

Analysis of Political Role of *Makhdooms* of Multan (1988-2008)

Muhammad Umer Quddafi*, Manzoor Khan Afridi†

Abstract

The political role of Makhdooms is a multidimensional aspect. They are at the same time spiritual guide being the descendant of great sufis, landlord being owner of big areas of land and representatives of the people being direct or indirect part of the political authorities. For this purpose, three Makhdooms of Multan are selected from Hashmi, Gilani and Qureshi families. The political history of these families spread over centuries. The selected Makhdooms are: Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani, Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Makhdoom Javed Hashmi. These all Makhdooms are active in local and national politics since decades. These Makhdooms are either directly or indirectly sajjada nashins of the shrines. Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani is the descendant of Musa Pak (RA), Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi is the officially declared sajjada nashin of Bahauddin Zakaria (RA) and Shah Rukn-e-Alam (RA) shrines and Makhdoom Javed Hashmi is the descendant of Makhdoom Abdul Rashid (RA). This research mainly focuses on the role of these Makhdooms during democracy, dictatorship, and semi – democracy from 1988 to 2008. The study reveals that how these figures collaborate with the regimes of all forms and use their traditional and spiritual strength. The political participation of Makhdooms may yield that they can use their strength either for the betterment of general public or for their personal interest as opportunist.

Keywords: Sajjada nashin, makhdoom, sufism, collaborator, spiritual, Multan, democracy, dictatorship, semi-democracy, tailored democracy.

Introduction

Makhdoom is a title, begin to use around a thousand years ago. Initially it was used with the names of Syed Ali Hujwari (RA), Jahaniyan Jahangasht (RA), Sabir Klair (RA) and Abdul Rasheed Haqani (RA). Later it was also used by other families too (Hashmi, 2005, p.30). In Multan different families including Gilani, Qureshi and Hashmi are using *Makhdoom* as part of their names. These all families are active in political arena. For this research paper, a representative *Makhdoom* is being selected from each of the three families-Yousaf Raza Gilani from Gilani family, Shah Mehmood Qureshi from Qureshi family and Javed Hashmi from Hashmi family. Political period selected for this paper is from 1988 to 2008. This period has been divided in three parts to explain the political scenario of *Makhdoom*'s politics; Democratic Period (1988-1999), Dictatorship Period (1999-2002), and Semi- Democratic Period (2002-2008). *Makhdooms* of Multan continuously striving for political power and authority by using the support of their followers or *mureeds*.

Significance of the Study

The proposed study holds significance in improving our comprehension of the dynamics between political authorities and Sajjada nashins, or descendants of Sufis. Improved relationships between spiritual leaders chosen by their followers and using that support for political purposes are depicted in the study. This study can be used to comprehend how Sajjada nashins demonstrate their value to the state or receive benefits from it while maintaining cordial relationships with political authorities.

At the regional, provincial, and national levels in Pakistan, the *Makhdooms* of Multan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Yousaf Raza Gilani, and Javed Hashmi, are carrying out their political and religious roles. They all have extensive political experience and represent both sizable religious communities and influential political parties. This study's application is crucial to a deeper comprehension of the political aspects of Sufism in Pakistan in general and Punjab in particular.

Research Questions

* Corresponding Author, PhD Political Science Scholar, International Islamic University, Islamabad
eucolumnist@gmail.com

† Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad.

- 1- What is the Impact of *Makhdooms* on Politics by using their religious status?
- 2- How *Makhdooms* of Multan adjust their political strategies in political power struggle?

Selection of Multan and *Makhdooms*

Multan was chosen as a research region because of its multifaceted nature. Multan is known as the city of saints, the home of the feudal class, and the center of particular political families. Multan is the best option available in Punjab, Pakistan, to study the political participation of *Makhdooms*. These religious leaders and the political establishment in Multan have been in active relationship for centuries. The results of the interactions between *Makhdooms* and political authorities can be compared, and the goals of the study can then be determined.

To put it another way, because Sufism has a long and rich history in Multan, we can see how this relationship has resulted in shifting interests between the religious and political authorities. We have the chance to examine both the religio-political and feudal aspects of Multan in order to further the respective agendas of the parties involved. It's interesting to note that a personality may occasionally combine religious, social, and financial superiority. This individual serves as a political spokesperson, a religious leader, and a feudal or landowner, ruling over the peasant class. He is both a feudal with a sizable portion of land and a *sajjada nashin*, or direct descendant of a well-respected Sufi.

Selection of *Makhdooms* for this research work is due to their participation in political, religious and social affairs. The basic strength of these *sajjada nashins* is their religious status. All the three *Makhdooms* are actively participating in regional, provincial and national politics since decades. They all are basically respected due to their Sufi lineage but they are also landlords / jagirdars. Due to this multi-dimensional status *Makhdooms* had distinguished political positions. The study will find out role of their forefathers during pre and post-independence era, role of three *Makhdooms* during democratic, dictatorship and semi democratic periods having backup of their religious, economic and social status.

Methodology

Qualitative Research Methodology will be used for this study. Study will thus be based on understating, analysis, reasoning and description. It has direct application with the problem under consideration. Since the problem statement pertains to political and social issues, systematic research, reasoning, analysis, description, and qualitative data will be used to apply the qualitative method and its features. Because this study involves both the description of facts and the exploration of ideas, the type of research will be both exploratory and descriptive. Documentary records and relevant sources will be useful for the study when using the exploratory method. Regarding methodologies, the research will draw from conventional and historical approaches, with a focus on disciplinary and inter-disciplinary approaches. The primary tool for producing the study's results will be the deductive research method.

Theoretical Framework

In Muslim dominated Pakistani society, Sufism has a very significant place. Shrines of Sufis are very attractive for larger segment of the society. The people who attached with these shrines are also very respectable for followers of buried Sufis. The most prominent people attached with these shrines are custodian of these shrines called *Sajjada Nashin*. *Makhdooms* who are either *sajjada nashin* or closely associated with these shrines are also respectable for followers of the Sufis or their own *mureeds*. *Sajjada nashins* or *Makhdooms* who are actively participating in politics have full support of their *mureeds*. To understand the phenomenon of *Makhdooms* participating in politics since generations; three politically active *Makhdooms*; Yousaf Raza, Shah Mehmood and Javed Hashmi have been selected for this study. These *Makhdooms* with the support of their *mureeds* strive for authority to rule through political power either directly or indirectly: directly as participation in electoral politics and indirectly as to support a personality, political party or non –elected regimes.)

Max Weber, a German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist, developed a conceptual framework to understand authority and power in social structures. The term “authority” refers to an abstract concept. According to Max Weber, power is the capacity to impose one's will on another, disregarding that

person's desires or potential resistance. He contends that there are three ways for someone to wield power: by using their direct physical force, by using rewards and punishments, or by influencing other people's opinions. On the other hand authority is a quality that enhances power, rather than being itself a form of power. When a person possesses both technical proficiency and effective group communication skills, they are regarded as authorities.

In his influential work, "Economy and Society", Weber identified three types of legitimate authority: traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal-rational authority.

1. Traditional Authority

This kind of power is derived from enduring traditions, customs, and historical legitimacy. It is frequently connected to societies that are patriarchal or feudal, in which power is inherited or transmitted through the generations. The legitimacy of long-standing customs and the belief in the sanctity of ancient practices are the foundations of traditional authority. The acceptance of tradition by the group as a whole gives authority figures their power (Weber, 1978).

2. Charismatic Authority

A charismatic leader's extraordinary qualities, magnetic personality, or apparent spiritual connection compel people to follow them. Dynamic and frequently manifested, charismatic authority can arise in times of crisis or social unrest. It is dependent on the leader's capacity to enthrall and inspire followers rather than being inherently linked to long-standing customs (Weber, 1978).

3. Legal-Rational Authority

The foundation of legal-rational authority is a set of laws and regulations. It is connected to formal institutions and contemporary bureaucratic organizations. The legal framework that surrounds them, be it an organization's constitution or set of rules, confers authority upon leaders. This kind of power places a strong emphasis on reason, consistency, and lawfulness. Roles and responsibilities are frequently used to define positions, and authority is recognized according to the position's legality rather than the individual (Weber, 1978. P. 215-216). Weber's typology of authority offers a useful framework for comprehending the various social contexts in which power is justified. Crucially, he acknowledged that within a particular society or institution, these ideal types frequently coexist and sometimes even overlap. Furthermore, the nature of authority is subject to change over time, and responses may result in changes between these types.

Application in the case of *Makhdooms*

The concept of authority as explained by Max Weber is closely associated with the approach of authority exercised by the *Makhdooms*. *Makhdooms* have traditional role as landlord based on strong economic basis providing employment to his followers. They have charismatic personalities as sajjada nashins and have millions of followers or *mureeds*. Thirdly, *Makhdooms* have legal rational status being holding an Executive or Political office. *Makhdooms* enjoy this multidimensional status because of their forefathers who were Great Sufis or sajjada nashins.

Literature Review

The material for this research work is consists of books, official's diaries, official websites, observations and experiences of followers or *mureeds*. Literature review covers subject areas like Sufism, political aspect of Sufism, relationship between Sajjada nashins/*Makhdooms* and political authorities. It also covers electoral participation of *Makhdooms* having a large number of followers or *mureeds*. The politics of *Makhdooms* is mainly dependent upon *mureeds*. Literature review includes;

The masterwork "Kashaful Mahjub," by Syed Ali Hujwari, also known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, explains the syllabus and code of practical Sufism. He classified Sufis according to the depth of their spirituality. In "Sufi Saints and State Power - The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947", Sara F. D. Ansari describes how foreign invaders used cooperation with local stakeholders to fortify their political rule. She explains the political role of pirs of Sind as mediators between people and the rulers. Ansari also discuss the struggle of Pir Pagaro and his followers, "Hurs" against the foreign invaders Britain.

Empire and Islam by David Gilmartin, describes the role of *pirs* in Punjab during the struggle for Pakistan's independence.

Anjum Tanvir examined the doctrine and meaning of Sufism in "*Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*," with a particular emphasis on the seventh through thirteenth centuries, as well as its interaction with political authorities.

In his autobiography, "*Chahe Yousaf Se Sada!*" Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani describes his family's political and religious background. The book provides details of his political career and his roles in several administrations. This is a summary of his political achievements and setbacks.

In his book "*Han Main Baghi Hoon*" written in Urdu, Makhdoom Javed Hashmi provides a historical perspective of his family, sheds light on his political training, his bond with his family, and details his victimization. He skillfully explains the tenure of several political leaders, including Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, General Ziaul Haq, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf.

Abu al-Qasim al-Qushairi, a Sufi Shaykh and jurist, lived from 376 to 376 Hijrah. He talked about the various aspects of Tassawuf in "*Risala-e-Qushariya*". This is one of the earliest works on Islamic Tasawuf.

The author of "*Pakistan Ke Siasi Wadaire*" is Aqeel Abbas Jaffri. The traditional political families that have ruled for centuries are explained in this book. These families are extremely powerful in politics and maintain their power through the use of religion, social standing, and economic dominance. Aqeel Anjum discussed the past and current circumstances of several aristocratic families, such as the Qureshi and Gilani families.

The role of *pirs* and *murids* is explained in the book "*Religion, Land, and Politics in Pakistan-A study of Piri-Muridi*" written by K.K. Aziz. He skillfully exposed the *pirs'* psychological, social, and political exploitation of *murids*.

Official websites like election commission, local government Multan, government of Pakistan and official documents related to the families under discussion is also a part of this literature review.

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

Political Role of Selected *Makhdooms* (1988-2008)

The political role of three *Makhdooms*: Yousaf Raza Gilani, Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Javed Hashmi from 1988-2008 can be divided into four periods: pre 1988, 1988 to 1999, 1999 to 2002 and 2002 to 2008.

Historical Background (Pre 1988)

Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani passed intermediate examination from Forman Christian College University. He attended Government College Lahore and obtained his B.A and M.A. in Journalism from University of the Punjab (Hasan, 2009). Gilani returned from England in 1978 and started active participation in politics. His great grandfather Syed Sadruddin Shah's brother Syed Rajan Bux Shah was the first politician from Gilani family to be elected in Indian Legislative Council in 1921(Jafery, 2007). In his book Jafery (2007, p. 431-433) wrote that, "Rajan's nephew Syed Mohammad Raza Shah defeated Unionist Party's candidate and Shah Mahmood Qureshi's Grandfather *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain Qureshi in 1946 elections. Raza Shah's son Hamid Raza Gilani won National Assembly elections in 1962, 1965, 1977 and 1985. Hamid Raza Gilani served as parliamentary secretary in 1960s and as a federal minister in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's 1977 cabinet. Hamid was nominated as Senator in 1991. Yousaf's father *Makhdoom* Alamdar Gilani was elected in Punjab Assembly in 1951. He was elevated to provincial health minister in 1953. Alamdar was disqualified by Ayub government from electoral politics. His brother and Yousaf's uncle Rahmat Shah filled the vacuum by joining Ayub's Conventional Muslim League and winning a provincial seat along with Hamid Raza who kept on leading the family on the electoral scene until Yousaf Raza Gilani ousted him in 1990".

Gilani's political journey began during the martial law of General Zia-ul-Haq in 1978 when he joined the Central Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML). He was also a member in the cabinet of Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo, and served as Minister of Housing and Works from April 1985 to January 1986 and as Railways Minister from January 1986 to December 1986 (Jafery, 2007). Yousaf Gilani is a descendent of Syed Moosa Pak Shaheed who is a spiritual figure of Multan. Moosa Pak came from the Iranian province Gilan (Gilani, 2008).

Jafery (2007, p. 431-433) wrote that, "Rajan's nephew Syed Mohammad Raza Shah defeated Unionist Party's candidate and Shah Mahmood Qureshi's Grandfather *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain Qureshi in 1946 elections. Raza Shah's son Hamid Raza Gilani won National Assembly elections in 1962, 1965, 1977 and 1985. Hamid Raza Gilani served as parliamentary secretary in 1960s and as a federal cabinet minister of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977. Hamid was nominated as Senator in 1991. Mustafa Shah's son and Yousaf's father *Makhdoom* Alamdar Gilani was elected in Punjab Assembly in 1951. His brother Syed Welayat Hussain Shah also won Punjab Assembly election. Alamdar Gilani was elevated to provincial health minister in 1953. He joined newly born Republican Party in 1956 and was disqualified by Ayub government from electoral politics. His brother and Yousaf's uncle Rahmat Shah filled the vacuum by joining Ayub's Conventional Muslim League and winning a provincial seat along with Hamid Raza who kept on leading the family on the electoral scene until Yousaf Raza Gilani ousted him in 1990. Another cousin of Yousaf Raza Gilani, Syed Tanvirul Hasan Gilani, also won a national assembly seat in 1990 elections from the platform of Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI)".

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Yousaf Gilani is a descendent of Syed Moosa Pak Shaheed: a spiritual figure of Multan who migrated from Iranian province of Gilan (Gilani, 2008, p.13).

Yousaf Gilani's aunt was married to Syed Shah Mardan Shah-II Pir Pagara (Gilani, 2008, p.24). This relationship shows strong family terms of Gilani family with Pir Pagara. In addition to this, Gilani's first cousin *Makhdoom* Ahmad Mahmood was provincial president of Pir Pagara's Functional League who later became a part of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and served as Governor Punjab. Now he is PPPP President of South Punjab Chapter.

Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi was born on June 22, 1956. He served as Foreign Minister of Pakistan in the coalition government of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), Awami National Party (ANP) and Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam-F (JUI-F) formed after the 2008 general elections. He was a senior leader of Pakistan Peoples Party, where he served as president of PPP Punjab. He is the head of the Qureshi family and has many followers in Pakistan and abroad. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi is also the current *sajjada nashin* and custodian of the Mausoleum of Shah Rukn-e-Alam and Shrine of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria. Qureshi earned a bachelors degree from Forman Christian College in Lahore and a law degree from Cambridge University (Profile: Shah Mehmood Qureshi, from PML, to PPP to PTI, 2011). After partition in 1951 election, the only son of Sir Murid Hussain Qureshi defeated from Walayat Hussain Gardezi of Muslim League. Later, he was elected as Vice Chairman Baldya Multan in 1959. In 1962, he was elected Member National Assembly and elected Deputy Leader of Council Muslim League (Anjum, 1992, p.193). *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi left Council Muslim League due to EBDO (Elected Body Disqualification Order) and with the support of Nawab of Kalabagh, he joined Convention Muslim League. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi support Ayub Khan against Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah in 1965 election. Sajjad stayed in Convention Muslim league till the downfall of Ayub regime (Anjum, 1992).

Makhdoom Sadiq Hussain Qureshi had not good relations with his cousin *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi. Gilanis took advantage of this rift and tried to convince him to join Muslim League

Qayum (MLQ). When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was on eight days visit to Multan-Sadiq Hussain Qureshi joined PPP to save his political strength. This was an indication that how these politicians change their political affiliations to retain their political power. Now *Makhdoom* Sadiq Hussain Qureshi was competing Syed Alamdar Hussain Gilani. In 1970, politics of Qureshi had to face ever worst political defeat. Both of these families were the part of Ayub Regime. In 1970 election, they found that instead of Council Muslim League and Muslim League Qayum (MLQ)-their political camp should be Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) (Anjum, 1992, p. 195). In Bhutto period, Qureshi Family was in power due to Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi. Syed Hamid Raza Gilani and *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi moved towards PPP after defeat in elections. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) changes its political stance in 1977 as compared to 1970 elections. Now its all nominated candidates were feudal; including Qureshis, Gardezis and Gilanis.

After 1977 elections, Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was facing allegations of corruption. Chief Martial Law Administrator General Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law in the country. During this hard time feudal lords left Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Zia-ul-Haq announced local bodies elections instead of General Elections on 17th November 1979. Fakhar Imam entered in political scenario of Multan in Local Bodies Elections of 1979, where Qureshis and Gilanis made alliance against him. They brought sajjada nashins of Taunsa, Pakpattan, other biradries and families in politics to counter Fakhar Imam. In 1983, Shah Mehmood Qureshi had to face opposition of *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani, so he could not be elected as a councilor. In Non-Party Elections 1985, Shah Mehmood Qureshi defeated *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi. In Local Bodies Elections 1987, Shah Mehmood Qureshi defeated Gilani Family and became Chairman Multan District Council. Gilani Family was ruling Local Bodies politics for the last 57 years. Elder brother of Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi and *sajjada nashin* of *dargah* Shah Rukn-i-Alam, *Makhdoom* Muhammad Hussain Qureshi did Friendship Deed in 1985 with his former political rival and Minister for Industry Hamid Raza Gilani (Anjum, 1992).

In Non-Party Elections 1985, Sadiq Hussain Qureshi supported Syed Mahammad Raza Gardezi but he lost from Syed Hamid Raza Gilani. Shah Mehmood Qureshi was contesting from provincial constituency PP164. In 1984 Referendum-*Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi supported General Zia-ul-Haq. After Non Party Elections 1985, he joined Muslim League headed by Muhammad Khan Junejo. He was rewarded first as a senator from Punjab and then Deputy Chairman Senate. In response to his loyalties in Presidential Referendum and organization of Muslim League, General Ziaul Haq nominated him as Governor Punjab. *Makhdoom* Sadiq Hussain Qureshi, who was Chief Minister Punjab in 1977, could only get few thousands votes in 1985 elections and left politics. In 1988, *Makhdoom* Murid Hussain Qureshi, the son of Sajjad Hussain Qureshi and his son-in-law *Makhdoom* Muhammad Ahsan Shah were defeated (Anjum, 1992, p.198). When Benazir took oath as a Prime Minister-on the same day Punjab Assembly elected Mian Nawaz Sharif as leader of the house. Benazir Bhutto stressed upon *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi, not to take oath-in order to restrict the oath of Nawaz Sharif. *Makhdoom* Sajjad Hussain Qureshi denied her demand, took oath and proved his loyalty with Nawaz Sharif. After this event Tikkah Khan nominated as Governor Punjab by replacing Sajjad Qureshi (Anjum, 1992, p.199).

Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi was born on January 1, 1948 in *Makhdoom* Rashid, Multan (Hashmi, 2005, p.27). He is an "agriculturist" by profession. He earned Masters in Political Science and later Masters in Philosophy from University of the Punjab. Hashmi entered in politics in 1985, and has been elected for the National Assembly seat for the terms of 1985-1988, 1990-1993, 1993-1997, and 1997-1999. From 1997-1999, he served as "Federal Minister for Health" in Nawaz Sharif's cabinet. Earlier Hashmi had served as a "Minister of State for Youth Affairs". He was very active for "Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD)" (Hashmi, 2005, p. 166-167). Hashmi wrote in his book "*Han Main Baghi Hon*", "My family supported me in my political career in positive way. My Grandfather *Makhdoom* Noor Charagh Shah joined Muslim League immediately after its establishment. My father was a religious and spiritual person having no concerned with the political charm and posts. But he was associated with Muslim League from 1930 to 1979-till his death" (Hashmi, 2005, p. 40). Javed Hashmi claimed to be the politically trained

from the following five universities or political institutions: *Makhdoom* Rasheed village, University of Punjab, Politics of Lahore city, prison, and United Nations (Hashmi, 2005).

Hashmi's statement elaborate that he earned street wisdom from his village *Makhdoom* Rasheed where elders of his and other families sort out day to day conflicts between individuals and families related to marriages, land and financial etc. Secondly, during the study in University of the Punjab, he actively participated in the student politics. This form of politics grooms him as a politician and enhances his abilities as a political speaker and decision maker. Thirdly, Hashmi learned from the politics of Lahore when Pakistan Peoples Party gone through the stages of its establishment and rule. Lahore enhances political wisdom of Javed Hashmi as it is the cultural hub of Pakistan. Hashmi witnessed many political struggles which start from Lahore. Hashmi's fourth political teacher was prison, where he thinks about his political strengths and weaknesses. He met across many political leaders during his stay in the prison. He wrote a book in jail, covering his political journey. He considers United Nation as his fifth political teacher. He visited UN during his young age and later on. Hashmi learned that how United Nations resolve conflicts between states which is worth learning aspect for him.

Formal electoral political career of Hashmi begins from the Student elections of 1972, held in Punjab University Lahore (Hashmi, 2005). His full panel won the said elections despite opposition of the ruling elite-Mustafa Khar and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. However, Javed Hashmi jumped into the national politics practically in 1976. In the same year he joined Tehrik-e-Istaqlal. He was not only the successful candidate of Provincial assembly in 1977 election from Lahore but also held a ministry, later he resigned as a minister in 1979 (Hashmi, 2005).

Democratic Period from 1988 to 1999

Makhdoom Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani joined the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) when his differences rose with the Muslim League in 1988. In the Benazir Bhutto cabinet of 1988-1990, he served as Minister of Tourism from March 1989 to January 1990 and Minister of Housing and Works from January 1990 to August 1990. Later, under second Benazir Bhutto term, he was elected as Speaker of the National Assembly in October 1993 and served until February 1997. In political crisis of 1993, Gilani Family was a part of Muslim League (N). Syed Tanvirul Hassan Gilani, faithful fellow of Nawaz Sharif left him and joined Ghulam Ishaq Khan Lobby. Tanvirul Hassan Gilani was also included in the cabinet of Balakh Sher Mazari. He was defeated by Tahir Rashid in 1993 while Yousaf Raza Gilani won by defeating Sikandar Hayat Bosan. Sikandar Hayat Bosan supported Manzoor Wattoo however with the efforts of Hamid Raza Gilani he got constituency ticket of Muslim League. Yousaf Raza Gilani elected Speaker National Assembly but he could not handled the house during his tenure-especially scenes of dance, abuses, boxing and walk out were watched during the session of 29 October 1994. Benazir Bhutto annoyed with Yousaf Raza Gilani when he ordered to bring the imprisoned members of Muslim League (N) in the National Assembly (Anjum, 1992, p. 213).

Political timeline of *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi shows that in 1988 he Joined Pakistan Muslim League (N) and won Punjab Provincial Assembly seat. Qureshi was taken as the Minister of Planning & Development in the cabinet of the then Punjab Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif from November 1988 to August 1990. In 1990, *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi left PML (N) and join Pakistan Muslim League Junejo (PML-J) led by Manzoor Wattoo. He won the election of the Punjab Provincial Assembly from Multan and served as Finance Minister in the cabinet of Chief Minister Manzoor Wattoo from 1990 to 1993. In the same year Qureshi left PML-J and joined Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). He was elected as member National Assembly from Multan and served as Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs. 1991 Local Bodies Elections took an interesting turn. Yousaf Raza Gilani of PPP and Shah Mehmood Qureshi fight as an ally to lead the district council because Yousaf Raza Gilani supported his brother Mujtaba Gilani and Hamid Raza Gilani supported his son Raza Gilani to keep on the control of Gilani Family. However, Shah Mehmood Qureshi overwhelmed the district leadership with the

help of Gilani Family (ECP, 2017). In General Election 1997, his rival *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) won the contest (Profile, 2011).

Makhdoom Javed Hashmi actively took part in politics during 1988 to 1999. This was the post Zia and a very active political period of Pakistani politics. Two parties overwhelmed this phase: Pakistan Muslim League (N) led by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) led by Benazir Bhutto. Political rivalry between these two parties shaped the overall canvas of politics from 1988 to 1999. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi was taken as Minister of State for Youth Affairs in the cabinet of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif from 1990 to 1993. He served as Federal Minister for Health in Nawaz Sharif's cabinet during his second term from 1997 to 1999. During second term of Nawaz Government, Hashmi was blamed allegedly involve in Mehran Bank Scandal but he denied any involvement (Hashmi, 2017)

Dictatorship Period from 1999 to 2002

Yousaf Raza Gilani was arrested on 11 February 2001 by National Accountability Bureau (NAB), over charges of misused of authority during his National Assembly Speakership. Gilani was accused of hiring up to 600 ineligible people from his constituency and place them on the government payroll. The NAB claimed that Gilani inflicted a loss of Rs.30 million annually. He was convicted six years imprisonment by an anti-corruption court (Hasan, 2009). During his stay in jail, he wrote a book narrating his personal and political journey. He did not contest 2002 elections because of being in jail but his supported nephew Syed Asad Murtaza Gilani was elected as a member National Assembly. Asad later joined the PPP-Patriots paving the way for allegations of secret deal against his jailed uncle.

Gilani played an active role for restoration of deposed Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry (New PM Yousuf Raza Gilani sworn in, 2008). Gilani's eldest son, Abdul Qadir Gilani, started his political career from Multan. Qadir married the granddaughter of Pir Pagara Shah Mardan Shah II in 2008. Gilani's second son Ali Musa Gilani also completing his studies is participating in politics as a legacy of his family (Hasan, 2009).

Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi elected as the District Nazim of Multan from 2000 to 2002. In 2002 elections, Shah Mahmood Qureshi defeated *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi from Multan at National Assembly seat. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi was appointed as President of PPP Punjab in 2006. In General Election 2008, he won National Assembly constituency seat from Multan and served the country as Minister for Foreign Affairs. After taking charge of the office, Qureshi said that, "I am committed to establishing peace in the region and maintaining friendly ties with neighboring India". His differences emerged with the leadership of PPP at the case of Raymond Davis diplomatic immunity. Qureshi's view was that Davis is not a diplomat. As a result he was dropped from the ministry in February, 2011. Later he left PPP and resigned from National Assembly seat in November 2011. Qureshi announced to join Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) at a rally in Ghotki on November 27, 2011 (Profile, 2011).

Political period from 1999 to 2002 was very tough for *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi. He led Pakistan Muslim League (N) after the exile of party head Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Due to his fearless struggle and being outspoken, he has to face anger from military dictator General Pervez Musharraf. Hashmi became an anti-establishment figure because of his struggle for democracy during Musharraf regime. He was imprisoned by the military ruler from April 2004 to August 2007 (Hashmi, 2017).

Semi-democratic Period from 2002 to 2008

Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani was elected as Prime Minister of coalition government. Gilani was the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan from south Punjab (Profile, 2012). Gilani was convicted by courts and subsequent prison sentence. His imprisonment was condemned across the country. Gilani was released on 7 October 2006 from Adiala Jail, after spending more than five years in captivity. PPP nominated Gilani for the post of Prime Minister. PPPP completed consultations with coalition partners about the Prime Minister and its allies endorsed the nomination (Profile, 2012). On 22 March 2008, he was

officially announced by PPPP as its candidate for the premiership of the country (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2017).

On 24 March 2008, Gilani was elected as Prime Minister by Parliament after defeating Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi of the PML-Q, by securing 264 votes in favor and 42 against. He was sworn in from President Musharraf on 25 March, 2008. On 29 March, he won a unanimous vote of confidence from Parliament (Jafery, 1998). The first part of Gilani's Cabinet was sworn in on March 31, 2008 where 24 ministers sworn in, 11 from PPPP, nine from Pakistan Muslim League (N), from Awami National Party, one from Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F), and one from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

On May 13, 2008, the PML (N) ministers resigned from Gilani's government due to a disagreement related to the reinstatement of judges whom Musharraf removed from their offices in 2007. On July 19, Gilani addressed to the nation first time in his tenure. The main points in his address were focused on the crisis of flour shortage, load-shedding, terrorism and extremism, restoration of judges, economic downslide, inflation and unemployment in the country (New PM, 2008). Gilani was attacked near Islamabad on 3 September 2008. Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for the attack (Hasan, 2009).

In 2002 elections, Shah Mahmood Qureshi defeated *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi from Multan at National Assembly seat. He secured 76606 votes whereas *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi manages to obtain 44095 votes. This was Musharraf era and between both *Makhdooms* Javed Hashmi was more victimized. Due to active political role of Qureshi, he was appointed as President of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) Punjab chapter in 2006. Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian has an edge in Election 2008 due to the death of Benazir Bhutto. *Makhdoom* Shah Mahmood Qureshi won National Assembly seat from NA-148 Multan-I by securing 83184 votes and served the country as Minister for Foreign Affairs (Profile, 2011).

In 'General Elections – 2008', *Makhdoom* Muhammad Javed Hashmi won three out of the four National Assembly seats. In the constituency NA-55, Rawalpindi-VI *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi defeated Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed. In other seats he won from NA-123, Lahore-VI and NA-149, Multan – II. In order to narrate his political journey, Javed Hashmi wrote a book titled 'Han Main Baaghi Houn' (Yes! I am a rebel) while he was in jail; convicted in a sedition case. Hashmi's book unveils that, "he was jailed because he demanded a commission to be formed to investigate the Kargil issue, the restoration of democracy and opposed the army's role in politics (Hashmi, 2005)."

On October 29, 2003, Hashmi was arrested from Parliamentary Lodges at the charges of inciting mutiny. Before this arrest, on October 20, 2003, he had read a letter from anonymous military officers at General Headquarters (GHQ) demanding investigation regarding corruption in the armed forces and criticizing General Pervez Musharraf and his relationship with George W. Bush. His trial was held in the Central Jail, Adiala instead of 'District and Sessions Court'. On April 12, 2004, Hashmi was sentenced 23 years imprisonment for inciting mutiny in the army, forgery, and defamation (Pakistani Politician is Jailed for Treason, 2004).

The verdict had widely been criticized by all opposition parties in Pakistan, including Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians of the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, six party-alliances Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal. On August 3, 2007, after three and a half years in prison, a three-member bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan under Chief Justice of Pakistan Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry granted him bail. Javed was released from the Central Jail Kotlakhpat in Lahore on August 4, 2007 but again arrested at the declaration of a state of emergency on November 3, 2007 (Pakistan opposition leader bailed, 2007).

Analysis

Multan is known as the city of saints because of the numerous Sufi shrines here, including those of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakariya, Shah Rukne Alam, Shah Shams Tabrezi and Moosa Pak Shaheed. The city is one of the oldest human settlements in southern Asia. The district is at the centre of a much-talked about Seraiki belt, which time and again echoes with demands for the status of a province, separate from the Punjab. Multan, as the suggested capital of the proposed province, has been projected as an alternative seat

of power to Lahore. However, despite its history of dissent and defiance, Multan's culture still appears to be more languid than that of other industrial cities in the country. At the same time, a number of its political scions have earned a name for themselves at the national level. The dominant families of Multan are the Gilanis, Qureshis, Noons, Dogars and Ansaris.

Gilani's family has been in contemporary electoral politics since 1921 (Anjum 1992, p. 202). He started his political career as Multan's district council chairman in 1983 and elected as MNA in 1985. He worked as a federal minister in both the cabinets of General Ziaul Haq and Mohammad Khan Junejo, before joining the PPP in 1988 (Anjum, 1992). Politics of Gilani family has witnessed many dimensions. Hamid Raza Gilani did not participate in 1988 election to keep the family unite. He defeated by his nephew *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani in 1990. 1991 Local Bodies Elections took an interesting turn. Yousaf Raza Gilani of PPPP and Shah Mehmood Qureshi fight as an ally to lead the district council because Yousaf Raza Gilani supported his brother Mujtaba Gilani and Hamid Raza Gilani supported his son Raza Gilani to keep on the control of Gilani Family. However, Shah Mehmood Qureshi overwhelmed the district leadership with the help of Gilani Family (ECP, 2017).

In the general elections 1988 Yousaf Raza Gilani defeated the then Punjab chief minister Nawaz Sharif from this constituency. He made his way to the National Assembly in 1990 and 1993. He has also served as the National Assembly speaker in the 1993 in PPP government (Anjum, 1992). In 2002- NA148-*Makhdoom* Shah Mahmood Qureshi of the PPPP beat his traditional rival *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi of the PML (N), with the former getting 76,000 votes against the latter's 44,000. Hashmi was then the president of PML (N) in the absence of Nawaz and Shahbaz Sharif during Musharraf government, undergone long years of imprisonment, later he served as the party's vice-president but his rival, Qureshi, in the meantime has come to head PPPP Punjab chapter.

In the light of Max Weber's concept of authority and power when applied to Gilani's politics, it is found out that as per traditional authority, Gilani is a traditional land lord as he inherited land from his forefathers; attract his followers or *mureeds* associated with the shrine of Musa Pak Shaheed. His family is engaged in solving issues and problems of *mureeds* or followers since centuries. This tradition is still continuing through the elders of Gilani family. As per Weber's concept of Charismatic authority, though Yousaf Gilani though is not a *sajjada nashin* of the Musa Pak shrine but he is one of the descendants of Musa Pak. People associated with Musa Pak respect and support Gilani in electoral and non-electoral politics due to his religious background. Due to his association with shrine, *mureeds* and followers of Musa Pak consider themselves liable to support Gilani in religious, social, economic and political matters. In case of legal rational authority, Gilani rose to political glory when elected as prime minister of Pakistan. He won most of his contested elections and served at different positions. While acquiring legal rational authority, Gilani is accused of favoritism when he granted jobs to his *mureeds* and party workers. During his political career, Yousaf Raza Gilani used his family background, association with renowned sufi and one of the top position in national political party. He rewarded and victimized due to the different political moods in our region. Gilani enjoyed premiership, speakership and many ministries while accused of misuse of authority, corruption and favoritism.

Shah Mehmood Qureshi entered politics when he was elected as the chairman of the Multan district council in 1987. In 1988 and 1990, Qureshi was a member of the Punjab Assembly and worked as a provincial finance minister in the cabinet of Ghulam Haider Wyne. After developing some differences with Nawaz Sharif, he joined the PPP and contested for National Assembly seat in the subsequent election. Since then he has been alternately winning and losing against Hashmi. Hashmi entered politics as an anti-Bhutto student leader in 1970s and was the youngest cabinet member under martial law of General Zia ul Haq. He was first elected as MNA in 1985 but lost from Qureshi in 1988 and 1993. He was, however, successful in 1990 and 1997. Even when he was defeated from this constituency in 2002, he was elected to the National Assembly from Lahore. The period from 2002 to 2008 can be categorized as semi-democratic period. Though, an assembly was formed after 2002 elections but the stage was set for non-democratic president General Musharraf. This period can also be called as transition period from dictatorship to

democracy. During this period, all the three *Makhdooms* actively participated in regional, provincial and national politics. For the 2008 polls, Hashmi is the only politician who won three National Assembly seats out of four contested.

Table 1 shows the electoral contribution of Yousaf Raza Gilani at national assembly constituencies. Electoral history of Gilani represents his contribution from traditional constituencies from Multan. In 1988 election, he contested from NA -114, Multan-1 for Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and won by 58300 votes. In 1990 elections, *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani participated from the platform of Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) from NA -114, Multan-1 and won again by 60,076 votes. *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani won from constituency NA -114 Multan-1 representing Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) by 72078 votes in 1993 elections. He took part in 1997 election from the same seat, as candidate of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP), but lost against Haji Sikandar Hayat Bosan of Pakistan Muslim League (N). Gilani got 44,603 votes compared to his opponent Bosan who secured 67,320 votes. In 2002 elections, Gilani could not participate due to disqualification. Again in 2008 elections, Gilani competed for NA-151 Multan IV seat representing Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and won by 77,664 votes.

Table 1: Electoral History of *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani (1988-2008)

Sr.#	Year	Constituency	Winner	Votes	Votes when lost
1.	1988	NA -114 Multan-1	<i>Makhdoom</i> Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani/ PPP	58300	
2.	1990	NA -114 Multan-1	<i>Makhdoom</i> Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani/ PDA	60076	
3.	1993	NA -114 Multan-1	<i>Makhdoom</i> Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani/PPP	72078	
4.	1997	NA -114 Multan-1 Gilani Lost	Haji Sikandar Hayat Bosan/ PML(N)	67320	44603
5.	2002	Disqualified	-	-	
6.	2008	NA -151 Multan IV	Yousaf Raza Gilani	77664	

Source: Pakistan Election Commission

In the light of analyzed political career of *Makhdooms* during democracy, semi democracy and dictatorship their role changed as per prevailing political situation at that time. *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani enjoyed benefits during Zia rule, shifted towards democratic forces in post Zia period. In dictatorship of Musharraf, he was disqualified but this sacrifice resulted in his success after Musharraf regime when he was nominated by PPPP and elected as Prime Minister. Later, he was again disqualified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Notable achievement in his political career is his struggle for restoration of democracy during dictatorship.

Table 2: Electoral History of *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi (1988-2008)

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

Source: Pakistan Election Commission

Table 2 shows electoral history of *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi highlighting his contribution from traditional constituencies from Multan. In 1988 election, he contested from PP-166 Multan-VII representing Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and won by having 23917 votes. In 1990 elections, Qureshi participated from the platform of IJI from PP-166 Multan-VII constituency. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi won the election with 32,888 votes. In 1993 elections, Qureshi won from constituency PP-166 Multan-VII representing Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) by securing 34396 votes. He took part in 1997 election from NA -120 Multan- cum- Khanewal as a candidate of Pakistan Muslim League (N) but lost the seat from *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi. In 2002 elections Qureshi participated from NA-148 Multan -1 representing Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) with 76606 votes. Qureshi took part in 2008 elections from the same constituency from PPPP and won by securing 83184 votes. *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi continues the legacy of his father and grandfather. After Zia regime, he joined IJI and struggled for democracy at regional, provincial, and national level. Qureshi spend a long political time with Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). He was a critic on Musharraf policies during dictatorship. His political career from 1988 to 2008 can be titled as pro-democratic political struggle.

In case of Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Max Weber's traditional authority applied being a landlord inherited from his descendants; mostly during British era. Qureshi and his family elders are engage in resolving issues of *mureeds* and voters since generations. Qureshi and his family are in contact with the public mostly through the local bodies politics where voters demands for solution of their petty issues. Mehmood Qureshi enjoys the status of sajjad nashin of the Bahauddin Zakariya and Shah Rukn-e-Alam shrines. This status is a charismatic addition to his personality. *Mureeds* blindly follow his instructions to get benefit in worldly and spiritual matters. Being custodian of the shrines *mureeds* vote him to fulfill their liability in order to please the buried sufi and his current representative. In the legal authority concept Qureshi contest elections at regional, provincial and national level with the unquestioned support of his loyal *mureeds*. As per electoral record, he won most of his elections contested. Qureshi is renowned for connection with *mureeds* during tenures of treasury benches or opposition. Qureshi is considered a seasoned politician but at the same time criticized for nepotism because his immediate family members are in politics who are beneficiaries at the cost of *mureeds* or voters. Qureshi is currently accused of misuse of authority during tenure as foreign minister and violent protest against the state.

Table 3: Electoral History of *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi (1988-2008)

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

Source: Pakistan Election Commission Archives.

Table 3 shows electoral history of Makhdoom Javed Hashmi. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi is a seasoned politician; hence, his electoral record highlights more achievements compared to failures. In 1988 election, he contested from NA -120 Multan-cum-Khanewal-VI representing Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) but lost from Ch Abdur Rahim Wahla of PPP's. In 1990 elections, he participated from the same constituency as a candidate of IJI and won the seat with 70,025 votes. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi lost the same constituency in 1993 elections from *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi. Hashmi won NA-120 Multan-cum- Khanewal-VII seat securing 59,675 votes. In 2002, he took part in elections from NA-148 Multan-I but lost from Shah Mehmood Qureshi. In 2008 elections, *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi contested from four constituencies including NA-149 Multan II, NA-55 Rawalpindi VI, NA-123 Lahore VI and NA-148 Multan I. Hashmi won three other constituencies and lost from NA-148 Multan I. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi played his role in democracy as a critic against military regimes. This is the reason that during Musharraf regime, he had to face harsh situations. Hashmi always enfolded himself within democracy. His achievements for democracy revolve around criticism and struggle against those forces acting directly or indirectly adverse to democratic system of Pakistan.

Javed Hashmi also fulfills the three dimensional concept of authority presented by Max Weber. Being land owner of agriculture land he represents traditional authority. As he narrated in his biography that his family elders resolves day to day matters in his native village Makhdoom Rasheed. Hashmi hold on this practice being an active participant of local and regional politics. Hashmi is not official custodian of any shrine but a descendant of great Sufi Makhdoom Rashid who was cousin of Bahauddin Zakariya. Hashmi fulfills the status of charismatic personality as presented by Max Weber because followers of Makhdoom Rasheed and *mureeds* of the current custodian of shrine support Javed Hashmi in electoral and non-electoral politics. While discussing legal authority, Hashmi contested several elections and won most of them. Followers of Makhdoom Rasheed and *mureeds* of shrine related people support Hashmi in electoral and non-electoral politics. When Hashmi attain legal authority, he strives for the rights of his voters and *mureeds* of his family.

The study reveals that three selected *Makhdooms*: Yousaf Raza Gilani, Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Javed Hashmi adjust themselves in active politics at regional, provincial and national level as per prevailing situations. Alliances and opposition with each other is an interesting factor in the political dimension of the three *Makhdooms*. Period from 1988 to 1999 is a democratic period in political history of Pakistan. During this period, three *Makhdooms* of Multan by using their spiritual and traditional strength for democracy either as a part of government or opposition played their political role actively. In the period from 1999 to 2002, the struggle of all *Makhdooms* was against dictatorship, they played an active intra party and inter-party role in the politics of Pakistan. During this period all three *Makhdooms* were politically struggling hard against a dictator. Due to this struggle, all of them were politically rewarded. *Makhdoom* Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani was elected Prime Minister; *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi was appointed Foreign Minister of Pakistan and Hashmi got national and international fame as a politician. The period from 2002 to 2008 for *Makhdooms* being the spokesmen of democracy, was extremely complex and struggled based with particular reference to their political career as this period witnessed democracy tailored by dictator or called semi-democratic period.

Post 2008 Scenario

During his prime minister-ship, Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani faced challenges at three fronts: foreign, national and personal. At foreign front Makhdoom Yousaf Raza Gilani paid visit to many countries and tried to explain Pakistan's position at the issues of terrorism, trade and regional stability (Britannica dictionaries online, 2017). Gilani has to face certain challenges at foreign fronts like ups and down relations with USA (Britannica dictionaries online, 2017). At national front Gilani had to tackle issues like Salala Check post incident, Osama Bin Laden issue, Raymond Davis issue, Visa issuance authority to Ambassador in Washington Hussain Haqqani, Judiciary verdict (Britannica dictionaries online, 2017). *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani played a role in constitutional amendments and struggle for restoration of judiciary (Yousaf Raza Gilani, 2017). Personally Gilani had to face disqualification on the basis of

contempt of court regarding reopen of Asif Ali Zardari case (Boone, 2012). Gilani's son Ali Haider was kidnapped by Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) during election campaign of 2013. He was recovered and reached Lahore on May 11, 2016 (Haider, 2016). Gilani is considered as senior and loyal politician of Pakistan Peoples Party from Southern part of Punjab since long.

Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi served as foreign minister from 31 March 2008 to 9 February 2011 in the Prime Ministership of *Makhdoom* Yousaf Raza Gilani (Islam, 2013). His differences with the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) government emerged on the basis of two reasons: issue of Raymond Davis and minister-ship (Islam, 2013). Qureshi left PPP on November 2011 blaming PPP of Benazir Bhutto as Zardari League (Islam, 2013). Qureshi announced that, "I am going to join Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI)" at a rally in Ghotki (Profile: Shah Mehmood Qureshi, from PML, to PPP to PTI, 2011). After joining PTI, Qureshi was appointed as Vice Chairman PTI (Islam, 2013). *Makhdoom* Shah Mehmood Qureshi is considered one among the three most powerful position holder of PTI. He ever pays attention to both political grounds: regional and national to secure his traditional political and spiritual legacy.

It is believed that Hashmi was personally asked by Party Chairman Nawaz Sharif to contest from Rawalpindi for the National Assembly seat against Sheikh Rasheed of the PML (Q) who is undefeated since 1988. *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi won 3 seats, one from Rawalpindi, another from Lahore and yet another from Multan in the National Assembly Elections. Hashmi defeated PML-Q's political stalwart Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed in Rawalpindi. PML (N) finished second, 2008 Elections after PPPP (ECP, 2017). After spending a long political period in Pakistan Muslim League-N, *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi joined PTI on 24 December 2011, considering it an ideological revolution in the current political scenario of Pakistan (Javed Hashmi of PML-N joins PTI, 2011). After formally joining PTI, *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi and his daughter Memoona Hashmi resigned from National Assembly on 29 December 2011 (Javed Hashmi, 2011). In recognition of long political career, *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi appointed as President PTI on 19 March 2012 till 23 September 2014 (PM's ouster by current CJP was planned, claims Javed Hashmi, 2017). His differences with Imran Khan emerged when PTI led a Dharna (sit-in) procession in August 2014 from Lahore to Islamabad, demanding resignation from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on the basis of alleged rigging in General Election 2013. Hashmi criticized the sit-in politics of PTI (Ahmad, 2013). After *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi resignation, by-election was conducted in NA-149 Multan where he defeated by PTI supported candidate Amir Dogar who later join PTI (Subhani & Ali, 2014). *Makhdoom* Javed Hashmi is considered one of the most senior politicians of Pakistan who witnessed many ups and down. In a press conference, he said that only politicians paid sacrifices for this country. He added that there is no accountability for Judges and Army ("Where is the accountability for judges, army?" asks Javed Hashmi, 2017). Currently, Yousaf Gilani is politically active from PPP platform, especially in South Punjab while Shah Mehmood Qureshi is facing different court cases while Hashmi restricted himself after control of young leadership in PML-N.

Conclusion

Political role of three selected *Makhdooms* is pivotal in one of the oldest city of the world-Multan. Families of *Makhdooms* are participating in regional, provincial and national politics. Their rivalry and alliance depend upon the situation of regional politics. The traditional and spiritual legacy of all *Makhdooms* still survives, though they have to face certain ups and down under different democratic and dictator regimes. *Makhdooms* exploit direct and indirect support of their *mureeds* who are also their voters to attain authority and power with the help of political parties or as independent candidate. When *Makhdooms* elected as part of executive, they reward their voters and *mureeds* by offering jobs, resolve their issue concerned to courts and police. The study reveals that role of *Makhdooms* is different at local, provincial and national constituencies. At local level, they satisfy their voters by resolving limited area issues like water supply, drainage, cleanliness and documentations under the domain of the councils. At provincial level, *Makhdooms* participate in development of service roads, main roads, health, education,

other related issues of the constituencies and constitutional contribution for the betterment of the province. While at national level *Makhdooms* play their role in development, internal and external policy making and constitutional amendments for the betterment of the country. On the other hand, *Makhdooms* has been accused of nepotism, misuse of authority, exploitation of *mureeds* and opportunist. Being part of the social and political system of Pakistan, *Makhdooms* are playing active political role since generations by convincing their *mureeds*, followers and voters.

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