

Role of Elected Landed Aristocrats in the Legislation and Policy Making in Pakistan:

**A Case Study of Members of the National Assembly (1972-1977)
from the Punjab**

Abstract

Of the total 144 members of the National Assembly of Pakistan of 1972-77, 52 (36.11%) were landed aristocrats. Being members of the apex policy engineering body of the country, they were supposed to play significant role in legislation, policy formulation and its administration. This article is aimed at addressing the question: What role elected landed aristocrats did play during Bhutto's Premiership? Qualitative analysis of various sources reveals that besides, Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri and Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi, none of the others played very active role in legislation, policy formulation and its oversight. Instead of playing active role, as for as national-political administration is concerned, they passed a dormant life. However, banking on their legacy of extending support and drawing benefits, they served their vested interest. Moreover, whatever political and administrative victories Bhutto's political administration has consolidated, the credit goes to his charismatic personality, public trust in him, and his reforms oriented agenda besides his commit to achieve the same.

Key Words: Elections, Landed Aristocrats, Reforms, Polic Formulation, Political Oversight.

1. Introduction

The Political history of the Punjab shows that it has always been under the influence of landed aristocrats. Landed aristocrats always dominated the politics of the Punjab, especially the Northern parts of the province. They have played vital role in the formation of Pakistan. And after the creation of Pakistan, they always got their due share in the assemblies. In fact, they have always influenced the politics of the area even before and after the creation of Pakistan. In this research paper, an attempt is made to explore the major landlords of the Punjab, who were Members of the National Assembly from 1972 to 1977; their family background and political career; their role and performance in the legislation and policy making process. During his election campaign and in the early months of his coming to power Zulfikar Ali Bhutto raised voice against the landed aristocracy and promised to eradicate it from Pakistan. However, Bhutto could not resist and sustain against the landed aristocrats present in the assembly and decided to join hands with them in order to protect his rule. This shift in Bhutto's policy from

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anti-landed aristocracy to pro-landed aristocracy is the cardinal reason to choose the time period of the study i.e. 1972-1977.

2. Election Results (1970) and the Representation of Landlords in the National Assembly

Though originally planned on 5th October 1970, the elections for National Assembly of Pakistan were held on 7th December 1970. The then Election Commission comprised Justice Abdus Sattar as Chief Election Commissioner and two other members one each from the East and the West Pakistan. According to the election results of 1970, the victory of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) was regional in character. The results authenticated polarization of the two wings. In the East Pakistan, Awami League (AL) captured 160 out of 160 directly elected seats of the National Assembly. In the West Pakistan, PPP secured 81 out of 138 directly elected seats of the National Assembly. AL got 75.11% of total votes cast in the East Pakistan, but it could not win even a single seat in other four provinces of the country. It got 0.07% of total votes cast in the Punjab, 0.25% in Sindh, 0.22% in NWFP, and 1.6 in Baluchistan (see appendix I).³ On the other hand, PPP did not contest elections in the East Pakistan. It secured 41.66% of total votes cast in Punjab, 44.95% in Sindh, 14.28% in NWFP and 2.38% in Baluchistan (see appendix I).⁴ Election results were a great set back to older political parties, particularly three factions of the Muslim League, Jama'at-i-Islami (JI), and National Awami Party (NAP-W) etc. Religious parties also gave poor performance. JI secured 4 seats, 7 seats went to each of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI-H) and Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP). Some parties even did not capture a single seat such as Nizam-i-Islam Party, Khaksar, and Jama'at-i-Ahle Hadith, etc. (see appendix II).⁵

Representation of the landlords varied in the four National Assemblies (1956, 1962, 1966, and 1970) of Pakistan since its existence. In the first National Parliament of Pakistan (1956), out of 72 members of the National Assembly, 24 were landlords and their percentage was 35%. All the landlords in the first National Parliament were from the West Pakistan and their percentage was 74% (see appendix III).⁶

In the second National Assembly of Pakistan 1962, out of 156 Members of the National Assembly, 49 were landlords and their percentage in the National Parliament was 31.41%. Out of 78 Members of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan, 37 were landlords (47.44%). While in the case of the East Pakistan,

³ Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan: A Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991) 240. Also see *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, Vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission, 1972) 202-203.

⁴ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000) 191. Also see *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, 202-3.

⁵ Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, 192. Anwar H. Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (London: Macmillan, 1992) 81-87.

⁶ Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1976) 23.

out of 78 members of the National Parliament, 12 were landlords, and their percentage in the National Parliament was 15.38% (see appendix III).⁷

In the third National Assembly of Pakistan 1966, out of 156 Members of the National Assembly, 58 were landlords and their percentage in the National Parliament was 37.18%. Out of 78 Members of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan 46 were landlords and their percentage was 58.98%. While in the case of the East Pakistan, out of 78 members of the National Parliament, 12 were landlords, and their percentage in the National Parliament was 15.38% (see appendix III).⁸

According to the election results of 1970, out of 313 members of the National Assembly, 52 were landlords and their percentage in the National Assembly was 16.61%. Contrary to this, total members of the National Assembly from the East Pakistan were 169, none of them was landlord. However, out of 144 member of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan, 52 (36.11%) were landlords. Members of the National Assembly from the West Pakistan can be further divided into five parts, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Baluchistan and FATA. Out of 85 members of the National Assembly from Punjab, 28 were landlords, and their percentage in the Parliament was 32.94%, while in case of Sindh, out of 28 members of the National Assembly, 19 were landlords and their percentage in the National Assembly was 67.86%.⁹

Elections results of 1970 could not bring a major change in the context of landlordism as people of the country were expecting. Fifty-two Members of the National Assembly of Pakistan were landlords. They were successful in getting their due share in the Assemblies. All landlords were from West Pakistan especially from Sindh and northern Punjab. Election results of 1970 proved that landlords had always influenced Pakistani politics and still they have.

3. Family Background and Political Career of the Landed Aristocrats Elected from the Punjab to the National Assembly of Pakistan (1972-1977)

These landed aristocrats are divided into two parts i.e. big landlords of the Punjab and medium class landlords.*

3.1 Big Punjabi Landlords in the National Assembly

In the first part of the chapter, big Punjabi landlords or landed aristocrats in the National Assembly (1972-1977) have been discussed. Major focus is on their family backgrounds, and their role and performance in the Assembly.

⁷ Muhammad Siddique Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Dost Publications, 2002) 12-13.

⁸ Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 12-13.

⁹ Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 81-87. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13-14.

3.1.1 Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan (d. 1998) was the son of Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan (d. 1942). He belonged to Kathar, a big landlord family of Campbellpur, now called Attock. His ancestors, Fateh Khan Khathar and Sher Khan Khathar collaborated with the Britishers during War of Independence, 1857-58, and consequently, the Government rewarded them.¹⁰ He graduated from Indian Military Academy, Dhera Dun in 1936, and from the Staff College in 1942. With a professional business background, he started his political career in 1942 and was appointed Minister in the Punjab Government after the death of his father. In 1943, he was elected as a member of the Legislative Assembly of the Punjab. He joined the Muslim League in 1944 and became Deputy Leader of Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly. Later on, he was elected to the first Constituent Assembly in 1947-48 and remained there till its dissolution in 1954.

Also, he was Minister in the Punjab Government for some time and resigned in 1948. In 1964, he was elected secretary-general of Pakistan Muslim League. Besides, taking an active part in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in 1968, he gained credit for being elected as President of Pakistan Muslim League (Council Group) (PML-C), Punjab in 1970. In 1970 elections, he contested on the ticket of PML (C) and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-30, Campbellpur (now known as Attock)-I.¹¹

3.1.2 Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din

Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din, the son of Syed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah, belonged to a big landlord Syed family of Makhad, District Campbellpur (now called Attock). His ancestors Ghulam Mustafa Khan Sagri of Makhad his son Ghulam Muhammad Khan Sagri had collaborated with the Britishers during the War of Independence, 1857-58.¹² Being a law graduate and farmer by profession, he shaped his interest in soil conservation and mechanized farming. He also took part in social welfare works in his own area. With his election as Chairman of District Board Campbellpur in 1954, he took off his political career. In 1962, he was elected as a Member of the West Pakistan Provincial Assembly.¹³ He was also elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 on the ticket of PPP from the constituency NW-31, Campbellpur-II.¹⁴

* The division of landed aristocrats into big landlords and medium class landlords is on the basis of their family and political background especially acreage of land which their families possess, historical influence of their families, and position of their families as clan-leaders.

¹⁰ Lepel Henry Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, Vol. II (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1909) 66-67.

¹¹ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 37. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13.

¹² Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, 258. Also see David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. Publishers, 1998) 50-51, and Lt.-Gen. Jahan Dad Khan, *Pakistan: Leadership Challenges* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 72.

¹³ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 38. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13, and Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 3.

¹⁴ *The Gazette of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1970), 5077.

3.1.3 Nawabzada Mian Muhammad Zakir Qureshi

Nawabzada Mian Muhammad Zakir Qureshi belonged to a well-settled big landlord Qureshi family of village Sabowal, District Sargodha. Born to Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi (late) on June 12, 1908, he was law graduate of Aligarh Muslim University besides being a professional agriculturist. He stepped in politics in 1970 by winning National Assembly seat, NA-43, Sargodha-V on the ticket of PML (C).¹⁵

3.1.4 Nawabzada Malik Muzaffar Khan

Nawab family of Kalabagh is a big landlord family, belonging to Awan clan. The Maliks of Kala Bagh, Malik Muzaffar Khan, and his sons Yar Muhammad Khan and Ambaz Khan co-opted with the British Government of that time and were, consequently, rewarded.¹⁶

Nawabzada Malik Muzaffar Khan, the son of Kala Bagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan also belongs to this family. He was born on February 15, 1934 at Kalabagh, District Mianwali. He had a bachelor's degree. He started his political career in 1962 by getting elected as a Member of the National Assembly. In 1965, he was re-elected on this seat. He led the Wheat Delegation to the USA in 1963 and was a member of the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in 1966. He contested the election of 1970 as an independent candidate and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-44, Mianwali-I.¹⁷

3.1.5 Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana

Bharwana is a branch of Sial, the most powerful clan of the District Jhang. Muhammad Bharwana and Baqir Bharwana were awarded land grants by the British during the Anglo-Sikh Wars of 1848-49.¹⁸ Bharwana is a big landlord family of Jhang. Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana, son of Mehr Shamsul Haque Bharwana, belonged to this family. He was born on August 14, 1924 at Satiana, District Jhang. He was only a Matriculation by education. He was affiliated with the profession of agriculture. He contested the elections of 1970 on the ticket of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan, and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-46, Jhang-I.¹⁹

3.1.6 Sardarzada Muhammad Ali Shah

Coming from Sardarzada family from Rajoa Sadat, District Chiniot, Sardarzada Muhammad Ali Shah had a very meager educational career yet contested his fortune banking on land industry and agro-profession. He contested

¹⁵ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 50. Also see *The Gazette of Pakistan*, 5078.

¹⁶ Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, 293-94. Also see Khan, *Pakistan: Leadership Challenges*, 69-72. For detailed background also see Denzel Ibbotson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, Vol. II (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978) 25-29.

¹⁷ Aqeel Abbas Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay* (Lahore: Jehangir Books, 2007) 360-67. Also see Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 80.

¹⁸ *Proceedings of the Revenue Department*, November 17, 1849, Nos. 30-31.

¹⁹ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 53.

the by-elections on the vacant seat of Maulana Muhammad Zakir from the platform of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP) and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-47, Jhang-II.²⁰

3.1.7 Sahibzada Nazir Sultan

Sahibzada Nazir Sultan, the son of Sultan Noor-ul-Hassan, belongs to a big landlord family of village Hazrat Sultan Bahoo, District Jhang. He is Gaddi-nashin of Hazrat Sultan Bahoo. He was born on February 12, 1944. He has a Master's degree. He is affiliated with the profession of agriculture. He contested the elections of 1970 on the ticket of JUP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-48, Jhang-III.²¹

3.1.8 Sadiq Hussain Qureshi

Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi (d. 2000), the son of Major Nawab Ashiq Hussain, was a big landlord. He belonged to a landlord family of Kotla AbulFateh, District Multan. He started his political in 1962 as a Member of the West Pakistan Assembly. He joined PPP in 1970 and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-80, Multan-II.²²

3.1.9 Syed Abbas Hussain Shah Gardezi

Born on June 10, 1910, Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi son of Altaf Hussain Shah Gardezi, was a PCS Officer besides owning big areas of agricultural land in Multan District. It is one of the major landlord families of the Punjab. He contested the elections of 1970 on the ticket of PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-81, Multan-III.²³

3.1.10 Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana

Daultana is a very renowned family of Luddan of District Multan. Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana came from this family. He was attached with the profession of agriculture.²⁴ He stepped into by successfully contesting the election 1943 for a seat of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and in 1946's election as a Member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab and the National Assembly simultaneously. He was included in the Cabinet of Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot. He was re-elected as a Member of the Punjab Assembly in 1951 and became the Chief Minister of the Punjab. He contested the elections of 1970 on the

²⁰ Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 15.

²¹ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 55. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13.

²² Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 80. Also see Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 347-48, and Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, 50-51.

²³ Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 422-425.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 283-94. Also see Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Firoon* (Lahore: Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., n.d.), 176-86.

ticket of Muslim League and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-84, Multan-VI.²⁵

3.1.11 Mian Riaz Ahmad Khan Daultana

A cousin of Mian Mumtaz Hussain Daultana, was a bachelor degree holder and member of All India Muslim League as well as its council. He had been a Member of the Punjab Assembly. He contested the election on the vacant seat of his cousin from the platform of PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-84, Multan-VI.²⁶

3.1.12 Rana Taj Ahmad Noon

Born in Multan on November 10, 1923, Ranaj Taj Ahmad Noon earned his fame by participating in Pakistan Movement, though he was not very well educated.²⁷ He was imprisoned during the Muslim League's agitation against the Unionist Government of the Punjab before independence. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1970 on the ticket of PPP from the constituency NW-87, Multan-IX.²⁸

3.1.13 Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari

Mazari family of Rojhan, District Dera Ghazi Khan is one of the major landlord families of Pakistan.²⁹ Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari had served the British during the War of Independence of 1857-58 and in return his services, he was granted land grants.³⁰ Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, the Chief of Mazari Clan, was the son of Mir Murad Khan Mazari (d. 1933). He was born on October 6, 1930, in Mazari family. He obtained a diploma in management from Harvard Business School. He successfully contested 1970 elections as an independent candidate and became a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-89, D.G. Khan-II.³¹ Mazari and Bhutto were two presidential candidates, in which Bhutto was successful.

3.1.14 Ghulam Muhammad Mustafa Khar

Ghulam Muhammad Mustafa Khar is a renowned landlord of Muzffargarh. Even with less education, he managed to win a seat of National Assembly of Pakistan in

²⁵ Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 283-94. Also see Wakeel Anjum, *Siyasatdanun Ki Qalabaziyan* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1994) 176-86.

²⁶ Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 283-94. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 13.

²⁷ Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 492. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 14.

²⁸ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 94.

²⁹ Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, xiii-xxx. Also see Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, 26. For detailed background of Mazari see Ibbetson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 41-56.

³⁰ Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, 338-39. The British in Dera Ghazi Khan granted him land grant of 6834 acres.

³¹ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 96.

1962's elections. Latter on he also draw a seat (NA-91) from Muzaffargarh-II³² on the ticket of PPP.

3.1.15 Shehzada Saeed-ur-Rasheed Abbasi

Shehzada Saeed-ur-Rasheed Abbasi belonged to Abbasi family of Dera Nawab Sahib, District Bahawalpur, which ruled Bahawalpur State for a long span of time. It is a very big landlord family and has tremendous influence in the entire region. He was the son of Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan (d. 1966) and was born on April 29, 1934. He was only a Matriculation by education. He was associated with the profession of agriculture. He was the President of PML (Con.) from 1967 to 1969. He had been a member of the Divisional Council Bahawalpur. He contested the elections of 1970 as an independent candidate and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-101, Bahawalpur-II.³³

3.1.16 Syed Rafiq Muhammad Shah

Syed Rafiq Muhammad Shah belonged to a big landlord family of Toba Qalander Shah, District Bahawalnagar. He was the son of Syed Fateh Muhammad Shah. He was only a Matriculation by education and an agriculturist by profession. He contested the elections of 1970 on the platform of PML (Q) and was elected to the National Assembly from the constituency NW-103, Bahawalnagar-I.³⁴

3.1.17 Makhdum Noor Muhammad

Mukhdum Noor Muhammd, the son of Makhdum Akhtar Hussain, belonged to a big landlord family of Mianwali Qureshian, District Rahimyar Khan. He was only a Matriculation by education. He was an agriculturist by profession. He contested the elections of 1970 as an independent candidate and was elected to the National Assembly from the constituency NW-107, Rahimyar Khan-III.³⁵

3.2 Medium Class Punjabi Landlords in the National Assembly

In this part of the chapter, medium class Punjabi landlords or landed aristocrats in the National Assembly (1972-1977) have been discussed. Major focus is on their family backgrounds, and their role and performance in the Assembly.

³² Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 384-391. Also see Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 80. For detailed background of Khar see Ibbetson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 494.

³³ Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 80. Also see Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 332-37.

³⁴ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 110. Also see Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Firoon*, 41.

³⁵ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 114. Also see Qureshi, *Political Culture in Pakistan*, 208-209.

3.2.1 Malik Anwar Ali Noon

Malik Anwar Ali Noon was the son of Malik Sultan Ali Noon. He was born on April 9, 1928, in a medium class landlord family of Alipur Noon, District Sargodha. He had bachelor's degree and a farmer by profession. He joined PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 from the constituency NW-40, Sargodha-II.³⁶

3.2.2 Baboo Karam Bakhsh Awan

Awan is a medium class landlord family of Sargodha and are called Malik. Malik Baboo Karam Bakhsh Awan, the son of Maula Bakhsh Awan, belonged to the Awan family of village Padhrar, District Sargodha. He was only a matriculation by education. He was a businessman by profession, but he was a landlord. He was affiliated with PML(C) and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 from the Constituency NW-42, Sargodha-IV.³⁷

3.2.3 Ghulam Hassan Khan Dhandla

Ghulam Hassan Khan Dhandla, the son of Ali Muhammad Khan, was born on April 16, 1929, in a medium class landlord family of Harunwala, District Mianwali. He was an intermediate qualified. His profession was agriculture. He joined Pakistan Muslim League Convention (PML-Con.) and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 from the constituency NW-45, Mianwali-II.³⁸

3.2.4 Rai Hafeezullah Khan Kharal

Rai Hafeezullah Khan Kharal, the son of Rai Saadullah Khan Kharal, belonged to Kharal, a medium class landlord family of Kamalia. He passed his Matric from Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. He was an agriculturist by profession. He started his political career in 1937 by participating in the Congress Convention held at Delhi. He served the famine stricken people in Bengal as a Khaksar Salar in 1943. He took active part in Pakistan Movement and was a founder member of Pakistan People's Party. He contested the elections of 1970 on the ticket of PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-54, Lyallpur-VI.³⁹

³⁶ Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 80. Also see Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 500, and Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, 26.

³⁷ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 49. Also see Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Firoon*, 40. For detailed background of Awan see Ibbotson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 25-29.

³⁸ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 52.

³⁹ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 61. Also see Mujahid Hussain, *Pakistan Kay Mutnaza Siyasatdan* (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1997), 298-303. For detailed background of Kharal see Ibbotson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 495-99.

3.2.5 Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri

Khalafzai Pathan family is a medium class landlord family of Adda Khem Karran (lands in Kasur, part of District Lahore at that time), District Lahore. Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri, the son of Sardar Muhammad Ahmad Khan (d. 1974), was born on September 4, 1938, in this landlord family. He graduated from Government College Lahore, and passed his LLB examination from the Punjab University in 1965. He was a lawyer by profession. He was one of the founder members of PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 from the constituency NW-63, Lahore-VI. He was the founding Secretary-general of the Pakistan Turkish Association and also the president of RCD Youth Organization. He was a member of the Law and Parliamentary Affairs and Education Committee of the National Assembly. He was elected as a Member to the National Assembly from the platform of PPP but due to clashes with Bhutto on certain issues, he resigned from PPP and joined the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal in 1972 and became its Secretary (Information).⁴⁰

3.2.6 Rai Shahadat Ali Khan Kharal

Rai Shahadat Ali Khan Kharal, the son of Rai Bakhtawar Khan Kharal, belonged to a medium class landlord family of KotFazil, District Sheikhpura. He was only a Matriculation by education. By profession, he was an agriculturist. He contested the elections of 1970 on the ticket of PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-69, Sheikhpura-IV.⁴¹

3.2.7 Syed Nasir Ali Shah Rizvi

Syed Nasir Ali Shah Rizvi was the son of Syed Syed Ali Shah. He was born on January 5, 1934, in a medium class landlord family of Kahrar Pakka, District Multan. He had bachelor's degree. He was an agriculturist by profession. He started his political career in 1958 as a Secretary of the PML(C), Multan District in 1965. In 1967, he resigned from his membership of the Muslim League and joined PPP. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1970 from the constituency NW-86, Multan-VIII. He visited Moscow as a member of the Prime Minister's entourage in 1972, and New York the same year as a member of the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. He was appointed as a member of the Integral Rural Development Board, Indus Basin Development Board and Film Censor Board. He was also elected as a Member of the National Assembly Committee on Science and Technological Research.⁴²

⁴⁰ Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 258-68.

⁴¹ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 78. For detailed background of Kharal see Ibbotson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 495-99.

⁴² *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 93. Also see Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*, 80.

3.2.8 Mehr Manzoor Hussain Soomra

Mehr Manzoor Hussain Soomra, the son of Qadir Bakhsh Soomra, belonged to a medium class landlord family of Leih, District Muzaffargarh. He was born on September 15, 1942. He had bachelor's degree. He was a *zamindar* by profession. His family actively participated in Muslim League before and after the partition of India. He was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 on the ticket of PPP from the constituency NW-90, Muzaffargarh-I⁴³

3.2.9 Mian Ghulam Abbas

Mian Ghulam Abbas was born on February 7, 1936, in a medium class landlord family at Sheikh Umer, District Muzaffargarh. He had bachelor's degree and an agriculturist by profession. He had been a Member of the Punjab Provincial Assembly from 1970 to 1973. He contested the by-election on the vacant seat of Ghulam Mustafa Khar, and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1973 from the constituency NW-91, Muzaffargarh-II.⁴⁴

3.2.10 Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq

Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq, the son of Muhammad Ghous Bakhsh, was born on August 15, 1912, in a medium class landlord family of Alipur, District Muzaffargarh. He had bachelor's degree and was an agriculturist by profession. He started his political career in 1942. He was elected as a Member of the Provincial Assembly in 1946 and was appointed Minister for Education and Health in the Punjab Cabinet before independence. He contested the elections of 1970 on the platform of JUP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-92, Muzaffargarh-III.⁴⁵

3.2.11 Haji Muhammad Sadiq Rabera

Rabera is a branch of Kharals, a sub-clan of Jats. It is a medium class landlord family of Fatehpur, District Sahiwal. Haji Muhammad Sadiq Rabera, the son of Saleh Rabera, was born in the Rabera family of Fatehpur in 1927. He was an intermediate qualified and an agriculturist by profession. He contested the elections of 1970 on ticket of PPP and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly from the constituency NW-95, Sahiwal-III.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 97.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁴⁵ Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Firoon*, 41. Also see *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 99.

⁴⁶ Jaffery, *Pakistan Kay Siyasi Waderay*, 407. For detailed background of Awan see Ibbetson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 495-99.

3.2.12 Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider

Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider, the son of Ghulam Hussain, belonged to a medium class landlord family of Bahawalpur. He had bachelor's degree. He was an agriculturist by profession. He examined in jail for three months for defying the Martial Law Regulation, imposed to curb the agitation for the declaration of Bahawalpur as a separate province. He joined PML(C) and was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 from the constituency NW-100, Bahawalpur-I.⁴⁷

3.2.13 Khawaja Jamal Muhammad Koreja

Koreja is a medium class landlord family of Shadani, District Rahimyar Khan. The Ancestor of the family was well-known Saraiki poet and Sufi Khwaja Ghulam Fareed. Khawaja Jamal Muhammad Koreja also belonged to this family. By qualification, he was Munshi Fazil in Persian. He was associated with the profession of agriculture. He had been a member of the Provincial Assembly from 1962 to 1965. He was elected as a Member of the National Assembly in 1970 on the platform of PML (Con.) from the constituency NW-105, Rahimyar Khan-I.⁴⁸

4. Role of Elected Landed Aristocrats in Legislation

4.1 Framing of the Constitution

On April 17, 1972, a 24-member committee comprising Muhmud Ali Qasuri as head and among others Sardar Shaukhat Hayat Khan, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana and Ghulam Muhammad Mustafa Khar as members was constituted for drafting the constitution of Pakistan. Though the latter were members of that constitution drafting committee, yet they had not played any significant role. However, taking departure from signing the Constitution of 1973, Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri was one of those nine members of the Assembly who besides affixing signature to the draft of the Constitution of 1973 openly criticized the policies of Bhutto Government.⁴⁹

4.2 The Transfer of Evacuee Land (*KatchiAbadi*) Bill, 1972

Some landed aristocrats such as Malik Baboo Karam Bakhsh Awan, Rai Hafeezullah Khan Kharal, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, and Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi played an important role in the legislation of Transfer of Evacuee Land (*KatchiAbadi*) Bill, 1972. (It was a bill moved against *katchiabadis* in the cities. According to this bill *katchiabadis* were illegal and their residents should be driven out because this land was property of the government). Although they were landlords yet they worked for the poor people of the country in the Assembly. They actively participated in the Assembly debates on this issue and proposed that

⁴⁷ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 107. Also see Anjum, *Siyasat Kay Firoon*, 41.

⁴⁸ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 112. For detailed background of Koreja see Ibbotson, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, 549.

⁴⁹ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan*, Constitution.

these people should be given right to live in their houses and should be given right for the ownership of land without any payment because they were poor workers and were unable to pay for it.⁵⁰

4.3 Status of Women Commission

While initial the Constitution of 1973 was being drafting, the only member of the then Constitutional Assembly—Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri—raised voice in favour of establishing a Women Commission for extending their due right to women of Pakistan. He pointed out that rights of a woman mean rights of a family, while rights of a man mean rights of an individual. He also stated that family was a basic unit of society and it is the women who make the society. He argued that women should be given their rights according to Islam. Being well educated, Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi not only supported the establishment of Women Commission he was well educated, liberal and broadminded. Besides him, Begum Nasim Jahan was especially thankful to some of the members of the Assembly, including Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi and Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri, for their help and support for the establishment of Women Commission.⁵¹

Contrary to above pro-women members, Rai Hafeezullah Khan Kharal was a conservative-minded landlord. He spoke against women and their status, and even quarreled with Begum Nasim Jahan when the issue of the status of Women Commission was under discussion in the Assembly. He also requested male members of the Assembly to participate more and more in the debates, especially against women. He even stated that women have enough rights in society and they should not be given more rights.⁵²

4.4 Land Reforms

As one-third of the Assembly was stuffed with landed aristocrats, they either opposed land reforms or skipped from the debates to remain silent, partly from the wrath of Bhutto, to safeguard their interests. Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din was the only landed aristocrat who opposed the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill of November 1975 and argued that there was no practical implementation of land reforms.⁵³ However, many of them were sure that land reforms would not affect their properties and would not bring any change.

4.5 Abolition of Sardari System from Baluchistan

Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari participated in the debate on the issues of “Baluchistan Conditions” and “Abolition of Sardari System from Baluchistan”. He opposed and protested against the Military action of Bhutto government in Baluchistan and favored Baluch Sardars. According to him, this action of PPP

⁵⁰ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan*, The Transfer of Evacuee Land (*KatchiAbadi*) Bill, 1972.

⁵¹ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan*, Status of Women Commission, 1975.

⁵² *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan*, Status of Women Commission, 1975.

⁵³ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan*, The Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, November 1975.

Government was not fair as Bhutto took this step only to monopolize Baluchistan in order to form a PPP-lead Government in Baluchistan through unfair means.⁵⁴

5. Role of Elected Landed Aristocrats in Policy Making

5.1 Committee on Rule and Privileges

September 6, 1973 came with the formation of an eight-membered Committee on Rule and Privileges. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan was also a member of this committee. He didn't play any important role while being member of this important committee and proved himself as a silent spectator.⁵⁵

5.2 Minority Affairs and Tourism

Standing Committee on Minority Affairs and Tourism consisting of eight members was constituted on December 4, 1973. Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana was also a member of this Committee. He had not made any valuable contribution in providing safeguard to the minority rights and improving their condition in Pakistan. Moreover, his role in promoting tourism in the country is less significant.⁵⁶

5.3 National Affairs and Overseas

When it came to formation of Standing Committee on National Affairs and Overseas on December 4, 1973, out of eight members, three—Shehzada Saeed-ur-Rashid Abbasi, Mehr Manzoor Hussain Soomra and Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi were also—were landed aristocrats. They didn't play active role in the policy formation regarding National Affairs and Overseas.⁵⁷

5.4 Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Education and Provincial Coordination

A Standing Committee of the House on Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Education and Provincial Coordination, consisting of eight members, was reconstituted on December 4, 1973. Sahibzada Ahmad Raza Khan Qasuri was also a member of this Committee. He was also a member of the Committee on Bills. Although he was a landed aristocrats but he was an educated person. Unlike many other landed aristocrats, he proved his active participation during the legislation and policy formation regarding Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Education and Provincial Coordination.⁵⁸

5.5 Portfolios of Ministries

Among the other landed aristocrats, some were assigned portfolios of ministries. Syed Nasir Ali Shah Rizvi was assigned the portfolio of Ministry of Housing, Works and Urban Development on February 5, 1976 and served till

⁵⁴ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, System of Sardari (Abolition) Bill, 1976.*

⁵⁵ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, September 6, 1973, 110.*

⁵⁶ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, December 4, 1973, 100.*

⁵⁷ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, December 4, 1973, 97-98.*

⁵⁸ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, December 4, 1973, 101.*

March 28, 1977.⁵⁹ Under his supervision, the Ministry did not come up with reformation agenda, though, the overall performance of the same remain inefficient and ineffective. His focus was to materialize his vested interests only.

Shehzada Saeed-ur-Rashid Abbasi enjoyed the portfolios of State Minister for Science and Technology from January 10, 1975 to February 5, 1976; State Minister for Tourism from February 6, 1976 to March 8, 1977; and State Minister for Science and Technological Research Division from January 26, 1977 to March 28, 1977. Abbasi was least interested in improving the efficient working of the assigned ministries and did not leave any positive impact.

5.6 Foreign Representatives

In 1974, Mian Ghulam Abbas, as an alternative representative, represented Pakistan in the 29th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Besides representing Pakistan at the Special Political Committee of the United Nations in 1974, domestically, he was appointed as Chairman of District Peoples' Works Council, Muzaffargarh in 1974.⁶⁰ Instead of holding such important positions, he couldn't leave lasting impressions in the area of international politics, policy engineering and local administration.

6. Critiques of the Government Policies and Opposition to Bhutto

Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari was unopposed elected as the Parliamentary Leader of the Independent Group in the National Assembly in April 1972. Besides being elected to the Foreign Affairs Standing Committee and the National Assembly's Business Advisory Group, he managed to get representation, on the part of National Assembly, on the Board of Governors of the National Book Foundation of Pakistan, the Pakistan Board of Film Censors at Islamabad and the National Trust Press.⁶¹

In 1970, on the other seat of Dera Ghazi Khan in the National Assembly, Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari supported Dr. Nazir Ahmad of Jama'at-i-Islami against Muhammad Khan, who was an influential landlord.⁶²

Against the other conservative and traditionalist landlords, Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari was a highly educated person, very active politician and shrewd personnel. He worked for the betterment of the people of Pakistan in general, and for the people of his own area in particular. He criticized many wrong policies of Bhutto's government. In his own opinion, he adopted the demeanor of a senior tribal Sardar (leader) who was compelled to deal with a minor Sindhi Wadero, which according to the traditional hierarchy of landed aristocracy, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto undoubtedly was. According to him, as a result of land reforms during the

⁵⁹ *National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, December 4, 1973*, 103.

⁶⁰ *Who is Who in the National Assembly of Pakistan*, 98.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁶² Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, xxiv, 171-72.

Bhutto era, many agricultural land holdings including his own were severely affected, but Bhutto's farm property remained fully protected.⁶³

7. Landed Aristocrats with No Particular Role within and outside the Assembly

There were landed aristocrats in the National Assembly (1972-1977) who either, being pliant yes-men of Bhutto and welcomed each and every act of his government or never criticized the policies of the government and spoke against him and his government. They did not play any significant role in the Assembly. Neither were they assigned any ministry nor were they members or heads of any committee or commission. They even did not participate much in the Assembly debates. They proved themselves as backbenchers in the Assembly. Silence of Nawabzada Mian Muhammad Zakir Qureshi, Nawabzada Malik Muzaffar Khan, Sardarzada Muhammad Ali Shah, Sahibzada Nazir Sultan, Mian Riaz Ahmed Khan Daultana, Rana Taj Ahmad Noon, Syed Rafiq Muhammad Shah, Mukhdum Noor Muhammd, Malik Anwar Ali Noon, Ghulam Hassan Khan Dhandla, Rai Shahadat Ali Khan Kharal, Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq, Haji Muhammad Sadiq Rabera, Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider, and Khawaja Jamal Muhammad Koreja in the Assembly showed that they were always in favor of the government and landlordism.

8. Critical Analysis

After discussing the role of the Punjabi landlords in the politics of Pakistan, it can be said that they have always dominated the politics of the country. There are few landlords who worked for the betterment and welfare of the people of Pakistan in general and for the people of their own areas in particular. But most of the times landlords had their own vested interest to serve. Their main purpose has always been to dominate the politics of the country and to enjoy the power. Their ancestors, who were rewarded by the British Government, worked for colonial's interest. Rather their role in independence movement was insignificant. So continuing their old tactics to control and monopolize the politics of the country, they have safeguarded their own interests by exploiting the people and the resources of the state. They have been a great hurdle in the democracy and transfer of power to the common people, who have been deprived of long awaited fruits of democracy. Although Bhutto came into power by raising slogans against landed aristocrats and decided to implement the party manifesto i.e. to get rid of landed aristocracy, however, he could not do it because of the powerful position of landed elites in the assembly. Thus, the influential and powerful elites forced Bhutto to shift his policy from anti-landed aristocracy to pro-landed aristocracy.

⁶³Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, 230.

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Appendix I

Percentage of votes secured by various parties in the elections of 1970

Party	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
AL	75.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	1.1	39.2
PPP	---	41.7	45.0	14.3	2.4	18.6
CML	1.6	12.7	6.8	4.1	11.0	6.0
CVML	2.8	5.1	1.8	0.6	---	3.3
QML	1.1	5.4	10.7	22.6	10.9	4.5
PDP	2.8	2.3	0.1	0.3	2.4	2.2
JUL-WP	---	5.2	4.9	25.6	20.0	4.0
JUP	---	10.0	6.9	---	---	3.9
JI	6.1	4.7	10.03	7.2	1.2	6.0
NAP(W)	2.6	---	0.4	18.5	45.2	2.4
Other	4.5	1.2	1.7	0.7	6.8	7.0
Independent	3.4	11.7	11.1	6.3	6.8	7.0
Total						

Source: Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan a Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 240.

Appendix II

Seats won in the elections of 1970 by different parties

Party	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
AL	160	---	---	---	---	160
PPP	---	62	18	1	---	81
CML	---	7	---	---	---	7
CVML	---	2	---	---	---	2
QML	---	1	1	7	---	9
PDP	1	---	---	---	---	1
JUL-WP	---	---	---	6	1	7
JUP	---	4	3	---	---	7
JI	---	1	2	1	---	4
NAP (W)	---	---	---	3	3	6
Other	---	---	---	---	---	---
Independent	1	5	3	7	---	16
Total	162	82	27	25	4	300

Source: Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan a Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 240.

Appendix III

Proportion of landlords in the first three National Parliaments

National Parliament	Total	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
1956	35%	74.0%	0
1962	31.41%	47.44%	15.4%
1966	37.18%	58.98%	15.4%

Source:

1. Muneer Ahmad, "Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan", *Pakistan Forum*, Vol. II, No. 3 as cited in Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1976), 108.
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