

# ***Baradarism and Politics of Sargodha District***

**Muhammad Waris\***  
**Rizwan Ullah Kokab\*\***

## **Abstract**

*Democracy, with modifications, was adopted in the Subcontinent as the system of government during the British rule. Although during the British era, universal franchise was not introduced still the baradari system grasped a major role in the politics of the Punjab. Politics in the area that constitutes the Punjab in Pakistan particularly revolved around the baradari system of the region. The present paper is focused on the politics of Sargodha; one of the prominent districts of the Punjab. In the politics of district Sargodha, about five or six families have been enjoying power. The families who played a vital role in local, provincial and national politics are Tiwana, Noon, Syed, Qureshi, Awan, Kalyar, Piracha, Mela, Lak, Ranjha, Nangyana and Baloch. They make the ruling elite of the Punjab since the pre-partition era. This article aims at exploring different dimensions of politics centred to the Baradarism and its impact on the development of democracy in the province in general and on the district Sargodha in particular.*

---

\* Assistant Professor, Government College, Bhalwal, Sargodha.

\*\* Assistant Professor, Department of History and Pakistan Studies, G.C. University, Faisalabad.

## Introduction

The study of *Baradari* influenced politics is necessary to understand and reform the democratic system in Pakistan as the politics based on ethnic relationship undermines the culture of party politics based on ideologies and issues. The change in the leadership through the votes of people free from any ethnic bias can promote honest, capable and hardworking leadership that in turn enhances the quality and life of democratic institutions.

*Baradari* is a group of families who have blood relations and who are, generally speaking and living in a community or in neighbouring villages. It is larger than a social group that is composed of many families. The members of a *Baradari* may not be residing at one place or village. The *Baradari* is, mostly, endogamous i.e. marriages can only take place within the same *Baradari*. The informal moves and customs of a *Baradari* are very rigid and each member is expected to follow them. Conflict, competition and co-operation are the major traits of a *Baradari*. '*Baradari* ties are comparatively weaker among the manual castes (*kammi*) who provided service and they are dependent on the village landlords or even small land owners. Similarly, landlords tend to be less susceptible to *Baradari* influence locally than smallholders, but have developed, in some cases, geographically more extensive *Baradari* networks; rooted in extensive intra-*Baradari* marriage patterns and in broader networks of communication.<sup>1</sup>In rural Punjab, the *Zamindars* (landowners) usually assume the role of high-ups. They take the fate of fellow villagers and *kammi* for granted.

The institution of *Baradari* contrasts traditional role to modern political institutions like political parties, elections and parliamentary supremacy. The local *Baradari* chiefs enjoy numerical strength of voters usually to play vital role in the success of any political party in general elections.<sup>2</sup> These

- 
1. David Gilmartin, "Biraderi and Bureaucracy: The Politics of Muslim Kinship Solidarity in 20th Century Punjab," *International Journal of Punjab Studies* 1, no. 1 (January-June 1994):10
  2. Gilmartin, "Biraderi and Bureaucracy."

are non-political elements which have been settled in villages to maintain their political and social status. They have no political fidelity but are loyal to the clan and *Baradari*. The political parties seem to be divided into local groups and *Baradaries* instead of ideology. Political parties give tickets to the candidates according to the *Baradari* influence in certain constituencies. Major *Baradaries* in Punjab are *Jatt, Awan, Rajput, Arain, Gujjar, Sayyad* and *Baloch*.<sup>3</sup> In the northern Punjab, *Rajputs* are dominant. *Jatts* are leading in central and southern Punjab. *Arain* are sharing influence in central Punjab while *Baloch* are dominant in Southern Punjab. The politics in Sargodha and Khushab are dominated by *Awans, Tiwana, Lak, Nagayana, Baloch, Bandial, Gunjial, Syed, Qureshi, Noon, Kalyar, Ranjha* and *Mela Baradaries*. In the Punjab, *Baradari* networks provide an effective source of social and political affinity, which can also be exploited for political purposes.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Baradari* and Power**

In the Indo-Pak subcontinent, land possessions were made along *Baradari* lines, families and tribes. Professor T.C. Hodson (1871-1953) expressed that class and standings and to one another in the connection of family to species. The general characterization is based on socio-economic classes, the nitty-gritty one by ranks. The previous speaks to the outer, the recent the inward perspective of the social association.<sup>5</sup> To Karl Marx and Engels, rank system had a severe type of implications on society. The class system had multiple attributes. Though rank system had specific contribution to social means, yet there existed a clear difference in their roles. David Gilmartin notes:

---

3 Awan, Baloch, Sayyad and Arain are the foreign or non-Indian castes while Jatt, Rajput and many others are sons of the soil. Akhtar Sandhu, "The Voice from the Rural Areas: Muslim-Sikh Relations in the British Punjab: 1940-47," paper presented in PRG Meeting, Coventry University on June 28, 2008.

4 Dr. Tahir Mehmood, Assistant Professor, GCU Lahore, interview by author, June 15, 2015.

5 Thomas Callan Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur* (Dehli: Usha Publications, 1911), 33.

Indeed despite clear pre-colonial origins, the term *Baradari* gained increasingly common political currency in the twentieth century, reflecting the contradictions inherent in the structure of the colonial state the language of *Baradari*—suggesting reciprocal relationships forged through political transactions – thus allowed villagers and local village leaders to penetrate into the larger bureaucratic and political arenas outside, whilst maintaining the inner essence of their own struggles for status within the village context.<sup>6</sup>

He further says:

The word *Baradari* gained gradually more common political exchange in the twentieth century, showing the contradiction inbuilt in the formation of the colonial state the language of *Baradari*, suggesting give and take relationships forged through political dealings, thus permitting villages and local village influential to enter into the bigger bureaucratic and political arenas outside, while maintaining the central spirit of their struggles for positions within the village context.<sup>7</sup>

How *Baraderies* are influential in power politics can be understood by what Kathleen Collins mentioned about clans. Collins observes:

If clans can be seen as “horizontal” by virtue of their capacity to bind members through relations of mutual trust, they can also be seen as “vertical” by dint of their tendency to include both elite and non-elite members from different levels of society and the state. Clans boast powerful and often moneyed elites consisting of members who have risen to prominence through distinguished birth or notable accomplishment. These leaders may be regional governors and chairmen, or simply village elders. Whatever their formal stations, elite members are normatively and rationally bound to foster the well-being of their clan. They provide political, social, and economic opportunities to the members of their respective networks, and in return count on these members’ personal loyalty and respect to maintain their status.<sup>8</sup>

### **Political Families of District Sargodha**

*Baradarism* is one of the most effective elements of the electoral history of Sargodha. It did not emerge on the political scenario abruptly; its current shape in subcontinent

---

6. David Gilmartin, “Biraderi and Bureaucracy.”

7. David Gilmartin, “Biraderi and Bureaucracy.”

8. Kathleen Collins, “Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia,” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 3 (July 2002): 142.

and especially in present day Punjab emerged through various stages. This study will throw light to its progressive stages and will also discuss its impacts on the political history of Sargodha from 1937-77. The political families, personalities, factions and their performance in the politics of Sargodha will also be discussed.

The prominent families of Sargodha district including Tiwana, Noon, Syed, Piracha, Mela, Qureshi, Awan, Nagayyana, Kalyar, Lakand Baloch played a central role in the local, provincial and national politics.<sup>9</sup> Since long during the Muslim, Sikh and British rule in the Punjab, these families enjoyed a handsome share in the political power. The members of all these *Baradaris* received rewards from British Government in different forms (money, land, key-posts e.g. *Zaildar*, *Safed Posh*, Village Head-Man and Military Services etc.) during colonial rule in the Punjab. Tiwana, the most prominent family of this district, remained in the mainstream of the politics before and after partition. Tiwana family of Kalra estate, Khwajaabad estate, Jahanabad estate and Hamoka (now-a-days the name of this small village in district Khushab is Hassanpur Tiwana) is playing a significant role in the politics of the Punjab. Baloch family has also two branches. One of them settled in the area of Khushab and the other are living in Sahiwal, Tehsil Shahpur. In Tehsil Bhalwal, Noon family is playing an effective political role since pre-partition era. Bhera, previously a Tehsil of District Shahpur and now reduced to sub-Tehsil under Bhalwal has been under the influence of Piracha family. In Soon valley (District Khushab e.1982) Awan clan enjoys political importance and in Tehsil Shahpur (former District headquarters till 1960), Nangayyana, Syed

---

9 For the detailed study of the *baraderies* of the Punjab please see Lepel H. Griffin, *The History of the Principal States of the Punjab and Their Political Relations with the British* (1873; reprint Lahore: Oriental Publishers and Booksellers, 1976). See also W.L. Conran & H.D. Craik eds., *The Punjab Chiefs* (reprint Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1993); Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Parties and Political Development in Punjab 1849-1947," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 29, no. 1 (June 2009): 65-78.

and Qureshi families reside. These families have got good reputation and share influential positions in the government.<sup>10</sup>

### **Tiwana**

The most popular political family of Sargodha is Tiwana who live in Mitha Tiwana. The famous communities like Sial of Jhang, the Ghaibey of Pindi Ghaib and the Tiwana of Mitha Tiwana have the same ancestral stock.<sup>11</sup> Both the Sial and the Tiwana agree that these three clans were the children of Shankar Ray of Dhara Nagar whose caste was Rajput and they came to this area before 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> Mr. J. Wilson, in District Gazetteer of Shahpur 1897 included Tiwanas, Sials, Gondals and Ranjhas in Rajput Bhatti Branch of the Rajput Clan. They embraced Islam and settled in Jahangir Palace which is situated at the bank of the River Indus. Tiwana family embraced Islam at the hands of Hazrat Baba Fareed Ganj Shakar.<sup>13</sup> They stayed in this district till the period of Meer Ali who founded a new village named Aokhali Mohla with the help of his community and other likable people under the instructions of Murshad [Urdu: Spiritual Head] Faqir Sultan. This village is located in the east of 'Jahangir Palace' in Shahpur, district Khushab. Meer Ahmad Khan, the son of Meer Ali, sought drinking water in the east of Aokhali Mohla about at the distance of seven miles in 1680 and established another new village known as Mitha Tiwana due to availability of drinking water.<sup>14</sup>

The Tiwanas came to Punjab from Rajputana. In the beginning, they settled in the region adjacent to Rajputana. Meer Ahmad Khan fought many battles against his Northern neighbours the Awans and killed many of them at Hadali.

10 Muhammad Iqbal Awan, *Sargodha Mein Muslim Siyasat* [Muslim Politics in Sargodha] (Faisalabad: Missal Publisher, 2004), 67.

11 Lepel H. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs* (Academy of the Punjab in North America), 517; <http://apnaorg.com/books/punjab-chiefs/>

12 Awan, *Sargodha Mein Muslim Siyasat*, 68.

13 Tariq Ismail Sagar, "Tiwano kay Siasi Nashaib-o-Faraz ki Kahani," [Story of Political Rise and Fall of Tiwanas] (Lahore: *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 1985), 6.

14 Awan, *Sargodha Mein Muslim Siyasat*, 69.

They grabbed *Warcha* and *Choha* salt mines from the Awans and enhanced their authority in the region.<sup>15</sup>

Important and dominant personalities of Tiwana family were Meer Ali Khan, Meer Ahmed Khan, Fateh Khan and his son Malik Muzafar Khan Tiwana, Dost Muhammad Khan, Malik Shair Khan Tiwana (who laid the foundation of the city Noorpur in 1745 now a tehsil headquarter of District Khushab), Ghulam Gilani Khan. Malik Ahmed Yar Khan, Malik Sahab Khan Tiwana, his brother Malik Jahan Khan Tiwana, Malik Mubariz Khan Tiwana, *Malik Umar* Hayat Khan and later on Malik Khizar Hayat Khan earned good repute in local, provincial and national politics.<sup>16</sup>

Due to the remarkable services, Malik Umar Hayat Khan became member of the Punjab Legislative Council in January 1906. In 1910, he was appointed as the member of Legislative Council of Governor General. In June 1906, he was granted the title of C.I.E. He was endowed with the office of Honorary Magistrate, the first rank and one of the biggest for landlords of the province. He was also appointed temporary Vice President of District Board Shahpur. From 1914 to 1915, in France and in 1916 in Mesopotamia, he rendered services and received Medal. He was also granted the membership of the recruitment committee. In 1906, he was granted the status of guardianship of Indian states and in 1911 he became member of Victorian Order. He served in Indian Legislature and Indian Council for thirty years which itself is a record.<sup>17</sup>

Another important figure of Tiwana family was Malik Khizar Hayat Khan (1900-1975) who rendered great services under British Rule and became chief minister of the Punjab after the death of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in 1942 and in the elections of 1945-46 under the banner of Unionist Party. After the inception of Pakistan, he did not take part in

15 Sheikh Muhammad Hayat, *Sarzamin-e-Sargodha* [Land of Sargodah] (Lahore: Awais Publisher, 2003), 310.

16 Hayat, *Sarzamin-e-Sargodha*, 322-23.

17 Ghulam Rasool Mehar, *Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2003), 134.

politics. Sir Allah Bakhsh Tiwana, another member of Tiwana family, played active role in politics as MLA under Unionist Party till 1948. After the creation of Pakistan, Malik Mumtaz Ahmad Tiwana and his sons Malik Habib Ullah Tiwana and Malik Fateh Muhammad Tiwana played important role in politics from platform of Muslim League. Malik Fateh Muhammad Tiwana worked as District President of Convention Muslim League during Ayub era. His son Malik Anwar Tiwana was elected Member of National Assembly in 1965 elections. In elections of 1970 and 1977 Tiwana's failed to achieve success at provincial and federal level.

### **Baloch**

In 1527, Baloch family came in Shahpur district from Katch Makran. Bajar Khan was granted the state of Thal near Shahpur (it was given status of District in 1849 after the annexation of the Punjab until 1960 when Sargodha replaced Shahpur as District headquarters). Bajar Khan settled near Khushab city and captured surroundings. Bajar Khan died in 1530 at the age of 70 and his son Gul Balik Khan became the successor of Baloch family. He set up many villages in district Shahpur defeating the Khatki Pathans population. Gul Balik Khan died in 1547 and Sahib Khan became sixth chief of Sahiwal (now tehsil headquarter in Sargodha District). People revolted against him due to his cruel attitude. His nephew Langar Khan succeeded him, who promoted agriculture in the region. Nawab Sadiq Ali (Nawab of Bahawalpur State) appointed Langar Khan as supporting companion. The news of Fateh Khan's death reached Lahore after three years and Maharaja Ranjit Singh granted property of Sahiwal, Jhang, Mughlan Wala Noon and Jhok Manjharto Langar Khan.<sup>18</sup> Under the order of Raja Heera Singh, Langar Khan went to Fateh Khan Tiwana's state after the death of Sher Singh. At that time, Fateh Khan Tiwana was trying to occupy the area between the Chenab River and the Indus.<sup>19</sup>

---

18 Hayat, *Sarzamin-e-Sargodha*, 543.

19 *Punjab District Gazetteers Shahpur District (1934)*, Lahore.



The Baloch family of Khushab remained ruler of the area for a long time. The leader of this family Sardar Bahadur Khan Allah Joya became an Honorary Magistrate of the local bench which increased his influence and respect in Khushab and the neighbouring areas. Furthermore, he became president of Khushab Municipal Committee as well as a prominent member of the District Board, Shahpur.<sup>20</sup> In the area of Sahiwal, District Shahpur, Sardar Muhammad Charagh Khan of Baloch Clan was appointed as honorary magistrate and also awarded lands for his services by the colonial rulers.

### **Sayyads and Awan**

Sayyads and the Awans are among the prominent families of district Sargodha. The Sayyad family held full control over Shahpur Town before the conquest of Ranjit Singh. Fateh Shah and Najaf Shah were among the known personalities who possessed influential positions in Shahpur in different capacities. Different sources claim Awan tribe's origin differently. Some are of the opinion that it belongs to Hindus and Afghan. Sometimes, they are said to be offspring of Bakhtiari Younani but basically they came with Sultan Mehmud Ghazanvi to India as helpers. The meaning of word Awan is helper or supporter.<sup>21</sup> They usually claim to be siblings of Alf Shah, generally known as Pir Qutab Shah, a descendant of Hazrat Ali (RA). They were mainly settled in north western area of former district Shahpur. Malik Allah Yar Khan of Uchali, Malik Mubariz of Kufri, Malik Munda of Jabba, Mian Mehr Ali of village Amb Sharif, Malik Alam Shair of village Kund, Mukarab Khan of Khushab city, Mian Muhammad of Khushab city remained prominent persons in different periods under British rule.<sup>22</sup>

---

20 Hayat, *Sarzamin-e-Sargodha*, 210

21 Malik Shakir Bashir Awan, MNA, Interview by author, February 7, 2014.

22 Arousa Aman, "The Punjab Provincial Muslim League 1947-55." unpublished M.Phil Thesis, Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad, 2008.

Many People from the Awan tribe received rewards from British for military and other services.<sup>23</sup> Qazi Mureed Ahmad (1913-1989) of village Mardwal (Soon Valley) played leading role in freedom struggle and was elected member of the Punjab Assembly in 1951 and 1955. Latter, Malik Karam Bakhsh Awan from village Padrar (Soon Valley) entered in the arena of politics of Sargodha from Tehsil Khushab with the slogan of Awan Kari [Awan brotherhood] and challenged the dominance of Tiwana family under the banner of Convention Muslim League during Ayub regime during the governorship of Nawab of Kala Bagh Amir Muhammad Khan Awan of West Pakistan. Malik Karam Bakhsh Awan was elected in the elections of 1970 and 1977 and minimized the role of Tiwana family in the area. During Zia period, he was nominated member of Majlis-e-Shura. He used his influence for the establishment of new district named Khushab in 1982. This is how he managed to minimize the role of Tiwanas to Khushab district and strengthened the influence of Awans in the politics of new district at local, provincial and national levels. Malik Naeem Khan Awan, from village Padrar, became federal minister from Khushab/Sargodha as his constituency was divided in both districts. His constituency dominantly consisted of the majority of the Awans. The political influence of Tiwanas was reduced to the southern area of the district Thal.<sup>24</sup>

### **Political Parties and *Baradarism***

The seeds of *Baradarism* were sown in the Punjab by the British which were strengthened due to the implementation of land Alienation Act 1900. Rural-urban divide of the population along with increased economic difference between landowners and landless people further widened this gulf. Furthermore, Colony Settlement Policy of British government divided population as locals and settlers. After

---

23 Azam Ch., *Tehreek-e-Pakistan Main Punjab ka Kirdar* (Karachi: Royal Books, 1996), 29.

24 Ian Talbot, *Punjab Ghulami Se Azadi Tak: 1849-1947* (Urdu translation by Tahir Kamran) (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1998), 58.

the partition of subcontinent in 1947, and arrival of thousands of migrants called Mohajirs from East Punjab was taken as a threat for the economic interests of local population. As a result, both sections of society began to depend upon the power of *Baradari* in order to safeguard their interests.

Before the creation of All India Muslim League, Punjabi Muslim leaders like Shah Din, Muhammad Shafi and Barkat Ali were planning to establish a central organization for Muslims. In February 1906, Fazl-i-Husain, a Rajput from Gurdaspur, set up Muslim Association. These two associations merged in All India Muslim League on December 30, 1906. The Arain landlord of District Lahore Mian Shah Din, elected its regional president. Later, Muhammad Shafi became its secretary<sup>25</sup> but both Leagues emerged as rival groups till 1929 on the issue of separate electorates, Lucknow Pact 1916 and Simon Commission 1927. Provincial league re-joined the central organization in 1929. Till 1937, AIML could not play key role in the political arena of the Punjab because the province was dominated by rural landlords and *pirs* who had very strong hold on the people of the province.<sup>26</sup>

The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact 1937 proved to be a turning point for Muslim League in the Punjab when it got the support of strong rival rural party, 'The Unionist Party'. It was an inter-communal party having support of the landlords, *pirs* and almost 80 percent of the rural population. This is how AIML entered in the arena of Punjab politics and voiced slogan of Pakistan on the basis of religion.<sup>27</sup> The Muslim League was established in Sargodha in 1938 as this district was under the strong hold of the Unionists.

---

25 Zahid Ch., *Muslim Punjab ka Siyasi Irteka*, 217.

26 Syed Najam-ul-Hasnain, "Role of Sargodha in Pakistan Movement (1903-47)," MPhil Thesis, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of Sargodha, Sargodha, 2013, 44.

27 K. C. Yadav. "The Partition of India: A Study of the Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1849-1947", *The Punjab Past and Present XVII-I* (April 1983): 133-34.

Shahpur/Sargodha was represented in all political activities of Muslim League by two vice-presidents Malik Umar Hayat Tiwana of Kalra state and Malik Mubariz Tiwana of Jahanabad branch of Tiwana family.<sup>28</sup> In the elections of 1937, only Malik Barkat Ali, Kakkezai, and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan were the candidates of Muslim League who carried the day in the elections. Raja Ghazanfar Ali later joined Unionist Party which was a great setback for the newly created Muslim League in Punjab.<sup>29</sup>

Under the leadership of Fazl-i-Husain Rajput and Ch. Chhotu Ram, a Hindu Jatt, Punjab Unionist Party attracted the Muslim, Hindu and Sikh landlords who became pillars of the Unionist Party. The distinguished concessions including label as the martial races to the warrior castes like Jatt and Rajput, issuance of caste handbooks to landlord gentry, special selection of farmers and enhancement of quota in the official jobs, special benedictions for Jatt Baradari, namely water facility proved an elevating factor behind the influence of the specific castes in the Punjab. The Unionist Party in the hands of Jatts and Rajputs ruled the Punjab from 1924 to 1947.<sup>30</sup>

### **Impact of Baradarism (1937-47)**

The Government of India Act 1919 introduced Diarchy System in the provinces. Some ministries were given to the natives. Elections under this act were held in 1921 and Malik Feroz Khan Noon received thousand votes and became member of Punjab Legislative Council (MLC). Malik Feroz Khan Noon succeeded with a big margin for second term as well. Malik Mumtaz Khan Tiwana, Malik Khuda Bukhsh Tiwana and Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi were also elected from Sargodha constituencies. In the elections of 1930, Feroz Khan Noon and Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi were elected from Sargodha. The influence of the politicians of Sargodha in the politics of Punjab was not

---

28 History of Sargodha, 202

29 Talbot, *Punjab Ghulami se Azadi Tak*, 125.

30 Talbot, *Punjab Ghulami se Azadi Tak*, 125.

acceptable for prominent figures of Multan and Attock. Feroz Khan Noon also served as Indian High Commissioner in Britain.<sup>31</sup>

The impact of *Baradari* on the performance of political parties from 1885 to 1937 was enormous. Different *Baradaris* played significant role in the politics of the region. Tiwana, Noon and Qureshi families along with other castes remained in limelight of the mainstream politics. Since the Congress was not joined by any of the local politicians i.e. Hindu Jatts of the Punjab, Muslims and Sikhs, therefore congress could not succeed in the Punjab in the elections held between 1926 and 1937. Most of the politics of this region remained under the influence of *Baradarism*.<sup>32</sup> In 1937 elections Muslim League and Congress could not override the Punjab Unionist Party which obtained clear majority in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.<sup>33</sup> In the elections of 1937, the Unionist Party performed well in Sargodha (Shahpur district) and won all seats by nominating candidates of dominant *Baradaris* of the area.

### Impact of *Baradarism* on the elections of 1937

In the elections of 1937, many candidates got success under the umbrella of *Baradarism*. Majority of them was affiliated with Unionist Party. Using influence of *Baradaris*, the Unionist Party secured 91 out of 175 seats. Ian Talbot writes about this success, Unionist Party believed in *Baradaris* so it succeeded in the Punjab and Shahpur (Sargodha).<sup>34</sup>

**Table 1: RESULT OF 1937 ELECTIONS**

Constituency	Winner	Party	Baradri
Sargodha	Sir Muhammad Hayat Khan Noon	Unionist	Noon
Sargodha	Khan Bahadar Allah Bukhsh Tiwana	Unionist	Tiwana

31 Zahid Ch., *Muslim Punjab Ka Siyasi Irteka*, 217.

32 *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) September 4, 1945. See also *Eastern Times*, September 6, 1945.

33 Aqil Abbas Jafari, *Pakistan Ki Intekhabi Tarikh* [Electoral History of Pakistan] (Islamabad: Good Books, 1996), 22.

34 Talbot, *Punjab Ghulami se Azadi Tak*, 150.

<b>Sargodha</b>	Syed Nawazish Ali Shah	Unionist	Syed
<b>Landowner seat</b>	Major Khizar Hayat Tiwana	Unionist	Tiwana
<b>Sargodha</b>	Hayat Muhammad Qureshi	Unionist	Qureshi

SOURCE: Kripal C. Yadav, *Elections in Panjab: 1920-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1987). See also K.C. Yadav, *India Divided: 1947 Who did it? How and What Now* (Delhi: Hope India Publications, 2006).

Zahid Choudhry comments that "Unionist Party got success by entangling the rural Muslims in the *Baradari* advantages. In Eastern Punjab and Shahpur (Sargodha), many members such as due to the influence of Tiwana family, Major Khizar Hayat Tiwana secured victory quite easily as the Unionist candidate from Shahpur. Similarly, Sir Muhammad Hayat Khan Noon got victory because of the influence of Noons. Unionist Party got 77percent votes in Shahpur during the elections of 1937 due to the favour of major *Baradaris*. More than one hundred thousand Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims participated in the Zamindar Conference organized by the Unionist leaders Chhotu Ram Jatt and Sikandar Hayat which showed popularity of the party. The Unionist Party returned successful because it used *Baradari* element wisely while Muslim League and Congress could not use *Baradari* influence in their favour.<sup>35</sup>

#### **Impact of *Baradarism* on the Elections of 1945-46**

In the election of 1945-46, the Muslim League succeeded winning 75 seats out of 86 in the Punjab. The Unionist Party remained successful with 20 seats. The victory of Muslim League can be attributed to its decision of winning political support of major *Baradaris* of the region and giving party tickets to the members of Noon, Tiwana and Piracha families. According to Wakeel Anjum, mutual relations between relatives and *Baradaris* were used to motivate the local voters in favour of Muslim League. The Muslim

---

35 Anjum, *Siyasat Danoun ki Kalabazian*, 174, 242.

League's success was imperative because these *Baradaris* joined it for their secure future.<sup>36</sup>

**Table 2: RESULTS OF 1945-46 ELECTIONS**

Constituency	Muslim League	Unionist Party	Other Candidates & their Political Affiliation	Successful Candidate	Successful Party	Successful Baradri
Rawalpindi	Sir Feroz Khan Noon (14728)	-	Muhammad Alam (2346)	Sir Feroz Khan Noon	Muslim League	Noon
Shahpur	Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi (11041)	Mian Sultan Ali Nangina (14553)	Hayat Muhammad (09) Khan Dadan(01)	Mian Sultan Ali Nangina	Unionist	Nangina
Bhalwal	Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha (12723)	Mian Sultan Ahmed Ranjha9 219	-	Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha	Muslim League	Piracha
Khushab	Malik Mumtaz Tiwana	Khizar Hayat	-	Malik Mumtaz Tiwana	Muslim League	Tiwana
Sargodha	Pir Qalandar Shah(1233)	Allah Bukhsh Tiwana	-	Nawab Sir Allah Bukhsh Tiwana	Unionist	Tiwana

SOURCE: Yadav, *Elections in Panjab*.

### Impact of *Baradarism* on the Post-Partition Politics of Shahpur/Sargodha

The *Baradari* politics remained an integral part of the politics after 1947. There was hardly any major change in voting trends in post-partition politics of Shahpur/Sargodha.

### Provincial Elections of 1951

In 1951, first elections were held in Pakistan for the Punjab Provincial Assembly. Interestingly, personal gains were preferred by the prominent figures.<sup>37</sup> Sargodha is well-known as the hub of *Baradari* politics and the political families of this region usually make alliances with ruling class. The politicians who returned successful in the 1951 elections

<sup>36</sup> Anjum, *Siyasat Danoun ki kalabazian*.

<sup>37</sup> Zahoor Ahmad. "Politics of *Baradarism* (Clans) in the Selected Districts of Punjab (1947-2002)," Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Political Science, Federal Urdu University of Science, Arts and Technology, Karachi, 120.

were more or less loyal to Mumtaz Daultana. They had been Khizar's staunch supporters but they were with the League. The political loyalties were generally based on the basis of *Baradarism*.<sup>38</sup>

**Table 3: RESULT OF 1951 ELECTIONS FOR PUNJAB  
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY FOR CONSTITUENCIES OF  
SARGODHA**

Constituency	Successful Candidate	Party	Baradri
1	Saleh Muhammad (10229)	ML	Gondal
2	Mian Muhammad Bukhsh (10872)	ML	Makhdoom
3	Sheikh Fazal Elahi Piracha (13911)	ML	Piracha
4	Qazi Mureed Ahmed (6969)	ML	Awan
5	Fateh Muhammad Tiwana (10857)	ML	Tiwana
6	Habib Ullah Tiwana (12415)	Jinnah Awami ML	Tiwana
7	Saeed Qureshi (25993)	ML	Qureshi
8	Ahmed Yar Khan Lak (16084)	ML	Lak
9	Faiz Ahmed Ch. (7522)	ML	Waraich /Jatt
10	Amir Abdullah Khan (8236)	ML	Pathan
11	Shamsher Ali (24674)	ML	Kalyar

### Electoral Politics of One Unit

After formation of One Unit in 1955, fourteen candidates contested elections in Shahpur (Sargodha) for eight provincial assembly seats. The candidates included Hakim Khursheed Qureshi, Saleh Muhammad, Amir Abdullah Khan, Ahmed Yar Khan Lak, Faiz Ahmed Ch., Mian Muhammad Bukhsh, Shamsher Ali Kalyar, Sheikh Fazal Elahi Piracha, Qazi Mureed Ahmed, Fateh Muhammad Tiwana, Saeed Qureshi, Habib Ullah Tiwana.<sup>39</sup> Saleh Muhammad, Sheikh Fazal Elahi Piracha, Qazi Mureed Ahmed Awan, Fateh Muhammad Tiwana, Saeed Ahmad Qureshi, Ahmed Yar Khan Lak, Faiz Ahmed Ch. And Hakim Khursheed Qureshi succeeded because they were landlords and fully supported by their *Baradaries*.<sup>40</sup>

38 Ahmad, "Politics of *Baradarism* (Clans) in the Selected Districts of Punjab", 156.

39 Hayat, *Sarzamin-e-Sargodha*, 145.

40 Jafari, *Pakistan ki Intekhabi Tarikh*, 348.



### Elections of 1962

In the elections of May 1962, Kalyar, Awan, Nangyana and Mela *Baradaris* proved dominance over the politics of Sargodha. Khan Muhammad Kalyar was elected from Sargodha. He defeated Ch. Walayat Hussain who was a retired Deputy Commissioner. The elections were held on non-party basis and all candidates belonging to different *Baradaris* participated in the elections as independent candidates.<sup>41</sup> Malik Sarfaraz Khan Awan was elected from the seat of Shahpur cum Khushab while Mian Sultan Ali Nangina and Malik Muhammad Ali lost the elections. Muhammad Qasim Mela was elected from Bhalwal constituency. Like elections of 1951 and 1956, most of the candidates returned successful with the support of their respective *Baradaris* in the elections of 1962.

**Table 4: RESULT OF 1962 PUNJAB PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY UNDER B.D. SYSTEM**

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate	Unsuccessful candidates	Successful Baradari
PW-59 Sargodha-I	Mian Khan Kalyar (275)	Ch. Waliat Hussain (215) Fazal Hussain (05) Ch. Faiz Ullah (01) Sheikh Muhammad Umar	Kalyar
PW-60 Khushab/Shahpur	Malik Sarfaraz Khan (362)	Sultan Ali Nangina (201) Malik Muhammad Ali (04)	Awan
PW-61 Sargodha	Qasim Mela (135)	Muhammad Bukhsh (126) Anwar Ali Noon (117) Ch. Mian Khan (05)	Ranjha

In the elections of National Assembly through system of Basic Democracies the candidates from Lak, Noon and Qureshi *Baradaris* got success in all three constituencies of Sargodha.<sup>42</sup> Following table shows huge margin of votes. The candidates from influential *Baradaris* easily won the elections using the influence of their *Baradaris* in their respective constituencies.

41 Jafari, *Pakistan ki Intekhabi Tarikh*, 110.

42 Hayat, *Sarzamin-e-Sargodha*, 146.

**Table 5: RESULT OF 1962 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY B.D SYSTEM**

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate	Unsuccessful candidates	Successful Baradari
NW-27 Sargodha-I	Khuda Dad Khan Lak (359)	Ch. Atta Ullah Cheema(119) Ch. Basheer Tarar	Lak
NW-28 Sargodha-II	Noor Hayat Noon (223)	Sheikh Fazal Elahi Piracha (137) Syed Sarwar Gilani (04)	Noon
NW-29 Sargodha-III	Zakir Qureshi (363)	Qazi Mureed Ahmed (09) Fateh Muhammad Tiwana (20)	Qureshi

**Elections of 1965**

The elections for the legislature were held throughout Pakistan. The King's party, the Convention Muslim League, was centre of attention. In these elections, from Sargodha, Mian Muhammad Hayat Nangiana (PW 59), Mian Khan Kalyar (PW 60), Maj. Muhammad Ali (PW 62) and Muhammad Hayat (PW 63) won unanimously from different constituencies of Sargodha.<sup>43</sup>

**Table 6: RESULT OF 1965 ELECTIONS OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SARGODAH CONSTITUENCIES**

Constituency Number	Convention Muslim League	Successful Candidate	Successful Party	Successful Baradari
PW-58 Sargodha-I	Malik Muhammad Aslam Khan Unopposed	Malik Muhammad Aslam Khan	Convention Muslim League	Awan
PW-59 Sargodha-II	Muhammad Hayat Nangiana Unopposed	Mian Muhammad Hayat Nangiana	Convention Muslim League	Nangiana
PW-60 Sargodha-III	Mian Khan Kalyar Unopposed	Mian Khan Kalyar	Convention Muslim League	Kalyar

43 Ahmad, "Politics of *Baradarism* (Clans) in the Selected Districts of Punjab, 142; Andrew R. Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and voting Behaviour in The Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, n.d), 6.

PW-61 Sargodha –IV	Haji Qasim Mela (139)	Haji Qasim Mela	Convention Muslim League	Mela/Ranjha
PW-62 Sargodha -V	Major Muhammad Ali Unopposed	Major Muhammad Ali	Convention Muslim League	Awan
PW-63 Sargodha –VI	Muhammad Hayat Unopposed	Muhammad Hayat	Convention Muslim League	Kalyar

SOURCE: In Hafiz Muhammad Irfan, p.113, Report on Elections in Pakistan.

### Elections National Assembly 1970

In the in election of 1970, major *Baradaris* maintained their position. The elected members for National Assembly belonged to Cheema, Awan, Noon, Araian and Qureshi *Baradaris*. From NW-39 Sargodha I, Ch. Jahangir Ali of Arian *Baradari* won on the ticket of PPP. He bagged 47,935 votes while on second position was Maher Khuda Dad Khan Lak (Council ML) who bagged 30,791 votes. From NW-40 Sargodha II, Malik Anwar Ali Noon (PPP) won the seat with 57,074 votes. Runner up for this constituency was Muhammad Khan who bagged 18,772 votes. The margin of votes between winning candidate and his opponent is evidence of the hold of *Baradari* on politics. Hafiz Ullah Cheema (PPP) won NW-41 Sargodha III. He bagged 51,471. His runner up Zafar Ullah Khan (Council ML) bagged 25,943 votes. Awan *Baradari* returned successful from NW-42 Sargodha IV. Malik Karam Bukhsh got the ticket of Council ML and won due to the support of heads of dominant Awan *Baradari* using the slogan of *Awan Kari* [*Awan* brotherhood].<sup>44</sup> He bagged 45,211 votes while his opponent Naseem Ahmad Aahir (PPP) bagged 29,542 votes. *The* Qureshi *Baradari* dominated in NW-43 Sargodha V where Muhammad Zakir Qureshi of Council ML got 62,610 votes in competition with Malik Najib Ullah of PPP with 27,801 votes and Sayyad Anaiyat Ali Shah (Independent) with 22,859.

44 Muhammad Azam Khan Rajar *Awan*, Former MPA 1972-, President District Bar Khushab 77. Interview by author, April 10, 2015.

### Provincial Assembly Elections 1970

In Provincial Assembly elections of 1970 Awans won two seats. Gondal, Jatt, Piracha, Sayyad, and Bandial *Baradaries* got one seat each. Candidates having support of more than one *Baradari* got three seats. Following table mentions that the successful candidates belonged to the PPP and the Council ML.

**Table 7: RESULT OF PROVINCIAL ELECTION DISTRICT SARGODHA 1970**

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate	Independent and Other candidate	Successful <i>Baradari</i>
PP-29 Sargodha I	Ch. Mukhtar Ahmed (30487) PPP	Ahmed Ali Shah (7698) Zia Ullah Sanai (72) Muhammad Hussain (32) Muhammad Maqsood (18) Mian Khan (123) (Council ML)	Gondal
PP-30 Sargodha II	Sirdar Saghar Ali, PPP	Muhammad Sher	-
PP-31 Sargodha III	Ghulam Ahmed Ch. (25499) PPP	Sofi Abdul Haq (922) Farakh Javed (433) Maher Muhammad Hayat (57), Maher Ghulam Dastgir Lak (202) (Council ML)	Bajwa/Jatt
PP-32 Sargodha IV	Haji Muhammad Bukhsh (23960) (Ind)	Mola Dad (239) Nazir Ahmed (157) Ghulam Ali (11360) (Council ML), Ch. Faiz Ahmed (20354) (PPP)	Makhdoom
PP-33 Sargodha V	Muhammad Sadiq 28475 (PPP)	Ch. Muhammad Qasim Mela (13637) (Council ML) Muhammad Akram Khan (3843) Malik Mahmood Ahmed (2347) Mian Khan (1360)	-
PP-34 Sargodha VI	Ehsan-ul- Haq Piracha (33537) Council ML	Ali Haider Malik (19650) (PPP) Faiz Muhammad (2197)	Piracha
PP-35 Sargodha /Khushab VII	Nawazish Ali Shah (36214) Council ML	Ghazanfar Ali (19980) (PPP) Nawazish Ali Shah (Council ML) Muhammad Said (778)	Sayyad
PP-36 Sargodha VIII	Muhammad Azam (18403) PPP	Qazi Mureed Ahmed (518) Council ML ML Malik Sarfaraz Ahmed (9670) Qadir Yar Khan (15564)	Awan
PP-37 Sargodha IX	Malik Muhammad Akram PPP	Major Muhammad Ali Council ML Muhammad Islam	Awan
PP-38 Sargodha X	Khaliq Dad Bandial (22266) Council ML	Mahmood-ul-Hassan Khan (13919) PPP) Muhammad Amir (168)	Bandial

SOURCE: Church World Service, *The Pakistan Election Compendium*, Vol. I (Karachi: Church World Service, 2012).

### General Elections of Tehsil Shahpur 1970-77

In Sahiwal Arain, Jhamat and Baloch are major *Baradaries*. Sayyad, Dhudi, Sial, Qureshi and Kalyar are also significant in the political arena. In Sahiwal, the Baloch are in majority. Baloch have been arch rival of Qureshis of village Radhan. This rivalry has always been crucial in forming the results of the elections. Pir family from Sial Sharif also took part in the politics.<sup>45</sup> In 1970, Mian Muhammad Zakir Qureshi won elections from this area as candidate of Council Muslim League.

### Elections of Tehsil Bhalwal 1970-77

In Bhalwal, Noon *Baradari* has been dominant, politically. Malik Feroz Khan Noon who became the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the governor of East Pakistan in 1950s belonged to this family. Noon, Arian, Ranjha, Waraich, Rajput, Piracha, Bharth, Jaspal/Gondal, Lak and Harl have been major *Baradaries* which composed the population of tehsil Bhalwal. This area is a part of Gondal Bar. It means that Gondal *Baradari* lives here in majority.<sup>46</sup>

NA-58 and NA-59 were two constituencies of Bhalwal in the elections of National Assembly in 1977. Noon *Baradari* got the tickets from Pakistan People's Party. Malik Anwar Ali Noon got ticket for NA-58 and Noor Hayat Noon got ticket for NA-59 and returned successful. Noor Hayat Noon was included in the National cabinet by Z.A. Bhutto. It is generally believed that PPP won the elections of 1970 and 1977 on ideological basis which wiped out the *Baradari* politics. As a matter of fact, the leadership of the PPP had to issue tickets to the members of the most influential *Baradari* in tehsil Bhalwal. These elections elevated the party politics but even then the role of *Baradarism* remained a powerful instrument

---

45 Rehana Iqbal, "Khawaja Qamar-ud-Din Sialvi: His Life and Times." M.Phil Thesis, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of Sargodha, Sargodha, 2013, 33.

46 Chaudhry Muhammad Khan Jaspal (*Gondal*) Former MPA and Minister (care-Taker) in the Punjab, Interview by author, May 2015. Ghulam Qadir Bhalwana (*Gondal*) Lecturer in Geography, G.C. Phularwan, tehsil Bhalwal on History and Etymology of Bhalwal. Interview by Author.

behind the success of the candidates. In election campaign, every candidate has to focus upon his *Baradari* affiliations during corner meetings and public speeches.<sup>47</sup>

**Table 8: RESULTS OF 1977 ELECTIONS PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY**

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate	Successful <i>Baradari</i>
PP-37 Sargodha I	Malik Dost Muhammad Awan (43634)	Awan
PP-38 Sargodha II	Mian Malik Sultan Awan (48128)	Awan
PP-39 Sargodha III	Malik Muhammad Azam Khan Awan (27987)	Awan
PP-40 Sargodha IV	Malik Muhammad Anwar Khan Tiwana	Tiwana
PP-41 Sargodha V	Sirdar Sikandar Hayat Makken (43562)	Makken
PP-42 Sargodha VI	Khalid Amir Khan (44881)	Pathan
PP-43 Sargodha VII	Mumtaz Ahmed Kahloun 35246)	Kahloun/ Jatt
PP-44 Sargodha VIII	Syed Masood Zaidi (25338)	Sayyad
PP-45 Sargodha IX	Zafar Ali Malik (25338)	Awan
PP-46 Sargodha X	Ehsan-ul-Haq Piracha	Piracha
PP-47 Sargodha XI	Sirdar Sagheer Ahmed (40500)	Waraich/ Jatt
PP-48 Sargodha XII	Nazir Ahmed Ranjha (25741)	Ranjha
PP-49 Sargodha XIII	Muhammad Bukhsh Makhdoom (28744)	Makhdoom

SOURCE: Church World Service, *The Pakistan Election Compendium*, Vol. I.

In the provincial elections in 1977 all winning candidates belonged to the PPP but their *Baradari* affiliations cannot be ignored as four candidates were Awan, two were Jatt, and one each belonged to Tiwana, Makken, Pathan, Sayyad, Piracha, Ranjha and Makhdoom *Baradaries*.

47 Chauhdry Muhammad Khan Jaspal (*Gondal*) Former MPA and Minister (care-taker) in the Punjab, Interview by author, May 2015.

### **Conclusion**

Awan, Tiwana, Qureshi, Lak, Noon, Kalyar, Sayyad, Piracha and Baloch are important political families of Sargodha. Jatt, Araian, Rajput and Gujjar clans dominated politics in their areas till 1977. Sargodha always enjoyed power by changing political affiliation. The political families hardly gave importance to ideology rather they preferred to affiliate with the ruling party. *Baradari* affiliations have been generally key to success in the elections so they hardly needed any other political gimmick to step in the power. During the struggle for Pakistan, some of these families played significant role in strengthening the hands of Quaid-e-Azam but grouping on *Baradarism* remained as operational as it was in the past. The Muslim League and the Pakistan People's Party accepted the importance of grouping on the basis of *Baradari* affiliations that still persists in the politics. Even the major political parties used to give tickets to influential candidates keeping the importance of *Baradari* politics in mind. Therefore, *Baradarism* is a winning factor generally in the rural Punjab and particularly in the politics of Sargodha.