represent public opinion on the floor of assemblies. However, in Punjab, under the strong influence of feudalism, representative institutions could not work in accordance with the wishes of the people because the members of the assemblies are not elected on the base of merit but majority of the voters give vote on the base of kinship or bradri. In rural Punjab choice is more limited, the peasants are bound to vote in favour of their feudal lord or to his recommended candidate. Therefore, in the presence of landed elites, election and the voting become futile exercise. Usually, people of rural areas do not understand difference between parliamentary and presidential forms of government. They have little or no knowledge about democratic system and institutions. Ali (2008) is of the view that this self-reinforcing feudal political system, which is

organized around ethnic, tribal and caste identities, is now increasingly recognized as having retarded the development of genuine political participation in the country for generations. Not only in rural but in urban Punjab, the electorates have little knowledge about national issues.

The rural vote of Punjab plays important role in determining results of the general election as Hasan (2008) is of the opinion that Punjab is seen by many as where the elections will be won or lost - and the rural vote is vital in what is still a predominantly agricultural society but the feudal influence has strongly effected political participation, it has limited the choice of the voters as to elect a feudal among feudals. With the change of faces the same feudal families have been ruling Punjab. The Political feudals not only transfer land and wealth to the next generations but also transfer seats of national and provincial assemblies. The political choice in rural Punjab is more limited, for the poor peasantry and rural population vote is not a political right but an obligation which they do for the sake of their lord. Siddiqui (1972: p: 62) is of the opinion that it can not be said that the great majority of the rural masses who were tenant -at – will, had a political will of their own. Usto (2008) vowed that the peasants and rural folk who comprise 60 per cent of the country's population free to take their own political, economic and cultural decisions? Obviously the answers would be in the negative.

In democracies, Public opinion plays important role in the shaping public policies. Education, free press / electronic media and freedom of expression are effective devices to develop vigilant public opinion. Public representatives remain well-informed of the public trends and seek to transform the wishes of people in to policies. The continuity of government immensely depends on the support of public opinion. On the contrary, in our society representatives are not concerned with public opinion because the survival and the continuity of the governments do not depend on public opinion but largely depend on the support of civil and military establishment. Roedad Khan (1997: p. 200) is of the opinion that we have representative democracy, with assemblies, political parties, cabinet, a free press, and the other symbols of democracy. But all these play no role in determining policy decisions and have (for all practical purposes) become irrelevant.

In rural Punjab, literacy rate is very low and rural population has little access to the sources of information. In this situation the local landlord take advantage of the ignorance of the masses and assumes the role of local head and political leader. Ziring (1971:p.114) is of the view

that landless peasants are largely leaderless and unorganized. The landlord 's grip remains strong and in respective of signs that the older order is being challenged, there is not enough evidence to prove that challenges of a fundamental nature are occurring. Where socio-economic mobility is restricted, political power remains a monopoly of vested interests.

During election campaigns influential landlords use different tactics to convince peasants to give them vote. Ali (2008) is of the view that due to their dependence on landlords, sharecroppers are highly prone to manipulation. Several feudal landlords have acquired immense political power using political support of their sharecroppers. Syed Mohammad Ali (2008) added to the point that while most prominent landlords would deny that they order their sharecroppers to vote for them, the ground reality is that vast tracts of rural lands are being cultivated by thousands of sharecroppers each, who remain dependent on feudal largesse in very fundamental ways. The temptation of landlords to easily nudge these poor sharecroppers to vote for them seems one that is too strong to overcome. Ali (2008) further added that disobedience can also be deterred easily using the threat of eviction from homesteads built on the land owned by the landlords. Iqbal Chaudhry (1980 p.170) is of the view that group of landlords is another type of pressure group who influences their tenants to vote for them or their candidate. The tenants are socially and economically bound to obey their landlords.

In democratic countries, the representatives are considered answerable to their voters and obliged to represent the viewpoint of their voters in assemblies. If representatives do not perform according to the wishes of their voters they could lose their seats in next election but in our society no mechanism of accountability is in practice. The representatives do not feel that they are accountable to the voters. Even in the times of crisis and emergency, the voters could not find support of their representatives as in 2010, when flood hit hard Southern and Central parts of Punjab including Multan, Mianwali, Rajanpur, Chiniot, Gujranwala, Gujarat and Sialkot, the people were left alone to face the miseries of flood and their representatives were enjoying comforts in big cities of Punjab. Rizvi (2000: p.269-270) stated that there was much frustration and alienation at the common level who felt that the political institutions and processes were not responsive to their needs and aspirations.

Usually, the voters are unable to register their grievances through media or press, the only available option for them is through demonstrations on roads. In rural Punjab the landlords

purposely obstructed the spread of education to keep their voters uninformed and unaware. These landlords discouraged the opening of schools in their constituencies.

Nawaz (2011:p.82) stated that Successive political leaders and eviscerated and vaunted bureaucracy managed to weaken the educational system, thus depriving the country of alternative government mechanism and an informal electorate.

4.5 (1) Feudal Politics Of Different Regions Of Punjab

This study has divided the province of Punjab in to Central, Southern, Western and Northern regions, to discuss feudal influence on the different regions of Punjab.

4.5 (2) Feudal Politics Of Northern Punjab

Andrew R. Wilder (1999: p. 48) explained that Northern Punjab correspondence with the administrative boundaries of Rawalpindi division, which encompasses the districts of Attock, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Chakwal. Andrew R. Wilder (1999: p.47- 48) avowed that North Punjab is the most literate of the Punjab's region.

Although, North Punjab is the most literate region of Punjab but the politics of North Punjab are also under the influence of feudal lords. The feudal politicians of this region are in large number in Punjab assembly.

The list of prominent feudal politicians of North Punjab, who won 2008 Punjab assembly election, is given as annexure 2.

4.5 (3) Feudal Politics Of Central Punjab

Wilder (1999: p. 37) explained that Central Punjab encompasses Sargodha district of Sargodha Division; Faisalabad and Toba Tek Singh Districts of Faisalabad Division; Gujranwala, Gujarat, Sialkot, and Narowal Districts of Gujranwala division; Lahore, Sheikhpura, Kasur, and Okara districts of Lahore division; and Sahiwal District of Multan Division. Wilder (1999: p. 35) explained that Central Punjab is not only the province's geographic center, but also its political, economic, and cultural center. Wilder (1999: p. 41) added that Central Punjab is the politically dominant region of the Punjab.

Politically, Central Punjab is the most active and important region of the province. Political activism of Central Punjab has produced many eminent political figures and feudal politicians.

Central Punjab plays important role in determining the success or failure of political parties in Punjab, therefore all leading political parties focus Central Punjab in election campaigns. Wilder (1999: p. 37) is of the opinion that the key to success in Punjab politics, and to a considerable extent Pakistani politics, lies here [in central Punjab]. Wilder (1999: p. 58) is of the opinion that the old Punjabi saying, 'Ussi qaidi thakhat Lahore de' ('we are prisoners of the throne in Lahore') is something quoted by those wishing to express their unhappiness about the political dominance of the Central Punjab.

Central Punjab is consisted of many big cities such as Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Gujarat, Sialkot, Kasur and Okara. Urban culture is dominant in Central Punjab but the rural area of the region is somehow under the influence of feudalism. Bhatti (2013) is of the view that even in central Punjab, which is somewhat free from the clutches of feudalism; the rural poor find it difficult to oppose the rich and influential candidates in their respective areas. Bhatti (2013) added that in the rural areas of Central Punjab, money determines the outcome of elections as the rich candidates buy the votes of poor people and sometimes those of the whole village or clan. The political parties prefer super rich candidates because they can spend money to buy and attract votes.

The list of the prominent feudal politicians of Central Punjab, who won 2008 Punjab assembly election, is given as annexure 3.

4.5 (4) Feudal Politics Of Southern Punjab

Wilder (1999:p. 54) explained that Southern Punjab encompasses Multan, Khanewak, Vehari, and Lodhran District of Multan Division; and Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, and Rahim Yar Khan Districts of Bahawalpur Division.

Southern Punjab is believed to be under the strong influence of feudalism, therefore low literacy rate and extreme poverty can be observed in this region as S Akbar Zaidi (August 1, 2013) stated that there are very wide disparities within Punjab itself, a fact recognized by anyone who talks about Punjab, with Southern Punjab, in many ways, worse than many of Sindh's

districts in terms of underdevelopment. On the contrary this region has produced many wealthy and famous feudal politicians such as former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani (25 March 2008 – 19 June 2012) former minister of Foreign Affairs Shah Mehmood Qureshi (31 March 2008- 9 February 2011) and former minister of Foreign Affairs Hina Rabbani Khar (11 February 2011- 16 March 2013).

Feudal culture prevails in Southern Punjab as Hamid Hussain (2012) is of the view that personal and clan interests, factional rivalries, strong emphasis on *biradari* (kinsman ship) and local influence are essential elements of politics of Southwestern Punjab. Bhatti (2013) is of the view that the majority of feudal dominated rural population in rural Sindh, Baluchistan and in South Punjab cannot exercise their right of vote in a democratic, open and transparent way.

The list of the prominent feudal politicians of Southern Punjab, who won 2008 Punjab assembly election, is given as annexure 4.

4.5 (5) Feudal Politics Of Western Punjab

Wilder (1999 p. 61) explained that the land between the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and the Indus River, known as the Sindh Sagar Doab and the trans- Indus Derajat together comprise the region of West Punjab. It encompasses Khushab, Mianwali, and Bhakkar Districts of Sargodha Division; Jhang District of Faisalabad Division; and Layyah, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Rajanpur Districts of Dera Ghazi Khan Division. Wilder (1999: p. 60) stated that this region has witnessed the least social-economic change over time. It has the least urbanized, literate, and economically developed regions of the Punjab. Much of this can be attributed to the retrogressive effects of the still prevalent conservative tribal and semi-feudal structure. For the same reason, this region has witnessed the least political change over time as prominent tribal leaders and landed elite maintain their political and economic hold over their tribesmen and tenants.

The list of the prominent feudal politicians of Western Punjab, who won 2008 Punjab assembly election, is given as annexure 5.

4.6 Political Culture Of Punjab

Franklin and Baun (1996:p.8) stated that in the absence of favorable political environment any political design is inadequate for the development of constitutional state and

ultimately democratic institutions. In Pakistan socio-political environment, dominated by powerful elites is not favourable for development of democratic infrastructure. In modern Democracies people not only elect their representatives but also keep constant check on their performance. Elections are held after regular intervals to get fresh mandate from the voters, but in Pakistan the continuity of elections was interrupted by military rules and first general elections were held on 7 December 1970. The discontinuity of elections resulted in the dominance of non representative elements. Soofia Mumtaz, Jean Luc Racine and Imran Anwar Ali (2002: p.36) are of the opinion that the lack of voting activity after 1947 failed to provide electoral indicators, virtually up to 1970.

The first general elections of December 1970 provided an opportunity to the big landlords to secure most of the seats and take over the charge of the country directly. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a powerful landlord of Sindh became Prime Minister of Pakistan and most of the seats of national and provincial assemblies were secured by the landlords. Iqbal Chaudhry (1980:p.363) is of the opinion that the zamindars having big estates maneuvered votes from their tenants and represented the masses being imposed leaders.

In Punjab, ever since the first general elections, the role of the voters is limited to the casting of vote; they have no voice in the making of policies. The representatives who belong to privileged classes neither understand nor represent the problems of unprivileged classes of society. Ahmad (1987:p.170) is of the view that the land starved and landless peasantry has a vote in electing the nation's tribune but no voice in the deliberations of its chambers. Kibria (1999:p. 153-154) is of the view that in western democratic countries, vigilant voters keep an eye on the politicians that they elect. Any politicians suspected of even the slightest inefficiency or wrongdoing loses his seat in the next election. Their political awareness keeps people in the West more vigilant.

On the other side, the poor voters of rural and urban Punjab are vulnerable to every kind of exploitation. They are bound to give vote to their landlord or sell their votes for minimal amount of money. Ziring (1971:p.152) avowed that votes are cast by groups, not individuals. A politician simply arranged "an understanding" with the leader of a particular group or faction and all the votes within that faction were delivered in his behalf. Villagers look down upon an individual who takes money for a vote but do not object if the money is bestowed upon the

group. Ziring (1971:p.148) added that village politics remain at a level where votes can be freely bought and sold.

The buying and selling of votes has retarded the growth of democratic institutions. In the absence of competent leadership, educated middle class could have taken the lead to guide other groups of the society but in Punjab middle class could not play its role as it was overshadowed by the landed aristocracy. Furthermore, the educated middle class and intelligential could not transmit their political ideology to the uneducated voters. Kibria (1999: p. 154) has explained that in the West, there first grew up an educated class, and intellectuals among them formed the intelligentsia. It was through them that political education and social awaking reached the classes and the masses. Kibria (1999: p. 154) added that the feudals did not need political education and social awakening, nor would they allow their peasants to acquire any. So, it was the duty of middle class which migrated to Punjab to provide political education to the Pakistani masses.

As the educated middle class could not play active role in politics, they left the field open for the feudals. Another factor is that in rural Punjab, most of the illiterate and ignorant voters do not understand the value of vote. While casting votes they abide by the decision of their faction leader even against their own choice. Wilder (1999: p. 177) has explained that normally people don't shift their allegiance in villages. Why they don't shift is because normally every village is divided into different factions or *dharas*. If I belong to Muslim League and you are opposing me, will go and join the other party to seek protection and refuge. And these personal feuds lead people to seek refuge through politics.

4.7 (1) Socioeconomic Attributes Of Feudalism

4.7 (2) Land Reforms Of 1959, 1972 And 1977

After independence, the political leadership soon realized that feudalism is a big hurdle in the way of socio-economic and socio-political development of the country and they started to make efforts to get rid of the evil of feudalism. In February 1949, a five members Agrarian Reforms Committee was constituted under the chairmanship Mian Mumtaz Daultana with the aim to reduce the size of vast landholding. These efforts met with severe resistance from the feudal members of Punjab assembly and prominent leaders of the Pakistan Muslim League.

Aziz (2001: p.34-35) stated that with the coming of independence the issue of land reforms was shelved. The privileges of the zamindars were fully protected. In practical terms the feudal class was invited to take over the country under the flag of Muslim League.

4.7 (3) Daultana Reforms:

After taking the office of Chief Minister of Punjab in 1951, Mian Mumtaz Daultana [Chief Minister of Punjab 06-04-1951-03-04-1953] proposed to put upper limit on vast landholdings. Waseem (1989:p. 217) stated that the Daultana reforms suggested for putting a ceiling of 50 acres on all landholdings.

Later a planning board was constituted to recommend ceiling on landholdings. Waseem (1989:p. 217) explained that the Graft Plan of the Planning Board (later Planning Commission) proposed ceiling of 150 acres, 300 acre and 450 acres respectively for irrigated, semi irrigated and non-irrigated lands; it however left its final judgment subject to further study. Saeed Shafqat (1995: p. 85) is of the view that the members of the land reform commission were mostly bureaucratic elites who had strong ties with the feudal classes and were not interested in rocking the rural power structure; instead they sought to co-opt a segment of a feudal class.

Mian Mumtaza Daultana was not able to implement these proposals as he was opposed by two strong groups of feudals, one under Pir Naubahadur Shah, a landlord of Multan and other group led by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan of Khangarh (a town of Muzaffargarh District).

4.7 (4) Land Of Reforms 1959

When General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and the Chief Martial Law Administrator, took charge of the country he showed determination to put ceiling on huge landholdings. Naqi, Hassan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989: p. 115) are of the opinion that the military regime that took over the government in 1958 committed itself to land reforms as part of its efforts to gain legitimacy in the eyes of public. The military ruler constituted a Land Commission for recommending limit on vast landholdings to break the concentration of land in few hands. Naqi, Hassan khan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989: p. 113) stated that the Land Reform Commission in 1959 recognized that in many areas (of West

Pakistan) power is concentrated in the hands of privileged few, which hampers the free exercise of political rights and stifles the growth of democracy and democratic institutions.

Waseem (1989:P. 217-218) stated that the 1959 Reforms finally ended with a ceiling of 500 acres for irrigated and 1000 acres for non-irrigated land, with exemptions for orchards, charitable institutions, the livelivestock farms.

Wilder (1999: p. 73) is of the view that although the reforms were modest in scope, they were Pakistan's first successful attempt to implement land reforms.

The land reforms of 1959 were unable to bring drastic change in old land tenure system. The implementation of the reforms was resisted by the landlords of General Ayub Khan's cabinet. Even the governor of West Pakistan, Malik Ameer Muhammad Nawab of Kalagagh [12 April 1960- 18 September 1966] was a powerful landlord of Mianwali [North Western Punjab]. Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi, Mahmood Hassan Khan and Syed Ghaffar Chaudhary (1989: p. 86) are of the opinion that the 1959 reforms did make a small dent in the well-entrenched zamindari system. The concentration of land ownership was somewhat reduced. Naqvi, Hassan and Ghaffar Chaudhary (1989:p. 86) are of the opinion that notwithstanding these achievements, the landed aristocracy managed virtually to intact their political and economic power in the country.

4.7 (5) Land Reform Of 1972 And 1977

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto took the charge of country on 20 December 1971. Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi, Mahmood Hassan Khan and M. Ghaffar Chaudhary (1989:p. 115) stated that when Pakistan People's Party came to power, it also saw the urgent need for land reforms as part of its "socialist" ideology.

It was declared in the Manifesto of Pakistan People's Party (1970, p.28) that "one of the main objectives of the PPP's "Islamic Socialism" was to introduce radical agrarian in order to ensure the elimination of feudalism". It was affirmed in Pakistan Peoples Party's manifesto to introduce a just economic system in country through implementation of land reforms. Naqvi, Hassan and Ghaffar Chaudhary (1989: p. 86) avowed that it was clearly stated [in Pakistan Peoples Party's manifesto) that breaking up of large estates to destroy the power of feudal landowners is a national necessity that will have to be carried through the practical measures.

In the pursuance of social justice and equality, as promised in his election campaign, Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto introduced first land reforms in 1972. Siddiqui (1998: p.209) stated that on 11 march 1972, Bhutto's administration introduced the new land reform scheme.

The 1972 Land Reforms reduced individual land holding to 150 acres irrigated and 300 un-irrigated lands. However the people who had to implement these land reforms were large landlords themselves, such as the Chief Minister of Punjab Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar [12 November 1973 -15 march 1974] belonged to one of the largest feudal family of Muzaffargarh [South Punjab]. Chief Minister of Punjab, Sadiq Hussain Qureshi [11 July 1975-5 July 1977] belonged to one of the largest landowning families of the Multan [South Punjab]. Naqvi, Hassan and Ghaffar Chaudhary (1989: p. 86) are of the view that the Land Reform Regulation of 1972 was itself amended in 1973 and 1974 to make some significant concessions to landowners.

As a second step, other land reforms were introduced in 1977 which further reduced the upper limit of individual land holding. The PPP government announced the land reform act (11) of 1977 on January 9, 1977.

Sayyed (1980: p.92) is of the opinion that he [Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto] was prepared to use the landlords as his political agents but at the same time he wanted to make it very clear to the small peasants and the tenants that he, as the Prime Minister, was the source of all benefits and rights that had accrued to them under the new reforms.

4.8 Causes Of Failure Of Land Reforms

In 1959, Field Marshal Ayub Khan introduced first land reforms but it could not produce expected results because the implementation plan of the land reform was poor. The feudals members of central and provincial assemblies were the main hurdle in way of proper implementation of the reforms. Another factor was, that the bureaucrats who had to implement the reforms, had strong links with landlords. Moreover the governor of West Pakistan [united province of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Frontier] Amir Mohammad Khan Nawab of Kalabagh was one of the largest landlords of Mianwali. Siddiqui (1972:p.102) is of the view that the Ayub regime had to take up an anti-feudalist posture without actually hurting the landlords.

Subsequently, during the civilian government of Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto who himself was one the largest landlords, many of his cabinet members were big landlords. The dominance of feudal element hindered the proper implementation of land reforms. Hamid Khan (2009:p.125) is of the opinion that these land reforms [1959] and subsequent land reforms in 1972 failed to break the hold of feudals over rural politics. They continued to be very powerful and generally win the rural constituencies particularly in interior Sindh, and in Southern and Western Punjab. Khalid B. Sayyed (1980: p.91) is of the view that the power and influence of the big and medium size landlords did not undergo any drastic change because of these land reforms. Bhutto [Z.A Bhutto] and his family owned 2,200 acres of agricultural land. Khalid (2003:p.348-348) extended this view by commenting that the two land reforms promulgated in 1959 and in 1972 were not effective enough to weaken feudalism.

The real dilemma is that on one side the military ruler Field Marshal Ayub Khan and civilian ruler Z.A Bhutto were trying to implement land reforms and on the other side both rulers sought the support of feudal politicians to remain in power. If Ayub Khan was backed by a feudal lord of North Punjab Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh, Z.A Bhutto sought the support of feudal lords of South Punjab, Malik Ghulam Mustafa khar and Sadiq Hussain Qurashi. Desai and Ahsan (2005, p. 128) are of the opinion that the fatal flaw in each of the three land reforms was the same. The class that was required to implement these reforms was also the class that would be most affected by it. Ali (1992 :p.94) is of the view that the feudal class has such hold over every government that no social and economic change occurred, the land reforms of Ayub Khan and Z.A Bhutto remained ineffective. They remained safe and secured in their rural palaces

Ahmed (2005: p. 126) explained that from the quantity of land resumed under the land reforms legislation of 1959, 1972 and 1977 which was roughly three million acres, two -third of which was cultivable waste, it was difficult to presume that it had made any visible difference to the quality of life of the rural backyard, or that the oppressive system of land tenure had suffered any set- back.

The feudals obstructed the implementation of reforms at every level, in assemblies and cabinet they left no stone untouched to protect their class interest. They were not ready to withdraw their wealth and power for the sake of country.

Ali (1992: p.130-131) is of the view that these measures however, failed to bring about any meaningful change in socio-economic system. Abbas (2003) is of the view that the Socio-economic and political powers are concentrated in few hands and any effort to threaten their power and status is treated with iron hands. Very influential people were behind the failure of the reforms. Naqvi, Hassan and Ghaffar Chaudhry (1989: p.117) are of the opinion that land reforms in Pakistan, limited in scope as they were, failed to produce the expected results also because of poor implementation. Further, the administrative structure was seriously deficient in countering the social and political pressure of the landlords.

The powers of status quo were more powerful than the powers of change; therefore no drastic change could be brought through these reforms in rural and urban society of Punjab. Khalid (2003: p.356) stated that a study conducted by "Pakistan Institute Of Development Economics" in 1987 comes to the same conclusion. It says that "the land reforms of 1959, 1972 and 1977 have not succeeded in significantly changing the status quo in Pakistan".

The landed aristocracy enjoys the same powers and authority which it used to enjoy during colonial times. On the other side, these reforms have not brought prosperity in the lives of peasantry. Ziring (1971 p. 143) quoted that landlordism, however, is still a respected and influential institution.

In Punjab many constituencies are known with the names of prominent feudal families which signify that a particular constituency belongs to a particular feudal family. In elections, political parties prefer to offer party tickets to the members of these families. Usually, no common man or dependent peasant in urban or rural Punjab can defeat them in their constituencies.

Ahmad (1987:p. 249) is of the opinion that the politics of Pakistan have always suffered from resistance to social change, and feudalism has been the most powerful resistant. So unshakable is the hold of the class on the land resources of the country that not all the reforms introduced since 1959, have caused the slightest dent in the system. Naqvi, Hassan and Ghaffar Chaudhry, (1989: p. 96) stated that land reforms have helped the resumption of only 9 percent, and the redistribution of just 7 percent, of the farm area over a period of 25 years.

After these land reforms the way of further reform was blocked, during military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, Shariah court declared land reforms un-Islamic. On December 13, 1980, the Federal Shariah Court declared the land reforms of 1972 and 1977 against the principles of Islamic. Tahir (2010) stated that the martial law regime of Ziaul Haq took a strong position against land reform. Its major innovation, the Shariat Court, declared land reform un-Islamic. Abbas (2003) stated that the so-called reforms which were carried out during the times of Ayub Khan and Bhutto sahib were stopped by a sharia court from 23rd March 1990 onwards.

CHAPTER 5

LANDED ELITES MAINTAIN THEIR HOLD IN MILITARY REGIMES

5.1 Military Regime Of General Perve Musharra 2002-2008

Presumably, the landed aristocracy, army and bureaucracy constitute the power structure of the state, these power components works in collaboration to maintain their hegemonic hold. After independence the feudal politicians such as Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdoot, Mian Mumtaz Ahmad Daultana, Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti, established their hold over socio-political set up of Punjab. Civil and military establishments supported feudal politicians to maintain their hold as Khalid (2003:p.351) affirmed that the power structure of the country, the landlords, the military, and the civil bureaucracy constitute ruling coterie. Khalid (2003:p.352) is of the opinion that their [feudals's] social, political and economic powers were greatly enhanced after the creation of Pakistan either the direct rule or by collusion with military dictators.

The feudal politics are not based on any political ideology or social ideas but on their personal interest. Their basic objective is to multiply their wealth and amplify their power the backing of civil and military rulers. Ali (1992:p.94) is of the opinion that for the feudals, it is no problem which party rules or what type of government comes to power. They enjoy their privileges whether there is Martial Law or democracy. Khalid (2003: p. 189) explained that the feudals of Pakistan abuse their political power through horse- trading, privileges, and loans (meant to be default). They could manage amend or negate constitution for any civil or military dictator or usurper. Therefore, when there was change of regime from civilian to military on 12 October 1999, the feudals were amongst the first ones to change their loyalties. When on 12 October 1999, Army Chief General Pervez Musharraf terminated the civilian government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the feudal politicians, who had been the allies of Nawaz Sharif, became the supporters of General Pervez Musharraf. Particularly in Punjab they took no time in changing their loyalties as Shuja (2000) affirmed that the roots of Pakistan's political crisis go deep beyond the October 99 coup. It is in the nature of the feudal system and politics in Pakistan.

5.2 Feudal Politics Of Punjab During Military Regime 2000 -2008

In Pakistan, army is the most organized institution equipped with skill and resources, which not only overshadows other institutions but also maintains its supremacy. During last 66 years of Pakistan's history, army directly ruled the country for 32 years, while during the remaining years; it has been an important component of power structure which has maintained its hold since independence. Desai and Ahsan (2005:p.98) stated that the question often asked is: how did the civil and military bureaucracy wrest power from the politicians at the very outset of Pakistan's creation? The answer has to be that it never relinquished it.

On 12 October 1999, when a series of turbulent events provoked army Chief Pervez Musharraf to terminate civilian government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and take over as chief executive. Shuja (2000) stated that General Pervez Musharraf, the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) declared a state of emergency, suspended the constitution and the National Assembly, and appointed himself chief executive. The military coup brought an end to the democratic era and the military rule continued till 2008. Talbot (2009:p.375) is of the opinion that the October 1999 coup challenged Pakistan's democratic future. As the feudal politicians maintain their hegemonic hold during civilian and military regimes; in this regard Musharraf era is no exception. Abbas (2003) affirmed that the country continued to be ruled by the feudal lords. The later regimes, including that of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Zia-ul-haq and now president Musharraf were founded on the foundations of feudalism.

After taking over the government, General Pervez Musharraf expressed his determination to get rid of feudalism but unlike General Ayub Khan, he could not introduce land reform. The reason was that General Musharraf was seeking the support of feudal lords to strengthen his powerbase. General Musharraf did not want to hurt the class interest of feudals by introducing land reforms and by putting limits on land ownership. Abbas (2003) stated that when general Musharraf came to power in October 1999, he had spoken against the feudal lords. He had also shown the people the way to reforms. His military media incharge Major General Rashid Qureshi, too, had talked about the controls of the feudal lords. But what happened? The Prime Minister of President Musharraf [Zafar-ullah Khan Jamail] says that there is no problem of feudalism in the country and there is no question of reforms in the agrarian relations.

The military rulers remain in power usually with the support of feudals, while the feudal politicians seek the support of military establishment to come to power; same is the case of General Pervez Musharraf who had to depend on feudal politicians to remain in power for more than nine years. During his regime, General Pervez Musharraf's allies, at center and at provincial levels were mostly landlords. Abbas (2003) stated that the Prime Minister of Pakistan [Zafarullah Khan Jamali] is a landlord, the Chief Minister of Sind [Ali Muhammad Mahar] is a landlord, the Chief Minister of Baluchistan [Jam Muhammad Yousaf] is a landlord, and the Chief Minister of Punjab [Chaudhry Pervez Elahi] is a landlord. In the opinion of Aziz (2001:p.21) in every game played in Pakistan the feudal lord is the ace of trumps.

The nine years military rule , harmed the growth of democratic values and institutions as Hussain (2010) is of the opinion that from [General] Ayub Khan to [General] Pervez Musharraf, military rule ruined the state structure of Pakistan as a whole, with only the elite benefiting from the system and no benefit being passed to the general public.

During the four military regimes of General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, General Zia- ul -Haq and General Pervez Musharraf, the issue of feudalism was not addressed seriously, to be more précised these regimes encouraged feudalism to strengthen their political base and tighten their grip on power structure. Dr. Pervez Tahir is of the opinion that drastic land reform would be a good solution. The first martial law regime of Ayub Khan made an effort. However, the ceiling on ownership was too high and the exceptions and exemptions too generous. In short, the great might of the generals could not break the back of feudalism. The martial law regime of Yahya Khan took no position on feudalism. In sharp contrast, the martial law regime of Zia -ul Haq took a strong position against land reform. Its major innovation, the Shariat Court, declared land reform un-Islamic as affirmed by Saeed (2010) that ceiling on land holdings and various other land reform measures have been declared un-Islamic and therefore unconstitutional by the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in the famous Qazalbash Waqf case.

Musharraf's emergency was closest to a martial law-type regime. Zafarullah Khan Jamali, a feudal handpicked to head the civilian façade of the government, made only one *qaum say khitab*. The only reference made to the economy was a rather proud assertion that no land reform

would ever take place. Not surprising, the military during this period itself became the biggest landlord.

To legitimize his rule, General Musharraf conducted general elections in October 2002. As winning majority seats in Punjab is considered very important; the national security adviser of General Pervez Musharraf, Tariq Aziz worked hard to bring the dissents of Muslim League (N) [Nawaz Sharif] in Muslim League (Q), which was a pro Musharraf party. In elections Muslim League (Q) was known as king's party, which emerged as the majority party in provincial elections of Punjab. Chaudhry Pervez Elahi, a profound supporter of General Pervez Musharraf became the Chief Minister of the province. Majority members of Pervez Elahi cabinet were landlords; the Speaker of Punjab provincial assembly, Chaudhary Muhammad Afzal Sahi (27 November 2002 - 11 April 2008) was a famous landlord of Sahianwal. The Deputy Speaker Sardar Shaukat Hussain Mazari Rojhan was one of largest landowners of Rajanpur. Shafqat (2011:p.97) stated that the Pakistan elites consist of military and civil bureaucracy, leaders of political parties, the religious clergy and members of the emerging media. Among these elite structures, the role of military is distinctive because it has been involved in the 'construction' of other elites. As Pakistan's history attests, each military regime has patronized a new set of individuals to construct political elites who would adopt the political system that the military favoured. Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy (2004) explained that the military, which seized power for the fourth time since independence in a 1999 coup, views its power as its "ability to be selective in the granting of political privilege to dominant socio-economic groups. [General Musharraf] formed the fabricated PML (Q) as the king's party to counteract PML (N) and used the religious parties to legitimize his regime.

After winning elections of 2008, the feudal elites enjoyed military support and bureaucratic patronage. The bureaucracy facilitates feudal lords in military and civilian regimes because feudals are considered part of the ruling elites as Aziz (2001:p.42) stated that the civil servants know that, in spite of their excellent rapport with the army, a day would come when some kind of elected government would be installed and then they would need the favour and protection of the zamindar. Even under a purely military regime, they prefer to keep their alliance with the landholders in good repair. Aziz (2001:p.42) stated that the bureaucracy was the

first non-feudal class to forge an alliance with the landed aristocracy, and to derive from it many benefits which made life easy and enjoyable. The army supplied the second.

In Punjab, General Musharraf had the full support of Chaudhry Pervez Elahi and Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain who belong to ruler clan of Jatt Warraich of Gujarat. During military regime, Pervez Elahi served as Chief Minister of Punjab from 29 November 2002 to 18 November 2007. During this period landlords safeguarded their class interest through their representatives in assemblies and cabinet. In General Musharraf regime land reforms were neither planned nor implemented. Mohammad Khalid (2003:p.362) stated that Prime Minister Zafarullah Jammal's (himself a Sardar) refusal to introduce land reforms in the country, has thrown a damper on the hope the present government will initiate land reforms which are long overdue. Tahir (2010) is of the opinion that there is thus no evidence to suggest that a martial law type arrangement can rid the country of feudalism, corruption and instability.

Abbas (2003) is of the opinion that taking account of the past fifty years, we emphatically say that not only these three years of the General's [Musharraf] rule but even the coming fifty years of the future regimes and the regimes that would come after, cannot bring even a so-called democracy unless feudal system is uprooted in Pakistan.

5.3 (1) Local Body System Strengthened Feudal Hold

In many countries, local government institutions are working effectively to solve the problems of the people at local level. The people can directly approach local body units for solving their local problems at local level.

Lord Ripon introduced local body system in subcontinent of India in 1882 but after independence military rulers used local body system to get the support of local landlords and strengthen their political base. Hamid Khan (2009:p.484) avowed that the military rulers in Pakistan have used local government laws and local bodies elections in the past to create their own political cadre. Ayub brought his own system of local bodies through basic democracies order, 1959.

In 1959, the first military ruler Field Marshal Ayub Khan introduced Basic Democracy System [local body system]. Military regimes are neither based on public opinion nor elected

through democratic process; therefore sometimes they have to build up their political base through local body institutions. At times military rulers strengthen local body institutions to marginalize the role of political parties and political leaders as Shafqat (2011: p.262) quoted Mohammad Waseem that localization of politics had been cornerstone of military thinking from Ayub onwards, in the form of strengthening local government institutions in order to undermine the political base of politicians.

5.3 (2) Local Government System During General Ayub Khan

Field Marshal Ayub Khan introduced local body system with the title of Basic Democracy in 1959. At that time most of the political parties were banned through “The Elective Bodies Disqualification Order” (EBDO). The B.D members [Basic Democrats] were given immense political and administrative powers as Saeed Shafqat (1995: p.94-95) stated that the scheme [Basic Democracy] politicized the society, but also enhanced the power of the bureaucratic elites and feudals. Gunnar Myrdal aptly remarked; “The effect of the new system has been to associate landlords with the official machinery of government.”

General Ayub Khan introduced controlled democracy [Basic Democracy] because according to him, parliamentary system was not suitable for the people of Pakistan. Most of the feudals adjusted themselves with the new conditions, they actively participated in local body elections and became basic democrats as Kukreja (1985: p.80) affirmed that the basic democracies system was planned by the regime to work in a society without politics. But after the reintroduction of limited political processes in the post constitution years, the basic democracies were highly politicized. Since the rich farmers were the local influentials, they managed to win the 1964 elections in large number; and the regime had to fall back on the time –tested traditional alliance with them.

The basic democrats were empowered with enormous administrative powers and they acted as Electoral College for the election of president and assemblies. In the Presidential Elections of 1965, these Basic Democrats used their vote bank in favour of Ayub Khan, in which General Ayub Khan managed to sweep the polls as Kalim Siddiqui (1989: p.103-4) stated that when the new National Assembly was ‘elected’ by the 80,000 ‘Basic Democrats’ it was found

that no fewer than 70 of its 156 members were landlords. Their strength was even greater in the West Pakistan Provincial Assembly -76 landlords out of 155 members.

5.3 (3) Local Body System Of General Zia-Ul- Haq

In 1979, military ruler General Zia -ul -Haq modified local body system according to his political requirements. During his regime local body elections were held in 1979, 1983 and 1987 on nonparty basis. The landlords took active part in local body elections and gave full political support to the military ruler. Wilder (1999 p. preface) quoted that the process of 'localization' began in 1979 when, after cancelling national elections for the second time, [General] Zia announced that there would be elections to 'Local Body' on a non-party basis. Rizvi (2000 p.260) extended this view by commenting that General Zia-ul- Haq unfolded his plans in phases. In August 1984, he declared that he might like to stay on as president. Taking clue from his statement, several local bodies (elected in 1983 in non-party polls) passed resolutions urging him to continue as president after the restoration of constitutional system.

5.3 (4) Devolution Scheme Of Genera Pervez Musharraf

General Musharraf introduced local body system with the title of Devolution Scheme, the key objective of the scheme was to empower masses at lower leveas as Akbar (2013) stated that with this new concept of elected community governments, an unprecedented transfer of power will take place from the elite to the vast majority. Another motive was to marginalize the role of well established political parties of Muslim League [Nawaz Sharif] and Pakistan Peoples Party as Fawad Hussain (2013) avowed that several of the victorious Nazims belonging to other political parties were compelled to join this newly created king's party Muslim League Q. (Quaid-e-Azam).

Under the scheme, vast administrative powers and huge development funds were allocated to the local body representatives as Fawad Hussain (2013) affirmed that during the local body elections of 2005 some of the MPAs and MNAs resigned from their legislative seats to contest the elections of the district and tehsil Nazims because there were huge public funds in the local bodies' budgets. The influential landlords of Punjab actively participated in local body politics. Jamshed and Wazir (1999: p.152) are of the opinion that the prime objective of the military junta by creating the local body was to evolve a support base and also to provide legitimization to the usurpation of the power.

The Devolution of Power Plan was announced in August 2000; under the scheme local units were to be elected on a non-party basis, from December 2000 to July 2001. Shafqat (2002: p.264) quoted Mohammad Waseem that devolution plan and the Local Bodies elections served the function of localization of politics and elimination of policy from the national agenda, which was supposed to be handled by public representatives. Non-party Local body elections 2000-2001 and 2005 were fought on the basis of bradri, caste, clan and tribes. Thus the devolution scheme encouraged representation on the basis of narrow class interest rather than local issues. In the absence of elected assemblies however, local governments were the only popularly elected bodies and thus played important political and developmental roles.

Talbot (2009:p.382) stated whatever its motives, the scheme ignored the highly skewed rural power relations. The new regime ruled out land reform. Without land reform the devolution of power would deliver the administration into hands of the local land elites. This would both limit participation and pre-empt funds intended for the wider population – Ilhan Niaz (2010: p. 226) quoted Jamshed and Wazir that the elected Nazims were provided with enormous powers. In most of the districts the landlords were elected as the heads of the district administration. In the process of devolving powers to the grass root, in return the feudal again made their inroads to come to the powers who also contributed in distorting the essence of the process. Dr Tanvir Hussain Bhatti is of the opinion that due to the electioneering tin pot feudal lords with their sway restricted to villages have become General Councilors and Union Council Nazims and Naib Nazims while chief landlords of the various locales have turn out to be the heads of the tehsils and districts.

These local representatives could not maintained non-political stance for long time and were involved in politics, most of them stood on the side of General Musharaf. S Akbar Zaidi stated that although the polls were carried out on non-party basis but each candidate was backed by the political parties. Talbot (2009:p.339) is of the opinion that most damagingly the keystone into his local government reforms, the nazims, had been inducted into this old- style politics. Usto (2008) questioned which class the Nazism comes from. Just look up, more than 80 per cent of the nazims elected in the 2005 elections were feudals and sardars belonging to powerful tribes:, Lund, Leghari, Chattha, Makhdoom, Kanju and so on. About 77 percent of all elected nazims were affiliated with the PML-Q.

5.4 Alliance Of Military And Landed Elites During Musharraf Regime

Although General Pervez Musharraf terminated the government of Punjabi politician Nawaz Sharif but General was greeted warmly by the people of Punjab. One of the reasons behind welcoming army by the Punjab was deeply rooted in past. Traditionally, Punjab has been the center of army recruitment since British rule. During British rule, the big landlords of Punjab were the allies of the rulers, to show their loyalty to the British government influential feudals convinced their young peasants to join British army. Therefore, the people of the regions of Punjab have strong affiliation with the institution of army because their fathers and forefathers were the part of this institution. Talbot (2009:p. 378) stated that the 1958 and 1977 coups had been greeted calmly. Unsurprisingly, in the less fevered atmosphere of 1999, some people came on to the streets to welcome the army. Their action also reflected the long –term respect accorded to the army, especially in Punjab.

Since colonial rule, few districts of Punjab have been center of army recruitment. Even at present, major substance of Pakistan army is drawn from Punjab and a military ruler could not think to harm the interest of this class. Musharraf government not only secured the interest of big landlords but also protected the interest of middle size landlords, belonging to army families of Punjab. Afzal (1986:p. 60) stated that it is from the families of these landowners, and especially in Rawalpindi division, that the backbone of Pakistan armed forces is drawn. Therefore it would have been nothing short of sheer lunacy to attempt anything more drastic than reforms in the land tenure system.

Bhardwaj (1996:p. 73) stated that constituted of Punjabi and Pathans in an overwhelming large number at the time of partition, it [army] continues to hold on the same pattern. Seventy five percent of soldiers come only from five districts, Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Cambellpur (attock).

Mallick (2013) is of the opinion that enduring colonial patterns of military recruitment and critical support by capitalist powers have resulted in the Punjab province being the center of the military's power base in Pakistan.

Military rulers, usually, seek the support of Punjab to maintain their political power base and the Punjabi politicians do not disappoint them. General Ayub Khan had the support of Malik Amir Mohammad Khan [Nawab of Kalabagh] who belonged to Mianwali a district of North Western Punjab. General Zia-ul-Haq strengthened his rule with the support of Punjabi politicians Nawaz Sharif of Central Punjab, Lahore. General Musharraf was backed up by Punjabi politicians of Gujarat, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and Pervez Ellahi. Lieven (2011:p.259) is of the opinion that without Punjabi support no military government of Pakistan would be possible.

Generally, the People of Punjab favored the October 1999 coup, Sharif M Shuja (2000) stated that the people of Pakistan seemed genuinely relieved that the Government had fallen and that the military had taken control. In the eastern city of Lahore, where support for Sharif was considered strongest, there were demonstrations in favour of the army takeover, people cheered in the streets and burnt pictures of Nawaz [Sharif].

After taking the charge of government, General Musharraf made alliances with feudal politicians of Punjab to remain in power for almost nine years. Haqqani (2002) is of the opinion that each military regime in Pakistan has cultivated the feudal influential to offset the influence of populist politicians. Ayub Khan appointed the Nawab of Kalabagh as the Governor of West Pakistan to control the movement for democracy. Yahya Khan's cabinet included feudal civilians. General Zia encouraged biradri and feudal politics to keep the PPP [Pakistan Peoples Party] out of power. And now General Musharraf's allies are also the land-owning families of the Punjab.

5.5 (1) Collaboration Of Landed And Bureaucratic Elites

In British India, the local secretarial staff was appointed and trained to assist senior British bureaucrats in the state administration. After independence, Muslim secretarial staff came to Pakistan and took charge of the administration of the new country. Consequently, bureaucracy emerged as a powerful institution. Military was another institution which was trained under British rule and emerged as a powerful institution after independence. Pakistan has been facing security challenges from neighboring India, military emerged as a guarantee of the security of the country. Another powerful institution is of the landed aristocracy, which was revitalized and

modified during British rule. These three powerful institutions collaborated with each other to hold their share of power in newly established state. To secure their class interests, the big landlords with the support of civil and military establishment, maintained status quo in society. Shafqat (1995:p.73) quoted that it is interesting to note that in the post- independence period the interaction between land-owning elites and bureaucratic elites, and lately military elites, has led to a complex nexus among these three types of elites. This has given continuity to authoritarian traits in our political culture. Siddiqui (1998:p.199-200) stated that during 1950s they [military elite] worked with a parliamentary façade of politicians and ministers, drawn mainly from landlord interests but there was no genuine election in Pakistan before 1970, while the beneficiaries of independence have been: The bureaucracy and military that have enjoyed lavish resources and have grown considerably in number; and the large landowning class.

In rural Punjab, the feudals suppressed and manipulated poor villagers with the help of local administration and police officials. Patwari and Thana (police station) are effective tools in the hands of landlord to pressurize villagers. Even the majority of the rural population exercises their right of vote according to the wishes of their landowner. These landlords discourage education and political awareness for their peasants, and oppose opening of schools in their constituencies. Beg (1998:p. 203) is of the opinion that the feudal system has spread its network all over the key points and institutions to maximize the benefit to the landlord. Shafqat (1995: p.72-73) is of the viewpoint that the land-owning elite are autonomous, it is to a large extent provide patronage by the bureaucratic elites. Since colonial times, bureaucratic patronage has enhanced the status of the land-owning elites in the rural setting. Khalid (2003:p. 351) is of the opinion that to ward off democratic forces, the landlords have sought to fortify their position with the help of military, civil bureaucracy. Beg (1998: p.27) is of the viewpoint that the feudal system has thus stabilized itself with a strong network of its own.

The bureaucratic elites adopt a particular life style and mannerism in their socio circle; they maintain good relations with big feudals. The higher civil and military bureaucracy support landed aristocracy to maintain status quo. Siddiqui (1998: p.211) stated that there can be no doubt that the army as well as the bureaucracy is deeply involved in class interest.

5.5 (2) New Classes Of Landed Aristocracy

Since colonial time to present-day, the civil and military personals are awarded with pieces of land for extraordinary performances. Usually the civil and army personals are rewarded with big land pieces, higher officials are entitled for the allotment of plots at the end of tenure of their service. Siddiqui (1998: p.215) stated that the allotments of land to civil and military officers, who have thereby become substantial landowners in their own right, when they were not so already; consequently, landowners, have been successful in pursuing their class interests effectively. Pal (2010) explained that land-based aristocracy has further developed into two distinct groups, the military corporate interests and the civilian landlords.

In Punjab, military holds large land tracts in Cholistan, Okara and Thal [which is divided into the districts of Mianwali, Jhang Bhakkar, Khushab, Muzaffargarh and Layyah]. Senior military officials are involved in estate business and are running huge housing schemes. Dr. Rizvi (2003) affirmed that The Punjab Board of Revenue informed the Lahore High Court that 62 senior and 56 junior Army officers were allotted agricultural lands in Cholistan and other district of the Punjab under various schemes in 1981, 1982, 1994, 1999 and 2000. Rizvi (2003) extended this view by commenting that the practice of granting plots of land to military personnel in various housing schemes in cantonments and other urban centers is by now well-established.

Particularly, the military rulers adopted the policy of conferring of lands on military persons; many Punjabi army personals got big land tracts. Aziz (2001:p.45-46) is of the view that like the senior civil servant, the Pakistani armed forces' officer corps turned itself into landed gentry by receiving generous landed grants from governments which did not realize what they were doing. Most of the generals were given many square of agricultural land. Official generosity extended its beneficent hand even to junior offices. Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi (2003) stated that local servicemen were given land in Campbellpur, Jhelum, Kohat, Rawalpindi and Hazara districts which was developed with the help of the Army. Agricultural land was allotted to service personnel on the Pakistan-India border in the Punjab.

In urban Punjab, residential plots were allotted to army persons in defense housing schemes. Thus the interest of civil and military bureaucracy is directly involved in protecting

landownership as they themselves have become big land-owners in rural and urban areas of Punjab. Siddiqui (1998: p.212) stated that as the incharge of law and order the army and bureaucracy have successfully protected the institutions of private property up till today.

5.5 (3) Feudalization Of Military In Punjab

In rural and urban areas of Punjab, army possesses huge land tracts and to maintain its hold, sometimes, army use force to control their tillers. One of the examples is of the Okara controversy; Army owns almost 20 thousand acres agricultural land in Okara. Since long this land has been cultivated by the farmers. In the year 2000, military authorities introduced new tendency terms through a contract. The farmers refused to accept new terms as they considered these terms against their interest and started to protest but the rangers [a state agency] ruthlessly crushed their protest using force. Mallick (2013) explained that in [the year] 2000, just as the military government of General Pervez Musharraf was consolidating its power and planning to pass a law for further corporatization of agriculture, the military authorities in Okara decided to introduce a new contract system which stipulated that rent was to be paid in cash rather than direct division of farm produce. It also contained provisions which would have made it extremely easy for military authorities to evict farmers and peasants on short notice. Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi (2003) stated that a reference may also be made to the ongoing controversy about the Okara Military Farms. The coercion used by state agencies against these tenants has provoked some NGOs and human rights groups to take up the cause of the tenants. Lieven (2011:p.172) stated that there has, however, been one very dark spot on the military's involvement in the economy. This was the use in 2002-3 of the Paramilitary rangers to brutally suppressed protests by tenants. The Okara case indicates the improbability of the military ever returning to the land reform agenda of Field Marshal Ayub Khan and of launching a serious assault on the 'feudal' elites- of which the army itself has to some extent became a part. Hoodbhoy (2004) stated that internationally known organization Human Rights Watch, said in a detailed report on the situation released on July 20[2004]. The 55-page report on the infamous standoff between the Pakistan Army and the poor tenants of Okara Farms, comes as a stinging indictment of the army and focuses world attention on the increasing lust for land grabbing by the ruling Pakistan Army Generals.

Landed and military elites support each other in achieving their objectives; the desire of military elites to grab more and more land has persuaded landed elites to assert more political power during military regimes. Hoodbhoy (2004) is of the view that the military's persistent efforts to usurp land through institutionalized means have also allowed the landed elite to retain extraordinary political influence.

In urban Punjab, Defense Housing Society Lahore is one of examples of army's involvement in estate business in Punjab. Another scheme, Army Welfare Trust Housing Scheme [AWT] under the banner of Askari Real Estate, was established in 1990. [In addition] Four Housing Schemes at Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar have been developed. Development of a commercial plaza in main Gulberg Lahore and a Housing Scheme at Adiala, Rawalpindi is under consideration. Lieven (2011:p.169) added to the point that in the case of Lahore DHA [Defense Housing Authority] according to the BBC, the real value of a plot increased in six years from 2000 to 2006 from \$ 65,000 to more than \$ 1.5 million. Initially officers are buying their plots at subsidized rates and then selling them at market once; and generals , who can acquire up to four plots depending on their rank (or even more at the very top- Musharraf had seven),are making fortunes- perfectly legally.

All four military regimes of General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, General Zia ul Haq and General Musharraf encouraged private landownership as army has its own class interest in protecting landownership. Abbas (2003) is of the opinion that everywhere the feudal ideas are in sway. The bureaucracy and the army are full with the people having these ideas and they are becoming new small landlords and land owners. To protect their lands, bureaucracy, military and landed elites have joined hands. In the words of Siddiqui (2005:p.80) who is the real ruler of this country: the people's representatives chosen through elections or the civil-military-feudal complex? This is the crucial question that keeps haunting us all the time. As a matter of fact, this has been the major cause of our political instability.

CHAPTER 6

LANDED ELITE MAINTAIN HOLD IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

6.1 Feudal Participation In General Election 2008

In military regime of General Pervez Musharraf, general elections were held on 10 October 2002. After five year's term next election was due to get fresh mandate from the electorates, therefore general elections were held on 18 February 2008. Shafqat (2011: p.104) stated that weakening of the military regime paves the way for elections which then facilitated a transition to civilian-led party governments.

In this election, major political parties, Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians, Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan Muslim League (Q) participated. To ensure their success these parties offered most of the party tickets to the feudal politicians especially in Punjab, majority of the party tickets of the leading political parties were given to feudal candidates. These political parties offered party tickets to the influential landowners because they had wealth to spend lavishly and had vote bank of the peasantry to win in election. Ali (1992: p.94) is of the opinion that their [feudals's] brutal rule continues because every political party needs them to win the election. Anderson (2008) is of the view that as Pakistan prepares for elections scheduled for February 18 [2008], political analysts say the country's feudal political system organized around ethnic tribes, family dynasties and personality cults has retarded the development of democracy. Yusufzai (2007) vowed that ideological politics is nowhere to be seen and instead we have a rat race to grab power and make money. There is little hope that the recently-held presidential poll or the forthcoming assembly elections would herald any positive change in our corrupt political culture.

In 28 February 2008 elections, Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) secured highest votes and won 91 National Assembly seats. Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian made coalition government and Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani a well-known landlord of South Punjab became Prime Minister.

In Punjab Shahbaz Sharif was elected as Chief Minister receiving 265 votes out of 371 in Punjab assembly. On 18 August 2008, President Musharraf announced resignation and powers were completely transferred to civilian government. However, the feudal politicians were in bulk in national and provincial assemblies and the transfer of power from military to civilian government did not make lot of difference. Ahmad (1987: p.171) is of the view that politically their influence has not suffered any major setback from the frequent changes of government we have witnessed. Ali (1992: p.94) is of the opinion that for the feudals, it is no problem which party rules or what type of government comes to power. They enjoy their privileges whether there is martial law or democracy.

6.2 Civilian Governmet In Punjab

In 2008 election, the vote bank of the peasantry again ensured the success of many feudals in Punjab. Many of these feudals belonged to pir [descendants of the Sufi] families. In colonial times, these pir families supported British government and in return attained high social status and privileges. After independence, these landlord pir families regained wealth and status in the rural and urban Punjab, well-known Punjabi politicians Yousaf Raza Gillani, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Makhdoom Ahmad Mahmood and many other belong to pir feudal families. Hasan (2008) stated in his article "Feudal Shadow Over Pakistan Elections" that Mr. [Shah Mehmood] Qureshi's family has for centuries been among the largest land owners around Multan city and they do indeed claim to be of a saintly lineage. So you wouldn't bet against him winning on 18 February [2008]. Hasan (2008) added in the same article that in the village of Kachian Dukana, about 10km outside Multan city, people say the feudal landlords will probably win most seats. With the passage of time things have changed and now landlords sometimes approach their peasants for vote. Hasan (2008) added that they [villagers] say, the landlords do actually go to every village to ask people to vote for them. "Previously, they would decide between themselves, taking turns at being elected. In the same article when writer asked the villagers why not they contest as candidate in elections, the answer of the villagers reaffirmed the bitter reality that only wealthy and resourceful candidate affords to contest elections. Hasan (2008) stated that when asked why none of the farmers or other poor people considers standing as candidates, the group burst out laughing." "We would all say he is an idiot, and treat it more like a joke than anything,"

says another man, Akhtar. "Everybody knows you cannot win elections if you aren't rich and powerful. All we can hope for is to back the winning candidate so that we get access to justice."

In Punjab, all leading parties heavily depended on feudal candidates as Abdus Sattar Ghazali (2008) affirmed in his article "Feudal factor to determine polls in Pakistan" that Pakistan Peoples Party of the assassinated former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, a minority party in the Punjab, it too relies on feudalism to pull in the votes.

The results of the February 2008 elections confirmed that Punjab is ruled by the feudal lords, because most of the seats were won by feudal candidates. On 8 June 2008, Shahbaz Sharif was elected as Chief Minister of Punjab. The political parties of Shahbaz Sharif, Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N) drew most of its support from Central and Northern Punjab and in this election most of its successful candidates were large feudals of their constituencies. In this way the transition from military to civilian government did not lead to any drastic change in socio-political system of Punjab. Feudal lords were successful in securing most of their seats and maintaining their hold on civilian government. Shafqat (2011:p.95) stated in that post February 2008 election, the third and fourth generations of the traditional feudal, tribal, religious and business families are entering the political arena.

The same political situation prevailed at center, where coalition government under the premiership of a famous landlord of Multan Yousaf Raza Gillani was formed thus the interest of feudal class was safe in the hands of a feudal Prime Minister.

In Punjab, the government of Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif was also consisted of mostly feudal lords thus central and provincial politics revolved around feudal politicians and politics. The Political parties were unable to bring fresh middle class candidates in their ranks.

6.3 Civilian Government Under Feudal Influence

It's true that during military regimes these parties were obstructed to play effective role but even in civilian government they do not avail the possibilities to challenge status quo. Shafqat (2011:p.104) is of the opinion that each time the military withdrew, political leaders neither paid any attention to reform nor democratizing their political parties. Personalities drove the parties instead of organization or programmes. Saeed Shafqat (2011:p.100) added that analysts remain

skeptical that the political parties, who have done little to promote democratic culture internally, who pursue power with little regard to public good, whose leaders are unable to communicate with each other without an 'international broker', can provide an alternative to the military. Saeed Shafqat (2011:p.97) questioned, do the elites have faith in democracy and representative government? shahzad chaudhry (2013) avowed that he (President Asif Ali Zardari) and his party failed miserably at the altar of what politics is meant to do — deliver services to people and prosperity to the nation. Nadeem Malik (2008) is of the opinion that they (President Asif Ali Zardari and his team) do not believe in the established principles of democracy and parliamentary process enshrined in the constitution.

After the withdrawal of military government, usually, politicians are incapable of determining better standards of good governance. The same situation prevailed after the withdrawal of General Musharraf government as Shafqat (2011:p.100) affirmed that political parties are in decay, organizationally weak, lacking vision and programme and with no leadership succession plan. Saeed Shafqat (2011:p.100) added that they have acquired power through election, but the normative dimension of democracy – respect for rule of law and core values of tolerance, accommodation and consensus remains weak.

When the civilian government could not come up to the expectations of their voters and unable to deliver good governance, it is harmful for the democratic system and people start recalling and calling generals to come and take over to reform the system. Shafqat (2011:p.104) is of the opinio that it is distressing, however, that with each election opportunities for consolidating civilian-led party governments have mostly been squandered by Pakistan's parties. Political leaders have not been successful in constructing system nor promoting democratic values. Shafqat (2011:p.104) added that leaders are driven by consideration of personal gain and power rather than public good and institution building. The leaders are reluctant to change status quo.

The same case was of the civilian government of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, which was unable to reform the old oppressive system, under which the common man was living difficult life. Soon people started to blame politicians for not solving their problems and started to remember the period of the former military ruler. Hussain (2010) stated in his article "Pakistan

– the dying democracy” that issues of electricity shortfall, floods and terrorist activities every now and then have only made things worse.

6.4 Feudals Maintain Their Hold

The civilian government of Punjab was no exception in this regard; Punjab government safeguarded the interest of privileged classes and the common man suffered of shortage of electricity and resources.

In rural Punjab, the conditions of poor tillers remained the same even in civilian government, to illustrate one example is of the case of military farm lands of Okara district [Central Punjab], where 2000 acres farm land is under the control of Military authorities. This land has been cultivated by the tenants since last one century. In June 2000, military authorities proposed to amend the tenure terms but the new terms were unacceptable for the tenants and they started to register their protest through demonstrations. The military authorities used power to crush the protest. During military regime, the issue was brought in to the knowledge of General Pervez Musharraf who committed with landless tenants to consider their demands but these promises were never fulfilled. In civilian regime, the tenants attached high expectations with Punjab government but the issue remained unresolved. Farooq Tariq (2010) stated in his article that the promises of Pakistan Muslim League N (Nawaz) and Pakistan People’s Party to hand over this land to the tenants have not been fulfilled. Both parties praised the struggle of the tenants several times and agreed that once they were in power, they would decide in favour of the tenants. It has not been done despite the two parties being in power for the last two years [2008-2009]. If Punjab government wants to separate the army from civilian aspects of life, this is a test case for it.

The civilian and military regimes safeguard the interest of landed aristocracy, even at the cost of the interest of other classes. Rais (2013) is of the view that the problem is that political and social power is in the hands of tribal and feudal families, supported by the federation and the provincial power structure.

The political hold of the landed aristocracy has been strengthened during last 65 years, in every civilian and military regime feudals offered their support to the civil and military rulers. Aziz (2001: p.35) affirmed that time has proved that no government, whatever its backing,

credentials, complexion, character, origins or policies, cannot function without the active support and political blessing of the feudal aristocracy.

In civilian and military regimes, the feudals politicians have been in majority in Punjab assembly. In February 2008 elections, most of the successful candidates of Punjab assembly are influential feudal politicians. To have a brief look at the profiles of the successful candidates of the leading political parties of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians, Muslim League [Nawaz] and Muslim League (Q), in 2008 elections, reaffirms the fact that feudal class is in majority in Punjab assembly.

After February 2008 elections the List of Feudal Members of Punjab Assembly is given as annexure 1.

6.5 Famous Feudal Families Of Punjab

The landed aristocracy of Punjab maintains its powerful hold with the support of civilian and military establishment; through intermarriages these relations are strengthened. Landlords brought up their children in an aristocratic environment; their children get education from most expensive educational institution of the country and acquire higher education from the best foreign universities. After the completion of education they join politic as profession and become members of national and provincial assemblies to secure their class interest, since childhood they are trained to rule.

Hamid Khan (2009:p.125) is of the view that about eighty feudal families in Pakistan have representation in central or provincial legislatures where they have worked to protect their own interests in conflict with the national interest. Bhatti (2013) has stated that there are around 5 to 10 influential families which decide the fate of the constituency. They have no permanent ideology or political affiliations. They change their loyalty according to the situation. They have a history to change loyalties overnight. They have only one aim and that is to protect their own interests and maintain control in their respective areas. Bhatti (2013) added that in the big cities, the political parties enjoy some clout and their vote plays a decisive role but in the small cities, towns and rural areas the feudal lords, rich individuals and influential families call the shots.

CONCLUSION

Concentration of land holdings in the hands of a select few creates a society where there are peculiar social economic and political consequences due to the institutional monopolization – more so in a primarily agrarian society like ours. Society becomes stratified, with inferior and superior strata on the basis of land ownership. By and large, the existence of such a system hampers social progress and landless peasants remain politically weak.

The base of the centuries old institution of feudalism is land; “feudalism” signifies ownership of large land tracts which are cultivated by hired peasantry, consequently, concentration of wealth and power in the hands of landowner. The yield of the large land tracts brings prosperity to the landowners and the landlords obtain socio-political power on the base of land.

Feudalism was originated and developed in Europe during middle Ages. In 1789, the French revolution led to the decline of nobility and class distinction.

The subcontinent of India has been under the shadow of feudalism for centuries. During Hindu dynasty, Mughal Empire, Sikh raj and British colonial rule, the institution of feudalism went through different phases to fulfill the politico-economic requirements of different rulers at different times. The Hindu emperors, Mughal monarchs and Sikh rulers were mainly concerned in extracting maximum income and taxes from agricultural lands to finance huge expenses of defense and administration. The British rulers modified land tenure system and granted property rights on permanent basis, through a series of ‘Permanent Settlement’ in this way, the British rulers sought the support of local landlords to strengthen their rule.

Most of the countries rid of feudal system during last few centuries but it still exists in few third world countries including Pakistan, which is deep rooted in the society of Pakistan, especially in the province of Punjab. The feudal politicians of Punjab established Unionist Party in 1923 to serve the interest of the British rulers. Ever since the establishment of the Unionist Party, the politics of Punjab has been revolving around feudal politicians and feudal politics.

Pakistan came into being with a legacy of feudalism; especially Punjab was under strong feudal influence. The feudals are successful in maintaining their political hold in every civil and military government, the feudal politicians of Punjab have been playing active role in provincial and national politics. In Punjab, the feudal elites are also the political elite, holding tenant-voters firmly in their grip, as socio-economic mobility is restricted, political power remains in the hands of feudals.

Landed aristocracy with the support of other powerful segments of society maintained its hegemonic hold in civilian and military regimes. Therefore, when General Pervez Musharraf dismissed the civilian government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and took hold of the government, the feudal politicians offered their support to the military ruler; the feudal politicians of Punjab were the first to offer their support to General Pervez Musharraf. During General Musharraf's regime the important allies of the General Musharraf were large landlords, who supported him to strengthen his political base. In Punjab, the majority cabinet members of Chief Minister Pervez Elahi were large landlords such as Shujah Khanzada, Syed Haroon Ahmed Sultan and Ijaz Sharif. Under the influence of these feudal lords, land reforms were neither planned nor implemented. When General Musharraf introduced local body system, influential feudals of Punjab actively participated in local body politics. More than 80 per cent of the nazims (local representatives) elected in the 2005 elections were feudals and head of tribes belonging to powerful tribes. After consolidating its political hold, with the support of landed aristocracy, Musharraf government not only secured the interest of big landlords but also protected middle size landlords, belonging to army families of Punjab. General Musharraf made alliances with feudal politicians such as Chaudhry Pervez Allahi and Chaudhry Shujahat Hussain, to remain in power for almost nine years.

Although the military regime ruled out land reform, General Pervez Musharraf continued the policy of granting of lands to the military personals, many of them belonging to Punjab. Agricultural lands in rural and housing plots in urban areas were allotted to the army persons. Lands were also granted to the civil servants, thus the interest of civil and military bureaucracy was directly involved in protecting landownership as they themselves had become big land-owners in rural and urban areas of Punjab.

In 2008, transition from military to civilian government did not lead to any drastic change in socio-political system of Punjab. In general elections of February 2008, majority of the party tickets of the leading political parties were given to the feudal candidates. After elections, Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) made coalition government under the premiership of Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, a well-known landlord of South Punjab.

In Punjab, all leading parties heavily depended on big landlords to pull in the votes. The results of the Punjab assembly elections confirmed that Punjab is under strong influence of feudal lords. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), which formed government in Punjab, drew most of its support from Central and Northern Punjab and in this election most of its successful candidates were large feudals of their respective constituencies. In this way feudal lords were successful in securing most of their seats and maintaining their hold in civilian government.

Due to feudal influence, the rural population is unable to freely exercise their right to vote, the peasantry is bound to vote in favour of their feudal lord. Several feudal landlords have acquired immense political power using political support of their sharecroppers. Although the vote bank of Punjab plays important role in determining results of the general election and the rural vote is vital but rural Punjab is still a predominantly agricultural society and the feudal factor influence political participation, the voters have to elect a feudal from amongst feudals. In Punjab the same feudal families, with the change of faces, have been ruling; the feudal politicians not only transfer land and wealth to the next generation but also seats of national and provincial assemblies.

Although few efforts were made by the military and civilian rulers to reduce the size of large landholdings, General Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced land reforms in to reduce the upper limit of the landholdings but these land reforms could not produce expected results because of the poor implementation plans. Many cabinet members of General Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Bhutto were influential landlords, who obstructed the way of proper implementation of the reforms. Subsequently the land reforms of 1959, 1972 and 1979 failed to break the hold of feudals, and the oppressive system of land tenure did not suffer any set-back, the powers of status quo were more powerful than the powers of change.

The feudals are considered at the top of social hierarchy, who enjoy power and wealth. The study concluded that these feudal politicians can not represent public opinion and public aspirations in assemblies but make important decision having major consequences on the lives of ordinary people. In Punjab, since the first general elections in 1970, the role of the voters is limited to the casting of vote; they have no voice in the making of policies. In rural Punjab, literacy rate is very low and rural population has little knowledge about significant political issues.

The study has focused different regions of Punjab with reference of feudal politics. The North Punjab is the most literate region of Punjab but the politics of North Punjab are also under the influence of feudal lords. The feudal politicians of this region are in large number in Punjab assembly. As Central Punjab is concerned it is the most active and important region of the province. Political activism of Central Punjab has produced many eminent political figures and feudal politicians. Although Central Punjab is to some extent free from the clutches of feudalism, the rural poor find it difficult to oppose the rich and influential candidates in their respective areas. Southern Punjab is believed to be under the strong influence of feudalism, low literacy rate and extreme poverty can be observed in this region. On the contrary, this region has produced many wealthy and famous feudal politicians and feudal culture is dominant in Southern Punjab. Personal and clan interests, strong emphasis on *biradari* (kinsmanship), factional rivalries, and local influence are essential elements of politics of Southwestern Punjab. It is the least urbanized, literate, and economically developed region of the Punjab.

In political culture of Punjab, power is the most important determinant to influence voting behavior. The study analyzed that people give vote to the powerful candidate to seek protection against other strong groups of society. In rural Punjab, the image of the leader is of a powerful and superior man, as they do not want to be ruled by an ordinary man, therefore they vote to powerful feudal lord. In Punjab, the members of powerful feudal families have been part of every civilian and military government. There are around 5 to 10 influential families, who determine the outcome of election results. In Punjab many constituencies are known with the names of prominent feudal families, which signify that a particular constituency belongs to a particular feudal family. In elections, political parties prefer to offer party tickets to the members of these families.

Due to the dominant feudal factor, it is well known reality that the root cause of the social and political problems of Punjab is largely, though not solely, is due to the concentration of land in a few hands. From illiteracy, to lack of healthcare to absence of social welfare and lack of rule of law, everything comes down to feudalism.

The study further concluded that to strengthen democracy and develop democratic institutions, the socio-political hold of landed aristocracy should be weakened. The voters of Punjab should exercise their right to vote to elect their representatives on merit. The powers of change should replace powers of status quo.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Feudalism, in the form of large land holders having social, political and often local legal and religious power is a tribal notion that must be tackled appropriately. In today's world, developed countries have set up huge industries and developed democratic institutions to make progress; on the contrary, socio-economic growth is hindered in feudal societies. Due to the feudal influence, our progress was also slowed down and our representative institutions are not responsive to public opinion. Here are few important suggestions to come out the shadow of feudalism to develop true democratic infrastructure.

- Educated middle class should come forward to represent public opinion, inside and outside of legislative chambers.
- Main emphasis should be put on education, free primary and secondary education should be provided.
- Educational system should be reformed, so it can develop a questioning mind among the youth of the country to challenge feudal domination.
- Academia should play its role in imparting opinion oriented articles and also by mobilising their students to be the agent of change.
- Technical institutions and small industries should be set up to provide training and employment to the unemployed youth of Punjab.
- To reduce the concentration of wealth, appropriate share of the yield should be given to the hired labour, who are getting meager share.
- The institutions of police and patwari should be reformed to provide protection to the rural population.
- Print and electronic media should educate people to vote on merit to develop representative institutions on the base of merit.
- Labour laws for informal labour should be formulated and implemented in real sense for the protection of rural workers.
- The electoral system should be reformed to make the election process less expensive for the middle class to participate.

- There should be uniformed education system so that classless society can be produced.

In Pakistan, feudalism is the root cause of numerous problems; the socio-political dominance of powerful classes has created social disintegration. Due to feudal influence, democratic institutions are not responsive to the problems of masses, such as unemployment, energy crisis and poverty. Therefore the core issue of feudalism should be addressed in the light of above mentioned recommendations to reform the society.

ANNEXTURE 1:

List of Successful Feudal Members of Punjab Assembly of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) in 2008 election is as follows:-

- Mr. Abdul Hafeez Khan
PP-43 (Mianwali-I)
- Mr. Asif Manzoor Mohal
PP-280 (Bahawanagar-IV)
- Mr. Asif Saeed Manais
PP-238 (Vehari-VII)
- Mr. Awais Qasim Khan
PP-132 (Narowal-I)
- Ch. Abdul Ghafoor
PP-161 (Lahore-XXV)
- Ch. Javed Ahmad
PP-228 (Pakpattan-II)
- Ch. Shoukat Manzoor Cheema
PP-104 (Gujranwala-XIV)
- Mr. Khurram Ijaz Chattha
PP-163 (Sheikhupura-II)
- Mr. Liaqat Ali Ghuman
PP-131 (Sialkot-XII)

- Lt. Col. (R) Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan
PP-87 (Toba Tek Singh-IV)
- Malik Ali Abbas Khokhar
PP-192 (Okara-VIII)
- Malik Muhammad Iqbal Channer
PP -272 (Bahawalpur-VI)
- Mehr Rab Nawaz Lak
PP-29 (Sargodha-II)
- Mian Muhammad Azam Chaila
PP-82 (Jhang-X)
- Mian Muhammad Kazim Ali Pirzada
PP-273 (Bahawalpur-VII)
- Mr. Muhammad Asif Malik
PP-41 (Khushab-III)
- Mr. Muhammad Feroz Joiya
PP-46 (Mianwali-IV)
- Mr. Muhammad Khurram Gulfam
PP-162 (Sheikhupura-I)
- Mr. Muhammad Masood Lali
PP-80 (Jhang-VIII)
- Mr. Muhammad Naeem Akhtar Khan Bhabha
PP-237 (Vehari-VI)

List Of Successful Feudal Members Of Punjab Assembly Of Pakistan Muslim League (Q)

In 2008 Election Is As Follows:-

- Mr. Ahmed Khan Balouch
PP-211 (Lodhran-V)
- Mr. Amir Hayat Hiraj
PP-216 (Khanewal-V)
- Ch. Irfan Bashir Gujjar
PP-102 (Gujranwala-XII)
- Ch. Muhammad Arshad
PP-225 (Sahiwal-VI)
- Ch. Zaheer-ud-Din
PP-55 (Faisalabad-V)
- Chaudhry Nadeem Abbas Rabaira
PP-189 (Okara-V)
- Mrs. Farhana Afzal
PP. W-349
- Ghulam Jaffar Sargana
PP-212 (Khanewal-I)
- Hafiz Muhammad Qamar Hayat Kathiya
PP-79 (Jhang-VII)
- Mr. Khurram Nawab
PP-22 (Chakwal-III)
- Makhdoom Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani
PP-267 (Bahawalpur-I)
- Malik Ahmed Yar Hinjra
PP-251 (Muzaffargarh-I)
- Malik Aitbar Khan
PP-19 (Attock-V)

- Malik Jalal-ud-Din Dhaku
PP-222 (Sahiwal-III)
- Malik Jawad Kamran Khar
PP-255 (Muzaffargarh-V)
- Mehdi Abbas Khan
PP-205 (Multan-XII)
- Mehr Sultan Sikandar Bharwana
PP-76 (Jhang-IV)
- Mian Atta Muhammad Khan Maneka
PP-227 (Pakpattan-I)
- Mr. Muhammad Saqlain Anwer Sipra
PP-75 (Jhang-III)
- Mr. Muhammad Shafiq Khan
PP-7 (Rawalpindi-VII)
- Mr. Najaf Abbas Khan Sial
PP-83 (Jhang-XI)
- Pir Kashif Ali Chishty
PP-231 (Pakpattan-V)
- Rana Ejaz Ahmad Noon
PP-204 (Multan-XI)

- Sardar Dildar Ahmad Cheema
PP-61 (Faisalabad-XI)
- Sardar Muhammad Asif Nakai
PP-183 (Kasur-IX)
- Sardar Muhammad Yousaf Khan Leghari
PP-246 (Dera Ghazi Khan-VII)
- Syed Muhammad Rafi-ul-Din Bukhari
PP-210 (Lodhran-IV)
- Mr. Sher Ali Khan
PP-17 (Attock-III)
- Mr. Shahid Khalil Noor
PP-58 (Faisalabad-VIII)

List of Successful Feudal Members of Punjab Assembly of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian in 2008 election is as follows:-

- Ch Zulifqar Ali Bhinder
PP-100 (Gujranwala-X)
- Mr. Ch. Ahmad Ali Tolu
PP-178 (Kasur-IV)
- Ch. Fayyaz Ahmed Waraich
PP-232 (Vehari-I)
- Engineer Bilal Ahmad Khar
PP-252 (Muzaffargarh-II)
- Engineer Javed Akbar Dhilloon

- PP-293 (Rahimyar Khan-IX)
- Mr. Iftikhar Ali alias Babar Khan Khitran
PP-266 (Layyah-V)
- Mr. Javed Hassan Gujjar
 - PP-294 (Rahimyar Khan-X)
- Makhdoom Muhammad Irtaza

PP-291 (Rahimyar Khan-VII)
- Malik Akhtar Hussain Noul
PP-176 (Kasur-II)
- Mehar Irshad Ahmad Khan

PP-254 (Muzaffargarh-IV)
- Mr. Muhammad Tariq Amin Hotyana

PP-278 (Bahawalnagar-II)
- Mr. Muhammad Amir Ghani
PP-203 (Multan-X)
- Mr. Muhammad Arqam Khan
PP-98 (Gujranwala-VIII)
- Muhammad Hafeez Akhtar Ch

PP-223 (Sahiwal-IV)
- Rai Muhammad Aslam Khan

PP-174 (Nankana Sahib-V)
- Rais Ibraheem Khalil Ahmad
PP-297 (Rahimyar Khan-XIII)

- Raja Riaz Ahmed
PP-65 (Faisalabad-XV)

List Of Successful Feudal Members Of Punjab Assembly (Independent) In 2008 Election Is As Follows:-

- Karam Dad Wahla
PP-219 (Khanewal-VIII)
- Sardar Muhammad Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa
PP-242 (Dera Ghazi Khan-III)
- Syed Basit Ahmad Sultan
PP-259 (Muzaffargarh-IX)
- Syed Haroon Ahmed Sultan Bokhari
PP-258 (Muzaffargarh-VIII)
- Mrs. Robina Shaheen Wattoo
PP-188 (Okara-IV)

ANNEXTURE 2:

The List Of The Prominent Feudal Politicians Of North Punjab, Who Won 2008 Punjab Assembly Election, Is As Follows:-

- Mr. Khurram Nawab Pakistan Muslim League
PP-22 (Chakwal-III)
- Malik Aitbar Khan Pakistan Muslim League
PP-19 (Attock-V)
- Mr. Muhammad Shafiq Khan Pakistan Muslim League
PP-7 (Rawalpindi-VII)

- Mr. Sher Ali Khan Pakistan Muslim League

PP-17 (Attock-III)

ANNEXTURE 3:

The List Of The Prominent Feudal Politicians Of Central Punjab, Who Won 2008 Punjab Assembly Election, As Follows:-

- Mrs. Robina Shaheen Wattoo Independent
PP-188 (Okara-IV)
- Ch. Irfan Bashir Gujjar Pakistan Muslim League
PP-102 (Gujranwala-XII)
- Ch. Zaheer-ud-Din Pakistan Muslim League
PP-55 (Faisalabad-V)
- Chaudhry Nadeem Abbas Rabaira Pakistan Muslim League
PP-189 (Okara-V)
- Sardar Dildar Ahmad Cheema Pakistan Muslim League
PP-61 (Faisalabad-XI)
- Sardar Muhammad Asif Nakai Pakistan Muslim League
PP-183 (Kasur-IX)
- Mr. Shahid Khalil Noor
PP-58 (Faisalabad-VIII)
- Mr. Awais Qasim Khan Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-132 (Narowal-I)
- Ch. Abdul Ghafoor Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-161 (Lahore-XXV)

- Ch. Muhammad Arshad
PP-225 (Sahiwal-VI)
- Malik Jalal-ud-Din Dhaku
PP-222 (Sahiwal-III)
- Ch. Shoukat Manzoor Cheema Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-104 (Gujranwala-XIV)
- Mr. Khurram Ijaz Chattha Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-163 (Sheikhupura-II)
- Mr. Liaqat Ali Ghuman Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-131 (Sialkot-XII)
- Lt. Col. (R) Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-87 (Toba Tek Singh-IV)
- Malik Ali Abbas Khokhar Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-192 (Okara-VIII)
- Mian Muhammad Rafiq Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-90 (Toba Tek Singh-VII)
- Muhammad Hafeez Akhtar Ch
PP-223 (Sahiwal-IV)
- Muhammad Khurram Gulfam Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-162 (Sheikhupura-I)
- Mr. Munawar Ahmed Gill Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-127 (Sialkot-VIII)
- Rai Farooq Umer Khan Kharral Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-185 (Okara-I)

- Rana Muhammad Iqbal Harna Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-121 (Sialkot-I)
- Rana Muhammad Iqbal Khan Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-184 (Kasur-X)
- Sheikh Mumtaz Ahmad Hashmi Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-96 (Gujranwala-VI)
- Ch Zulifqar Ali Bhinder Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-100 (Gujranwala-X)
- Mr. Ch. Ahmad Ali Tolu Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-178 (Kasur-IV)
- Malik Akhtar Hussain Noul Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-176 (Kasur-II)
- Muhammad Arqam Khan Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-98 (Gujranwala-VIII)
- Raja Riaz Ahmed Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-65 (Faisalabad-XV)

Annexure 4:

The List Of The Prominent Feudal Politicians Of Central Punjab, Who Won 2008 Punjab Assembly Election, As Follows.

- Mr. Amir Hayat Hiraj Pakistan Muslim League
PP-216 (Khanewal-V)
- Mr. Ghulam Jaffar Sargana Pakistan Muslim League
PP-212 (Khanewal-I)

- Makhdoom Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani Pakistan Muslim League
PP-267 (Bahawalpur-I)
- Mr.Mehdi Abbas Khan Pakistan Muslim League
PP-205 (Multan-XII)
- Rana Ejaz Ahmad Noon Pakistan Muslim League
PP-204 (Multan-XI)
- Syed Muhammad Rafi-ul-Din Bukhari Pakistan Muslim League
PP-210 (Lodhran-IV)
- Mr.Asif Manzoor Mohal Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-280 (Bahawanagar-IV)
- Mr.Asif Saeed Manais Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-238 (Vehari-VII)
- Mr. Khurram Ijaz Chattha Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-163 (Sheikhupura-II)
- Malik Muhammad Iqbal Channer Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP--272 (Bahawalpur-VI)
- Mian Muhammad Kazim Ali Pirzada Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-273 (Bahawalpur-VII)
- Muhammad Naeem Akhtar Khan Bhabha Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-237 (Vehari-VI)
- Muhammad Safdar Gill Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-274 (Bahawalpur-VIII)
- Sardar Malik Jehanzeb Warn Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

PP-269 (Bahawalpur-III)

- Ch. Fayyaz Ahmed Waraich Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-232 (Vehari-I)
- Engineer Javed Akbar Dhilloon Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-293 (Rahimyar Khan-IX)
- Mr. Javed Hassan Gujjar Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-294 (Rahimyar Khan-X)
- Makhdoom Muhammad Irtaza Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-291 (Rahimyar Khan-VII)
- Muhammad Tariq Amin Hotyana Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-278 (Bahawalnagar-II)
- Muhammad Amir Ghani Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-203 (Multan-X)
- Rais Ibraheem Khalil Ahmad Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian
PP-297 (Rahimyar Khan-XIII)
- Karam Dad Wahla Independent
PP-219 (Khanewal-VIII)

Annexure 5:

The List Of The Prominent Feudal Politicians Of Western Punjab, Who Won 2008 Punjab Assembly Election, As Follows.

Independent Feudal Members Of Western Punjab

- Sardar Muhammad Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa Independent
PP-242 (Dera Ghazi Khan-III)

- Syed Basit Ahmad Sultan Independent
PP-259 (Muzaffargarh-IX)
- Syed Haroon Ahmed Sultan Bokhari Independent
PP-258 (Muzaffargarh-VIII)

Feudal Members Of Pakistan Muslim League Of Western Punjab

- Hafiz Muhammad Qamar Hayat Kathiya Pakistan Muslim League
PP-79 (Jhang-VII)
- Malik Ahmed Yar Hinjra Pakistan Muslim League
PP-251 (Muzaffargarh-I)
- Malik Jawad Kamran Khar Pakistan Muslim League
PP-255 (Muzaffargarh-V)
- Mehr Sultan Sikandar Bharwana Pakistan Muslim League
PP-76 (Jhang-IV)
- Muhammad Saqlain Anwer Sipra Pakistan Muslim League
PP-75 (Jhang-III)
- Najaf Abbas Khan Sial Pakistan Muslim League
PP-83 (Jhang-XI)
- Sardar Muhammad Yousaf Khan Leghari Pakistan Muslim League
PP-246 (Dera Ghazi Khan-VII)

Feudal Members Of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) Of Western Punjab

- Abdul Hafeez Khan Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-43 (Mianwali-I)

- Asif Manzoor Mohal Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-280 (Bahawanagar-IV)
- Mian Muhammad Azam Chaila Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-82 (Jhang-X)
- Muhammad Asif Malik Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-41 (Khushab-III)
- Muhammad Feroz Joiya Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-46 (Mianwali-IV)
- Muhammad Masood Lali Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-80 (Jhang-VIII)
- Muhammad Sana Ullah Khan Masti Khel Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-47 (Bhakkar-I)
- Saeed Akbar Khan Khel Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-49 (Bhakkar-III)
- Sirdar Dost Muhammad Khan Khosa Khel Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PP-244 (Dera Ghazi Khan-V)

Feudal Members Of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian Western Punjab

- Engineer Bilal Ahmad Khar
PP-252 (Muzaffargarh-II)
- Mehar Irshad Ahmad Khan
PP-254 (Muzaffargarh-IV)

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