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THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF FEUDALISM AND IMPACTS IN PAKISTAN; A CASE STUDY OF DERA GHAZI KHAN 1947-2020

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ABSTRACT

Feudalism is not a new phenomenon of society, actually it is an ancient issue of the humanity. The term feudalism was started from Europe in medieval period during the decline of Roman empire. The continuous wars between Great Britain and France divided the people and stratification of society appeared in Europe. Feudalism was very close to the policy of divide and rule. In 1857 colonial Government established in India and they also exercised the same in Subcontinent. They won the Second Sikh War in 1849 and with the annexation of Punjab they became the ruler of entire India. Although their extension policy, they marched toward the west of Indus in 1839 regarding great game. During forward policy, they tried to engage the Baloch tribes. Therefore, they granted and obliged the various tribal heads of Dera Ghazi Khan. But after 1854 when they marched in Balochistan they faced a strong and powerful resistance in the tribal belt of Dera Ghazi which was an important route and area before Balochistan. The continual resistance forced the colonial government to negotiate with tribes. In this regard Robert Sundeman was given the Task to manage these tribes and after mutual discussion in 1866 Sundeman became successful to form the Tumandari system in Dera Ghazi Khan. The tribal Chief was appointed as a Tumandar. This Tumandari system was in fact a feudalism. Feudal lords are very powerful in their territorial authority. This paper highlights the socio-political impacts of the feudalism on the society of Dera Ghazi Khan.

INTRODUCTION

The feudal system persisted for a long time in different parts of the world, especially in Europe, and badly affected the economy there. - The feudal system remained extremely unpopular in Europe, and the French Revolution was a link in it, in which the working class and the poor peasants rose. And so the feudal system came to an end from France and then gradually from the rest of Europe. It also reached the adjoining areas from Europe and its traditions were also old in the subcontinent. I was also prevalent in the subcontinent, but in the British era, its form was changed to the system of Sardari or Tamandari. It was well received by the British for the fulfillment of their interests and expansionist ambitions. It was abolished in Pakistan after the partition of India, but due to its longevity, its social effects are still there. Dera Ghazi Khan, an important and backward area of Pakistan This research paper examines the effects of the feudal system in Dera Ghazi Khan.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the preparation of this research article, a special study of literature has been done which includes material related to the subject. District Gazetteer, People of Pakistan, History of Balochistan, The Forward Policy and its Result, *Baloch Panjab mien, Zila Dera Ghazi Khan Taraqi wa Siasat, Dera Ke Tahzeebi Khado Khal, Tareekh-e-Dera Ghazi Khan, Gulbahar, Jagirdari, Tawareekh-e-Dera Ghazi Khan, Siasat kay Firaun. Chief of Punjab and Baloch Qbail.*

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The historic method of research has been adopted to prepare this research article with the help of qualitative and quantitative approach. With documentary sources other tools of research as interviews also has also been used.

The Concept of Feudalism

The term Feudalism has been derived from the word feud and it was started from Europe after the debacle of the great Roman Empire due to the contious wars. Later on France and Great Britain. Feudalism was derived from Feu, Feud or Feudum. That was a form of property which is found in books of Middle Ages. In French it became feodalite. It was named 'Fief' before that. When William the conqueror (1066-1135) conquered it and distributed the properties it was called 'Fief'. There it was agreed that it would provide men and horses to the king. In Europe these rules were called Feudal rules. These were different from other forms of properties. The famous book in this connection is 'Libri Feudorum'. Its author was an Italian who had gathered all the rules and regulations, customs and traditions regarding 'Fief' like the beginning of Feudalism, its provision to someone, its confiscation and so on. In this it was clear that a woman could not hold this kind of property because they were not expected to provide military services.¹

The Evolution of Feudalism

Feudalism refers to the feudal system in society and its origins date back to the fall of the Roman Empire when the Germans occupied its scattered territories and subjugated its resources. In time, the feudal system spread throughout

Europe. One of the reasons for the expansion of the feudal system in Europe was the racial and religious wars that engulfed many European countries. As a result, social stratification took place and its subjects were divided into classes. Similarly, after the advent of Islam, Christianity in the West, through false propaganda, engulfed the Islamic world in the form of the Crusades and disturbed the Islamic countries. These crusades severely damaged the economic situation of both sides. The increase in war expenses proved to be important in strengthening the feudal system in Europe.²

Similarly, on the logic of materialism, the concept of employer and laborer emerged in Europe, as a result of which the unfair distribution of resources made society more fragmented. In Europe, land was considered an important source of economy and the philosophy was developed that land is the source of the relationship between ruler and subject. He is the ruler who owns the land and he is the subject who is using the land. Under the feudal system, in Europe, when the king granted a manor to an individual, the feudal lord had to make a treaty with the king in exchange for the land. How much tribute or money will the Girdar pay to the king and in case of war he will give so many soldiers. Therefore, Jagardar was a kind of mercenary comrade. In addition to giving money to the king, he kept the common people in chains for his own interests and thus he became very powerful. In Europe, these feudal lords together formed a parallel government. Even the king became their ally because the king did not have the resources left and he was at the mercy of these feudal lords. In Europe, the feudal system led to war and strife, leaving no trace of peace. Even the French Revolution crushed the feudal system in Europe and thus gradually the feudal system in Europe came to an end.³ The same European system has affected neighboring areas such as Turkey and Greece. Some of the superstitions of this system could be seen in the Islamic world, of which the subcontinent is more famous.⁴ India has been a scattered society since ancient times. The practice of farming here dates back to the Dravidian period as it was the Dravidians who made farming their livelihood. But later Arya came here and laid the foundation of a new system. The economic situation here also began to change. As a result of the Aryan caste system, the agricultural system in India changed and the local tribes began to be more and more attracted to farming.⁵ Unlike the Brahmins and Kashtris, the Vaish caste people started settling the lands. The entire community or tribe jointly owned and used the land and this process continued from generation to generation. Initially, the Indian feudal lord was not much involved in political and military affairs and with the passage of time, the feudal lord's interest in the subcontinent was only for income. When Muslims came to India as Muslim conquerors, they too continued the feudal system. In particular, Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri divided the land into three types and the first type was Khalsa and this land was allocated to meet the expenses of the ruler. In the same way, other types of services were given to soldiers in connection with services. The third and last category was for general and special people who were reserved for religious and social welfare.⁶

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of time, the feudal lord's interest in the subcontinent was only for income. When Muslims came to India as Muslim conquerors, they too continued the feudal system.⁷

Fedalism During Mughal Era.

If we talk about India, the foundations of the feudal system here are very old. From ancient times to the Islamic period and then the feudal system of the British period has been evolving. As it is well known that jagirs were granted in the Sultanate of Delhi, there are many examples of this, for example, the rule of Multan was given to Sultan Hussain Lingah as a jagir. The jagir was granted. In the Mughal period, Mir Chakar was given the jagir by Humayun for his help. The jagir was given only for the purpose that the jagirdar would provide army to the central government. This shows that the revival of the feudal system in India is quite old but there was a clear difference in its nature. For the care and control of the jagirs, the Mughal court used to keep a full account of the income and expenditure of the jagir and there was a mansabdar for this purpose. But big officials could hold many estates for a long time.⁸

Fedalism During Colonial Rule

When the British came to India, they managed the land and divided the land ownership in two ways. On the one hand, the class of landlords who were allotted lands in inheritance. On the other hand, the farmers who used to cultivate their own lands should be given these lands. The British needed a strong and influential people to support them who would not only help stabilize their government but also act as a liaison between the people and the British government. The mastermind of feudalism in the subcontinent during the imperialist era was Cornwallis who had the British model in mind. There was a need to create a class that would help in amassing the resources here, especially financial resources. For this, a permanent class of feudal lords, Lord Cornwallis, was first created in Bengal and they were contracted to collect revenue.⁹

The British government awarded jagirs in India to those who helped establish and stabilize their government in India. These jagirdars not only supported the British government on several important occasions but also He also assisted the British government in the war against his compatriots. The East India Company came to India under the guise of trade and when it came to power, the company needed the support and assistance of nobles, feudal lords and landlords as their main source of income was the local revenue. The effect of was on the rural population and they could easily control the people through this effect. One of the major reasons for the failure of the War of Independence was the role of the feudal lords. In 1866 Sundeman appointed Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan and worked on British Forward Policy.

Following the establishment of the Border Military Force, Sandeman planned to occupy more territory under the Forward Policy. In order to capture the tribes, an attempt was made by the local chiefs to arrest the free people. These chiefs were awarded large estates and cash.¹⁰

He appointed various tribal leaders of Dera Ghazi Khan in the form of Sardar and Tamandar, whose appointment was not only a blow to their unity but also an effective strategy to divide and rule. The British not only divided these tribes but also eliminated their resistance and paved the way for the advance towards Balochistan in order to increase their holdings. Not only nurtured but also strengthened the feudal class for its own interests and it persisted even after the partition of India due to its strong roots.¹¹

Feusalism in Dera Ghazi Khan.

Colonial Dera Ghazi Khan is the most southern district of Punjab Since Colonial period. It was founded by Nawab Haji Khan Mirani. After Mirani dynasty Kalhora, Gujar, Sikhs ruled respectively. Hukam Chachand thinks that no one knows the history and geography of Dera Ghazi Khan. The majority of people are ignorant. Ancient history does not exist. Hindu narrators say that before the arrival of Muslims, different kings ruled in this region. In the same way, among the Muslims, the people of the Sadat nation say that in some place there lived a certain infidel who was killed by our elder. But it is certain that the area was mostly inhabited by Hindus. And the Hindus were mostly settled in towns and villages. The western part of the area was mostly uninhabited. The ancient settlement of the district was the town of Harand. And near Jampur was the hearth of Dilu Rai. It is said that Harandak was settled by Harnaksh. Later it became desolate. Apart from this, Pir Adil, Asni and Mari are also the areas that were inhabited at that time¹².

In Dera Ghazi Khan British Government wanted to preserve the Sardari System and tribal structure. Therefore, Government supported to strength the Tumandar. In other words, Government contented themselves with keeping the Tumandars pacified and loyal and left it entirely to them to control the tribesmen. Therefore, to enhance the status of these Tumandar with magisterial powers conferred upon them and even given them the rights to collect revenue or other government dues from tribesmen. In order to enable Tumandars to keep up this assignment, government granted them *Inams*, leases over vast land as jagirs, squares of land in Punjab.¹³

The important functions of the duty of Tumandars were in their tuman as following;

- a. Collection of all government dues.
- b. Assistance to the administration in the maintenance of law and order on the frontier.
- c. Decision of Cases as *Ilaqa Magistrates* and subordinate judges.
- d. Jirga power and settlement of disputes through Jirgas.¹⁴

In 1926 with Jagir *Inams*, supplementary *Inams* were aalso granted in cash. Almost 26000 acres' land was granted while average 15 acres were granted in colony districts by provincial government under Crown Grants of Land Act 1895. Some other land were also granted to these Tumandars under the Colonization of Punjab Land Act 1912 and total granted 155 squares.¹⁵

Concession to Tumandars

| Sr.# | Tuman | Cash | Land Squares |
|------|----------------|---------|--------------|
| 1 | Khetran (Rais) | 600/- | 05 |
| 2 | Qaisrani | 3500/- | 15 |
| 3 | Buzdar | 1800/- | 15 |
| 4 | Loand Suri | 10000/- | 15 |
| 5 | Khosa | 5500/- | 15 |
| 6 | Leghari | 48000/- | 20 |
| 7 | Loand Tibi | 2400/- | 15 |
| 8 | Gurchani | 12000/- | 20 |
| 9 | Dreshak | 8000/- | 15 |
| 10 | Mazari | 35750/- | 20 |

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Later on more additional land was granted to few Tumandar as following

1. Rabnawaz Khetraan 07 Squares
2. Ashiq Muhammad Buzdar 02 Squares
3. K.B.S Raheem Khan 05 Acres
4. Manzor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani 02 Squares ¹⁷

At the time of the formation of Pakistan, the feudal system remained in force even after the partition of India and finally the federal government, under a decree, announced the abolition of the chieftaincy system from the country, but its roots were ingrained in every sector. Thus the foundations of the revival and evolution of the feudal system in Pakistan remained in the form of tense trees during the imperialist era and despite the passage of seventy years the feudal system remained in Pakistan in all its glory and splendor. The Pakistani government has always looked helpless in the face of this feudal class. Eventually the chieftaincy system was abolished and all its superstitions were abolished. All administrative and judicial powers were abolished and at the same time it was banned that no one could continue such activities. Nor shall any person be allowed to set up any kind of private and private prison or to keep any individual in private slavery or private prison.¹⁸ With the establishment of Pakistan, this class has been involved in the government. In Pakistan, the feudal lord is very effective in his area of influence and likes to treat the common people as slaves. The feudal class in Pakistan is also being held responsible for the country's misery, even though it has been seventy years since it was abolished and legislation has been abolished in independent India. It has been done. Similarly, it has been rolled up from Bangladesh. Thanks to which the graph of exploitative condition has been reduced.¹⁹

Dera Ghazi Khan has been one of the most important areas of the British era. Due to its regional and geographical location, it was a bridge between India and the West. The early history of this region seems to be silent but the arrival of Mirani Balochs in this region reveals its history. The region was under the rule of Delhi and then Multan during the Mughal period. The area of Dera Ghazi Khan came to the Mirani Balochs as a jagir in the 15th century when Multan was ruled by Sultan Hussain Lingah. Which was given by the Lodhi family of Delhi where one of the most important rulers was Nawab Tahir Khan Nahar

who was a compassionate man. The northern area was given to Nawab Haji Khan Mirani and he named the area after his son Nawab Ghazi Khan.²⁰

During this period, the area comprising Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan was called Dera Jat which lasted till the victory of the British in the Second Sikh War. After the occupation of Punjab by the British, Dera Jat was broken and Dera Ghazi Khan became a district. Determined the new boundaries of the area by ranking. And so a new administrative unit came into being here.²¹

With the resettlement of Baloch tribes in Dera Ghazi Khan, there was a chieftaincy system. These Sardar and Muqaddam was the administrative leader of the tribe in his area. The system was declared and the nature of the chieftaincy system was radically changed by giving feudal lords with judicial and administrative powers and a new form of feudal system began in Dera Ghazi Khan. Dera Ghazi Khan was considered to be one of the most backward in the British era due to its distance from the center and two important aspects was that the area was geographically divided into three parts which are hilly, plain and Includes the river area of Bat. The nature of the mountainous area was different and there was a separate administration of different Baloch tribes at short distances. These Baloch tribes had inhabited the area for many centuries and were considered independent and autonomous in their affairs.²²

These tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan including Khatran, Bazdar, Qaisarani, Lund, Khosa, Leghari, Gurchani, Dareshk, Mazari and many other important allied tribes have been prominent in the social, political and cultural life of Dera Ghazi Khan. These local tribes, based on their numerical strength, have been taking the path of resistance against the rulers of every era. In the Sikh era, the style of resistance in Dera Ghazi Khan was slightly different. The tribe settled matters individually. The head of each tribe was free to settle matters.²³ In Dera Ghazi Khan, the British rule once again ignited the feudal system here. Before their arrival, the land was locally shared by one tribe according to their manpower and each tribe had its own territory. But after the British came here, they formed a group of landlords and tribal chiefs. The people belonging to this group were given a large area of land as property under the arrangement of lands. Given the need to protect British interests in their area.²⁴ Hashim Sher believes that Dera Ghazi Khan was divided into nine Taman and the government awarded Jamal Leghari and Bahram Mazari with the title of Kosar for their loyalty to the government, first on the recommendation of Nawab and then on the recommendation of Sandeman. That's how he opened his mouth.²⁵ The Sikhs heated up the looting market in the Punjab and especially in Dera Ghazi Khan. The people were fed up with their handcuffs. In 1849, the British occupied the Punjab including Dera Ghazi Khan. - The entire district was divided into 9 Tamandars. Give them financial incentives. The feudal system became a means of enslaving society. This feudal system pushed society into a stratum which resulted in the widening of the class gulf. This class division greatly affected the social and political environment.

The feudal lords in British rule were not only used by the government for its own purposes but also left the people at their mercy.

After the invasion of Dera Ghazi Khan and by giving legal protection to the local feudal lords, they were strengthened by giving them the post of Honorary Magistrate. Then the representation of the Local Board and the Legislative Council was also given to the same feudal lords. As a result, their influence was rooted in the people. The proximity of the British government gave them political power and this political power was passed down from generation to generation. With the advent of democratic institutions, these feudal lords became the greatest mentors of these institutions and this system flourished under the patronage of the government. During the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan, these feudal lords were part of the Unionist Party government. After losing the elections, these same people joined the Muslim League shortly before the establishment of Pakistan and became indispensable in electoral politics due to their political influence. They are considered the guardians of democratic institutions and democratic politics. Political parties are subjugated to them because without their support, political parties cannot win elections. By taking the administration hostage, its influence has been extended to the common people, as a result of which their power has been curtailed and no one can dare to oppose.²⁶ Dera Ghazi Khan was far from the tribal area and due to lack of government access, the role of the local feudal lords became important to control the people through them. From a social point of view, the poor are still in the grip of the feudal system. And these are the tribal chiefs and leaders of the feudal people and also the elected representatives. These feudal lords have nothing to do with regional development or the welfare of the people but deprive the people and force them into slavery.²⁷ All these Dera Ghazi Khan chiefs succeeded in acquiring land ownership only on the promise of loyalty to the government. Because the government had deliberately created this class. They got all this land and privileges in the style of British landlords. If you look at them, they had no role before the war of independence, but their support in the war made them the eyes of the government. Similarly, no one among the feudal lords of Dera Ghazi Khan can claim that all these feudal lords were acquired without the consent of the British government. He adopted a strategy of depriving the common man of all economic resources at his disposal and instead of regional development, he maintained backwardness and destitution which created terror in his area and people suffered in every possible way. Were forced.²⁸

According to Ginkowski, these tribes were the descendants of Baloch chiefs who came to the area to graze their cattle and evict the locals. At the time of the settlement, the local Tamandars lost most of the lands of the common people of their nation by getting the ownership record in their names. One of the reasons people were afraid of him was that he had administrative and judicial powers which he was taking unfair advantage of. And the people were deprived of any kind of legal action. Became the owner of these lands.²⁹

When the expansionist ambitions of the imperialist government decided to turn to Balochistan after the War of Independence, they felt some dangers during their advance. They are ready for war. They have no tax system and they give some areas in their area to the local Jats for cultivation and collect taxes from them.³⁰ As British troops crossed the Indus and advanced westward, their expansionist ambitions became apparent. Ingri, who had not yet interfered in

local affairs, now began to interfere openly. When Robert Sandeman came to Dera Ghazi Khan, he decided to contact the reputable people in the area, finalizing the advance towards the west, and first of all rewarded Nawab Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari by making him his ally. He was awarded contracts to build canals and roads and recruited people from his tribe.³¹

The British gave legal protection to the feudal system and made an agreement with the local chiefs to protect the interests of the government in their respective areas. At the same time, a formal written agreement was written and the feudal system was sealed. The agreement was reached between the tribal chiefs and Robert Sandeman, a representative of the British government. And so this system has been taking root in the society for almost one and a half hundred years. Before the formation of Tamam, Sardar was not so powerful. And he was receiving all the financial benefits under the principle of loyalty, while in case of breach of promise, another tandar could be appointed in his place. Due to this fear, Tamandar fulfilled every legitimate and illegitimate wish of the British government and on the other hand, the British government managed to keep the region in poverty, ignorance and backwardness by tearing apart the local alliance.³²

Sandeman mentally prepared the feudal lords to control the people and for this purpose he strengthened his hold on the Baloch area by offering them prizes, privileges and powers. And put into practice the success of his expansionist thinking. One of the key features of his advance towards Balochistan was to conquer the Baloch tribes along the way by uniting them in every way without a fight. Had to make himself submissive. Similarly, dividing the existing tribes involved patronizing some of them and subduing others by force. Tribal chiefs were authorized to recruit soldiers for the levy. And his salary was paid by the government. But he will be considered an employee of the tribe. It was necessary to maintain the authority of the Sardar in the area, even if it meant using force. In all these circumstances, the Deputy Commissioner of the district was very powerful and he kept a close eye on Tamandar. After Imam Bakhsh Mazari and the chiefs of the Baloch tribes joined, Dera Ghazi Khan came under the complete influence of the feudal lords.³³

Feudal groups in Pakistan have continued to exert their influence through the government bureaucracy, the Armed Forces and the Pakistani political elite. There is no blinking at the fact that five percent feudal are occupying 95 percent of Assemblies and hence they are enjoying key posts not only in provinces but also in Federal Government.³⁴

Social Impacts on the Society.

When Sandeman became the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan in 1876, he advised the British government to adopt an expansionist policy. And made the tribal chiefs his ally under the Tamandari system. The government benefited from adopting this policy- Under this system, the people were further subjugated under the influence of powerful tribal chiefs, while the chiefs were given privileges and in a way made semi-taxpayers of the government.³⁵ In order to include Dera Ghazi Khan, especially the tribal area, in its jurisdiction,

the people were given barren lands and financial incentives to encourage them to refrain from invasions.³⁶

Together the Deputy Commissioners and the feudal lords radically changed the social system as a result of which the society was divided into classes and the common people began to be exploited.

Huge sums of money were collected from the people. His life was indigestible, the tribal chiefs were given the powers of honorary magistrates and the people were further harassed because these feudal lords were the accused and the judges.³⁷ The feudal lord was very powerful in Dera Ghazi Khan. And the poor people were at his mercy. After the feudal lords were allowed to occupy the public lands, most of the lands became the property of the feudal lords. The British hunted two birds with one stone. That is, he created a privileged class and also controlled the people. The patronage of these feudal lords was the government which caused the common people to suffer social misery. The Zagirdars did not pay any attention to education but deliberately stopped education in their areas so as not to create political consciousness. Educational backwardness puts Dera Ghazi Khan behind other districts. The backwardness and poverty of the people also made the feudal lords politically strong and no one among the subjects saw them as political rivals. Since the establishment of Pakistan, feudal lords have been dominant in electoral politics and have been considered invincible in their constituencies. Therefore, we can say that the feudal system has not only bound the social and political system in its grip, but it is not likely to end yet. We can gauge the political impact of Feudalism from the election results

Political Impacts on the Society.

Due to ethnic and administrative powers the feudal became a dominant force in the politics of the district before the partition and the politics of the district was under the grip of these feudal as we can observe in the political process. During political reforms, feudal Dera Ghazi Khan remained the members for the 1st Council of the Governor of Punjab from 1897 to 1920 and member Punjab Legislative Council 1921 to 1936.

Council of the Governor of Punjab 1897-1920

| Sr.# | Name | Council of the Governor of Punjab | Year |
|------|------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Nawab Sir Imam Bakhsh Mazari | 1 st Council of the Governor of Punjab | 01-11-1897 to 03-07-1909 |
| 2 | Nawab Sir Behram Khan Mazari | 2 nd Council of the Governor of Punjab | 03-01-1910 to 14-12-1912 |
| 3 | Nawab Sir Behram Khan Mazari | 3 rd Council of the Governor of Punjab | 04-01-1913 to 19-04-1916 |
| 4 | Nawab Sir Behram Khan Mazari | 4 th Council of the Governor of Punjab | 12-06-1916 to 06-04-1920 ³⁸ |

1st Punjab Legislative Council to 4th Punjab Legislative Council 1921-1936

| 1st Punjab Legislative Council 1921-1923 | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| Sr.# | Name | Legislative Council | Year |
| 1 | Sardar Alan Khan Dareshak | 1 st Legislative Council | 08-01-1921 to 27-10-1923 |
| 2 | Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari | 1 st Legislative Council | 08-01-1921 to 27-10-1923 |
| 2nd Punjab Legislative Council 1924-1926 | | | |
| 1 | Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad | 2 nd Legislative Council | 02-01-1924 to 27-10-1926 |
| 2 | Khan Bahadur Sardar Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari | 2 nd Legislative Council | 02-01-1924 to 27-10-1926 |
| 3rd Punjab Legislative Council 1927-1930 | | | |
| 1 | Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad Advocate | 3 rd Legislative Council | 03-01-1927 to 26-07-1930 |
| 2 | Khan Bahadur Sardar Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari | 3 rd Legislative Council | 03-01-1927 to 26-07-1930 |
| 4th Punjab Legislative Council 1930 to 1936 | | | |
| 1 | Sardar Bahadur Khan Dareshak | 4 th Legislative Council | 24-10-1930 to 10-11-1936 |
| 2 | Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad Ad | 4 th Legislative Council | 24-10-1930 to 10-11-1936 |
| 3 | Khan Bahadur Sardar Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari | 4 th Legislative Council | 24-10-1930 to 10-11-1936 ³⁹ |

| Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937-1945 | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sr.# | Name of Feudal | Council of the Governor of Punjab | Year |
| 1 | Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad Advocate | Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937 | 01-11-1897 to 03-07-1909 |
| 2 | Khan Bahadur Sardar Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan | Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937 | 03-01-1910 to 14-12-1912 |
| 3 | Khawaja Ghulam Murtaza | Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937 | 04-01-1913 to 19-04-1916 |

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Elections 1945-1946

| Sr.# | Name Candidate | Party | Position |
|------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Atta Muhammad Buzdar | Muslim League | Unopposed Elected |
| 2 | Amir Muhammad Qaisrani | Unionist | Nomination Paper Rejected |
| 3 | Ghazi Muhammad Khan Khosa | Independent | Nomination Paper Rejected |

(41)

| Sr.# | Name Candidate | Party | Vote | Position |
|------|-------------------------------|---------------|------|----------|
| 1 | Akhwand Abdul Kareem Advocate | Muslim League | 2986 | 2nd |
| 2 | Sheikh Faiz Muhammad Advocate | Unionist | 3655 | 1st |

From the southern constituency, Nawab Bahadur Khan and Ghous Bakhsh Mazari were contesting in which the Muslim League candidate won. The detail of the election was as under.

| Sr.# | Name Candidate | Party | Vote | Position |
|------|--------------------------|---------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Sardar Bahadur Khan | Muslim League | 3237 | 1st |
| 2 | Sardar Ghaus Bakhsh Khan | Unionist | 3133 | 2nd |
| 3 | Gul Muhammad | Independent | 27727 | 3rd |
| 4 | Muhammad Aziz Khan | Independent | 0326 | 4 th (4 ²) |

Emergence of Pakistaan

After the emergence of Pakistan, due to authoritarian democracy feudal system is still deep rooted in politics. In Pakistan electoral politics is still concentrates on these feudal due to weak political system and unpopular political parties. Feudal are mostly the candidates of Political Parties and they changed Party before every election. Due to their vote bank Political Parties often tried to hand-shake with these feudal. Even in 21st century, we look a strong hold and feudal influence in each constituency of Dera Ghazi Khan. since 1970 to onward. The geo-ethnic nature of constituencies weak candidate always supported these feudal in elections. The election results 1970 to 2018 reflect the impact of feudal system in the politics of Pakistan.

Geo-Ethnic Nature and Election 1970

| Sr. No. | NA | PP | Major Groups | Second Groups | Winner | Party |
|----------|-----------|-----|----------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------|
| 1 | 88 | | Khosa | Khawaja/ Qaisrani | | JI |
| | | 135 | Khetran | Buzdar, | Khetran | IGD |
| | | 136 | Khosa/Loand | Khawaja/ Qaisrani | Khosa | JI |
| | | 137 | Leghari | Khosa/Loand | Leghari | IND |
| 2 | 89 | | Leghari | Khosa | Mazari | IND |
| | | 138 | Leghari | Gurchani/ Khosa | Leghari | IND |
| | | 139 | Mazari | Dreshak /Others | Mazari | IND |
| | | 140 | Dareshak | Mazari | Dreshak | IND |

Election 1970

| NA | PP | Winner | Party | Loser | Party |
|-----------|-----|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 88 | | Dr. Nazeer Ahmad | JI | Khawaja Qutab-u-Din | MJUP |
| | 135 | Rab Nawaz Khetran | IGD | Dost Muhammad Buzdar | IND |
| | 136 | Atta Muhammad Khosa | JI | Bashir u Din Salar | PPP |
| | 137 | Muhammad Khan Leghari | IND | Molvi M. Akram | MJUP |
| 89 | | Sherbaz Khan Mazari | IND | Sardar Shaukat Mazari | PPP |
| | 138 | Mehmood Khan Leghari | IND | M. Farooq Khan | IND |
| | 139 | Mir Balkh Sher Mazari | IND | Dur Muhammad Khan | PPP |
| | 140 | Nasrullah Khan Darishak | IND | M. Kaleem Khan | PPP ⁴³ |

Geo-Ethnic Position in Election 1977

| Election 1977 | Sr# | NA | PP | Major Groups | Second Groups | Area/ Tehsils | Winner | Party |
|---------------|------------|------------|-----|---------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| | 1 | 124 | | | Khosa/Qaisrani | Buzdar/Khawaja | Taunsa/D.G. Khan | Other |
| | | | 184 | Khosa | Leghari | D.G. Khan | Other | PPP |
| | | | 185 | Leghari | Khosa | D.G. Khan | Leghari | PPP |
| | | | 186 | Leghari | Khosa | D.G. Khan | Other | PPP |
| 2 | 125 | | | Leghari/Khosa | Loand/Buzdar | D.G.Khan /Jampur | Leghari | PPP |
| | | | 189 | Buzdar | Khetran/others | Tribal Area | Buzdar | PPP |
| | | | 190 | Khosa/ | Loand | D.G Khan | Khosa | PPP |
| 3 | 126 | | | Mazari | Dareshak/others | Rajanpur | Mazari | PPP |
| | | | 187 | Dareshak | Leghari/ Pitafi | Jampur | Dreshak | PPP |
| | | | 188 | Dareshak | Mazari/Others | Rajanpur | Mazari | PPP |

Positions of ethnic Groups in Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 &1997

| Election 1988-1997 | NA | PP | Major Groups | Second Groups | Area/ Tehsils | Winner | Winning Occasions |
|--------------------|------------|-----|------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 132 | | Khosa/Qaisrani | Khawaja/ Buzdar | Taunsa/DGK | Khawaja/ Khosa | 2+2 |
| | | 199 | Qaisrani,Khawaja | Buzdars, Khetran | D.G. Khan | Qaisrani/Khawaja | 2+2 |
| | | 200 | Khosa | Loand/Buzdar | D.G. Khan | Khosa | 04 |
| | 133 | | Leghari | Khosa | D.G. Khan | Leghari | 04 |
| | | 201 | Khosa | Leghari | D.G.K. City | Buzdar | 04 |
| | | 202 | Leghari | Leghari | D.G Khan | Khosa | 04 |
| | | 203 | Leghari | Leghari | D.G Khan | | 04 |

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Geo-Ethnic Nature and Election 2002

| Sr. # | NA | PP | Major Groups | Second Groups | Winner | Party |
|----------|------------|------------|----------------|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1 | 171 | | Khosa | Khawaja/ Qaisrani | Khawaja | PMLQ |
| | | 240 | Qaisrani | Khawaja/Buzdar, Nutkani, Sakhani | Qaisrani | PMLQ |
| | | 241 | Buzdar | Khawaja/ Khetran | Buzdar | PMLQ |
| | | 242 | Loand | Khosa/Sakhani/Syed | Loand | NA |
| 2 | 172 | | Leghari | Khosa | Leghari | NA |
| | | 243 | Leghari | Khosa | Leghari | NA |
| | | 244 | Khosa | Leghari/Urdu Speaking | Leghari | NA |
| | | 245 | Khosa | Leghari | Leghari | NA |
| 3 | 173 | | Leghari | Khosa | Leghari | NA |
| | | 242 | Loand | Khosa/Sakhani | Loand | NA |
| | | 243 | Khosa | Leghari | Leghari | NA |

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|---------|-----------------------|---------|----|
| | 244 | Leghari | Khosa/Urdu Speaking/ | Leghari | NA |
| | 246 | Leghari | Khosa/Malana/ Sakhani | Leghari | NA |

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Picture of Result in Election 2002 ⁴⁶

| NA | PP | Winner | Party | Loser | Party |
|------------|-----|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| 171 | | Khwaja Sheraz Mehmood | PMLQ | Sardar Amjad Khosa | PMLN |
| | 240 | Mir Badshah Qaisrani | PMLQ | Imam Bakhsh Qaisrani | PMLN |
| | 241 | Fatih M. Buzdar | PMLQ | Khawaja Mudasir | PPP |
| | 242 | Sardar Javed Akhtar Loand | NA | Sardar Salah-u-din Khosa | IND |
| 172 | | Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari | NA | Muhammad Khan Leghari | IND |
| | 243 | Muhammad Khan Leghari | IND | Jafar Khan Leghari | IND |
| | 244 | Syed Abdul Aleem Shah | NA | Sardar Saif-u-Din Khosa | PMLN |
| 173 | | Sardar Awes Khan Leghari | NA | Sardar Saif-u-Din Khosa | PMLN |
| | 245 | Sardar Farooq Ahmad Leghari | NA | Muhammad Khan Leghari | (IND) |
| | 246 | Yousaf Khan Leghari | NA | Sardar Saif-u-Din Khosa | PMLN |

Picture of Ethnic Based Result in Election 2008

| NA | PP | Winner | Party | Loser | Party |
|------------|-----|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| 171 | | Khwaja Sheraz Mehmood | PMLQ | Sardar Amjad Khosa | IND |
| | 240 | Mir Badshah Qaisrani | PMLN | Javed Iqbal Qaisrani | IND |
| | 241 | Fatih M. Buzdar | PMLQ | Khawaja Nizam-ul-Mulk | MMA |
| | 242 | Sardar Amjad Khosa | IND | Sardar Javed Akhtar Loand | PMLQ |
| 172 | | Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari | PMLQ | Hafiz Abdul Kareem | PMLN |
| | 243 | Sardar Saif-u-Din Khosa | PMLN | Awes Leghari | IND |
| | 244 | Dost Muhammad Khosa | PMLN | Syed Abdul Aleem Shah | PMLQ |
| 173 | | Sardar Saif-u-Din Khosa | PMLN | Sardar Awes Khan Leghari | PMLQ |
| | 245 | Sardar Mohsin Khan Leghari | PMLQ | Muhammad Khan Leghari | (IND) |
| | 246 | Yousaf Khan Leghari | PMLQ | Rashid Kamran Malana | PMLN |

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Electoral Constituencies in Election 2013

| Election | Sr.# | NA | PP | Major Groups | 2nd Groups | Area/ Tehsils | Winner | Party |
|-------------|----------|------------|-----|----------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 2013 | 1 | 171 | | Khosa | Khawaja | Taunsa/D.G K | Khosa | PMLN |
| | | | 240 | Qaisrani | Khawaja | D. G. Khan | Qaisrani | JUIF |
| | | | 241 | Buzdar | Khawaja | Taunsa | Khawaja | PPP |
| | 2 | 172 | | Leghari | Khosa | D. G. Khan | Khosa | PMLN |
| | | | 244 | Khosa | Leghari | D.G Khan | Leghari | IND |
| | | | 245 | Leghari | Khosa | D.G Khan | Leghari | IND |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------|------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|
| | 3 | 173 | | Leghari | Khosa | D.G.K/ K.C | Leghari | IND |
| | | | 242 | Khosa | Loand | D.G. Khan | Loand | IND |
| | | | 243 | Khosa | Leghari | D.G. Khan | Khosa | PMLN |
| | | | | | Dreshak | D.G. Khan | Dreshak | PTI |
| 246 | Leghari | Khosa | D.G.K/ K.C | Leghari | IND | | | |

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Results of Elections 2002, 2008 and 2013, 2018 National Assembly Elections

| Election 2002 | | | Election 2008 | | Election 2013 | |
|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| NA | Winner | Runner Up | Winner | Runner | Winner | Runner Up |
| 171 | Khawaja Sheraz Mehmmod | Amjad Farooq Khosa | Khawaja Sheraz Mehmmod | Amjad Farooq Khosa | Amjad Farooq Khosa | Khawaja Sheraz Mehmmod |
| 172 | Farooq Ahmad Leghari | Muhammad Khan Leghari | Farooq Ahmad Leghari | Hafiz Abdul Kareem | Hafiz Abdul Kareem | Jamal Khan Leghari |
| 173 | Awes Ahmad Leghari | Husain Khan Leghari | Saif-udin Khosa | Awes Ahmad Leghari | Awes Ahmad Leghari | Saif-u-Din Khosa |

| | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------|
| 189 | Khawaja Sheraz Mehmmod | Mir Badshah Qaisrani |
| 190 | Amjad Farooq Khosa | Zulfiqar Khan Khosa |
| 191 | Zartaj Gul | Awes Ahmad Leghari |
| 192 | Muhammad Khan Leghari | Shahbaz Sharif |

Results of Elections 2018 National Assembly Elections

Comparative Analysis of General Election 2002, 2008 and 2013 of Provincial Assembly

| Election 2002 | | | Election 2008 | | Election 2013 | |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| PP | Winner | Runner Up | Winner | Runner Up | Winner | 2nd |
| 240 | Mir Badshah Qaisrani | Imam Bakhsh Qaisrani | Mir Badshah Qaisrani | Javed Iqbal Qaisrani | Mir Badshah Qaisrani | Khawaja Daud |
| 241 | Fatih M. Buzdar | Khwaja M. Mudasir | Fatih M. Buzdar | Khwaja Nizam Mulk | Khwaja Nizam | Usman Buzdar |
| 242 | Javed Akhtar Loand | Salahudin Khosa | Amjad Khosa | Javed Akhtar Loand | Javed Akhtar Loand | Mohsin Ata Khosa |
| 243 | M. Khan Leghari | Jafar Khan Leghari | Saif-u-Din Khosa | Awes Khan Leghari | Ahmad Ali Dreshak | Saif-u-Din Khosa |
| 244 | Abdul Aleem Shah | Saif-u-Din Khosa | Dost M. Khosa | Abdul Aleem Shah | Abdul Aleem Shah | Akhwand Humayu |
| 245 | Farooq Ahmad Leghari | Muhammad Leghari | Mohsin Khan Leghari | Muhammad Khan Leghari | Jamal Khan Leghari | Muhammad Khan Leghari |
| 246 | Yousaf Khan Leghari | Saif-u-din Khosa | Yousaf Khan Leghari | Rashid Kamran Malana | Mehmood Qadir Leghari | Rashid Malana |

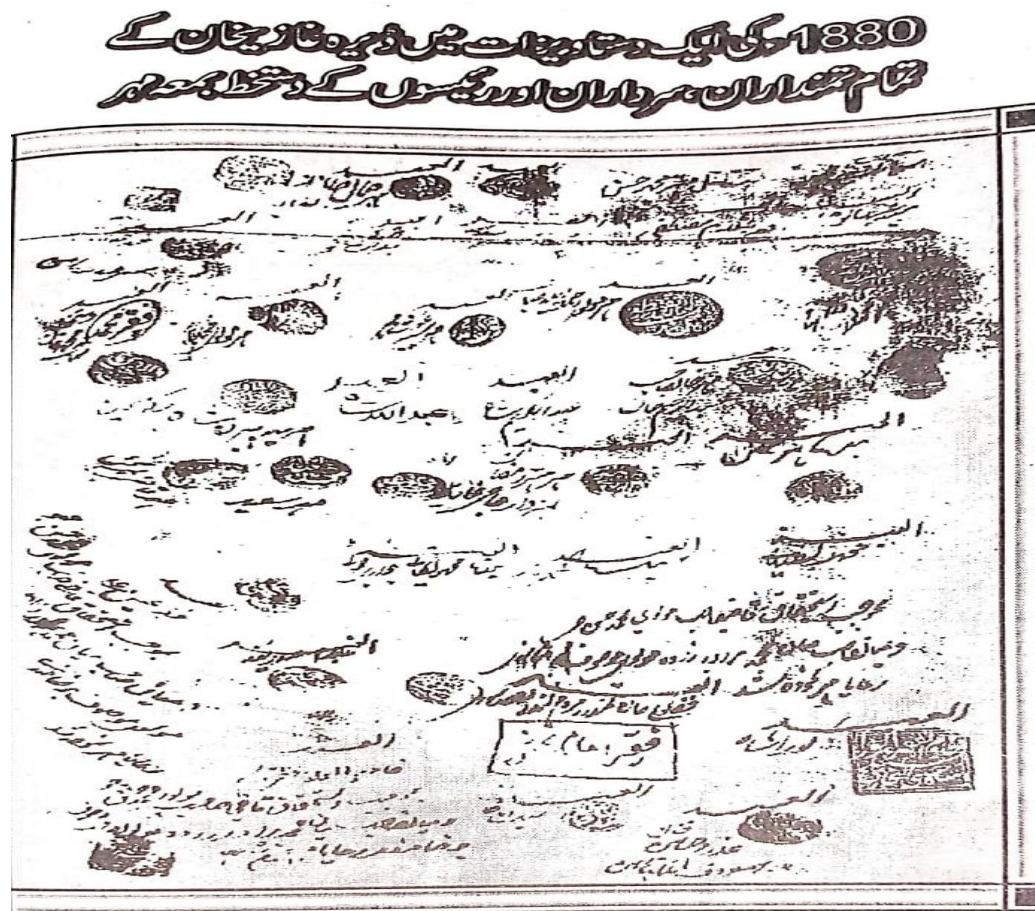
| Election 2018 | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| PP | Winner | Runner Up |
| 285 | Khawaja Daud | Mir Badshah Qaisrani |
| 286 | Usman Ahmad Buzdar | Khawaja M. Mudasir |
| 287 | Javed Akhtar Loand | Salahudin Khosa |
| 288 | Mohsin Atta Khosa | Saif-u-Din Khosa |
| 289 | Hanif Pitafi | Abdul Aleem Shah |
| 290 | Ahmad Ali Dreshak | Dost M. Khosa |
| 291 | Mohyu-u-Din Khosa | Mehmood Qadir Leghari |
| 292 | Muhammad Khan Leghari | Awes Ahmad Leghari |
| Bye- Elections 2018 | | |
| Winner | | Runner Up |
| 292 | Awes Ahmad Leghari | Maqsood Ahmad Khan Lighari |

CONCLUSION

The feudal system that flourished in France and Britain, starting with the ancient Roman Empire in Europe, spread its claws in different countries of the world. In the subcontinent, this system is seen in somewhat different periods, but this system got its real boost due to the occupation of the subcontinent by the imperialist system. After which the expansionist policy of the British played a key role in its development. Thanks to Sandemann's efforts, the divide and rule policy was successful. As a result, the people were subjugated by the feudal lords. This system affected the lives of the common people, especially the economic situation, which led to the promotion of social stratification. Even by the time of the establishment of Pakistan, this system had become deeply ingrained in the people. Thus the feudal system has for a long time been able to maintain its regular dominance over the people of Dera Ghazi Khan. If we look at the present day, the effects of the feudal system still prevail on the land of Dera Ghazi Khan. I have the opportunity to contest elections where the number of members of my tribe is in the thousands and most of the people belonging to the tribe must have racial and tribal prejudice in front of them. It is almost impossible to participate. The main reason for this is the lack of performance and popularity of political parties in Dera Ghazi Khan district as these political parties still do not have candidates to compete with these feudal lords in electoral politics. It is clear that the personal vote bank of the tribe in every constituency is the guarantor of its success. The concept of Sardar in the tribe still exists today and due to racial prejudice, each tribe supports its own tribal chief. In the National Assembly and Provincial Assembly constituencies, the Sardar family member of almost every tribe is a candidate in the election or the candidate selected by the Sardar participates in the election and voting for him is considered a collective decision of the tribe. It is considered and its honor and respect is obligatory on every member of the tribe. An example of this is the election of the provincial constituency PP-240. This area is Taman Qaisarani. From here Sardar Manzoor Ahmad Khan Qaisarani continued to win the elections and then his son Sardar Zahoor Ahmad Qaisarani won the elections. After his death, his son Mir Badshah continued to win the election. Recently, his wife won the election on his seat after being disqualified from the court. But

even after his disqualification, a common man of the same tribe won the election by fielding a candidate for Tamandar, which shows the influence of the feudal lords in the electoral politics of the constituency. It is not easy to break the shackles of tribal politics and community politics, and the feudal lords in the area have a clear advantage over their political opponents. And the biggest reason for this is the low level of literacy rate.

Finally, the feudal in Dera Ghazi Khan are so influential that they have direct influence of administration and possess skills to solve people's problems of court and police station, these feudal play their role to end these cases and play the role of mediatory in the cases of murder and other heinous crimes. They even pressurize their political opponents and provide shelters to outlaws and use them for their own personal interests. People consider it privilege to invite feudal to their moments of celebrations and pay them a comprehensive protocol. In the recent past, Feudal used to get votes via messages but this system has become weaker. On the whole, but Feudal are still dominant and influential in the electoral politics of District Dera Ghazi Khan. In short, Finally, when we talk about this feudal system, it is clear that this feudal system, which was established after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, is not only in the sub-continent, but Pakistan has had its claws ever since it met the British imperial rulers. According to the proverb, whose stick is his buffalo, his chessboard is strong in the political arena and politics is under his control.



1880 کی ایک دستاویزات میں ڈیرہ غازی خان کے تمام سرداران اور نچوں کے دستخط جمعہ

This is the documentary evidence of how the British imperialism succeeded in its nefarious purposes by subjugating and luring the local tribes. It was a long-lasting political and administrative process through which not only the imperial government was stabilized but also the people were divided into classes by local leaders. This had far-reaching political effects that remain to this day. However, some tribes who had settled in the plains were deprived of tamandari and some did not accept the yoke of slavery. These tribes include many tribes including Sakhani, Mulghani, Natkani, Chandia. Rather, Sardar Aslam Khan Mulghani is counted among the huryats who fought armed struggle and had to be exiled. In 21st century the blessed tribes are privileged even today. Feudalism, though weak, is an important political force that cannot be denied.

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