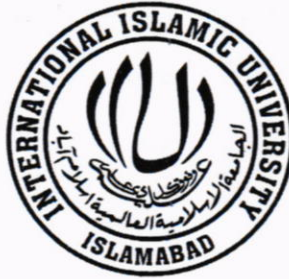


# **RELATIONSHIP OF SAJJADA NASHINS WITH POLITICAL AUTHORITIES: A CASE STUDY OF MAKHDOOMS OF MULTAN (1988-2008)**



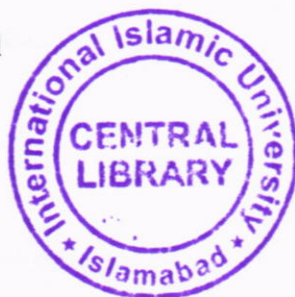
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**Reg. No. 14/FSS/MSPSIR/F07**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of  
MS/M. Phil in discipline Politics and International Relations at the  
Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University,  
Islamabad.

Supervisor:  
Professor Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad

June, 2011



Accession No. TH-8568

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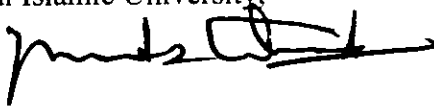


## Certification


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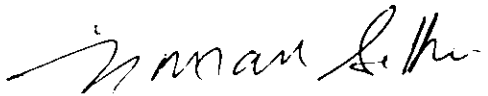
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## Abstract

Politics of the region, now constitute Pakistan, is always influenced by different factors like: social, economic and religious. The religious factor is the major among all mentioned factors. Multan-a district in Southern Punjab, is a very interesting place where this phenomenon can be observed. This is the city of Sufis. The descendants of great Sufis are active in the politics, religion and social life of this city. For this dissertation, three *Makhdooms* of Multan have been selected from Hashmi, Gilani and Qureshi families. The political history of these families has the legacy of centuries. The selected *Makhdooms* are: Makhdoom Javed Hashmi, Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani and Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi. These all Makhdooms are active in local and national politics since decades. These *Makhdooms* are either directly or indirectly *sajjada nashins* of the shrines. Makhdoom Javed Hashmi is the descendant of Makhdoom Abdul Rashid (RA), Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani is the descendant of Musa Pak (RA) and Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi is the officially declared *sajjada nashin* of Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) and Shah Rukn-e-Alam (RA). The dissertation mainly focuses on the role of these *Makhdooms* during democracy, dictatorship and semi – democracy during the period from 1988 to 2008.

## Acknowledgements

First of all, I am grateful to Almighty Allah who was always there to help me in-order to complete this task. I ever felt the kindness of Prophet Muhammad (SAW), whenever caught in any problem. He is my caretaker in this and the world hereafter.

It is a great pleasure for me to thank those personalities who supported me to carry out this research work. First and foremost, I have no words to pay thanks to my supervisor Professor Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad. For me, he is much more than a supervisor. He is a fatherly figure and no doubt, *murshid* for me. I never saw such a great personality in my whole life. He is a man of dignity, respect everyone and others love and respect him blindly. I would love to have, even a corner place under his supervision besides my all academic deficiencies. His kindness and affection as fatherly figure will always bound me to be humble to him throughout my life.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences- International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI) for his valuable guidance in all seasons

My family always supported me while working on my thesis. My father, Ghulam Murtaza, mother, sisters, brothers, nephew Sohaib and the next generation supported me as per their own way and capacity. My thanks are also due to my forefathers Hafiz Maqbool Hussain, Hafiz Noor Hussain, Moulwi Naik Alam, Moulana Siraj-ud-Din, my Grandmother Begum Bibi and Naimat-Ullah-Chisti whose spiritual support has ever been a source of satisfaction for me in tough situations during this work.

I am also thankful to my “wife to be” whose absence provide me enough time to complete my research work.

My thanks are also due by heart to the “Three Spiritual Rulers” of sub-continent: Syed Ali Hujweri (RA), Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti (RA) and Sheikh Bahauddin Zakaria (RA).

I would like to thank Dr. Husnul Amin for his sincere help to conclude my work. Dr. Tanvir Anjum – Assisstant Professor at Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad was also very generous in guidance.

Some names are very necessary to mention who were with me either at earlier middle or at later stage of this thesis. Professor Sahibzada Dr. Sajidur Rehman –DG Dawah Academy, Dr. Zafar Ishaq Ansari-VP IIUI and DG IRI, Professor Fateh Muhammad Malik – Rector IIUI , Dr. Chandra Muzzaffar ( a Malaysian based global intellectual), Dr. Gulfishan Khan (PhD from Oxford University UK and serving at Aligarh University India), Dr. Israr Ahmad (serving at Aligarh University India), Dr. Iftikhar Iqbal Akhund (PhD from Cambridge University and serving at Dhaka University), Professor Alap Arslan (Turkey), Professor Recep (Turkey), Junaid Ahmad (Lecturer at LUMS) and Mehvish Hayat ( Lecturer at LUMS).

Though, it is not easy to thank every one who assisted me in this project. Yet I think that the acknowledgement would be incomplete without thanking to those whose dedications are unforgettable for me. I am grateful to Library staff of Hamidullah Library, Central Library IIUI, National Library Islamabad, Election Commission of Pakistan, my all class fellows and colleagues, especially M. Imran Ashraf.

The devotees at the Multan Shrines were really helpful who shared their secret views and experiences in an innocent manner.

I am thankful to Makhdoom Yosaf Raza Gilani, Makhdoom Javed Hashmi, and Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi for not giving me proper time, otherwise I may thought myself bound to adjust their views in courtesy which may hurt impartiality of the research work. My deepest thanks to everyone who helped but whose name I forgot to mention.

May Almighty Allah bless all of us.

MUHAMMAD UMER QUDDAFI

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## **List of Abbreviations:**

ANP	Awami National Party
EBDO	Elected Body Disqualification Order
GHQ	General Headquarters
IJI	Islami Jamhuri Ittehad
JUI-F	Jamiat Ulema e Islam –Fazlur Rehman faction
MNA	Member National Assembly
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
MQM	Muttahida Quami Movement
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz Sharif faction
PML (Q)	Pakistan Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam faction
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party

**Note:** Qureshi is used as brief name for Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Gilani for Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani and Hashmi for Makhdoom Javed Hashmi at some places in this research work.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers a brief background of the subject matter and the reasons for selecting the research area. It covers the following: statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification of the study, hypothesis, research question, and limitations of the study.

### 1. I Statement of the Study

The research covers political aspect of Sufism. *Makhdooms* of Multan: fall under this category. To limit the scope of the subject, three *Makhdooms* of Multan: *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani (Prime Minister of Pakistan), *Makhdoom* Muhammad Javed Hashmi (senior leader of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz) and *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi (former Foreign Minister of Pakistan) are being selected. These three political figures are known for linkage to their respective Sufi-heritage.

Shah Mehmood Qureshi is the *sajjada nashin* of the shrines of the two great Sufis of Multan: Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) of Multan and Shah Rukn-e-Alam (RA) of Multan. *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani and his family announced a separate *sajjada nashin* for the shrine of Hazrat Musa Pak (RA) but Gilani family is taking full advantage of this

inheritance in the field of politics, social status and among religious community.<sup>1</sup> Gilani family is taking active part in regional, national and provincial politics since Mughal period.<sup>2</sup> *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi is a self-proclaimed himself farmer but not a feudal.<sup>3</sup> During his election campaigns or political activity; he has used his position as descendant of Abdul Rashid *Makhdoom* of Multan who was the cousin of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria. This inheritance of Sufi blood has played a vital role in political career Javed Hashmi.<sup>4</sup>

## 1. II Objectives of the Study

This research aims to answer certain questions about relationship of *Makhdooms* with political authorities and intends to help the students and scholars of politics to understand the political aspect of Sufism, especially in Punjab. The study will cover the historic and contemporary aspect related to the subject. The area of research confined to three *Makhdooms* of Multan: Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Yousaf Raza Gilani and Javed Hshmi for understanding of the subject matter. These *Makhdooms* are *sajjada nashins* or descendants of Great Sufis and playing an active role in regional, provincial and national politics.

This study will find out that how politico-religious relationship can cooperate in certain situations where mutual interests of both parties are met or vice versa. This area has been academically addressed less and there is a need to do more work on it. This research will attract and open new dimensions for the researchers.

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<sup>1</sup> Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Chah e Yousaf se Sada* (Reflections from Yousaf's Well), (Lahore: Ngarshat Publishers, 2008), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Gilani, *op.cit*, p.28.

<sup>3</sup> Javed Hashmi, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel), (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), 40.

<sup>4</sup> Hashmi, *op.cit*, p. 29.

### **1. III Justification of the study**

The impact of proposed study is important for better understanding of relations between *sajjada nashins* or descendants of Sufis with political authorities. The study depicts better relation between spiritual masters elected on behalf of their followers and using this support for their political objectives. This study can be applied to understand that how *sajjada nashins* prove themselves beneficial for the state or get benefits from the State having cooperative ties with political authorities.

*Makhdooms* of Multan (Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Yousaf Raza Gilani and Javed Hshmi), are playing their politico-religious role in Pakistan: at regional, provincial and national levels. All of them are active in contemporary politics since long and are representatives of leading political parties as well as larger religious communities. The application of this study is very significant for better understanding of political aspects of Sufism in Pakistan, especially in Punjab.

### **1. IV Hypothesis**

The socio-religio-political role of the Sufism, leads hypothesis that the Sufis/ *Makhdooms*' attachment with the ruling echelon without considering latter's moral, ideological and legal ground of having the authority undermines former's socio-religious and political base/stand in the society.

## **1. V Research Questions/Arguments**

- 1- What is the Impact of *Makhdooms* on Politics?
- 2- How do *Makhdooms* use their religious status for political purpose?
- 3- How do *Makhdooms* of Multan adjust their political strategies in the nomenclature of Sufi thoughts, political realities and power struggle?
- 4- What is the response of *Makhdooms* in supportive, unsupportive and clash situation with political authorities?

## **1. VI Periodization**

The period that is selected for core part of the research is from 1988 to 2008. This period is divided into three phases: period from 1988 to 1999, 1999 to 2002, and 2002 to 2008. First period is democratic, second is dictatorship and third one is semi-democratic period. In these periods, role of *Makhdooms* is analysed as politician having religious and social backup.

## **1. VII Description of the Chapters**

The dissertation is divided into six chapters:

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter throws light on rationale of the study that why this study is chosen to conduct, its justification and objectives.



## **Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework**

This chapter furnishes conceptual and theoretical support to the research hypothesis in-order to reach valid findings and conclusion. The chapter set up basis for the operational definitions of concepts and other subjects; related to the Methodology and theoretical framework.

## **Chapter 3: Dynamism of Acquiring Political Power and Authority**

This chapter explains all forms of relations; supportive, unsupportive and clash/violent between the Sufis and political authorities. This chapter explains the details of political role played by the *Makhdoom* families at regional, provincial and national level till 1988. The chapter throws light that how these *Makhdooms* kept on their powerful role as landlord, *sajjada nashin* and politician.

## **Chapter 4: Political Role of *Makhdooms*: A Background History**

This chapter explains the politico-religious role of the families of these Political Sufis or *sajjada nashins* as Landlords until 1988. The political role of *Makhdooms* has deep roots in the remote past also therefore in-order to know the real political interests of *Makhdooms* one has to go in the past, the history of the political role of *Makhdooms* is divided into two broader phases, Pre-Independence and Post Independence, in- order to evaluate the clear and concise dimensions of political interests of *Makhdooms*.

## **Chapter 5: *Makhdooms* in Politics (1988-2008)**

This chapter has been divided in three eras:

- I) Democratic Period (1988 -1999)
- II) Dictatorship Period (1999-2002)
- III) Semi- Democratic Period (2002-08)

This chapter explains the political struggle of three *Makhdooms* during democracy, semi-democracy and dictatorship.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion: Findings and perspective for Change**

## CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter furnishes conceptual and theoretical support to the research hypothesis in order to reach the valid findings and conclusion. The chapter sets up basis for the operationalization of definitions, concepts and other subjects; related to the Methodology and theoretical framework.

### 2. I Concepts and Definitions

In order to understand the phenomenon under study, there is a need to define the terms like *sajjada nashin*, *Makhdoom*, Sufism and political authorities.

#### a) *Sajjada Nashin*

Sarah F D Ansari, in the glossary of her book, *Sufi Saints and State Power - The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, defines *sajjada nashin* as the 'one who sits on the carpet, head of pir family.'<sup>5</sup> Descendant of great Sufis are all those who belong to their blood. While *Makhdoom* is the title used by both descendants and *sajjada nashins*. and they relate it to their forefathers. It means, "to be served".

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<sup>5</sup>Sarah F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), xviii.

David Gilmartin, in the glossary of his book, *Empire and Islam-Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, define *sajjada nashin* as, 'one who sits on the prayer carpet'; successor to the authority of a Sufi saint at his shrine, usually a lineal descendant of the saint shaikh.<sup>6</sup> The term *sajjada nashin* is used for the purpose of this dissertation as referring to the descendants of Sufis and *Makhdooms*.

*Sajjada Nashin* is generally nominated by the elders of the family or by the Sufi himself through his will and may necessarily not be a Sufi. A *sajjada nashin* may or may not have blood relations with the Sufi, like a spiritually powerful Khalifah (a disciple with more authority than other disciples with some extra responsibility of preaching). He may accept *bayat* (allegiance) even during the life of his Sufi Master or to be appointed as custodian of the shrine of his *Murshid*/ Sufi Master. A *Bayat* is a vow of loyalty and the surrender by the disciple in this world and the hereafter to his / her *Murshid*.

The relations between *sajjada nashins* and political authorities can be discussed under the title of political aspects of Sufism. The term political aspect of Sufism/ political dimensions of Sufism refer to the relations of *sajjada nashins*/pirs with political authorities.

#### **b) *Makhdoom***

*Makhdoom* is a title used by the descendents of the Sufi masters. *Makhdoom* sub order is traced back to Jalaluddin Husain, who is known as Makhdom-i-Jahaniyan (1308-1384).

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<sup>6</sup> David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam-Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1988), 237.

His genealogy is Jalaluddin Husain s/o Ahmad Kabir s/o Jalaluddin Shah Mir Surakhposh of Bukhara, who settled in Uch (1192-1291).<sup>7</sup>

*Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi wrote in his autobiography, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel),

*Makhdoom and shah both as a prefix and suffix, are the parts of every name of our family since centuries. In the sub-continent, 1000 years ago, only four dargahs had the privilege to use the title of Makhdoom as prefix. These were: Makhdoom Ali Hujwari, Makhdoom Jahanian Jahan Gasht, Makhdoom Sabir Klairi and Makhdoom Abdul Rashid Haqqani. Other Sufis were known by different titles - Baba Farid Ganj-e-Shakar as Baba Farid, Bahauddin Zakaria as Ghous Bahawal Haq, Shah Rukn-e-Alam and Musa Pak as Pak Shaheed etc. Due to the title of Makhdoom Abdul Rashid Haqqani, our town is also named as Makhdoom Rashid.*<sup>8</sup>

### c) Sufism

One of the greatest figures in the history of Tasawwuf or Sufism, *Makhdoom* Syed Ali bin Uthman al-Hujwari (RA), in his master work on Sufism, "*Kashful Mahjub*" explains the concept of Sufism with the help of the Quran, Hadith and from the sayings of early Sufis. This is the earliest Persian treatise on Sufism. He quotes from the Holy Quran, "There are servants of God who walk humbly on the earth and when an ignorant one converses with them, they pray for his welfare." [25:63] From Hadith source, he adds, that the Holy Prophet (SAW) said, "Those who hear the prayers of a Sufi and do not say 'Ameen' come in the list of negligent ones in the eyes of Allah."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> K.K. Aziz, *Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan - A study of Piri-Muridi*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd. 2001), 4.

<sup>8</sup> Javed Hashmi, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel) (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), 30.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 37.

There are different opinions about the etymology of the word Sufi. Some associate it with *saff*, which means that Sufis belong to the first *saff* or row.<sup>10</sup> Some relate it to the *Ashab-e-Saffa* which means people of the pulpit, that is, the students who had the privilege to learn from the Holy Prophet (SAW) directly.<sup>11</sup> As per third opinion, Sufism is derived from *safa* or purity. A Sufi has a pure heart, free from worldly greed.<sup>12</sup> Hujwiri (RA) concluded that the word 'Sufi' is such a magnificent name, there is nothing like it.<sup>13</sup> He further explains that there are three types of Sufis: Sufi, *Mutasawwif*, and *Mustasawwif*.

A Sufi is one "who has annihilated himself and is living eternally with Allah Almighty. He emerges from his human state and is united with reality." *Mutasawwif* is "who is constantly engaged in spiritual striving to attain a higher state, and tries to follow the footsteps of the exalted Sufis." *Mustasawwif* is "who dons the grab and appearance of the Sufis merely for the sake of wealth and position." His position is hated among Sufis and they call him a wolf.<sup>14</sup>

In order to explain the concept of Sufism and Sufi - *Makhdoom* Syed Ali bin Uthman al-Hujwiri has collected several sayings of great Sufis. For example, Dhunnun Misri said, "The Sufi is who speaks truth. In his silence all parts of his body give evidence of his absorption in God."<sup>15</sup> Junaid Baghdadi states that "Sufism is an attribute wherein is man's subsistence."<sup>16</sup> He adds that Sufism is founded on eight qualities, including: generosity of Hadhrat Ibrahim (AS), acceptance of Hadrat Ismail (AS),

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 41.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 42.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 43.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 43.

patience of Hadhrat Ayub (AS), signs of Hadhrat Zakaria (AS), poverty of Hadhrat Yahya (AS), woolen robe of Hadhrat Musa (AS), travelling of Hadhrat Isa (AS) and piety of Hadhrat Muhammad (SAW).<sup>17</sup> In the words of Abul Hasan Nuri, “Sufism is denying the pleasure of the lower self.”<sup>18</sup> At another place he said, “Sufis are those whose spirits have gained the attributes of the first and highest category and have attained nearness to Allah Almighty.”<sup>19</sup> He also said “the Sufi is he who neither possesses anything nor possessed by anyone.”<sup>20</sup> Ibni Jalal Damishqi defined “Sufism is truth, not just a custom or form.”<sup>21</sup> Imam Baqar said, “Sufism is the name of courtesy, so the person who is the most courteous is the greatest Sufi.”

In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Sufi is defined as, “A member of a Muslim group who tries to become united with God through prayer and meditation and by living a very simple, strict life”.<sup>22</sup>

All the definitions of the Sufism show that a Sufi must be free from greed of the world and should be courteous to others and his sole objective should be the eternal friendship of Allah Almighty.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 50.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 43.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Hujwiri, *Kashful Mahjub*, Trans. Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2005), 44.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>22</sup> *Dictionary of Oxford Advanced Learner's*, 7th ed.,

#### **d) Political Authority<sup>23</sup>**

Generally speaking authority is a “legal or rightful power; a right to command or to act; power exercised by a person in virtue of his office or trust; dominion; jurisdiction; authorization; as the authority of a prince over subjects and of parents over children and the authority of a court.”

The rubric under which the normative notion of political authority is normally known is the idea of legitimate political authority. We will review a number of different ideas that are related to legitimate political authority.

There are two types of authority: theoretical and practical authority. A theoretical authority is an intellectual inquiry by an expert of a particular field. Theoretical authorities do not normally impose duties on others, although they might advise a person on his duty.

There are diverse views on political authority; most theorists view it as a species of practical authority rather than theoretical authority. Those who hold that political authority is a species of practical authority maintain that political authorities issue directives that give reasons to people for action and not for belief. The thought is that political authorities impose duties on their subjects and thereby give them reasons for action. These theorists argue that it is the function of political authorities to get people to act in certain ways so as to solve various collective action problems such as a variety of

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<sup>23</sup> Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, ed., *The Popular Basis of Political Authority*, from *The Founders Constitution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2000)



different types of coordination problems, assurance problems and free rider problems. Some have argued on the account of practical reason that political authority is a practical authority that is incoherent and so, they have opt the idea that political authorities, when legitimate, are theoretical authorities regarding the existence and nature of the duties and reasons for action that people have.

It is not a useful aim of philosophers or political thinkers to determine which one of these conceptual accounts of political authority is the right one. Each one of them grasps a kind of legitimacy of political authority that is worth taking into account and distinguishes from the others. The idea of legitimate authority as justified coercive power is a suitable way of getting at the authority of hostile but justified occupation powers. And the idea of legitimate authority as an authority that has a right to rule over subjects who owe obedience to the authority and that has a right not to be interfered with by foreigners is surely an importantly distinct and perhaps ideal type of authority, which is rarely implemented. The kind of legitimacy that is merely correlated with duties to obey or not to interfere is a useful intermediate category between those two.

#### **e) Max Weber and Political Authority<sup>24</sup>**

Legal-Rational authority explained by Max Weber can be called political authority. This authority requires formal rules and established laws of the state for its legitimacy. Its

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<sup>24</sup>Dana Williams. "Homepage," < <http://danawilliams2.tripod.com/authority.html>> ( 15 April 2011)

power is defined in the constitution. In modern world, Government officials are the best example of this form of political authority.

Weber's notion of three kinds of Authority: traditional, charismatic and legal-rational are much related to the area of research under consideration. His essay "The three types of legitimate rule" is the clearest explanation of his theory.

As per Weber, Traditional authority is legitimated by the holiness of practice. The ability and right to rule is passed down, often through heredity. It does not change overtime, does not facilitate social change, tends to be irrational and inconsistent, and perpetuates the status quo. In fact, Weber states: "The creation of new law opposite traditional norms is deemed impossible in principle." Traditional authority is typically embodied in feudalism or patrimonialism but, in both cases the system of authority does not change.

Charismatic authority is found in a leader whose mission and vision inspire others. It is based upon the perceived extraordinary characteristics of an individual. Weber saw a charismatic leader as the head of a new social movement, and one instilled with divine or supernatural powers, such as a religious prophet. Weber seemed to favor charismatic authority, and spent a good deal of time discussing it. Weber's favour for charismatic authority was particularly strong, especially in focusing on what happened to it with the death or decline of a charismatic leader. Charismatic authority is "routinized" in a number of ways according to Weber: orders are traditionalized, the staff or followers change into legal or "estate-like" (traditional) staff, or the meaning of charisma itself may undergo change.

Legal-rational authority is empowered by a formalistic belief in the content of the law (legal) or natural law (rationality). Obedience is not given to a specific individual leader - whether traditional or charismatic but a set of uniform principles. Weber thought the best example of legal-rational authority was a bureaucracy. This form of authority is frequently found in the modern state, city governments, private and public corporations, and various voluntary associations.

#### **f) Sajjada Nashins and Weber's defined Authority**

These all types of authorities are acquired by the *Makhdoods* of Multan. They have charismatic personalities as *sajjada nashins*, traditional role as landlord based on strong economic basis and legal rational status while holding an Executive or Political office. *Makhdoods* enjoy this status mainly because of their religious background as descendants of the Great Sufis or being *sajjada nashins*.

Secondly, Max Weber also has discussed three dimensions of influence including class, status, and party. Here class denotes the economic aspect, status represents social and moral aspect and party represent political aspect within the Authoritative paradigm. These all forms are symbols of power and authority.

A situation may arise in which all dimensions of power and authority may converge in a single personality. The case of *sajjada nashins* is the same situation where concentration of power accumulates in some specific personality.

## 2. II Literature Review

Religion has always been a sensitive issue to be discussed in sub-continent. About political aspect of Sufism, different opinions are there: Is politics allowed in Sufism? If yes, what type of politics? This study will help to respond in these aspects. There is not much work done on this area in Pakistan. The present material in this regard is based on official's diaries, observations of followers and experiences, and available work on the same topic in other parts of the country.

Syed Ali Hujweri, known as Data Ganj Bakhsh wrote classic, "Kashaful Mahjub" in which he explained the code and syllabus of practical Sufism. He categorized Sufis, on the basis of their spiritual strength.

Sara F. D Ansari, in her, "Sufi Saints and State Power - The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947" explains the political strategy of foreign invaders to strengthen their rule by collaboration with the local stakeholders. She discusses political role of pirs of Sind as mediators between people and the rulers. Secondly, she discusses the struggle of Pir Pagaro and his followers, "Hurs" against the foreign invaders. This is one of the detailed works on the political aspects of Sufism in Pakistan.

*"Empire and Islam-Punjab and the Making of Pakistan"* by David Gilmartin explains the role of *pirs* of Punjab in the struggle for Pakistan. He discusses the role of Qureshis and Gilanis during British era.

In *"Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power"*, Anjum Tanvir discusses meaning and doctrine of Sufism, and its relationship with political authorities focusing the period of seventh to thirteen century.

Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani in his autobiography, "*Chahe Yousaf Se Sada!*" narrates political and religious history of his family. The book explains his political journey and his position in different governments. This is a good account of his successes and failures of political life.

*Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi in his book, "*Han Main Baghi Hoon*" explains historical perspective of his family, throws light on his political training, his attachment with his family and his victimization as a sincere and true politician. He beautifully elaborate the periods of different political leader specially Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, General Zia-ul- Haq, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf.

Sheikh Abdul Karim bin Hawazin bin Abdul Malik bin Talha bin Muhammad al-Nisha Puri known as Zain al-Islam Abu al-Qasim al-Qushairi (376-465 Hijrah) was a Jurist and Sufi Shaykh. He discussed different dimensions of *Tassawuf* in *Risala-e-Qushariya*. It is one of the best works about Islamic *Tassawuf* and its terms, matters of heart and soul, history of great Sufis and respect of Sufis have made it more popular book over the centuries.

"*Pakistan Kay Siaysi Waderay*" has been written by Aqeel Abbas Jaffri. This book explains that traditional politically active families in sub-continent families for centuries. These families are politically very active and use religion, social status and economic superiority to perpetuate their rule. Aqeel Jafri has covered historical and present status of different elite families including Qureshi and Gilani families.

"*Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan- A study of Piri-Muridi*" has been written by K.K.Aziz explains the role of *pirs* and *murids* furthermore; he has beautifully unveiled the psychological, social and political misuse of *murids* by the *pirs*.

A thorough study of available literature shows that traces of relationship between politics and Sufism which can be traced back to the period of prophet Muhammad (SAW). This practice continued in the reign of the four rightly guided caliphs.

When Islamic empire extended to different regions, this practice was also there with a new regional shape as per situation of every region. The relationship between Sufis, their descendants or *sajjada nashins* and political authorities or state has many dimensions:

- i. Suharwardi Sufis took part in politics to keep the political, moral, economic and social condition in order. To achieve this target they had relations with rulers
- ii. Suharwardi Sufis participated in politics to stop the rulers from injustice
- iii. They tried to convince the rulers for implementation of Shariah
- iv. They seek help of rulers to solve the problems of people
- v. They tried to fill the communication gap between the rulers and the public
- vi. They trained the rulers to be helpful for the society

It can be found out that whether these influential figures of the society established cordial relations with the political authorities or they oppose the political authorities. At one end, we see that the proponents of Sufism were considered a threat for the state during early political Islamic era. In this situation, rulers had two options: to make Sufis ally in state affairs or keep them away by harsh bindings, imprisonment or execution. Being the part of the society -Sufis showed both types of reaction and in response, there was same type of reaction from the political authorities that favoured in case of supportive relationship and harsh response in case of opposition.

## 2. III Profiles of *Makhdooms* of Multan

In order to respond the highlighted research questions and delimit the study, three *Makhdooms* of Multan: *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi and *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi have been selected. These *Makhdooms* have some similarities as well as differences in their moral, traditional and political roles.

Brief profiles of these personalities are discussed hereby in order to know about their individual lives and political career.

### a) *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi

*Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi was born in July 1948 in Multan.<sup>25</sup> His father *Makhdoom* Muhammad Shah Hashmi was a renowned religious and political figure of Multan. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi is an agriculturist by occupation.<sup>26</sup> He is the great grandson of a Sufi saint *Makhdoom* Rashid.<sup>27</sup> Hashmi graduated from the University of the Punjab in 'Masters in Political Science', and later in 'Philosophy'.<sup>28</sup> His political career started during his student life. Hashmi rose to national prominence when he contested 1985 non-party elections. He was elected as Member National Assembly for the terms of 1985 to 1988, 1990 to 1993, 1993 to 1997, and 1997 to 1999. He also served as Minister of State for Youth Affairs in Zia Cabinet and also served as as Federal Minister for Health from 1997 to 1999, in Nawaz Government.<sup>29</sup> He took part in General Elections of 2002 from

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<sup>25</sup> Javed Hashmi, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel), (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), 27.

<sup>26</sup> "Homepage," <<http://www.pildat.org/MNA/rsDetail.asp?detid=149>> (25 April 2010)

<sup>27</sup> Hashmi, 27.

<sup>28</sup> "Homepage," <[http://www.Makhdoomjavedhashmi.com/about\\_english.html](http://www.Makhdoomjavedhashmi.com/about_english.html)> (24 April 2010)

<sup>29</sup> "Homepage," <[http://www.Makhdoomjavedhashmi.com/about\\_english.html](http://www.Makhdoomjavedhashmi.com/about_english.html)> (24 April 2010)

two constituencies-NA-123 North Lahore and NA-148 Multan-1. He was defeated from his home town Multan whereas he won from Lahore.<sup>30</sup>

In 2008 elections, *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi won three out of four contested seats of National Assembly - one from Rawalpindi, another from Lahore and two from Multan. Hashmi challenged and defeated Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed in his home constituency

NA-55 Rawalpindi.<sup>31</sup> At present, Javed Hashmi is a member of National Assembly and senior leader of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Faction.

#### **b) *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani**

*Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani was born on June 9, 1952 at Karachi. His family is well known in political and religious circles, especially in the southern part of the Punjab. His home town is Multan, one of the oldest cities in the world. His family background is helpful for him to strive for political power.<sup>32</sup> *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani, having background of an influential political family of Multan, started his political career in 1978, after the death of his father *Makhdoom* Alamdar Hussain Gilani.<sup>33</sup> He won non-party National Assembly elections in 1985 and became the minister for Housing and Railways in the cabinet of Mohammad Khan Junejo. He contested 1988 elections as a candidate of Pakistan Peoples Party and defeated Mian Nawaz Sharif. Gilani was elected Member National Assembly in 1990, 1993 but was defeated in 1997. He was sent to jail

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<sup>30</sup> Hashmi, 178.

<sup>31</sup> "Homepage," <[http://www.Makhdoomjavedhashmi.com/about\\_english.html](http://www.Makhdoomjavedhashmi.com/about_english.html)> (24 December 2010)

<sup>32</sup> Syed Shoaib Hasan . "Profile: Yousuf Raza Gilani" *BBC on the web*, 17 June 2009  
<[http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7310028.stm?ad=1](http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7310028.stm?ad=1)> (24 December 2010)

<sup>33</sup> Amir Wasim . "Would-be premier: a profile," *Dawn on the web*, 23 March 2008.  
<<http://www.dawn.com/2008/03/23/top3.htm>> (28 December 2010)



in 2001 on the charges of misuse of authority. He was accused of nepotism and favouritism. Gilani wrote '*Chahe Yousaf Se Sada*' during his six years detention in jail.<sup>34</sup> He served as the Speaker National Assembly from 1993 to 1996 and as a Federal Minister for Railways in Muhammad Khan Junejo's Cabinet from 1985 to 1988.<sup>35</sup> In his long political career, Gilani was defeated once in 1997, by Sikandar Hayat Bosan.

Gilani has a long success record. In 1983, he defeated Syed Fakhar Imam in the elections of Chairmanship of Multan District Council, in 1988 he defeated Mian Nawaz Sharif in National Assembly Elections, in 1990 he became Member National Assembly by defeating his uncle and a veteran parliamentarian *Makhdoom* Hamid Raza Gilani, in 2008 elections, his opponent was Sikandar Hayat Bosan.<sup>36</sup> *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani is married, has four sons and a daughter.<sup>37</sup> He is the serving Prime Minister of Pakistan.

### c) *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi

*Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi was born in Murree on June 22, 1956. He is an agriculturist by profession. Qureshi completed his graduation in 1978 from University of the Punjab followed by an M.A in 1983 from Cambridge University. He was elected as Member Provincial Assembly Punjab, from 1985 to 1988, 1988 to 1990 and 1990 to

<sup>34</sup> Amir Wasim . "Would-be premier: a profile," Dawn on the web, 23 March 2008, <<http://www.dawn.com/2008/03/23/top3.htm>> (28 December 2010)

<sup>35</sup> *Amjad Warraich*. "Yousaf Raza Gillani – a profile" *Daily Times on the web*, 23 March 2008, <[http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/print.asp?page=2008\03\23\story\\_23-3-2008\\_pg7\\_7](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/print.asp?page=2008\03\23\story_23-3-2008_pg7_7)> ( 28 December 2010)

<sup>36</sup> *Amjad Warraich*. "Yousaf Raza Gillani – a profile" *Daily Times on the web*, 23 March 2008, <[http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/print.asp?page=2008\03\23\story\\_23-3-2008\\_pg7\\_7](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/print.asp?page=2008\03\23\story_23-3-2008_pg7_7)> ( 28 December 2010)

<sup>37</sup> Amir Wasim . "Would-be premier: a profile," Dawn on the web, 23 March 2008, <<http://www.dawn.com/2008/03/23/top3.htm>> (28 December 2010)

1993. Qureshi was elected as Member of National Assembly of Pakistan from 1993 to 96, 2002 to 2007 and in 2008. Qureshi served as Finance Minister Punjab from 1990 to 1993 and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs from 1994 to 1996. He served as Chairman, District Council, Multan from 1987 to 91 and as Zila Nazim of Multan District from 2001 to 2002. His political success revolves around local, provincial and national level.

Qureshi is the son of former Governor Punjab *Makhdoom* Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi. Shah Mehmood Qureshi actively assumed many honorary posts, like Chairman Farmers Associates Pakistan, Member of Senate, Bahauddin Zakaria University Multan, Member Board of Governors of Aitcheson College, Lahore Pakistan, Member Board of Governors Fatimid Life Patron, Al – Shifa Trust and Co-Chairperson S.O.S. Children's Village, Multan.<sup>38</sup> He is a senior member of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP).<sup>39</sup> Qureshi assumed office of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan from March 31, 2008 to February 9, 2011.<sup>40</sup> Qureshi is married and has a son and two daughters.

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<sup>38</sup> "Homepage," <[http://www.mofa.gov.pk/FM\\_Profile.htm](http://www.mofa.gov.pk/FM_Profile.htm)> (29 December 2010)

<sup>39</sup> "Homepage," <<http://www.elections.com.pk/candidatedetails.php?id=1174>> (29 December 12-2010)

<sup>40</sup> "Homepage," [http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/List\\_FM.htm](http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/List_FM.htm) (13 March 2011)

**Table 1 : Three *Makhdooms* of Multan-Brief Introduction**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Qureshi</b>	<b>Gilani</b>	<b>Hashmi</b>
<b>Age (Years)</b>	54	58	62
<b>Social Background</b>	<i>Sajjada Nashin</i> , Land Lord and Politician	<i>Sajjada Nashin</i> , Land Lord and Politician	<i>Sajjada Nashin</i> , Land Lord and Politician
<b>Occupation</b>	Agriculturists	Agriculturist	Agriculturist
<b>Education</b>	M.A	M.A	M.A
<b>Party</b>	PPPP	PPPP	PML(N)

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Note: Qureshi is used for *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Gilani for *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani and Hashmi for *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi in this table.

## 2. IV Selection of Multan

The selection of Multan as a region for research is due to its multi dimensional nature. Multan is the city of saints, land of feudal class and a hub of specific families in politics. In order to study the relationship of *sajjada nashins* with political authorities, selection of Multan is the best available choice in Punjab, Pakistan. In Multan relationship between these religious elite and political authorities is active since centuries. We can compare the outcomes of relationship between Sufi masters or their descendants/ *sajjada nashins* with political authorities and then find out the set research objectives.

In other words, as Sufism has an ancient/historical tradition in Multan, we can observe the changing patterns of interests between these religious and political authorities as an outcome of this relationship. In Multan, we not only have the opportunity to study the religio-political but also feudal aspect in order to achieve the self interests of both sides. Interestingly, in some cases religious, social and economic superior status may join in a personality. This personality is the political representative, religious guide and feudal/landlord having peasants class under his authority. He is at the same time *sajjada nashin* or direct descendant of well respected Sufi and feudal having big chunk of land. The power of *sajjada nashins* of Multan is mainly associated with political, religious and social sectors.

## **2. V Selection of *Makhdooms* and their Political Role**

Selection of *Makhdooms* as a case study of this research is very significant due to their effective participation in political, religious and social affairs. The basic strength of these *sajjada nashins* is their religious status. All the three *Makhdooms* selected: *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Makhdoom* Syed Javed Hashmi and *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi are actively participating in regional, provincial and national politics since decades. They all are basically respected due to their Sufi forefathers but they also have the traditional status of landlord and has achieved notable distinguished positions in politics on the basis of this three dimensional status.

We can find out required findings by study the role of their forefathers during British and post-independence era, their role during democratic, dictatorship and semi democratic periods can assess on the basis of their political role having backup of their religious, economic and social status.

## **2. VI Theoretical Foundations of the Subject**

The term “authority” refers to an abstract concept with both sociological and political components. There is no perfect and easy definition of this word “authority”. Throughout the literature on the topic is the entanglement of the concepts of authority, power, and legitimacy is of particular concern. This is a concern not only in the abstract (by which I mean that scholars discuss and disagree on how the three are entangled), but also in the concrete because scholars themselves are often guilty of entangling them. One is defined

as a function of the other and vice-versa until the reader doesn't know where to turn anymore for help.

The basis of Weber's distinction between power and authority is that power is the ability to impose one's will on another, regardless of the other's wishes and despite any resistance he may offer. Power is therefore relational; it requires one person to dominate, and the other to submit. This assumes that one person will acquiesce, co-operate with or consent to the domination of the other and this cannot be true of all relationships. The act of issuing a command does not presuppose obedience. Weber argues that an individual can exercise power in three ways: through direct physical power, by reward and punishment and by the influence of opinion. The exercise of power is more likely to be indirect and coercive: a combination of rewarding and punishing through the use of argument, debate and rhetoric.

Authority, by comparison, is a quality that enhances power rather than being itself a form of power. The word "authority" comes from the verb "to authorize"; therefore an individual's power must be authorized by the group in order to be legitimate. An individual is considered an authority because of his technical expertise, combined with his ability to communicate effectively with the group. The individual in authority is the one who is primary in the group, controlling certain aspects of what the other group members do and say and perhaps even what and how they think.

## **2. VII Max Weber's Forms of Authority: Applications in the case of**

### ***Sajjada Nashins***

Max Weber; in Bureaucratic Model, depicts the authority in the subsequent magnitudes; that are closely associated with the mode of authority exercised by the *sajjada nashin* (*Makhdooms*). Max Weber-the principal architect of modern social science, explains three dimensions of power that stand upon various types of authority: Charismatic, Traditional and Legal Rational. Charismatic authority is perhaps the most unusual of the bunch - it is relatively rare compared to the others, but it is especially common to religious groups. Indeed, many if not most religions have been founded on the basis of charismatic authority. This sort of authority derives from the possession of 'charisma,' a characteristic which sets a person apart from others.

A social group that is organized along the lines of traditional authority is one which relies heavily upon traditions, customs, habits and routines in order to regulate human behavior, to distinguish right from wrong and to assure sufficient stability to allow the group to survive. Whatever has come before is assumed to be the way things should be, either because they have always worked or because they were sanctified by higher powers in the past.

Aspects of rationalized or legal authority can be found throughout human history but it has achieved the most widespread acceptance in the modern industrialized era. Probably the most pure form of rationalized authority is the bureaucracy, one which Max Weber discussed in details in his writings. It would be fair to say, in fact, that Weber

considered the bureaucratic form of administration to be very much a symbol of the modern world.

These all types of authority are acquired by the *Makhdooms* of Multan. They have charismatic personalities as *sajjada nashins*, traditional role as landlord based on strong economic basis and legal rational status while holding an executive or political office. *Makhdooms* enjoy this status mainly because of their religious background as descendants of the Great Sufis or *sajjada nashins*.

Secondly, Max Weber also discussed three dimensions of influence including class, status, and party. Here class denotes the economic aspect, status represents social and moral aspect and party represents political aspects within the authoritative paradigm. These all forms are symbols of power and authority.

*A situation may arise in which all dimensions of power and authority may converge in a single personality*. The case of *sajjada nashins* is the same situation where concentration of power accumulates in some specific personality. Weber explains three ideal types of legitimate political leadership, domination and authority in Tripartite Classification of Authority. Whenever the nature and structure of authority becomes a subject of discussion, Max Weber's "tripartite division of types of authority" inevitably plays a role. That is especially true here because religious authority is especially well suited for being explained in terms of charismatic, traditional and rationalized systems.

Weber described these three ideal types of authority as being generally regarded as legitimate — that is to say, they are accepted as creating binding obligations on the part of others. After all, unless a person is obligated to obey certain commands in a



manner which goes beyond mere external submission, the very concept of authority is nullified.

It is important to understand that these are ideal types of authority and it would be very unusual to find any of them existing in a "pure" form in human society. At most, one might find a type of authority which is predominantly one type or another but with at least one of the others mixed in. The complexities of human social relationships guarantee that authority systems will be complex as well and that is certainly true of religious authorities.

When examining the actions of a religious institution, it is important to examine the structure of authority which the members of the religious community believe may legitimate those actions. Upon what authoritative basis do people believe that men may be priests but not women? Upon what basis may a religious group expel one of its members? And, finally, on what basis may a religious leader legitimately ask the members of a community to kill themselves? Unless we understand the nature of these structures of authority, the behavior of the community will be incomprehensible.

Weber's "Three Component Theory of Stratification" throws light on the issue. Every religious community, just as is the case in any human community, has some conceptions and system of authority. Even the loosest association of believers shares an idea that qualifies an authority what the standards to make some decision to be authoritative, and what circumstances might allow for one to disobey an authority.

So why does the nature and structure of religious authority matter? Religious authority is, in many fundamental ways, an important source of cohesion, stability and continuity within religious communities. Normally we think of such communities as being bound

together by a shared understanding of that which is considered sacred, transcendent and moral, yet that's not all there is to it. In all of these communities there are those who are seen to have the power to structure the sacred, to transmit the transcendent and to interpret the moral. These activities create cohesion and stability as much as or more than anything else. While, few or many in number, these individuals constitute the religious authority for the community.

Through them, that which does bond the community is given structure, meaning, and interpretation. Without them, the ties that bind would fragment and the members would be torn apart by the social forces brought to bear upon them by other communities and other authorities. It should not be assumed, however, that the structures created by a system of religious authority are somehow imposed upon a community by authority figures. Genuine authority requires legitimacy and that is defined through social norms and standards that are created by the group itself. There is thus no legitimacy and hence no true authority that is not actively acknowledged and created by the faith community itself.

As a consequence, the nature and structure of religious authority provide important insights into the nature and structure of both religious communities and religious believe systems. All of these are both a reflection of and influence upon the others, creating a never-ending feedback loop that slowly changes over time.

Religious authorities help to define the boundaries of belief and behavior that provide structure to the community but the legitimacy to do such things is created by the acquiescence of the community's members — and that, of course, depends upon their agreement that the boundaries on belief and behavior are just and acceptable.

This is of course one of the reasons that any problems with a religious group's standards cannot be laid solely at the feet of those authorities who are charged with developing and applying the standards. The community's members who have agreed to accept the legitimacy of the authority of their religious leaders must shoulder some of the responsibility as well. They are not passive observers; rather, it is they who create the conditions in which religious authority can act — both for good and for ill.

Max Weber presented his theory of social class and the role of power and authority in Bureaucratic Model. At that time Germany, Europe and other global regions were engulfed by means of Power and Authority. He discussed the exercise of authority within a specific power structure that is very much similar to the authority enjoyed by the *Makhdoots*. His theory covers all aspects of power, which were possible. His attributed power may be concentrated in different personalities or in a rare case in one personality.

In his model, Max Weber addressed religion as per his own understanding. The influential sociologist Max Weber proposed a theory of authority that included three types. He pioneered a path towards understanding how authority is legitimated as a belief system. His essay "The three types of legitimate rule" translated in English and published posthumously in 1958, is the clearest explanation of his theory. Weber's theory that legitimate order and authority stems from "different aspects of a single phenomenon - the forms that underline all instances of ordered human interaction". There are two fundamental components of order, norms and authority.

Herbert Spencer, an English philosopher, biologist, sociologist, and prominent classical liberal political theorist of the Victorian era explained "authority and norms

represent polar principles of social organization: In the one case organization rests upon orientation to a rule or a principle; in the other instance it is based upon compliance to commands” (Spencer 1970, 124).

## **2. VIII Amitai Etzioni’s Organizational Control Structure Theory and *Makhdooms***

Etzioni’s organizational theory not only discusses the related situation in the case of *Makhdooms* execution of authority in various socio-political and economic dimensions but the contents of the study as well. This theory discusses three types of authorities in an organization. He stated that to run the business of the organization; moral, remunerative and coercive authorities can be used. Etzioni explains that one, two or all forms of authorities can be used in different organizations as per need. In these forms of authorities; moral is the best choice, then remunerative and if there is no other choice than coercive. Coercive is the last and final option for an organization when all other options are worthless. Etzioni further explains that moral authority can be used in the church, remuneration in business and coercive in jail.

Amitai Etzioni in his, “Organizational Dimensions and their Interrelationships: A Theory of Compliance”, explains that in order to control the organizational structure, the following three dimensions are applicable to the *Makhdooms*:

*i) Normative*

*ii) Remunerative*

*iii) Coercive*

### ***Applications of Amitai Etzioni's Theory to Makdooms:***

- Normative Mode of the *Makhdooms* organizational apparatus has been seen in the case when they exercise their authority as *sajjada nashin*-moral and spiritual venture.
- *Makhdooms* hold remunerative style of power when they play the role as agriculturists or landlords.
- The exercise of power by *Makhdooms* as political authority comes under coercive domain; particularly when they misuse the state means for their personal objectives.

### **2. IX Deficiencies Related to Applicability**

This theory is applicable to *Makhdooms* of Multan as *sajjada nashins*. Morally *sajjada nashins* exercise their authority as religious leaders; remunerative authority is under the shed of their role as feudal where they are the economic beneficiary of the peasants or workers while they can use coercive force as public office holder when their interest clashes with their disciples/ murids, peasants or general public. The Weber's theory is deficient of the religious aspect of human behavior, especially in the context of *Makhdooms*.

## **CHAPTER 3: DYNAMISM OF ACQUIRING POLITICAL POWER AND AUTHORITY**

This chapter explains all forms of relations between the Sufis and political authorities – supportive, non-supportive and violent response from Sufis. This chapter also throws light on the political contribution of Sufis in the Sub-Continent.

### **3. I Early Relationship of Sufis with Political Authorities**

#### **I. a Supportive and Unsupportive Relations**

Sufis in the early period of political dimension of Islam showed both supportive and unsupportive relations with political authorities.<sup>41</sup> The founder of the Silsilah Suharwardi, Shaykh Najib al-Din abu al-Qahir al-Suharwardi was very close to the Caliph's of Baghdad. His status was so high that even caliph himself could not enter in his dwelling without permission. His nephew, Shaykh Shihab al-Din Abu Hafs Umar b. Muhammad al-Suharwardi was the chief religious advisor of the Caliph al-Nasir (1180 - 1225).<sup>42</sup> Suharwardi was of the view that status of the Caliph and Shaykh had the same authority to their people and disciples.<sup>43</sup> Caliph himself founded at least six khanqhas and

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<sup>41</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 67.

<sup>42</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 73

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

appointed Shaykh as director of these and other khanqas in his state.<sup>44</sup> Caliph al-Nasir and Shaykh Shihab al-Din chalked out a programme for systematic political and spiritual reform in the state. This shows a good relationship between Sufis and political authorities.<sup>45</sup> Shaykh Shihab al-Din supported Abbasid caliph when Sheikh stopped Khawarizm Shah-Muhammad II to invade Baghdad in 1217-18.<sup>46</sup>

“In the twelfth century, another pattern of State-Sufi relationship is found in the Mamluk State in Egypt, a semi-autonomous kingdom and an appendage of the Abbasids. On the one hand, Mamluk sultans were in dire need of legitimacy for their rule and so they sought the help of the Sufis for consolidation of their political authority. On the other hand being afraid of the growing influence of the Sufis in Egypt, they also tried to control and regulate them. Under the Mamluks in Egypt, the shaykhs of *khanaqahs* were appointed by the state. The Mamluk sultans used to confer the title of shaykh al shayukh (literally meaning master of the masters) to the heads of various *khanaqahs*. Shaykh al-Islam title used in India is of same rank as shaykh al shayukh in Egypt.”<sup>47</sup>

At that time *khanaqahs* were supported by the government where Sufis and other people were granted appointments like directors. In 1392 Ibn Khaldun was also appointed as director of khanqah Baybars.<sup>48</sup> During this period, state interfered a lot in the matters

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<sup>44</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 74.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>47</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 74-75.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 75.

of Sufis-to gain their support in political matters. All these circumstances adversely affected Sufism.<sup>49</sup>

### **I. b Unsupportive Relationship**

Many early Sufis did not enjoy supportive relationship with the political authorities. Hasan al Basri had to face severe punishment on criticizing cruel policies of Hajjaj-the Governor of Iraq. Hasan also warned Umayyad Caliph Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz in a letter about the false hopes of the world.<sup>50</sup> He also criticized the governor of Basra ibn al-Hubayrah to fear more from God than the Caliph because God can save him from Caliph but Caliph could not do the same.<sup>51</sup> Renowned Sufis Malik Ibn Dinar and Ibrahim ibn Adham also had unsupportive relations with political authorities.<sup>52</sup>

In the reign of Abbasid Caliph, Abu Ja'far al-Mansur (r. 754-75), Sufyan al-Thawari, Mis'ar ibn Kidam (d. 769), famous jurist Abu Hanifah Nu'man ibn Thabit (d. 767) were selected for the post *qadi* of Baghdad but they did not accept his offer.<sup>53</sup> Fudayl ibn Ayad, Shaiq al-Balkhi and Dawud b. Nasir al-Tai showed unsupportive attitude with the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid.<sup>54</sup> At the tomb of Prophet Ibrahim (AS), Imam Ghazzali took oath that he will never have any relationship with the king.<sup>55</sup> Due to this

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>50</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 76.

<sup>51</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 77.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>53</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 77-78.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>55</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 79.



unsupportive relationship, Sufism was identified as a threat to the authority of *ulema* and jurists. This tension was the result of punishments to Sufis by the political authorities.<sup>56</sup> Dhu 'I-Nun al-Misri was arrested and taken to prison on the charges of heresy but when Caliph came to know the real situation, he became his disciple. Another Sufi, Sahl al-Tustari was compelled by the political authorities to look for asylum in Basra on the basis of political reasons. Abu Hamzah, Raqqam, Abu Bakr al-Shibli, Abu 'I-Hasan al-Nuri and Junayd-Baghdadi had to appear before a judge to go through an inquiry process to justify their beliefs.<sup>57</sup>

Some of the Sufis had to face martyrdom because they were considered threats for political authorities. Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (857-922) executed on the allegations of polytheism and relations with Qaramatis-who had their state in Bahryan in tenth century, a natural threat for Abbasid political authorities.<sup>58</sup> A twelfth century Sufi-scholar, Ayn al-Qudat Abu'I-Ma'ali Abd Allah b. Muhammad Hamadani (1098-1131) was executed on the basis of his ideas similar to Isma'ilis and a political threat for the rulers.<sup>59</sup>

An outspoken Sufi –Philosopher Shihab al-Din Yahya b. Habsh al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul (1153-1191) was executed not merely on his believes but also on political

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>57</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 80.

<sup>58</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 81-82.

<sup>59</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 82-83.

grounds. He was executed when Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din needed the support of ulema to maintain his political authority.<sup>60</sup>

### **I. c Violent Clash of Sufis with Political Authorities**

There are many examples in history where Sufis had a violent clash with the political authorities; the live example is struggle of Hazrat Imam Hussain (AS) against Yazid in Karbala, Iraq in 62 Hijrah.

Mujadid Alf-e- Sani, struggled against the Akbar's and Jahangir's wrongdoings. He spent last few years in Royal Army.<sup>61</sup> Hur Rebellion of 1890's is a famous clash between the followers of the Pir Pagaro against the colonial rule.<sup>62</sup> A Sufi, Baba Iliyas al-Khurasani initiated a *darvesh* revolt against Seljuqid ruler, Sultan Ghiyath al-Din (r.1236-1259) but the revolt was covered up and Baba was killed in mass murder of the Sufis.<sup>63</sup>

The clash of Sufis with political authorities was mainly observed more during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Sufi groups fought with the colonial states in Asia and Africa.<sup>64</sup> We can distinguish the relationship of Sufis with state or political authorities as supportive and unsupportive leading to clash on the part of both Sufis and political authorities.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 84-85.

<sup>61</sup> Anjum, 482.

<sup>62</sup> Sarah F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 58.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>65</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 86-87.

### 3. II Sufis Respond in Sub-Continent

Generally, Sufis are those people who have nothing to do with worldly affairs. But in sub-continent Sufis, their descendants, khulafa and *sajjada nashins* responded in two ways; whether to avoid the contact with the king and nobles and discourage any relationship with them or played an active role in politics, in order to influence the political authorities.<sup>66</sup>

Among Suharwardis, Bahauddin Zakaria established good links with the Somra rulers –that further helped him to convert many non-tribes to Muslim. He helped Sultan Altamash against ruler of Uch Nasiruddin Qabacha. Shah Rukn-e-Alam and *Makhdoom* Jahanian Jahan Gasht also had supportive relations with the rulers and used these relations for the benefit of people.<sup>67</sup>

Mujadid Alf-e- Sani struggled against the Akbar's and Jahangir's wrongdoings. He spent last few years in Royal Army.<sup>68</sup> Hur Rebellion of 1890's is a famous clash between the followers of the Pir Pagaro against the colonial rule.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2006), 67.

<sup>67</sup> Abdul Majeed Memon, "*Pakistan Man Sufiana Tehreekan*" (Sufi Movements in Pakistan) (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000) 447-448.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 482.

<sup>69</sup> Sarah F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 58.

## CHAPTER 4: BACKGROUND HISTORY OF POLITICAL ROLE OF *MAKHDOOMS*

This chapter explains the politico-religious role of the families of these *sajjada nashins* until 1988. The political role of *Makhdooms* has deep roots in the remote past. In order to know the real political interests of *Makhdooms* one has to go in the past, the history of the political role of *Makhdooms* is divided into two broader phases, Pre-Independence and Post Independence. This division will evaluate the clear and concise dimensions of political interests of *Makhdooms*.

### 4. I Pre- Independence Period

In pre-partition, *Makhdoom* families were used to adjust their relationship with the political authorities as per situation of the social and political needs. The role of *pirs* or *sajjada nashins* was very influential in South Asia during British era. This role had two dimensions: to save their authority and to save their people from unjust doings of invaders-simply to play the role of mediator between the people and the rulers.<sup>70</sup> To strengthen their rule, British needed collaborators in all spheres of life, they find *pirs* or

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<sup>70</sup> Sarah F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3.

*sajjada nashins* as valuable collaborators who were helpful on many sides: they were religious leaders of the people, they were employers of the farmers as landlord and they were representing common people as politicians and public office bearers. These *sajjada nashins* and their followers avoided direct clash with the British government during their rule in sub-continent. In response to these services, pirs or *sajjada nashins* were given lands (*Jagirs*), titles and public offices as reward for their cooperation or otherwise had to face harassment, imprisonment or deportation.<sup>71</sup>

In the role of collaborators, the *sajjada nashins* became the custodian of people's rights on one side and helpful for British on the other side. People trust them because of their religious belief, economic dependency and political authority. Whenever interest of a *sajjada nashin* clashes with his *murid*, peasant or political supporter; they were allowed to use all forms of pressure, including moral, financial and political. This pressure might become coercive, backed or helped by the rulers. This collaboration may develop in personal relationship. To get rid of feudalism, land reforms in East Pakistan but could not be done in West Pakistan (contemporary Pakistan). So, the feudal, having thousands of acres of land had their safe constituencies. These feudal were active in South and central Punjab.

Involvement of following families of Multan in politics had a long history even before the Partition of subcontinent:

#### 1-Qureshis

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<sup>71</sup> Sarah F.D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3.

In search of justice - Page 83 by M. Saeed Malik First lawsuit filed against our property In October 1975, by Mr. Shah Mehmood Qureshi, the son of *Makhdoom Sajjad Husain Qureshi*, a politician from Multan

2-Hashmis

3-Gilanis

The important periods and personalities of these families who played an important role in regional or national politics are part of historical political context under study.

### **I. a Qureshis**

The Qureshis of Multan are descendants of Prophet Muhammad's (SAW) uncle Asad. Sultan Hussain, one of their forefathers came with Sultan Mehmood Ghaznavi and settled in Layyah-a district in Southern Punjab. Bahauddin Zakaria is the most prominent Sufi Saint who belongs to this clan. He was naturally a *darvesh* since childhood. He left for Kharasan and became pupil of Shahabuddin Suharwardi. He was very fond of tourism and paid visit to many Islamic countries. In 1222, he returned to subcontinent and got settled in Multan.<sup>72</sup>

Great Grandfather of the Bahauddin Zakaria, Kamaludin Ali Shah Qureshi migrated to khawarum from Mecca and settled in Multan. He belonged to the extremely respectable family of Mecca called Al-quresh Al-asdi Hashmi. Kamaludin arranged marriage of his son-Wajihudin- in Kot karor when Tatars attacked Multan; this family was settled in Kot Karor where Bahauddin Zakaria was born.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> K.K Aziz Religion, *Land and Politics in Pakistan- A study of Piri-Muridi* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd., 2001), 209.

<sup>73</sup> Hmidullah Shah Hashmi, *Hazrat Bahadin zakri Multani* (Lahore: Tassawuf foundation, 2000). 19-23.

In the medieval period Bahauddin Zakaria had been a very influential political personality. He helped Al-Tamash to keep his political control over Multan as he was very much convinced to establish the relations with the pro-public political authorities of his period. Therefore, Bahauddin Zakaria took stand against Sultan Nasir-ud-din Qabacha on certain issues even he supported and favoured Al-Tamash in the war fought at Multan and Och between sultan Nasirudin Qabacha and Al-Tamash as socially Sultan was known a cruel person as compared to the Al-Tamash and the people were very much annoyed of him.<sup>74</sup>

The genealogy of Bahauddin Zakaria is: Bahauddin Zakaria S/O Shiekh Wajihudin Muqalib bin Shiekh Muhammad Ghaus bin Sultan Aba-Bakar S/O Sultan Jalaudin S/O Sultan Ali Qazi S/O Sultan Hussain S/O Sultan Abdullah S/O Sultan Matrafa S/O Sultan Huzaifa S/O Amir Hazim S/O amir Tajudin S/O Abdul-UR-Rehman S/O Abdul-UR-Rahim S/O Amir mahar S/O Asad S/O Hashim S/O Abd Naf.<sup>75</sup>

During Sikh rule, *Jagirs* for the maintenance of *Dargahs* were taken by the British government. In 1818 after conquering Multan, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh fixed Rs. 3500 as stipend while Sawan Mal reduced it to Rs. 1600. During 1848-49 war, *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood supported British Government. In response to the service, British Government continued stipends of Multan's *dargahs*.<sup>76</sup>

The selected *Makhdooms* of Multan are very prominent among the feudal figures of Punjab. Qureshi family always kept strong ties with political authorities. Qureshi

<sup>74</sup> Hmidullah Shah Hashmi, *Hazrat Bahadin zakri Multani* (Lahore: Tassuwuf Foundation Lahore, 2000), 96-101.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>76</sup> K.K. Aziz, *Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan- A study of Piri-Muridi* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd., 2001), 209.

family used its religious superiority for social status despite political links and group power.

Qureshis got popularity in the period of Bahauddin Zakaria who was born in 1170 in Kot Kror, District Layyah. His forefathers came to India with Mehmood Ghaznvi and settled in Kot Kror. Bahauddin Zakaria traveled for learning to Turkistan, Khurasan and Arab countries. He came back to India in 1222 and settled in Multan. He had many disciples and followers due to his worldly recognized status as a pious, learned scholar and a great Sufi. *Makhdoom* family was respectable around the country due to Bahauddin Zakaria (RA). He died in 1270 and buried in Multan. His tomb is still a centre for spirituality lovers for the last 700 years.

After the death of Bahauddin Zakaria, Shah Rukn e Alam was appointed as leader of the family. He was also a man of character. Tughlaq Kings of Dehli often paid visit to him. He died in 1372, Feroze Khan Tughlaq supervise the construction of his tomb. Right after his death there was political revolution in the country.<sup>77</sup> Multan was separated in 1443 after the downfall of *Delhi Sultanat*. Sheikh Yousaf was chosen as leader by the people of Multan. He was a wise administrator. Sheikh Yousaf was married with an Afghan girl. Once his father in law came to see his girl, he captured Sheikh Yousaf and occupied Multan. After this, many political changes underwent but there was no change in the status of *Makhdoom* family. After a series of political activism Multan again came

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<sup>77</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 188.



under Delhi Rule. As result of their religious effect they again got a chance to participate in country politics.

### **Sikh Period: Granting of *jagirs***

In the early period of *Sikhs- Makhdooms* Mehmood Shah Mehmood was the head of *Makhdoom* Family. Before Maharaja Ranjeet Singh's era –*Makhdooms* were considered wealthy and landlord. When Maha Raja Ranjeet Singh conquered Multan in 1818-he granted a *Jagir* valued Rs. 3500 which was cut down to Rs.1600 by Dewan Sawan Mal. At that time this family had a property of total worth Rs. 2500.<sup>78</sup>

### **British Periods: Rewards, Titles other incentives**

In 1848-49, during the downfall of *Sikhs-Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood gave valuable information to British Government. When Britain fully occupied Punjab-*Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood was granted a permanent *Jagir* of worth Rs. 1000, a lifetime pension of worth 1700 and a village. During this period of political disturbance-tombs of Bahauddin Zakaria and Shah Rukn e Alam were damaged. British governments denied to financial help financially help and maintenance of the shrines was completed by the disciples.<sup>79</sup> *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood supported British Government against last struggle of Indians in 1857 War. He informed Commissioner about each and every notable event and handed over 20,000 riders and a large number of non-rider soldiers to British Army. He also sent

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<sup>78</sup> Aqeel Abbas Jafri, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay* (Political Elites of Pakistan) (Karachi: Frontier Post Publications, 1995, 210.

<sup>79</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon*(Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992) ,189

a platoon of 25 riders with Colonel Hamilton to fight against freedom fighters whereas Shah himself fought many fights for Britain.

The impact of religious status of *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood was more than his practical help to British Government. His loyalty with British influenced his followers, whether they supported British government or not. His disciples did not take part in the war of Independence. Allegedly, he gave a *fatwa* and favoured British support. In response to these services, *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood was granted Rs. 3000 for peasants, *Jagir* of Rs.1800 and land constitute of 8 wells by the British Government. In the court of Viceroy in 1860, *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood was granted Bhangi Garden Lahore and Rs.150 as gift. He died in 1869 and was buried with honour in the mausoleum of Bahauddin Zakaria (RA). His funeral ceremony was attended by thousands of people and courts were closed on that day. After him, his son Bahawal Bakhsh became *sajjada nashin* of the tombs of Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) and Shah Rukn e Alam (RA). His *dastar bandi* ceremony was attended by the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>80</sup>

In response to the loyalties donated to the British Government in Afghan War by Bahawal Bakhsh in 1880- British Government appointed him as Honorary Magistrate. He also kept the post of Member Multan Municipality Committee. After some period he was granted the seat of Provincial Darbari. Bahawal Bakhsh died in 1896. After him, Sheikh Hassan Bakhsh was appointed as *sajjada nashin* instead of his son Sheikh Muhammad Shah. *Makhdoom* Sheikh Hassan was appointed Honorary Magistrate in 1896 and was

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<sup>80</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 190.

given a title of Khan Bahadar in 1905. He was also rewarded a seat of Provincial Darbari. After his death in 1921, *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain became *sajjada nashin*. He was also granted Provincial Darbari seat. Murid has authority of Magistrate Class I with another responsibility of Extra Assistant Commissioner. He had immunity to be impeached in civil courts. He was given the title of Nawab Bahadar. After the death of Khan Bahadar *Makhdoom* Syed Rajan Bakhsh Shah Gilani- *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain elected on the Provincial Legislative Assembly seat. He was a Unionist but joined Muslim league after its defeat. His younger brother Sheikh Kabir Ahmed was spiritual oriented and took care most of the matters of *dargah*. He had thousands of disciples in District Multan, Jhang, Loyal Pur, Gujrat, Gujranwala and Shah Pur. Sheikh Ahmed served as Member District Board and President Municipal Committee Multan. Sheikh Ahmed Kabir fully cooperated with British Government in Civil Disobedience Movement and Non Cooperation Movement.<sup>81</sup> His son Khurshid Ahmed was graduated from Aitcheson and served as Member District Board and Municipality Committee Multan.

*Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood's brother, Pir Shah was also Provincial Darbari-he also served as Honorary Secretary in Multan Municipality Committee. His *Jagir* was spread over three villages of Tehsil Mailsi. He also cooperated with British Government in Afghan War in response to his services, he was rewarded Appreciation Certificate from British Government. After the death of Sheikh Kabir Ahmed in 1897, his son Sheikh Riaz Hussain attained the Provincial Darbar seat. He was appointed as Assistant Political Officer in the same year. He also had served as Honorary Magistrate and

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<sup>81</sup> Wakeel Anjum. *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharaohs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 191.

Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner. He was granted the title of Khan Bahadar in 1907. In World War I-due to his efforts for Britain, he was called, "Best Friend of Britain" in India in 1915. He was granted the title of Khan Bahadar in 1926 and he served as Vice Chairman District Board Multan for several years.

Nawab Riaz Hussain Qureshi died with his son Captain Maqbool Hussain in earthquake of 1935. Nawab Riaz Hussain had five sons. His eldest son, Sheikh Bahwan Shah was Jamadar in 36 Jakob Horse. He was rewarded with honorary certificate, sword and badges. His name was entered in the Gazette of India. Punjab Government granted him *Jagir* and appreciation certificate while Commander in Chief also granted him a certificate.

During Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-Bahawan Shah fully cooperated with British government. After his death in 1932<sup>82</sup>, his eldest son Sheikh Manzoor Hussain was Tehsildar. His second son Walayat Hussain was Extra Assistant Commissioner who died in 1929 while his third son was died in childhood. His fourth son, Captain Ashiq Hussain educated from Aitcheson and Hardson Horse. This family was a Unionist family and supported Daultana Family during Unionist Ministry. Nearly all grand families of Multan took part in 1945-46 elections through the ticket of Unionist Party.

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<sup>82</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 192.

## I. b Gilanis

Gilani Family of Multan is the descendants of Sheikh Muhammad Ghous – ninth Khalifa of Syed Abdul Qadir Gilani. Sheikh Muhammad Ghous Gilani migrated from Turkey and settled in Uch – a historical town in Bahawalpur. His great grand sons, Syed Yahay and Syed Musa Pak ruled Multan as Governors in Mughal era. Mughal Kings Shah Jahan and Jahangir reserved a grant for Gilani Family, an amount of 12500-increased by King Shah Muhammad when Muhammad Ghous became *sajjad nashin*.

In 1848, Major Herbert Adversal conquered Multan and granted a certificate to the *sajjada nashins* of this *mazar* for maintenance of *mazars* and cooperation. *Makhdoom* Syed Noor Shah did his best in favour of Britain in 1857 war-he was rewarded with gifts and a certificate for his services. Sir John Lawrence was very impressed by *Makhdoom* Syed Noor Shah. Pir Syed Walayat Shah was declared “Gilani *Rais*” in 1876 and appointed honourary Magistrate.<sup>83</sup>In 1878, *Makhdoom* Sadruddin Gilani was nominated as “*Rais*” and granted *Jagir* in 1916. He did a lot to crush the political movements against Britain in 1922 and 1927.

During World War-I, Gilanis cooperated with Britain-*Makhdoom* Sadruddin was awarded Silver Jubilee Medal in 1935. His two brothers Syed Shabir Shah and Syed Rajan Shah served Britain. Syed Rajan Shah was elected member Indian Legislative Assembly in 1921 and served till his death in 1936. He was the first civil president of Multan Municipality. His elder son Ghulam Mohauddin Shah was Extra Assistant

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<sup>83</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siasat ke Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore:Ferozsons, 1992),201.

Commissioner and his second son *Makhdoom* Ghulam Nabi Shah was Municipal Commissioner. *Makhdoom* Sadruddin Shah had four sons - Syed Ghulam Yasin Shah served as Municipal Commissioner, Extra Honourary Risaldar and Honourary Majistrate. His second son *Makhdoom* Syed Mustafa Shah was Extra Assistant Commissioner. His third son Syed Muhammad Mukhtar Hussain Shah died at the age of 21 while his fourth son Syed *Makhdoom* Raza Shah served as Punjab Legislative member, Honourary Majistrate and Municipal Commissioner.<sup>84</sup> Walyat Hussain Shah, the elder son of Syed Mustafa Shah, served as Member District Board Multan, Director Cooperative Bank, founded Islamic High School Multan and served as president Anjuman-e-Islamia.

The history of Gilani and Qureshi families spread over centuries. *Makhdoom* Sadruddin, *Makhdoom* Raza Shah and *Makhdoom* Walayat Hussain Shah were strong political representatives of Gilani Family before partition. Qureshi family was pro-Unionist in 1946 elections – with their support Malik Hizar Hayat Tiwana won both contested seats. Gilani Family supported Tehreek-e-Pakistan due to political rivalry of Qureshi Family. *Makhdoom* Syed Muhammad Raza Shah of Gilani Family defeated Nawab Sir Murid Hussain Qureshi from Shujahabad constituency. He defeated British Deputy Commissioner in the election of chairmanship of District Board Multan. Major Ashiq Hussain of Unionist Party was competing Muhammad Akram Bosan. This election was a challenge for Gilani Family. Major Ashiq won but was disqualified and

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<sup>84</sup> Anjum, 202-203.

Muhammad Akram was declared winner.<sup>85</sup> Gilani Family, being the biggest opponent of Qureshi Family, supported Muslim League. Head of Qureshi Family Sir Nawab Murid Hussain Qureshi was defeated by Head of the Gilani Family *Makhdoom* Syed Muhammad Raza Shah Gilani.<sup>86</sup>

## 4. II Post-Independence Period

### II. a Qureshis

*Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi is the current head of Qureshi family. The genealogy of Shah Mehmood Qureshi is: Shah Mehmood Qureshi s/o Sajjad Hussain Qureshi s/o *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain Qureshi S/O *Makhdoom* Shiekh Hasan Bakhsh S/O *Makhdoom* Shah mehmood S/O Hassan Shah S/O Budhan Shah S/O Shiekh Muhammad Shah S/O *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain Qureshi; Shah Mehmood Qureshi started his political career as Member Provincial assembly in 1985.

After partition in 1951 elections, the only son of Sir Murid Hussain was defeated from Walayat Hussain Gardezi of Muslim League. However he was elected Vice Chairman Balucha Multan in 1959. He was elected as Member National Assembly in 1962 and also was elected as Deputy Leader of Council Muslim League in National Assembly.

Nawab *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi left Council Muslim League due to EBDO (Elected Body Disqualification Order) and with the encouragement of Nawab of

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<sup>85</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharaohs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 203.

<sup>86</sup> Aqeel Abbas Jafri, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay* (Political Elites of Pakistan) (Karachi: Frontier Post Publications, 1995), 210.

Kalabagh, he joined Convention Muslim League. He supported Ayub Khan against Miss Fatima Jinnah in 1965 election. Sajjad stayed in Convention Muslim League till the downfall of Ayub regime. Sajjad Hussain Qureshi's cousin Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi, who was the son of Major Ashiq Hussain Qureshi-ex Minister of Unionist Ministry of Khizar Hayat also kept himself attached with the ruling political authorities.<sup>87</sup> He joined Convention Muslim League in 1965. With the support of Nawab of Kalabagh, he was granted ticket of Provincial Assembly and won unopposed. He also served as Vice Chairman District Council Multan.

Qureshis were with Ayub Government till his golden days. Bhutto visited Multan and first met Gilani Family. Hamid Raza Gilani –an old friend of Bhutto was ready to join PPP but Alamadar Hussain Gilani did not approve it. When Council Muslim League came to know Bhutto's plan, it contacted *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi. Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain Chathta, president Council Muslim League, Punjab Zone, convinced Sajjad Hussain Qureshi. Qureshi Group joined Council Muslim League on a condition that there will be no room for Gilanis in Council Muslim League. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi demanded a ticket for National Assembly. He tried to make Council Muslim League active but Bhutto was at the peak of his political career, so he could not succeeded.<sup>88</sup>

Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi had not good relations with his cousin *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi. Gilanis took advantage of this rift and tried to convince him to join Muslim League Qayum. When Bhutto was on eight days visit to Multan-Sadiq

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<sup>87</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 193.

<sup>88</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 194.



Hussain Qureshi joined PPP to save his political strength. It was an indication that how these politicians change their political affiliations to retain their political power. In an incident, before this decision-workers of Sadiq Hussain Qureshi attacked on Bhutto's camp. Now Sadiq Hussain Qureshi was competing Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani. In 1970, politics of Qureshi had to face ever worst political defeat. Both of these families were the part of Ayub Regime. In 1970 election, they found that instead of Council Muslim League and Muslim League Qayum-their political camp was now Bhutto's PPP.

In Bhutto period, Qureshi Family was in power as a result of strong relations with Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi. Syed Hamid Raza Gilani and *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi moved towards PPP after defeat in elections. The land of Multan had produced many big names in politics but Qureshis proved all the time that they are with the government.<sup>89</sup> PPP changed its stance in 1977 as compared to 1970 elections. Now its all candidates were feudal-including *Makhdooms*, Gardezis and Gilanis.

After 1977 elections, PPP was facing allegations of corruption. Chief Martial Law Administrator General Ziaul Haq imposed Martial Law in the country. During this hard time-feudal lords left PPP. Ziaul Haq announced Local Bodies Elections instead of General Elections on 17 November 1979. Gilanis and Qureshis took their positions to regain power. Fakhar Imam entered in political scenario of Multan in Local Bodies Elections 1979 - Qureshis and Gilanis made alliance against him.<sup>90</sup> They brought *sajjada nashins* of Taunsa, Pakpattan and other biradries and families in politics to counter

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<sup>89</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 195.

<sup>90</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 196.

Fakhar Imam. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi tried to introduce his son Shah Mehmood Qureshi in Local Bodies Elections.

In 1983, Shah Mehmood Qureshi was contesting brother of Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani opposed *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi-as a result could not elect even councilor. In Non-Party Elections 1985, Shah Mehmood Qureshi defeated *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi-who managed to win National Assembly seat from the same area. In Local Bodies Elections 1987, Shah Mehmood Qureshi defeated Gilani Family and became Chairman Multan District Council. Gilani Family was ruling Local Bodies politics for the last 57 years. Elder brother of Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi and *sajjada nashin* of *dargah* Shah Rukn-i-Alam, *Makhdoom* Muhammad Hussain Qureshi did Friendship Deed in 1985 with his former political rival and Minister for Industry Hamid Raza Gilani.<sup>91</sup>

This friendship was after a long period and continued even after the opposition of Yousaf Raza Gilani to Shah Mehmood Qureshi in Local Bodies Elections. In Non-Party Elections 1985, Sadiq Hussain Qureshi supported Syed Mahammad Raza Gardezi but he lost from Syed Hamid Raza Gilani. Shah Mehmood Qureshi was contesting from PP164. In 1984 Referendum-*Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi supported General Ziaul Haq. After Non Party Elections 1985, he joined Muslim League headed by Muhammad Khan Junejo. He was rewarded first as a senator from Punjab and then Deputy Chairman Senate. In response to his loyalties in Presidential Referendum and organization of Muslim League, General Ziaul Haq nominated him as Governor Punjab. Nawab Sadiq

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<sup>91</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 197.

Hussain Qureshi, who was Chief Minister Punjab in 1977, could only get few thousands votes in 1985 elections and left politics at this. In 1988, Murid Hussain Qureshi, son of Sajjad Hussain Qureshi and his son in law *Makhdoom* Muhammad Ahsan Shah were defeated.

When Benazir took oath as a Prime Minister-on the same day Punjab Assembly elected Mian Nawaz Sharif as leader of the house.<sup>92</sup> Benazir stressed upon *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi, not to take oath-in order to restrict the oath of Nawaz Sharif. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi denied her demand, took oath from Nawaz Sharif and proved his loyalty with him. After that Tikkah Khan nominated as Governor Punjab by replacing Sajjad.

In 1992, Qureshi Family regained the leadership of District Multan. Qureshi Family divided Gilani Family politically when Yousaf Raza Gilani and Hamid Raza Gilani separated. Shah Mehmood Qureshi was an important figure in provincial government. Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Murid Hussain Qureshi played an important role in favour of Mian Nawaz Sharif in 1993 political row. Shah Mehmood Qureshi called Mian Manzoor Ahmed Watto and Manzar Ali Ranjha (Deputy Speaker) as, "Enemy of democracy" when No Confidence Motion was launched against Ghulam Haider Waen. Shah Mehmood Qureshi supported Nawaz Sharif till the last resort. When Mian Nawaz Sharif had to dissolve the assembly by the order of the court-Qureshis felt that now they will not gain power and joined PPP. They accepted Benazir as Leader and

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<sup>92</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharaohs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 198.

secretly called Nawaz Sharif's act as political enmity. Qureshis could not get their past status in PPP till 1994.<sup>93</sup>

## **II b Gilani**

In 1951, two members from Gilani Family-Syed Alamdar Gilani (Father of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani) and *Makhdoom* Walayat Hussain Gilani were elected as members Punjab Assembly. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi (Father of Shah Mehmood Qureshi) was defeated from *Makhdoom* Walayat Hussain Gilani. Keeping in view, strong position of Gilani Family; he did an agreement by keeping Holy Quran as witness, but when he formed cabinet, he missed Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani as minister. After this, Gilani Family opposed Daultana family strongly. In 1953, Gilani Family kept on criticizing pro-Qadyani policies of Daultana Family. At last, Mian Mumtaz Daltana had to leave ministry.

In 1953, Malik Feroze Khan Noon took Alamadar in his cabinet in 1953 but Governor Punjab Mian Mushtaq dismissed Noon's cabinet and invited Sardar Abdul Hamid to form the new cabinet-Syed Alamadar Gilani was a part of this new cabinet. Syed Alamadar Gilani was member first Legislative Assembly. Syed Alamadar Gilani served as Minister of Health, Local Government, Roads and Construction departments.<sup>94</sup>

In the second Legislative Assembly, major candidates of ruling families of first legislative were lost-among these Ex Food Minister Abid Hussain, Ex Minister Major Mubarak were defeated. Gilani Family of Multan, Nawabzada Family of Gujrat and

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<sup>93</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 199.

<sup>94</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 204.

Leghari Family of Dera Ghazi Khan could not save themselves from defeat. Gilani Family was out of the rule after 25 years from local government but its political friends won at district level. Gilani Family joined when Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan (known as Dr Khan Sahib) established Republican Party.<sup>95</sup> Gilani Family was a part of One Unit Party till 1958. When *Makhdoom* Syed Alamdar Hussain Shah was disqualified –he backed his brother Syed Rehmat Hussain Gilani in Convention League. When Ayub Khan announced Agricultural Reforms, *Makhdoom* Alamdar Hussain Gilani, in order to save his 2327 Acres of land- transferred it to his father, sister and kids by using old dates in revenue record. His cousin, *Makhdoom* Ghulam Qasim Shah-a former president of Awami League local chapter did the same. Martial Law Authorities sentenced both of them a corporal punishment and a fine of Rs.19000 each. *Makhdoom* Alamdar Hussain Gilani was disqualified due to (EBDO) December 31, 1966. In non-party elections of 1962, Hamid Raza Gilani was elected as Member National Assembly.<sup>96</sup> In 1965, he was elected Member National Assembly on the ticket of Convention League. He was very close to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto requested to Ayub Khan to take Hamid Raza as Parliamentary Secretary, he accepted Bhutto's request. When Bhutto disassociated from Ayub-Hamid Raza Gilani did not leave Convention League. He refused to leave Muslim League in the presence of his opponent Qureshi Group. Governor West Pakistan, Amir Muhammad Khan was close to Qureshis as compared to Gilanis so he nominated Sadiq Hussain Qureshi as Chairman District Board Multan.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 205.

<sup>96</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 206.

<sup>97</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 207.

In 1970, when Bhutto established Peoples Party, *Makhdoom* Alamdar Hussain Gilani with his relative and former Chief Minister Bahawalpur *Makhdoom* Hassan Mahmood Gilani tried to keep unite the Muslim League factions: Convention League and Council Muslim League but could not succeeded.<sup>98</sup> Sadiq Hussain Qureshi joined Pakistan Peoples Party and defeated Alamdar Hussain Shah Gilani and took revenge of many continuous defeats. Another setback for Gilani Family was when Taj Ahmed Noon of Pakistan Peoples Party also defeated Hamid Raza Gilani from *Shujjah Abad* Constituency. Qureshi Family politically took over Gilani Family after 1972, when Gilani Family disappeared from political scenario for the next five years.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto appointed his friend Hamid Raza Gilani as ambassador of Kenya, so Gilani Family joined Pakistan Peoples Party.<sup>99</sup> In 1977 Election, Gilani Group won more seats, as compared to Qureshi family. *Makhdoom* Hamid Raza Gilani soon created a strong lobby in Pakistan Peoples Party.<sup>100</sup> Both Families opposed each other's candidates secretly. After winning election Pakistan Peoples Party government appointed Hamid Raza Gilani as Minister for Industries. Ghulam Mustafa Khar took a prominent position in the politics of Multan. When *Qaumi Itihaad* (National Alliance) started agitation against government, Sajjad Hussain Qureshi and Hamid Raza Gilani did not played their role in favour of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). So they both could not participate in October 1977 Elections.<sup>101</sup> After Martial Law of 1977, both families kept silence. In Local Bodies Elections of 1979 both families actively participated against a

<sup>98</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 208.

<sup>99</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 209.

<sup>100</sup> Anjum, 209.

<sup>101</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 210.

newly emerged group, led by Fakhar Imam. Hamid Raza Gilani elected Chairman District Council Multan with a one vote lead, but disqualified later. A strange Alliance in the politics of Multan was established between Qureshis and Gilanis after the success of Fakhar Imam as Chairman District Council Multan. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi introduced his son Shah Mehmood Qureshi in the politics to compete 1983 elections but he could not elect even member District Council. Qureshis and Gilanis jointly defeated Syed Family of Qataal and Yousaf Raza Gilani elected as Chairman District Council Multan. Alliance of Qureshis and Gilani remained till 1985. Both families tried to make the referendum successful. Yousaf Raza Gilani was appointed Member Majlis-e-Shura.

Bhutto said in his last ruling days that there looks everywhere Multan in my government. He was pointing out Gilanis and Qureshis. When Pakistan Peoples Party did boycott of non-party elections-Syed Hamid Raza participated by saying that there is none of Pakistan Peoples Party leader in Pakistan and none of patriotic Pakistani can take dictation from abroad and then he joined Martial Law Government.<sup>102</sup> Hamid Raza Gilani had close relations with the political families of Punjab. In 1985 non-party elections-boycotted by Pakistan Peoples Party and internal conflicts in Muslim League encouraged him to establish his own group. Sadiq Hussain Qureshi felt it a threat for Qureshi Family and he decided to contest *Makhdoom* Hamid Raza Gilani. But with the consent of his friends he supported Syed Razi Hussain Gilani and dropped his name. This was the first time when Qureshi group disintegrated.

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<sup>102</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 211.

Sajjad Hussain Qureshi, Pir Shujjat Husnain Qureshi and Riaz Hussain Qureshi did alliance with Gilani group. Due to this situation Sadiq Hussain Qureshi had to choose Fakhar Imam as ally. In 1985, Gilani and Qureshi got majority as allies and joined Muslim League jointly. Muhammad Khan Junejo took Yousaf Raza Gilani as his minister who did well in the organization of Muslim League. He was given superiority on Hamid Raza Gilani. This was the first time when Gilani Family had to observed Uncle-Nephew rift. But *Makhdoom* Hamid Raza Gilani ever accepted political decisions of Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani. Even he did not join Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) for the sake of family unity. Gilani joined Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) when Junejo cabinet was dismissed. Qureshi and Gilani Families were again opponents in 1987 elections.<sup>103</sup> One of the reasons of this new line up was the status of Khanewal as district, Fakhar Imam now could not play the same role in district politics. When National Peoples Party was established-*Makhdoom* Hamid Raza was its senior leader but he joined Muslim League later.<sup>104</sup>

## II. c Hashmis

There was “*daira*” to solve the issues of the village in between the tomb *Makhdoom* Abdur Rashid (RA) and *chowk bazaar*. The *daira* or Parliament house was divided into four parts namely; “*Mudaberen aur Zua'ma-e-Shehr, Darul umara, Darul Awam, Daniswar Tabqa*”.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 212.

<sup>104</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharoahs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 213.

<sup>105</sup> Javed Hashmi, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel) (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), 33-34.



Hashmi wrote in his book “*Han Main Baghi Hon*” my family supported me in my political career in positive way. My Granfather *Makhdoom* Noor Charagh Shah joined Muslim League immediately after its establishment. My father was a religious and spiritual person having no concerned with the political charm and posts. But he was associated with Muslim League from 1930 to 1979-till his death. Javed Hashmi claimed to be the politically trained from the following five universities or political institutions:

- First-*Makhdoom* Rasheed village
- Second-University of Punjab
- Third-Politics of Lahore city
- Fourth-prison
- Fifth-United Nations

Formal political career of Hashmi begins from the Student elections of 1972, held in Punjab University Lahore. His full panel won the said election inspite of the opposition of the ruling elite-Mustafa Khar and Zulfikar Ali Bhuto.<sup>106</sup> However Javed Hashmi jumped into the national politics practically in 1976.<sup>107</sup> In the same year he joined Tehrik-e-Istaqlal.<sup>108</sup> He was not only the successful candidate of Provincial assembly in 1977 election from Lahore but also hold a ministry, later he resigned as a minister in 1979.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 56-58.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 72.

**Table 3: General Election Results - 1977**

<b>Sr#</b>	<b>Name and Name of Constituency</b>	<b>Name of contestant from</b>	<b>Father Name</b>
1.	111 NA-111 Multan-I	Syed Abbas Hussain Shah	S. Altaf Hussain
2.	112 NA-112 Multan-II	Mr. Rifat Hayat Khan	Gul Mohammad Khan
3.	113 NA-113 Multan-III	Ch. Barkat Ullah	Ch. Nawazish Ali
4.	114 NA-114 Multan-IV	Makhdom Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi	<i>Makhdoom</i> Murid Hussain Qureshi
5.	115 NA-115 Multan-V	Syed Hamid Raza Gilani	Syed Muhammad Raza Gilani
6.	116 NA-116 Multan-VI	Sh. Khizar Hayat	Sh. Khuda Bakhsh
7.	117 NA-117 Multan-VII	Maulana Hamid Ali Khan	Shaida Ali Khan
8.	118 NA-118 Multan-VIII	Ch. Abdul Rehman	Ch. Allah Dad Khan
9.	119 NA-119 Multan-IX	Mr. Nasir Ali Rizvi	Brig. Syed Said Ali Shah
10	120 NA-120 Multan-X	Mr. Taj Ahmed	Sultan Ahmed

Source: Document obtained from Pakistan Election Commission

**Table 3: General Election Results - 1977**

Sr#	Name and Name of Constituency	Name of contestant from	Father Name
10	111 NA-111 Multan-I	Syed Abbas Hussain Shah	S. Altaf Hussain
11	112 NA-112 Multan-II	Mr. Rifat Hayat Khan	Gul Mohammad Khan
12	113 NA-113 Multan-III	Ch. Barkat Ullah	Ch. Nawazish Ali
13	114 NA-114 Multan-IV	Makhdum Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Qureshi	<i>Makhdoom</i> Murid Hussain Qureshi
14	115 NA-115 Multan-V	Syed Hamid Raza Gilani	Syed Muhammad Raza Gilani
15	116 NA-116 Multan-VI	Sh. Khizar Hayat	Sh. Khuda Bakhsh
16	117 NA-117 Multan-VII	Maulana Hamid Ali Khan	Shaida Ali Khan
17	118 NA-118 Multan-VIII	Ch. Abdul Rehman	Ch. Allah Dad Khan
18	119 NA-119 Multan-IX	Mr. Nasir Ali Rizvi	Brig. Syed Said Ali Shah
19	120 NA-120 Multan-X	Mr. Taj Ahmed	Sultan Ahmed

Source: Document obtained from Pakistan Election Commission

## CHAPTER 5: *MAKHDOOMS* IN POLITICS (1988-2008)

This chapter has been divided in three periods:

IV) Democratic Period (1988 -1999)

V) Dictatorship Period (1999-2002)

VI) Semi- Democratic Period (2002-08)

The study confined to three selected *Makhdooms*: *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi, *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani and Shah Mehmood Qureshi. In this Chapter, role of the three *Makhdooms* is analyzed that how they adjusted themselves in active politics at regional, provincial and national level. This chapter covers the period of five elections -1988, 1990, 1993, 1996 and 2002. The electoral contests of *Makhdooms* are also discussed in this chapter. Alliances and opposition with one another is an interesting phenomenon of the politics of three *Makhdooms*.

In the period from 1999 to 2002, the struggle of all *Makhdooms* was against dictatorship, they played an active intra party and inter-party role in the politics of Pakistan. This part of the thesis unveils that during this period all the three *Makhdooms* were politically struggling hard against a dictator. Due to this struggle, all the three *Makhdooms* were politically rewarded. *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani was elected Prime Minister, *Makhdoom* Shah Qureshi was appointed Foreign Minister of Pakistan

and *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi got national and international fame as a political prisoner. The period from 2002 to 2008 for *Makhdooms* depicts them as the spokesmen of democracy. It was extremely complex and struggling period with particular reference to their political career. This semi-democracy period, witnessed democracy tailored by undemocratic forces.

## **5. I Status and Political Role of *Makhdooms* (1988-2008)**

### **i) *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani**

*Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani is the 17th and current Prime Minister of Pakistan and Vice-Chairman of Pakistan Peoples Party. He was previously Speaker of the National Assembly (1993–1997) and a Federal Minister (1985–1986, 1989–1990).<sup>110</sup> He was elected as Prime Minister by the Pakistan Peoples Party, with the support of its coalition partners, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Awami National Party, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F) and Muttahida Qaumi Movement, on 22 March 2008. He took the oath of office from President Pervez Musharraf on 25 March 2008. Gilani is the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan from the Saraiki-speaking belt. In 2009, Gilani was ranked as the 38th most powerful person in the world by *Forbes*.<sup>111</sup>

Gilani belongs to an influential political family from Multan. His father was a descendant of Syed Musa Pak, a spiritual figure of the Qadri Sufi order which traces its

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<sup>110</sup> Gilani, Yousaf Raza, *Chah-e-Yousaf se Sada* (Reflections from Yousaf's Well ), (Lahore: Ngarshat Publishers, 2008). From introduction on inner title of the book

<sup>111</sup> "Gilani 38th Most Powerful Person: Forbes," *Dawn on the web* 16 November 2009, < <http://archives.dawn.com/archives/145517> > (12 December 2010)

origins to Abdul-Qadir Gilani. Yousaf Raza's grandfather migrated from Paktia Province, Afghanistan.<sup>112</sup> Gilani did his intermediate from Forman Christian College University. He attended Government College and obtained his B.A and M.A. in Journalism from University of the Punjab.

Gilani is married and has four sons, one daughter, and one grandson.<sup>113</sup> His eldest son, Syed *Makhdoom* Abdul Qadir Gilani, started his own political career from Multan, and in 2008 he married the granddaughter of Pir Pagara Shah Mardan Shah II, an influential political and religious leader of Sindh. His three other sons Ali Qasim Gilani, Ali Musa Gilani and Ali Haider Gilani are triplets. Qasim Gilani is currently doing his undergraduate from Brunel University London whereas Musa Gilani completed his Masters from Queen Mary University of London in 2009. Ali Haider Gilani is studying at Lahore School of Economics, Lahore. Ali Musa Gilani after completing his studies is now actively participating in politics. Yousaf Raza Gilani has a daughter, Fiza Gilani.<sup>114</sup>

Gilani's political journey began during General Zia-ul-Haq's martial law in 1978. He joined the Central Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League. He was also made a cabinet member in the three years government of Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo and served as Minister of Housing and Works from April 1985 to January 1986. He also served as Railways Minister from January 1986 to December 1986.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Yousaf Raza Gilani, *Chah-e-Yousaf se Sada* (Reflections from Yousaf's Well ) (Lahore: Ngarshat Publishers, 2008), 13.

<sup>113</sup> "Makhdoom Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani-The first Multani Prime Minister of Pakistan" <<http://hamaramultan.com/yousafrazagillani.asp>>

<sup>114</sup> Syed Shoaib Hasan . "Profile: Yousuf Raza Gilani," BBC on the web, 17 June 2009, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7310028.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7310028.stm)> (24 January 2011).

<sup>115</sup> Aqeel Abbas Jafri, "*Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*" (Political Elites of Pakistan) (Karachi: Frontier Post Publications, 1995), 263-68.

After some differences with the Muslim League, Gilani joined the Pakistan Peoples Party in 1988. In the Benazir Bhutto government of 1988-1990, he was Minister of Tourism from March 1989 to January 1990 and Minister of Housing and Works from January 1990 to August 1990. Later, under second Bhutto government, he was elected as Speaker of the National Assembly in October 1993, and served until February 1997. He has been elected various times as the Member of National Assembly from his native city Multan. In General Elections 2008, he defeated Sikandar Hayat Bosan of Pakistan Muslim League (Q). Yousaf Raza Gilani was arrested on 11 February 2001, under the auspices of the National Accountability Bureau, an anti-corruption agency, set up by the military government in 1999, over charges of misused of authority during his National Assembly Speakership. Specifically, he was accused of hiring up to 600 people of his constituency and placing them on the government's payroll. The NAB claimed that Gilani inflicted an annual loss of Rs. 30 millions on the national exchequer. He was convicted by an anti-corruption court and spent nearly six years in prison.<sup>116</sup> Thus he was convicted by courts and subsequent prison sentence are seen as marks of his loyalty within the Pakistan Peoples Party. His imprisonment was widely condemned across the country including Mushahid Hussain Syed, a senior leader of the Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q).

Gilani was released on 7 October 2006 from *Adiala Jail*, after spending more than five years in captivity. Pakistan Peoples Party nominated Gilani for the post of Prime Minister. Pakistan Peoples Party completed consultations with coalition partners about

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<sup>116</sup> Syed Shoaib Hasan . "Profile: Yousuf Raza Gilani," BBC on the web, 17 June 2009, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7310028.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7310028.stm)> (22 December 2010)

the Prime Minister and its allies endorsed the nomination.<sup>117</sup> On 22 March, he was officially announced by Pakistan Peoples Party as its candidate for the premiership of the country.<sup>118</sup> On 24 March 2008, Gilani was elected as Prime Minister by Parliament, defeating his rival, Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi of the Pakistan Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q) by a score of 264 to 42. He was sworn in from President Musharraf on the very next day. On 29 March, he won a unanimous vote of confidence in Parliament.<sup>119</sup> The first part of Gilani's Cabinet was sworn in on March 31, 2008. Among 24 ministers sworn in on this occasion, 11 were from Pakistan Peoples Party, 9 were members of the Pakistan Muslim League (N), 2 were members of the Awami National Party, one was from Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, and one from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

On May 13, 2008, the PML (N) ministers resigned from Gilani's government due to a disagreement related to the reinstatement of judges whom Musharraf removed from their offices in 2007. On July 19, Gilani addressed to the nation first time in his tenure. The main points in his address were focused on the crisis of flour shortage, load-shedding, terrorism and extremism, restoration of judges, economic downslide and, above

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<sup>117</sup> Gilani, Yousaf Raza, *Chah-e-Yousaf se Sada* (Reflections from Yousaf's Well ), (Lahore: Ngarshat Publishers, 2008), From inner title Introduction of the book

<sup>118</sup> < <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> > (22 December 2010)

<sup>119</sup> Aqeel Abbas Jafri, "*Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*" (Political Elites of Pakistan) (Karachi: Frontier Post Publications, 1995), 263-68.



all, inflation and unemployment in the country.<sup>120</sup> Gilani was attacked near Islamabad on 3 September 2008. Pakistan Tahreek e Taliban claimed responsibility for the attack.<sup>121</sup>

During the political crisis of March 2009, Prime Minister Gilani was credited with playing a central role in convincing the President Asif Ali Zardari to restore Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. This act, according to some analysts, has strengthened his role as Prime Minister.<sup>122</sup> It's true that the name of the 55-year old *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani came all of a sudden as the 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan but he is not a new entity in the political arena of Pakistan.<sup>123</sup> Having a rich background of an eminent political religious family in Multan for four generations, he himself joined politics in 1978 and served in different capacities from Multan district council chairman in 1983 to Member of National Assembly in 1988.<sup>124</sup> He returned from England in 1978 and started to take active participation in politics. His great grandfather Syed Sadruddin Shah's brother Syed Rajan Bux Shah was the first Gilani to be elected to the Indian Legislative Council in 1921. He remained its member till his death in 1936. Gilanis joined the All India Muslim League in the 1940s. Rajan's nephew Syed Mohammad Raza Shah defeated Unionist Party candidate and PPP's another contender for premiership Shah Mehmood Qureshi's Grandfather *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain Qureshi in 1946 elections. Raza Shah was the only non-official president of the Multan District Board before

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<sup>120</sup> <<http://www.ptv.com.pk>> (10 December 2010)

<sup>121</sup> "Pakistan PM's motorcade attacked," BBC on the web, 3 September 2008, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7595572.stm>> (22 December 2010)

<sup>122</sup> *ibid*

<sup>123</sup> Amjad Warraich, "*Yousaf Raza Gillani – a profile*," Daily Times on the web, 23 March 2008, <[http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008\03\23\story\\_23-3-2008\\_pg7\\_7](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008\03\23\story_23-3-2008_pg7_7)> (25 October 2010)

<sup>124</sup> Gilani, Yousaf Raza, *Chah-e-Yousaf se Sada* (Reflections from Yousaf's Well ), (Lahore: Ngarshat Publishers, 2008), 83-114.

Partition, defeating British Deputy Commissioner E P Moon in the elections. He was brother of Yousaf Raza's grandfather Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah.<sup>125</sup>

Raza's son Hamid Raza Gilani won National Assembly seats in 1962, 1965, 1977 and 1985. He served as parliamentary secretary in the 1960s and as a federal minister in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's 1977 cabinet. He was nominated as Senator in 1991. Mustafa Shah's son and Yousaf's father *Makhdoom* Alamdar Gilani was elected to Punjab Assembly in 1951 along with his brother Syed Walayat Hussain Shah. Alamdar Gilani was elevated to provincial health minister in 1953. He joined newly born Republican Party in 1956 and was disqualified by Ayub government from electoral politics. His brother and Yousaf's uncle Rahmat Shah filled the vacuum by joining Ayub's Conventional Muslim League and winning a provincial seat along with Hamid Raza who kept on leading the family on the electoral scene till the time Yousaf ousted him in 1990. Another cousin of Yousaf Raza Gilani, Syed Tanvirul Hasan Gilani, also won a national assembly seat in 1990 from the platform of Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI).<sup>126</sup> Yousuf also intimately joined in the network of feudal-cum-*Makhdoom* politicians of Pakistan. Himself being a descendent of Syed Moosa Pak Shaheed, a leading spiritual figure of Multan, who hailed from the Iranian province of *Gilan*. Yousaf's mother was a sister of Makhdoom Hasan Mehmood of Jamaldinwali, Rahimyar Khan. *Makhdoom* Hasan's other sister was married to Pir Pagara.<sup>127</sup> Gilani has strong family terms with Pir Pagaro.

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<sup>125</sup> Aqeel Abbas Jafri, "*Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*" (Political Elites of Pakistan) (Karachi: Frontier Post Publications, 1995), 263-267.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid*

<sup>127</sup> Gilani, Yousaf Raza, *Chah-e-Yousaf se Sada* (Reflections from Yousaf's Well ), (Lahore: Ngarshat Publishers, 2008), 13-36.

Gilani's first maternal cousin *Makhdoom* Ahmad Mehmood is provincial president of Pir Pagara's Functional League. Ahmad Mehmood's sister is married to President Pervez Musharraf's former loyalist Jehangir Tareen.

Like his elders, *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani has a wonderful electoral track record. He made his first entry to electoral politics in 1983 by defeating the then federal minister Syed Fakhar Imam in the elections for Chairman Multan District Council chairman. He won a National Assembly seat in 1988 by defeating Mian Nawaz Sharif, the then PML Punjab president and caretaker chief minister of the province. His uncle and a veteran Parliamentarian *Makhdoom* Hamid Raza Gilani became his victim in 1990 elections. His rival in 2008 Elections was Sikandar Hayat Bosan - a former federal minister. The only defeat Gilani received during his 25-year electoral politics was in 1997 when Bosan outclassed him.<sup>128</sup>

Meanwhile, he remained a federal minister in Muhammad Khan Junejo's government from 1985 to 1988, and again in the Benazir Bhutto's first government from 1988 to 1990. He was elected Speaker of National Assembly in 1993 during Benazir Bhutto's second government (1993-1996) and served till February 1997. After a short stint with the Muslim League; he had become part of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in 1988 and remained its loyal and steadfast supporter.<sup>129</sup> Arrested in February 2001 by Gen Pervez Musharraf government under charges of misuse of authority, he spent almost six years in prison, where he wrote a book and also improved his profile to qualify for premiership in the absence of any Bhutto or Zardari from the National Assembly. He did

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<sup>128</sup> <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk>> (22 December 2010)

<sup>129</sup> <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk>> (22 December 2010)

not contest 2002 elections because of being in jail but his supported nephew Syed Asad Murtaza Gilani was elected as a member National Assembly. Asad later joined the Pakistan Peoples Party Patriots paving the way for allegations of secret deal against his jailed uncle. He has been elected various times as Member of National Assembly from Multan.

*Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani is famous as 'Mr No' in his party. It was widely speculated that Pakistan Peoples Party co-chairman Asif Ali Zardari will ask Gilani to quit and hold the office after three months by contesting by-election. But Zardari rejected the speculations and announced that *Makhdoom* from Multan will be the Prime Minister for the next five years.

Zardari preferred Gilani to *Makhdoom* Amin Fahim because Fahim was seen as a dearest of the Pakistani establishment for many years. Musharraf offered the Prime Minister's post to Fahim many times but Benazir Bhutto never allowed him to accept the offer. Zardari became suspicious of Fahim in January 2008, when he was told that he held a quiet meeting with Musharraf without the knowledge of party leadership.

Gilani also participated in the rallies organised for the independence of the judiciary. He became a target of the Musharraf regime after he supported deposed Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry.<sup>130</sup> Gilani has publicly vowed to restore the judges of the superior courts by April 16, 2008. Meanwhile, soon after his elevation to the post

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<sup>130</sup> <[http://www.geo.tv/important\\_events/PrimeMinister\\_speech16march2009/english\\_news.asp](http://www.geo.tv/important_events/PrimeMinister_speech16march2009/english_news.asp)> (10 December 2010)

of Prime Minister on March 24, 2008, ordered immediate release of judges detained during the Emergency.<sup>131</sup>

## ii) *Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi*

*Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi born June 22, 1956 served as Foreign Minister of Pakistan in the coalition government of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), Awami National Party (ANP) and Jamiat Ulema e Islam –F (JUI-F) formed after the 2008 general elections. He is a senior leader of Pakistan Peoples Party, where he served as the president of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) Punjab. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi is the head of family and has thousands of followers in the country and abroad. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi is the present *sajjada nashin* and custodian of the Mausoleums of Shah Rukn-e-Alam and of the Shrine of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria. He received a bachelor's degree from Forman Christian College in Lahore and a law degree from Cambridge University.

At his removal from Presidentship of Pakistan Peoples Party Punjab chapter, he said that there is no internal rift in the party.<sup>132</sup> *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi was snubbed in the 2011 Cabinet reshuffle. He had a disagreement with Prime Minister over Raymond Davis issue. According to Qureshi, Raymond Davis was not a diplomat. After taking charge of the office, Qureshi immediately made clear that he was committed to

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<sup>131</sup> *ibid*

<sup>132</sup> Noshad Ali, "*Qureshi to revive PPP popularity in south Punjab*" *Daily Times on the web*, 12 November 2006, <[http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\11\12\story\\_12-11-2006\\_pg7\\_26](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\11\12\story_12-11-2006_pg7_26)> (22 December 2010)

establishing peace in the region and that maintaining friendly ties with neighboring India were amongst his top priorities.<sup>133</sup>

### iii) *Makhdoom* Muhammad Javed Hashmi

*Makhdoom* Muhammad Javed Hashmi is a Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan from NA-149 (Multan-II) and a Senior Vice President of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz.<sup>134</sup> *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi put behind the bars because of his blunt political struggle against the military dictatorship. The people had decided to support him and his cause, for throughout his election campaign we had a popular slogan. His supporters often use different slogans during election campaign, like:

**"Aik bahadur aadmi; javed hashmi, javed hashmi"**<sup>135</sup>

The 'General Elections 2008, brought laurels for *Makhdoom* Muhammad Javed Hashmi. His victory is not only a political success but also the reward of his commitment, perseverance, endurance and his political excellence. He won three out of the four National Assembly seats for which he contested. In the constituency NA-55, Rawalpindi-VI, Javed Hashmi defeated Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed – a very strong political stalwart of the area. He also won from NA-123, Lahore-VI and NA-149, Multan – II. Javed Hashmi wrote a book titled '*Han Main Baghi Hoon*' (Yes! I am a rebel) during imprisonment while he was in jail; convicted in a sedition case. Hashmi's book unveils that he was

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<sup>133</sup> *ibid*

<sup>134</sup> <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> (22 December 2010)

<sup>135</sup> Javed Hashmi, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel) (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), 27.

jailed because he demanded a commission to be formed to investigate the Kargil issue, the restoration of democracy and opposed the army's role in politics.<sup>136</sup>

Born on January 1, 1948 in *Makhdoom* Rashid, Multan; *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi is an "agriculturist" by profession. He graduated from the University of the Punjab in 'Masters in Political Science', and later in 'Philosophy'. He joined politics in 1985 and had been elected to the National Assembly for the terms of 1985-1988, 1990-1993, 1993-1997, and 1997-1999. From 1997-1999, he served as "Federal Minister for Health" in Nawaz Sharif's cabinet during his second term. Earlier he had served as a "Minister of State for Youth Affairs". He is one of the active leaders of the "Alliance for Restoration of Democracy", which campaigns for the establishment of democracy in the country.<sup>137</sup> After the overthrow of the Pakistan Muslim League Government in 1999 in a coup orchestrated by General Pervez Musharraf he became one of the most vocal critics of the military regime.

On October 29, 2003, he was arrested from Parliamentary Lodges against the charges of inciting mutiny. In a press conference on October 20, 2003, he had read a letter that he received in mail, signed anonymously by some military officers at General Headquarters (GHQ) calling for an investigation into the corruption in the armed forces and criticizing General Pervez Musharraf and his relationship with George W. Bush. His trial was held in the Central Jail, *Adiala* instead of a 'District and Sessions court', which raised doubts among human rights groups about its impartiality. On April 12, 2004 he was sentenced 23 years imprisonment for inciting mutiny in the army, forgery and

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<sup>136</sup> <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk>> (22 December 2010)

<sup>137</sup> *ibid*

defamation.<sup>138</sup> The verdict has widely been considered as a willful miscarriage of justice by the government. All opposition parties in Pakistan, including Pakistan Peoples' Party of the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, 6 party-alliances Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, regarded it to be politically motivated by the ruling military with malicious intent, declaring him to be a political prisoner. On August 3, 2007, a three-member bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan under Chief Justice of Pakistan Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry granted him bail after serving approximately three and a half years in prison. Javed was released from the Central Jail *Kot Lakhpat* in Lahore on August 4, 2007. He was again placed under arrest at the declaration of a state of emergency on November 3, 2007.

It is believed that Hashmi was personally asked by Party Chairman Nawaz Sharif to contest from Rawalpindi for the National Assembly seat, where Shiekh Rasheed of the Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-i-Azam was undefeated since 1988. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi won three seats, one from Rawalpindi, another from Lahore and yet another from Multan in the National Assembly Elections of 2008. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi defeated Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed of Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q's in Rawalpindi. Hashmi's party - the Pakistan Muslim League (N) dominated the national and provincial assembly in Punjab. Pakistan Muslim League (N) finished second in General Elections of 2008 after Pakistan People's Party.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> < <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> > (22 December 2010)

<sup>139</sup> < <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> > (22 December 2010)



He had a good nexus with Sheikh Rashid in the early 1970s. When Javed Hashmi was President of Punjab University Students' Union, Sheikh Rashid Ahmad was President of Gordon College Students' Union. Javed Hashmi, a popular student leader, used to get rousing welcome by students and people of Rawalpindi when he came in Rawalpindi for election campaign. They both led protest rallies against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Rawalpindi. However, these general elections made the friends of yesterday the rivals of today.<sup>140</sup>

## **5. II Critical Appraisal of *Makhdooms* Role in Democracy and Dictatorship**

Politics of Gilani family has witnessed many dimensions. Hamid Raza Gilani did not participate in 1988 election to keep the family unite. He defeated by his nephew Yousaf Raza Gilani, a ticket holder of IJI in 1990. 1991 Local Bodies Elections took an interesting turn. Yousaf Raza Gilani of Pakistan People's Party and *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi fought as an alloy to lead the district council because *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani supported his brother Mujtaba Gilani and Hamid Raza Gilani supported his son Raza Gilani to keep on the control of Gilani Family. However, Shah Mehmood Qureshi overwhelmed the district leadership with the help of Gilani Family.<sup>141</sup>

In political crisis of 1993, Gilani Family remained associated with Pakistan Muslim League (N). Syed Tanvirul Hassan Gilani, faithful fellow of Nawaz sharif left him and joined Ghulam Ishaq Khan Lobby. Tanvirul Hassan Gilani was also included in

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<sup>140</sup> Javed Hashmi, *Han Main Baghi Hoon* (Yes! I am a Rebel) (Lahore: Sagar Publishers, 2005), 61.

<sup>141</sup> *ibid*

the cabinet of Balakh Sher *mazari*. He was defeated by Tahir Rashid in 1993 while Yousaf Raza Gilani defeated Sikandar Hayat Bosan. Sikandar Hayat Bosan supported Manzoor Watto, however with the efforts of Hamid Raza Gilani he got ticket of Muslim League.

Yousaf Raza Gilani elected Speaker National Assembly but he could not handled the house during his tenure-especially scenes of dance, abuses, boxing and walk out were watched during the session of 29 October 1994. Benazir Bhutto annoyed with Yousaf Raza Gilani when he, as speaker ordered to bring the imprisoned members of Pakistan Muslim League (N) in the National Assembly.<sup>142</sup> The period from 2002 to 2008 can be categorized as semi-democratic period. Though, an assembly was formed after 2002 elections but the stage was set for non-democratic president General Musharraf. This period can also be called as transition period from dictatorship to democracy. During this period, all the three *Makhdooms* actively participated in regional, provincial and national politics.

Gilani's family has been in contemporary electoral politics since 1937. He started his political career as Multan's district council chairman in 1983 and elected as MNA in 1985. He worked as a federal minister in both the cabinets of General Ziaul Haq and Mohammad Khan Junejo, before joining the Pakistan People's Party in 1988. In the general elections that year he defeated the then Punjab chief minister Nawaz Sharif from this constituency. He made his way to the National Assembly in 1990 and 1993 but lost the elections in 1997. He has also served as the National Assembly speaker in the 1993 in

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<sup>142</sup> Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat kay Firon* (Pharaohs of Politics) (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1992), 213.

Pakistan People's Party government.<sup>143</sup> His native city Multan is the centre of political activities since centuries due to active role of *sajjada nashins* or descendants of great Sufis, including those of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria, Shah Rukn-e-Alam, Shah Shams Tabrezi and Moosa Pak Shaheed. The city is one of the oldest human settlements in southern Asia. The district is at the centre of a much-talked about *Seraiki* belt, which time and again echoes with demands for the status of a province, separate from the Punjab. Multan, as the suggested capital of the proposed province, has been projected as an alternative seat of power to Lahore. In fact, such opposition to the centre has characterised much of the recent and not-so-recent history of Multan, with its most prominent exponents being the *Karamatiyas* who flourished in defiance to Delhi during the last millennium. The last manifestation of this rebellious streak resulted in a bloody confrontation between the workers and the authorities at the Colony Textile Mills in the 1970s. The conflict was known as one of the flashpoints in the labour union struggle in Pakistan.<sup>144</sup>

However, despite its history of dissent and defiance, Multan's culture still appears to be more languid than that of other industrial cities in the country. At the same time, a number of its political scions have earned a name for themselves at the national level. The dominant families of Multan are the Gilanis, Qureshis, Noons, Dogars and Ansaris. In 2002- NA148- *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi of the Pakistan People's Party defeated his traditional rival *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi of the PML (N), with the former getting 76,000 votes against the latter's 44,000. Hashmi was then the president of his

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<sup>143</sup> *ibid*

<sup>144</sup> *ibid*

party in the absence of Nawaz and Shahbaz Sharif. Having undergone long years of imprisonment, he is now once again serving as the party's vice-president but his rival, Qureshi, in the meantime has come to head his party's Punjab chapter.

Both are key political figures. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi entered politics when he was elected as the chairman of the Multan district council in 1987. In 1988 and 1990 Qureshi was a member of the Punjab Assembly and worked as a provincial finance minister in Ghulam Haider Wyne's cabinet. After developing some differences with Nawaz Sharif, he joined the Pakistan People's Party and contested for a National Assembly seat in the next election. Since then he has been alternately winning and losing against *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi. Hashmi entered politics as an anti-Bhutto student leader in 1970s and was the youngest member of martial law cabinet of General Zia. He was the first elected as Member National Assembly in 1985 but lost to Qureshi in 1988 and 1993. He was, however, successful in 1990 and 1997. Even when he was defeated from this constituency in 2002, he was elected to the National Assembly from Lahore. For the 2008 polls, Hashmi is the only politician who won three National Assembly seats out of four contested.

### 5. III Election Tables for analysis of Political Career of *Makhdooms*

#### Traditional Constituencies of Multan for *Makhdooms*

**Table 4 : *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani–Political career (1988-2008)**

Sr.#	Year	Constituency	Winner	Votes	Votes when lost
1.	1988	NA -114 Multan-1	<i>Makhdoom</i> Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani/ PPP	58300	
2.	1990	NA -114 Multan-1	<i>Makhdoom</i> Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani/ PDA	60076	
3.	1993	NA -114 Multan-1	<i>Makhdoom</i> Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani/PPP	72078	
4.	1997	NA -114 Multan-1 Gilani Loosed	Haji Sikandar Hayat Bosan/ PML(N)	67320	44603
5.	2002	Gilani was not allowed to participate in election by court	-	-	
6.	2008	NA -151 Multan IV	Yousaf Raza Gilani	77664	

Source: Document obtained from Pakistan Election Commission <sup>145</sup>

<sup>145</sup><<http://www.ecp.gov.pk>> ( 22 December 2010)

**Table 5 : *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi–Political career (1988-2008)**

Sr.#	Year	Constituency	Winner/ Political Party	Votes when win	Votes when loosed
1.	1988	PP 166 Multan VII	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ IJI	23917	
2.	1990	PP 166 Multan VII	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ IJI	32888	
3.	1993	PP 166 Multan VII	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ PPP	34396	
4.	1997	NA – 120 Multan-cum Khanewal	<i>Makhdoom</i> Javed Hashmi/ PML(N)		49386
5.	2002	NA-148 Multan-I	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ PPPP	76606	
6.	2008	NA-148 Multan-I	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ PPPP	83184	

Source: Document obtained from Pakistan Election Commission<sup>146</sup>

<sup>146</sup> <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk>>(22 September 2010)

**Table 6 : Makhdoom Javed Hashmi–Political career (1988-2008)**

Sr.#	Year	Constituency	Winner	Votes when winner	Votes when loosed
1.	1988	NA -120 Multam-cum-Khanewal-VI	Ch Abdur Rahim whla		48086
2.	1990	NA -120 Multam-cum-Khanewal-VI	Makhdoom Javed Hashmi /JI	70025	
3.	1993	NA -120 Multam-cum-Khanewal-VI	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ PPP		54385
4.	1997	NA -120 Multam-cum-Khanewal-VI	Makhdoom Javed Hashmi PML (N)	59675	
5.	2002	NA -148 Multam-I	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ PPPP		44095
6.	2008	NA – 149 Multan II	Makhdoom Javed Hashmi /PML (N)	70864	
7	2008	NA – 55 Rawalpindi VI	Makhdoom Javed Hashmi/ PML(N)	76980	
8	2008	NA – 123 Lahore VI	Makhdoom Javed Hashmi/ PML(N)	67707	
9	2008	NA – 148 Multan I	Shah Mehmood Qureshi/ PPPP		24578

Source: Document obtained from Pakistan Election Commission<sup>147</sup>

<sup>147</sup> <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk>> (20 January 2011)

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

Conclusion of the study can be divided into findings and perspective for change.

### Findings

Irrespective of the roles played by Gilani, Hashmi and Qureshi families, all the three *Makhdooms* distinguish among each other and enjoyed all types of politics-being a part of government or opposition. One thing is very interesting that their political role never diminished during dictatorship, semi-democratic or democratic period. They were put behind bars and were being stopped to participate in politics through different means. For example Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani was arrested on the charges of misuse of authority.

All the *Makhdooms* have different capabilities such as Javed is considered an outspoken politician; often criticizes policy matters of his own party- Pakistan Muslim League (PML - N). Gilani is known for his relations with political families around the country while Qureshi is renowned for his control over his voters, in other words his disciples and peasants.



Overall assessment of *Makhdooms* role in politics is complicated and muddled for the student of politics to understand as they appeared to the part of Democracy and Dictatorship.

Their religious role or the status as landlords is the reason for their popularity within their constituencies and voters have no concern with their political loyalties and attachments. The voters always prefer to vote them for their personal and religious roles as or their role as feudal lords. It is observed that their move to their voters is actually the disciples of *Makhdooms* and believe them blindly, even when one of his disciple was asked that *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood is without beard as per *Shariah*, astonishingly the old man who was his disciple responded faithfully and with immense confidence that "*HE HAS BEARED BUT WE ARE UNABLE TO SEE BECAUSE WE ARE SIGHTLESS SO THIS IS THE FAULT OF OURSELF NOT THE MURSHID PAK*".

*Makhdooms* often show their extreme religious and patriotic commitment to show their disciples that they are playing role in country's stability, integration and striving for social justice. The popular example of it is the *Makhdooms* role in the *Mallakand* operation in 2009 in Pakistan.

All the three *Makhdooms* played their role in all the three areas of their influence: politics, religion and society, so that they may remain in politics for subsequent elections for their huge support of their sincere followers; however the enhanced literacy rate, emerging role of civil society and independent electronic media may affect their popularity.

At social front *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi among the *Makhdooms* is considered a small landlord having 76 *akars* agricultural land (held in Pakistan) of amounting Pk. Rs.

5 *Karor*, as per his shown assets 2008 elections. His status as landlord or feudal has not left any negativity upon his peasants. That is why he won most of his contested elections. At religious position, being descendant of *Makhdoom* Rashid, he regularly pay visit to the shrine. Hashmi also claims that he is the legitimate custodian of Bahauddin Zakaria shrine. His consistent success in elections shows that his religious front is in his favour due to devotees of *Makhdoom* Rashid (RA).

As a politician, Javed Hashmi actively served at different positions during his political career. He is an ideological political worker. If we compare political background, achievements and sacrifices of all the three *Makhdooms* considered, Hashmi is considered a better option for political analysts. Recent success in 2008 elections from three different constituencies shows his political weightage.

*Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani owned big chunks of land and thousands of peasants working on this land. His assets were 200 Tolas jewelry (gifted by parents at wedding), cash in hand is Rs. 85 lacks (earned by sale of property at Gulgasht colony Multan). Cash Rs. 98900 was in Standard Chartered, Main Buleward Lahore that was ceased by National Accountability Bureau (NAB) in 2001. According to Gilani he had no property abroad. Critics say that most of his assets have been transferred to his relatives but his peasants ever showed a strong vote tendency for him in elections. On religious front, he is descendant of Mause Pak. Mause Pak was against participation in election for his *sajjada nashin*. To secure sympathies of shrine's devotees, Gilani is kept aside from official status of *sajjada nashin*. He is considered unofficial *sajjada nashin* of *dargah*. Gilani is the most powerful personality of his family. His family, friends and devotees of

Musa Pak supported him in all elections he contested. Politically, he is in politics since decades. His career started during General Zia ul Haq regime. He passed through different political situations and joined different political parties as per political changing tide. Now he is in Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians and Prime Minister of Pakistan.

He enjoyed different designations-Minister for Housing and construction, Urban affairs and environment in 1985 (Junejo Cabinet), Minister for Railway in 1986, Minister for tourism in 1988, Minister for Housing and construction, Urban affairs and environment in 1989, Minister for Local Government and Rural development in 1993, Speaker National Assembly from 1993 to 1997, had been acting president of Pakistan in 1995, hold the office of the vice chairman of Pakistan Peoples Party in 1998, he was imprisoned on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2001 in central jail Rawalpindi by National Accountability Bureau and was punished of Rs. one million as well as five years corporal imprisonment was bailed on 20 December 2002, but second reference from National Accountability Bureau was put him punishment of 10 years imprisonment as well as 10 karor Rs in case of non-payment of which 5 years more imprisonment was imposed and sent him to central Jail Rawalpindi.

If we collect all facts regarding his tri-status, his strength in politics is mainly based on his spiritual status. His tri-status has more positive impacts. He can persuade his voters morally. His regional and national political impacts are positive due to his struggle for democracy during dictatorship and semi democratic period. Gilani restore his trust on PPP leadership after defeating Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) chief Nawaz Sharif.

His active political role in second term of Pakistan Peoples Party government became the reason of charges of corruption on him. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi declared his assets are immovable inherited self occupied Property of Pk. Rs. 2,59,13,140. Gifted property Pk. Rs.2,20,11,700, jewelry Pk. Rs.7,00,000.

His peasants are thousands of devotees of Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) who are cultivating his and his forefathers land since centuries, generation after generation. More of the peasants are morally influenced rather than financially. He is the official *sajjada nashin* of the *Dargah* Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) and Shah Rukn e Alam (RA). Shah Rukn e Alam (RA) was the grandson of Bahauddin Zakaria (RA). Though *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi claims that he is the legitimate custodian of the *dargah* Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) but Shah Mehmood Qureshi established himself as *sajjada nashin* strongly. Every year he supervised the *urs* of both Sufis and performs many traditional rituals and customs at the shrine.

Politically, he has passed through different parties and now in Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians. His main strength in politics is his status as *sajjada nashin*. The devotees of Shah Rukn - e - Alam and Bahauddin Zakaria are his true power. He just needs moral persuasion for them to fight the election. The overall impact of his politics on the society is to produce a class which is associated with him on the basis of morality, financially and authority. He may exercise all forms of authority to achieve his political goals. Qureshi's political career is independent of any political party affiliation. He mainly exploits his religious heritage. Political analysts observed that recent time is the

peak time in the political career of all three *Makhdooms*. They have shown more positive tendencies as compared to past.

In the first phase-1988 to 1999, all *Makhdooms* were striving for their political positions. During dictatorship, 1999 to 2002, all *Makhdooms* struggled against undemocratic rulers. Their struggle may have some political point scoring purpose but its overall outcome was positive. In semi-democratic period, 2002 to 2008, *Makhdooms* struggled and at a stage all the three were arrested. We may conclude that their role from 1988 to 2008 is positive, constructive, though attainment of power may be the need of their traditional livelihood. Summing up, all the three *Makhdooms* entered in the politics, struggled to make make their positions strong and achieved glory within the period of 20 years-politically most active period in the history of Pakistan.

### **Perspective for Change**

Sufism is generally considered a purified spiritual entity. When we see the political discussion of Sufism, we thought, all the three *Makhdooms*: *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi, *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani and *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi are actively participating in religious, socio-economic and political fronts. Their main strength lies in sufi tradition; this tradition has all the dimensions of political aspect of Sufism influenced by overall context of political Islam. In the light of political struggle of *Makhdooms* having social and feudal backup; the following are the perspective for change that can be helpful for the contemporary and future researchers:

- 1- *Makhdoods* as *sajjada nashins* should spread and promote awareness among their devotees to participate in political, economic and social system of the community. They must take help from Quran and Sunnah to promote justice, honesty, peace and tolerance.
- 2- They should train the public politically through different campaigns, moves and having been close interaction with the institutions to which public is more attached.
- 3- They should launch programs when they are in government and should put efforts to articulate the public demands when they are in opposition, in-order to overcome the poverty and set the general people to economic development.
- 4- They must use all the social channels in-order to give the people a dignified social status.
- 5- *Makhdoods* must motivate the public through religious institution but with clear interpretations so that general people refrain to be misled in-terms of religion.

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