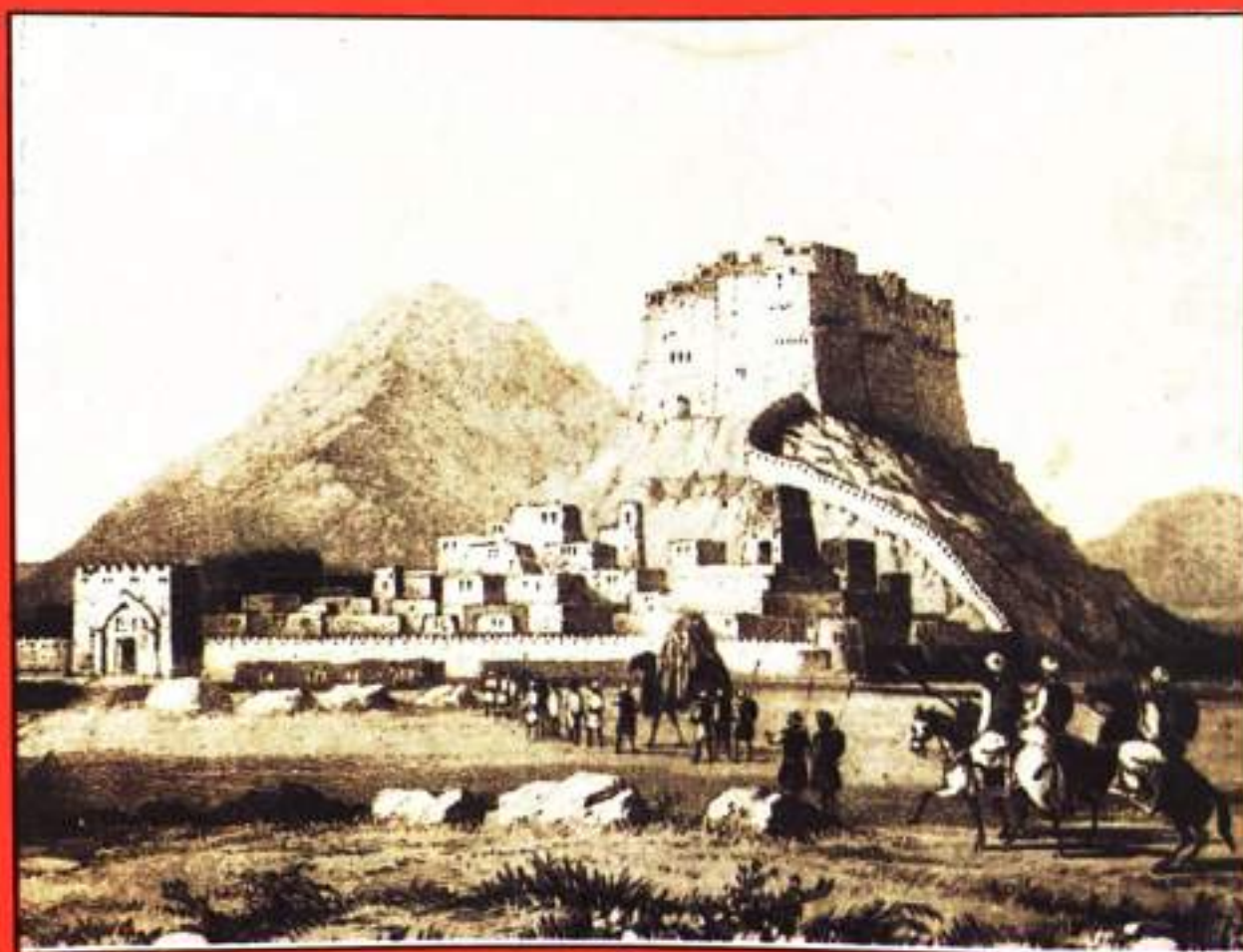


BALUCHISTAN

STATEHOOD AND NATIONALISM



KALAT: The capital of Country of Baluchistan (1836)

By:
Habib Jalib Baloch
(Perekani)



BALUCHISTAN

STATEHOOD AND NATIONALISM

BY
Habib Jalib Baloch
Advocate

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Publisher:
J. PEREKAN ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
e-mail: perekan@yahoo.com

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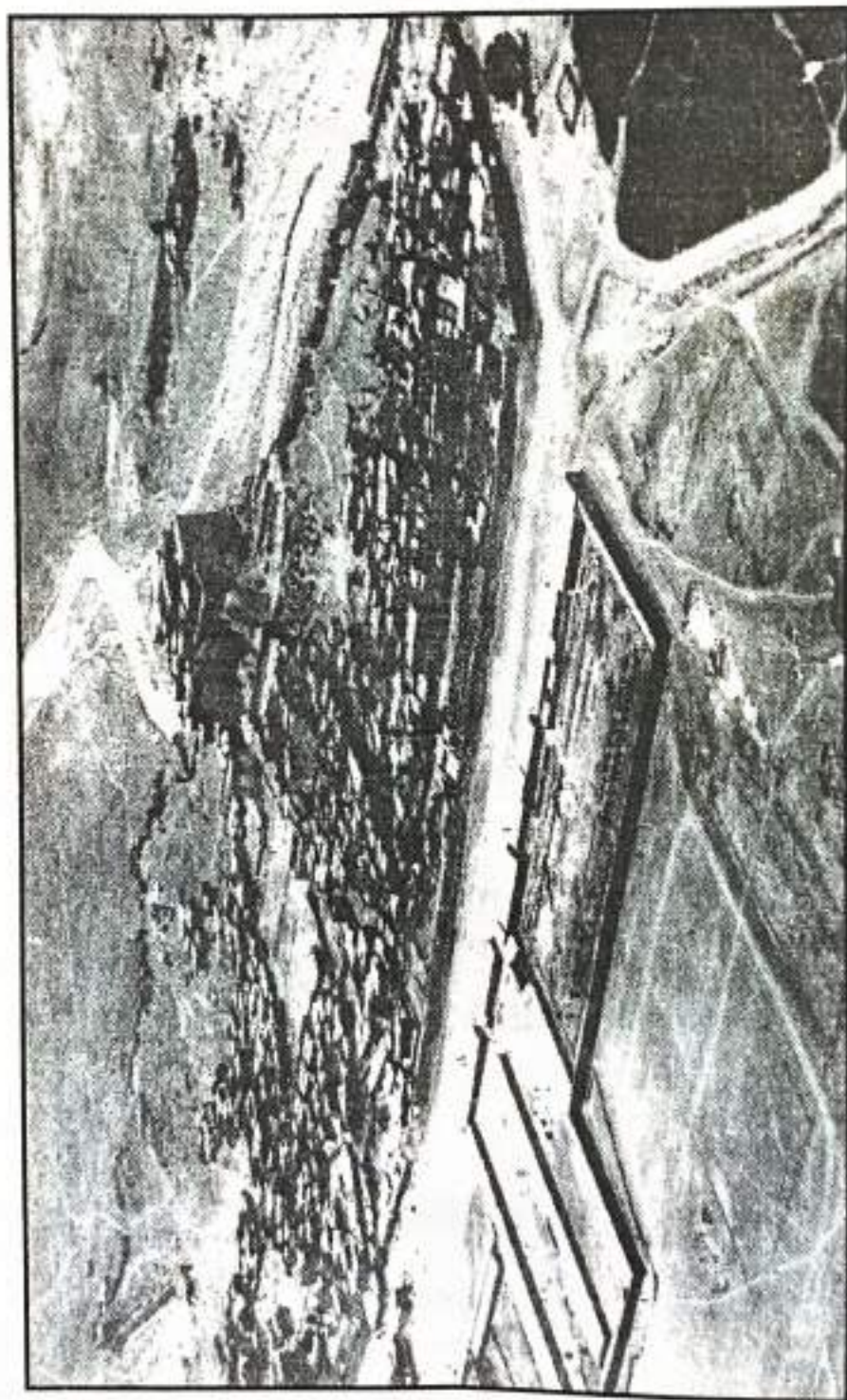
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Over View of Kalat (1839) Capital of Country of Balochistan.

INTRODUCTION:

"The course of social progress is tied in closely with anti-colonial revolutions, national liberation movements, the renaissance of quite a few countries, and the emergence of dozens of new ones the liberation.... Was a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system".1*

The surmounting complex set of contradictions between Imperialism and under developed countries and oppressed peoples the persistent course of national liberation revolutions and the contradictions and problems within developing capitalist oriented countries need, thorough comprehensive and concrete analysis for better understanding of revolutionary processes and course of social progress in this context.

Scientific Philosophy is the only foundation, dynamic instrumental source, for scientific assessment, through creative application of its methodological principles, in the given concrete conditions.

"BALOCHISTAN" and anti colonial national movement" in Balochistan is phenomena, the essence of which is yet not been studied completely and comprehensively, on dialectico-historical materialistic basis.

Neither, the ideo-political and practical importance, problems and perspectives of the movement nor, the role of historical traditions, both positive and negative in the liberation movement, is studied, specially. That is why, the whole spirit of scientific approach, demands from us, historical, class and partisan approach to the said phenomena.

Only the some soviet scholars the orientalist of academy of social sciences of the USSR initiated the ethnic history and some aspects of the problems on dialectico-materialistic basis and the Baloch and English authors also tried their best in this regard.

The works of soviet scientists, like Yuri-Gangovsky's "The nationalities of Pakistan" (Both English and Urdu), the Pekolin's work "The Baloch Race" (in Russian), B. Ibrahimov's work "The Balochs of Pakistan" in (in Russian) and some works of P.U. Sherkovina, C.H. Kamanev, Zamoida, and C.E. Elarionov,¹ generally on Pakistan, could serve, a scientific oriented work, for further complete and comprehensive thorough investigation of the specific phenomena, "Balochistan" and "anti colonial anti-imperialist, national movement" and ideological struggle around it.

TASKS OF THE INVESTIGATION AND ITS PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE:

The tasks of the investigation, and their practico-theoretical importance, is in full filling the whole noble and dynamic spirit of Scientific Philosophy, the essence of which is formulated, well, by Karl Marx,

That,

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world
In various ways, the point however, is to modify it"***²

Tasks:

1. To understand the contemporary situation and problems, difficulties and perspectives of national and social revolution in Balochistan, it is imperatively necessary to deeply analyse its historical roots, economic, socio-psychological make up and political, basis.
2. The society of Balochistan is Multi-structural compound society, having, communal, patriarchal Tribal, feudal semi feudal, small scale commodity structures, with the capitalist elements of different

¹ * All Works in Russian

² K. Marx, & theses on Feurbach" Marx and Engels. Collected works, vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, P. 8

Balochistan Statehood & Nationalism

3

stages, which are participating in a positive and negative manner in contemporary socio-political activities, thus, the task,

- To show, the evolution of Socio-economic formations, with their transitory character, the dialectical interconnection of the formationally heterogeneity of economic basis and super structure, the origin of classes and state including Tribal confederacies. To deeply asses the role of people, tribes, classes (also mostly marginal ones) and social groups in the making of Baloch history.
 - Being a part and parcel of Asia, and the world, it is necessary to trace out the role of alien mode of productions, the alien colonial, semi-colonial economic basis and super structures, over the development of Productive forces in Balochistan specifically, in introduction of elements of capitalism, and preservation of old relations.*
3. Task, to deeply investigate the experiences of the historical traditions, and their positive and negative role on the evolution of social progress and peoples consciences specifically, their role, in the formation of Tribal confederacies, state and nationality, in the "anti-foreign aggression" "and -colonial" socio-psychological traits and ideology making, and the role of traditions in the spontaneous "resistance and national awareness, their influences over modern anti-imperialist, anti-colonial ideology formation.

This investigation, and valuable lessons and conclusions from the past experience of historical traditions are very important in the socio-political life of the Balochistan.

Need to enlighten and expose (nationally and internationally) the special type "colonialism" of Balochistan by reactionary, forces through objective material and subjective realities of oppression, and subjugation so as to facilitate, in making scientific strategy and tactics for anti-colonial national

revolution, and furnish its political and ideological justification.

4. Task, for better understanding of aims difficulties perspectives and direction of national revolution in oppressed Balochistan, being a specific form of masses struggle in Balochistan it is very important to show its dialectical links, with the democratic national class struggle around it. Being a component part and parcel of world revolutionary process, it is paramount important, to show the proper combination of its national and international duties and functions, and the need of ideological struggle around it.
5. Need to show, on the basis of objective demands, the role of subjective factor in the establishment of National Democratic Party of masses and through the latter, the formation of anti-colonial national front, for further unification of national democratic and progressive forces.
6. Need to show the importance of in combating the negative influences of traditions, like "Tribalism" and petite bourgeois nationalism etc, over the revolutionary movement. But the difficulties of the movement is not only the subjective errors, but the negative influences of Tribal, defunct archaic traditions, which still have socio-cultural economic and psychological roots in Baloch society.

The Practical importance of investigation lies, in the exposition and formulation of the revolutionary media and educational work, in combating the aggressive bourgeois-supra nationalist cum-fanatic propaganda of reactionary forces against the revolutionary movement of Balochistan in which they present the movement as a feudal separatist "Sardari" movement, directed against Pakistan so-called modernisation and integrity, by this aiming at, isolation of movement internally and externally, from revolutionary process.

The practical importance of work lies, in fact, the provision of methodological basis, and scientific work for the readers

and investigators for further discussion and research in tracing the place of Balochistan in Pakistan economy. For concrete understanding of better correlation of historical necessity and freedom, for radical transformation of Baloch Society, through national and social revolution.

Because, the colonial yoke have turned into a chronic disease, having a burden some on the shoulders of Baloch working masses, and have a intolerable in its character, impeding the development of the productive forces, which need revolutionary overthrow, in the entire interest of the working masses and nation as a whole, for revolutionary order of the society.

Because, Marx and Engels, " demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for better order of society," *³ said Lenin.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES:

Scientific methodology, deep understanding of its prepositions and principles, and their creative, skilful, concrete application, in a given economic, socio political condition, in each particular period and even in each spin of historical progress, specially on concrete objective and subjective realities of Balochistan, and evolution of society and movement, is the scientific foundation, even scientific construction of the investigation.

Creative and skilful application of Marxist Methodology in its real sense, on the given concrete material conditions and subjective process gains upper hand in the work.

The following Scientific methodological principles have creatively and skilfully applied, in order to safe- guard from dogmatist and metaphysical approaches: -

*³ Lenin, collected works, vol=2. P.23, Progress pub. Moscow, 1963.

- Leninist four basic demands of Dialectical logic;⁴
- Principles of "Historicism" class and partisanship;
- Method of analysis and synthesis;
- Unity of historical and logical methods;
- Basic and non-basic laws of dialectics, specifically, the system of contradictions in social processes, as a main source of development;
- Law of Negation of Negation.
- The dialectico-materialistic conception of social development;
- Principles of Marxist social theory, that is
 - a) Materialistic conception of history, as a law governed natural historical process, conditioned in the final analysis by the mode of production;
 - b) Strict "historicism";
- Marxist doctrine of socio-economic formations and its progressive succession;
- Dialectics of the productive forces and production relations as a motive force behind social development;
- Relationship between economic basis and super structure in the development of the society;
- Relative independence and active role of superstructure;

⁴ Lenin's four basic demands of Dialectical logic, includes,

- a) Examination of all facets of an object,
- b) Examination of the object in its a development ... in self movement,
- c) A full definition of an object must include the whole of human experience.
- d) Dialectical logic holds that truth is always concrete, never abstract[1]."

- Marxist theory of "Primitive society" and the "concept of inner formation period;
- New per-iodisation of history;
- Objective logic of history and active role of people.

METHODOLOGICAL SOURCES:

a) Classics of Marxism, served, as the main scientific foundation and methodological sources, in the Marxist investigation of Baloch Society. Particularly, the Marxist Methodology of research in Pre-capitalist socio-economic formations, like methodology of "Materialist theory of primitive Society", "Concept of inner-formation period", "The Asiatic mode of production" and "new per-iodisation of history" etc. contributed, as the highly significant guiding methodological basis, in discovery and elaboration of different particular periods of Baloch history, in the investigation of the complex, contradictory, heterogeneous "Multi-structural Baloch society" and through the latter in penetrating, deeper and deeper, back into the origin of Baloch Society.

The works of Karl Marx, Fedrich Angels and V.I.Lenin are rich, highly important, theoretical and methodological treasure for progressive mankind.

The classics are treasure of methodology, not only in discovery and celebration of the "Laws of world history" "The Materialist concept of history" "secret of surplus value" "Political economy" and "the universal historical law of progressive succession of socio-economic formations" having a global character, but also have valuable treasure in laying down the methodological foundation for further celebration of history of the most important particular periods and oriental societies.

The classics became a real guide and method in utilisation of bourgeois, and petty bourgeois, even nationalist

literatures, with strict critical remarks, in exposing of metaphysical approaches and distortion of Baloch history.

Classics safeguarded, against any sort of the scholastic, dogmatist and doctrinarian approaches, particularly, safeguarded in nationalistic approaches in following the history.

Sufficiently utilisation of quotations, in a creative manner from classics, means to lay down rich theoretical traditions for more enrichment and scientifically substantiation of the special work, of its kind in case of Balochistan.

b) **Soviet and other progressive literature's:**

More than 390 books, monographs of the soviet and other scientists, have read or utilised. Particularly, the literature from Institute of Oriental Studies, served as the more bright and vivid mirror, in understanding of the oriental societies, thus, sufficiently substantiated their work.

c) The documents, material and literature of international movement, experiences, and materials of progressive and worker national democratic parties, and experiences of the National revolutions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

d) Many old and fresh works of Baloch, Pashtoon and English, Arabic and Kurdgal Nama other bourgeois authors, on Balochistan, Iran, Afghanistan, and India have utilised in this work with critical remarks.

e) Personal experiences, interviews and statistics are used during the research in a creative and critical manner.

Being a Multi-disciplinary character of the work, accept general philosophical methodology, the specifics of "history", "political economy" "Sociology" "polinthyology" "Ethnography" and "social psychology" have also been used in a very creative manner. Thus, the subject being widened horizontally and vertically in its depth, demanded many folded efforts, in utilisation of above mentioned different sources.

Whether we succeeded in this difficult work or not? The best answer can be provided by the readers with critical remarks and proposals, and this we expect from them. The work has been completed within four years in 1985 and was published in the next year first in Russian then in English in 1986.

STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

The structure of the work is historically and logically in its character. In between the main historical epochs and particular periods, basing mostly on the classics the origin, evolution, role and influence of the historical traditions in Balochistan, have been analysed in a more comprehensive manner. Which still have both positive and negative, influences upon, the contemporary Baloch Society and the national movement in Balochistan.

Therefore, the "Part One" is fully devoted to the analysis of primitive Baloch society and its disintegration, the origin of classes, state and the formation of the experiences of the historical traditions, and their role on the evolution of Baloch society and national awareness in Balochistan.

The negative role of historical traditions in strengthening of "Tribalism" and "Chieftainism" has also been characterised in a more detailed way, almost in all chapters, including this one.

The "Part Two", therefore, deals with, the historical traditions of armed resistance, against great Britain's "

colonialism" and "semi-colonialism", the role of the positive and negative traditions in spontaneous liberation movement of the Balochistan. This chapter also analysis the genesis of political parties in Balochistan and the evolution of the transition of spontaneous struggle into conscious political one.

The experiences of the independence between British and Pakistani are very important for the socio-political life of the Balochistan.

In the "Part Three", these past experiences and valuable lessons from them, for further perspectives of national emancipation and radical transformation of the Balochistan, have been discussed in more detail.

The analysis, and drawn conclusions once again testify, that, the national and colonial question of Balochistan and the struggle for national and social emancipation, have deep roots in Baloch national history.

In the end of every chapter, and in the conclusion, some methodological conclusions, valuable lessons from past experiences of the Baloch masses, have been drawn in a creative manner, for correct policy making.

CHAPTER-1

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD IN BALOCHISTAN AND THEIR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION:

PARAGRAPH-1

- 1. Methodological prepositions on communal, patriarchal tribal traditions and origin of family classes and states in Balochistan.**

What was the origin clan tribe, private property classes and state in Balochistan? This is a question of highly important, deep, complicated nature, which can be concretely and correctly answered, only by the turning of pages Baloch history and society through its evolution using creatively, scientific methodological principles, the principle of "Historicism", the essence of which is formulated by V.I. Lenin in a letter to "Anessa Armand" << The whole spirit of Marxism, its whole system, demands that each proposition should be considered a) only historically, (b) only in connection with others, and (c) only in connection with the concrete experience of history.[1] >>

On the basis of dialectical and materialist concept of History, and its creative applications, of all those methodological generalisations, (outlined by Marx and Engels in many works) specially, Engels famous work "the

origin of family, private property and state", its creative application on the Baloch society's evolution. The materialistic concept of History, linking with principle of partisan-ship demands from us to reveal the main causes necessity of the emergence of Baloch State: and influence of traditions into its formation.

The causes of origin of tribes, private property and Baloch State must be found:

- In side the ancient Baloch society, in its development.
- To reveal the laws of development of Baloch society.
- To show how and when, under what material conditions, the first division of labour took shape.
- What was the development of productive forces and corresponding social relations?
- To search how from communal and communal-patriarchal tribal property private property took shape?
- What was the political organisation of patriarchal tribal structures and its evolutionary powers and transition from voluntary-tribal-self democratic governments or organisations to tribal assemble confederation and from this to (tribal cum-feudal) state?
- During this transitional evolutionary process, how Baloch society, the mode of production, manner of production and distribution was influenced by neighbouring more developed societies, strong empires, feudal states, and also from European trade encroachments; Foreign occupations; alien tribal or feudalistic invasions.*⁵

*⁵ Noshervan's (the king of Iran) Blood shed invasion and massacre of Baloch's of "Al-Burzkoh" in 531, Governor Hujaj Bin-Yousuf of "Banu-Umia's the muslim (dynasty) ruler, massacre of Balochi tribes during their east west migration, period, The portugees attacks at Baloch coast the Indian Afghan emperors the Kalhoras of Sind. Though there are some shortcomings are found in Gangovsky's analysis, specially on "Brahwai" question, presenting the latter as non-Baloch thus,

Balochistan Statehood & Nationalism 1.

- What causes the emergence of social links, that is socio-economic, territorial, professional, traditionally militarily in the formation of Baloch nationality and why for the time being such process was impeded by inter tribal or Baloch v/s Alien conflicts?
- Who were the main driving, motive force, behind this process and the objective and subjective factors behind the role of personalities and heroes in Baloch traditional Tribal active thinking, and there socialisation?
- On the basis of social economic basis the influencing role of super structure specially socio-psychological consciousness traditionalistic tribal, associated national enthusiastic, emotional militant feelings, epic poems, songs on the development of Balochistan society and their struggle against invaders.

As Engels said "Every thing that sets men acting must find its way through the brains." [2] So, we also need to reveal.

- On the basic of Marxist theory of socio-economic formations, how primitive communal Baloch society, started; How private property from the cattle breeder common ownership emerged; but due to ancient conflicts, Wars why this process is blocked for some times " the number [3]" of ancient states, the emergence of Private property blocked and what was the dialectical link between the disintegration and preservation of the pre-feudal relations, along side the feudal and modern emergent of neo colonialist relations in Baloch society, emergence of classes, and class antagonistic society. The state and the law governing process of such development.
- Who are the Baloch? What are their ethnographic history and how, why the migrations from east to west occurred? Is not theme of the investigation? But, historico-logically, we, in adder to not deviate from the



Baloch Carvan of Nomades Crossing Through Bolan Pass .

main target of investigation is to deeply concretely and comprehensively analyse, the subjects as mentioned in the topics of each chapter.

- The Baloch were basically engaged in nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle breeding life as known from the oral and written history, as Y.U.Gangovsky also put it [4] with the prevailing (disintegrating, weak, but in many strong), survivals of the pre-feudal tribal communal relations, "as Gul Khan Naseer put it, "Baloch from ancient time been being a nomadic nation; and the cattle breeding and looting of developed areas populations and towns were their main professions"[5] and almost, all the historian are agreed upon such conclusion. This means, that in the end of the B.C and the beginning of first half of the 1st thousand year Christianity the Balochs were divided into three main ethnic tribal communities, "Narohi or Rakhshani Baloch"*⁶, "Burzkohi (Kurd) or Brahmai Baloch" and "Sulemani" emigrated from Halab (Iraq) via Iran to Mekran (Balochistan) led by Jalal Khan with 40 tribes.*⁶ The main economic profession of all these three were basically nomadic, semi-nomadic cattle breeding. Probably, these tribes developed from herd clan based, hunting communities or due to the big Slaw-owning despotic empire; genocide invasions, looting and massacring, every day attacks, they have been ousted from crop-growing economy. But the first argument seems stronger, because according to F.Engels "In the East, the middle age of barbarism initiated with the domestication of animals, of milking and providing meat.[6]" So, our argument can be substantiated with the following:-
- Almost all the historians of the region (both ancient and contemporary) are agreed upon that, the main profession of Baloch were cattle breeding and catching fish.

⁶ *"Norohi in old ancient language means the people from plane areas according to Gul Khan Naseer "Narohi" Baloch had been settler nomades along the coastline of Mekran to Banderabbas, from border of Chaghi and Nimroze (District Kalat)

- The name of cattle branding and the names of their fodders and also the names of nomadic ancient life all belongings are common almost in all Baloch Tribes and different parts of the country, though there is certain influences of other cultures and other markets can be observed.

This shows that Baloch tribes were learned, and found them into the middle age of Barbarism in the period of productive economy, and around them selves, slave-owning type societies with strong despotic slave owning regimes, which latter on developed into feudal states. The socio-economic and political influences of these modes of productions can not be ruled out. Though around Balochistan, the slave-owning system, was not developed, as a system, but the relations and its transitory character, entering into semi feudal relations existed there. The evolution of Baloch society, from communal primitive society to class antagonistic society, as a general rule, is the same as it was in other societies or tribal communities, specially in Aryans, Samees. Asian, Red Indian (Iroquois tribes)⁷. Vedic tribes⁸ but due to the difference in space and times different natural material economics political conditions geographical environmental situation, the evolutionary process of Baloch society, except general laws of social development it developed along some specific patterns, thus had a specific characteristics features, with specific socio-psychological make up with militant traditions, (positive and negative) ones.

⁷ Indian tribes of North American. See Engles Work, " the origin of the family, private property and state of the pages: 17,20,37,144,154,170.

⁸ See the History of India" Pub. Moscow, 1978, PP. 36-39.

**Economic basis, political organisation and
emergence of private property among
Baloch tribes.**

The main economic basis:

- Common tribal ownership in means of production the cattle, wood land, pasture land, water areas, mountains, waste lands and forest (slowly took the shape).
- In desert areas, the common water well and pasture areas also were common property, which is still in many tribes.
- The area of every tribe was named or branded.
- They almost had spoken same languages, but latter, due to many factors the change in the dialects, and even adoption or creation of new dialect and language as in case of Brahwal Baloch tribes like in Iroquois, can be observed.
- Every tribe used to elect a brave, intelligent person, to meet internal and external tribal problems, specially wars etc. as their head the "Sardar" (Chieftain).
- The "Diwan" or "Majlis" of (Tribal Council) of that tribe had right to elect new and remove old one.
- The traditions, customs and rules of tribes were almost the same i.e Bijjar, songs on marriage parties ("Halo-Halo-Ho Shanalo"), Bahot, Hall,(Oral Informations) etc⁹.
- There was self-democratic tribal administration.

⁹ It was, and it is still very famous and during marriage of the women used to sing- which is almost

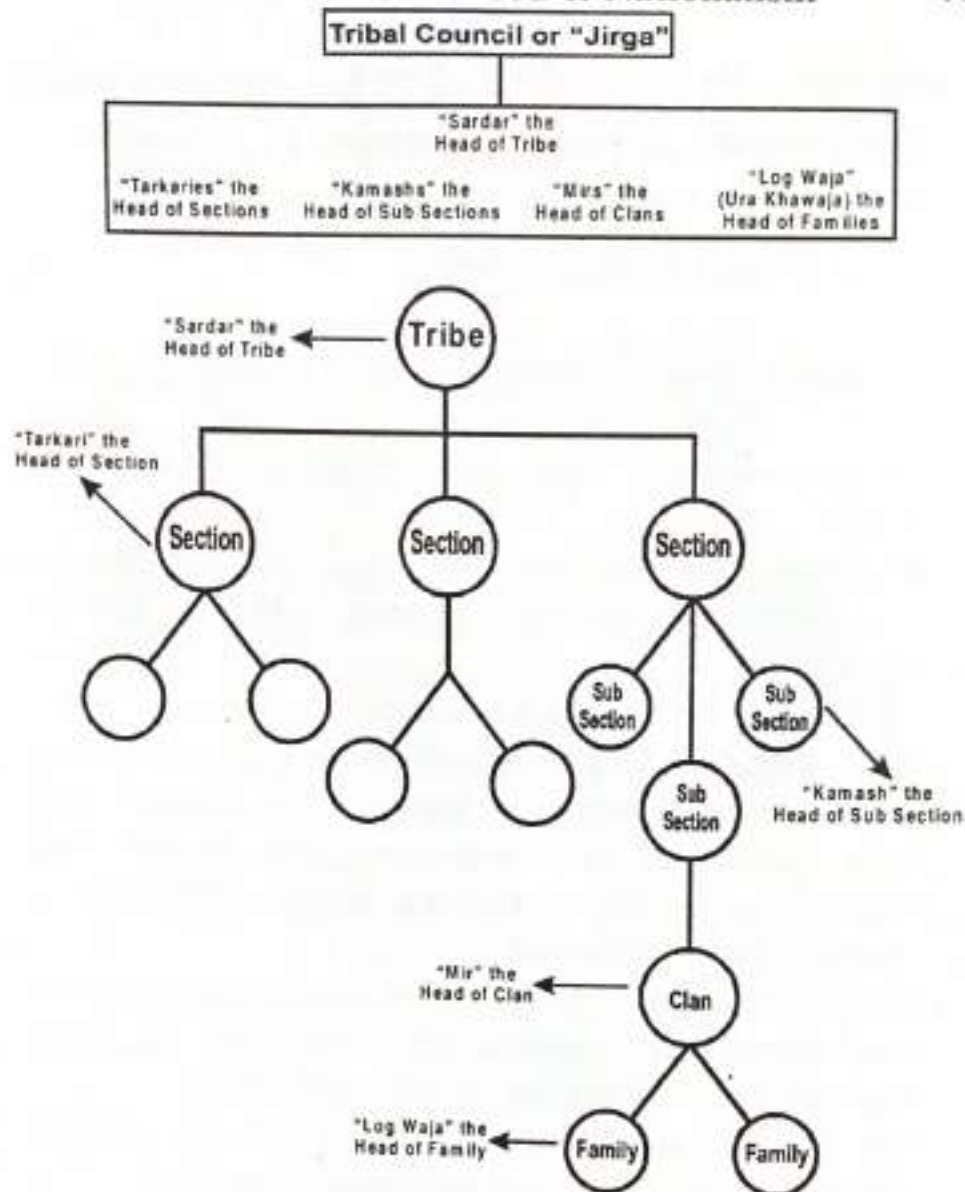


DIAGRAM OF TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION AND TRIBAL COUNCIL

Mythology, superstitions in Pre-religious period governing the psychological consciousness of the tribes, and after spread of Islam or other religion (imposed in their character), and even still now, among many tribal regions, superstitions, worship of secret places or traces believe on myths is there.

■ Hall**¹⁰, "Bahot"***¹¹, "Sog" Hakkal
Hospitality, Siakari-a-Kushaq Hashar

*¹⁰ "Hall": - Exchange of all the detail informations when a new person meet each other or reach to another village.

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(Cooperative work, collective assistance to ruined families) strict observation of the marriages insides the tribes, patriarch relations, women had property and social right, highly respectable in society fight ceases if she interferes bare headed.

- The tribal ties were mostly blood based.
- To help other ethnic tribe in the difficulties, when specially a call for help was receives from the latter.
- "Hakkal" (warn before attack) was strictly observed .
- Attack on women, children and old was traditionally declared a crime which is still strictly observed by tribes.
- Any inter-tribal conflicts, murder case etc. had to be resolved by a team of respected elder people "Safed Reesh" led by Sardar on the "KONT" house or place of suffered side through the procedure, called "MADH MARAKA".
- Safeguard and feeding of children's of those who have been killed in the course of war, or died and recognition of their share in the common property.
- There hadn't yet any tribal alliances or federation. Only the self-tribal democratic govt was exercised by the elected tribal council headed by the Sardar.
- The Baloch Tribes never accepted the subordination of the slave-owing despotic regimes, that was one of the reason of migration to more backward, rigid mountainous regimes in the beginning, in order to keep their free traditional life from enslavement.

^{**11} "Bahot": - Fully back, refugee if officially requested for help from tribe or enter into his house for assistance.

- The productive forces were extremely in the process of slow developing after natural division of labour, and 1st division of labour, they didn't know about cultivation even. May be in plain areas the cultivation started in order to provide fodders for their cattle.
- The problems of war had been decided by the elected tribal "Diwan" (council) and also other affairs.
- Before moving from one place to another, they had used and use to send an advance team "Golao" (recent used term) may consist of one or more experienced persons to know the season regarding rain fall and pasture potentialities and probabilities.
- Council or Diwan of tribe, include all heads of class and sections, headed by Sardar.
- In the beginning a clan, was developed, and divided into different "phallies" and "takers" (Sections and Sub Sections) and finally assumed a complete structure of tribe in the beginning as a population developed, this means that fathers name, assumed tribe name, which sons the takkaris and further one. Even some tribes have assumed the names of some famous places and popular event. But as population developed, the sons or the takkers became an independent sections and also the tribes initially based on blood relations and ties, but latter on, with the development of productive forces, population, migrations, and after socio-economic political factors, many people from other tribes assimilated or people from this merged with other tribes.*¹² Inter tribal conflicts, foreign assaults, and also

*¹² It is mentioned almost by all historians, that Jalal Khan had four sons, named, RIND, LASHAR, HOTH and daughter Jatu, which latter on developed into big Baloch tribes, like "Rind" "Lashari" "Hoth" and "Jathoi"

economic, environmental difficulty migrations and some times inside tribal conflicts opened the way to subordination, refugee merger etc. into different tribes. Especially in those tribes which had considered to be strong, brave ("Madth") revengeful, having a heroic deeds or observing Balochiet. Even in recent decades, such tribal formational processes have been noticed in many tribes. This flow of physical individuals or families or communities from one tribe to another, and even from one tribe to another tribe of other nationalities.

The following are the socio-economic, socio-psychological traditionalistic factors, behind the interdependence, interpenetration, mutual defensive feeling among different tribes, even among different ethical tribes, sections and their sub sections in the process of tribal and tribal confederative formations.

- Socio-economic, natural environment conditions and demand for mutual co-operation among tribes.
- Development of productive forces, population, needs the exchange of articles on the one hand established social relations, but on the other hand it awakened and made conscious to the Baloch Masses and created socio-psychological feelings to safe guard their achievements, home land, strong Tribalistic structural (great in number) basis or tribal allied confederate basis (which was, particularly developed latter on, when the transition from tribal voluntaristic self-govt. to tribal assembled or confederative self-government geared). With strong traditions of fight against all foreigner encroachments and subjugations in Balochistan.

As Engels mentioned that " A number of most advance tribes -Aryans, Semites, perhaps also the

Turanees*¹³ made the domestication of cattle their main profession. The first division of Labour these postural tribes not only produced more articles of food, but also great variety of skin, wool, goat hair, and the fur and woven fabric. This for the first time made regular exchange possible originally, tribe exchange with through respective gentile chiefs. When the herds began to be converted into separate property, exchange between individual predominated." [7]

F.Engels, this famous quotation, provided a methodological key for understanding of Baloch tribal society. How and when the collective ownership on cattle, and collective labour started to ward disintegration?

After the middle of 1st millennium B.C, the emerging, developing Baloch tribes found themselves, in the yoke of great slave owning state. The Persian Empire on the otherside, the slave owning states of India.**¹⁴ After "Utoman Empires" "Maqdoonia" the 1st division of Labour, the mode of production and subjugative enslavement process of these slave owning states, pushed nomadic, pastoral communal tribes, towards more, backward, hard conditioned Highlands of Turan (Balochistan) thus tribal unity tribal communal bond, became more stronger, the tribal relations, retained tribal common property. On the one hand but on the other hand it became extremely difficult for Baloch tribes to retain common ownership on cattle and collective labour in the hard climatic conditions, lack of enough pastoral valleys, areas, water sources compelled and even slowly and gradually created the pre-requisites of emergence and development of

*¹³ The ancient time, the name of Balochistan was "Turan"

**¹⁴ See in the drawn maps of ancient society, in the "History of the World" by S.Korovkin, Rule, Moscow, 1984 P.11.

separate ownership of cattle first in tribal sub-divisional branches, and through many years of this evolutionary process, sub-divisional branches (From "Takkers" -To- "phallis" and big communal families), though it took long process.

Thus it was progressive shift from tribal communal ownership of cattle, and collective labour towards sub-sectional or sub-sub-divisional or family based ownership of cattle and labour, this process further the development of productive forces. After the first social division of labour, the natural division of labour according to the sex, already promoted the economic supremacy of man over women, but the hardships & difficulties of nomadic cattle-breeder tribal life, the role of women, except house jobs, wood collecting for fire, fetching water from a far places, take care of kids, the donkeys near pastoral areas, sewing, weaving of carpet "KONT" the tents "GIDAN" first with wooden implement "DHUK". Milking of cattle preparation of milk, butter, dry curds (Khurood) paneer etc. making clothes and water keeping skin made "MASHK" take care of the guests in absence of man" upbringing of kids etc. resulted from one hand development of productive forces furthered the division of labour inside the tribe.

The day to day needs, war problems, the problems of defence and attack, put further impulse to the division of labour. The man started invention of and modelling of new weapons, implements of labour, for example the invention of "DURKACH" (hair cutter) for the fur of cattle (sheep, goat, camel) which started facilitating not only providing raw-materials for women to weave carpet "KONT" "GIDAN" "BISHANK" "SHUFEH" and also, melting of iron, making "DURKACH", the sword "ZAHMM" provided more favourable ground for exchange of production among tribes.

This bartering process, established new social relations. Handicraft, weaving, became the secondary, necessity occupation of the Baloch tribal communities. In order to supply fodders to the cattle, many tribes learned cultivation the assuming and adaptation of semi-nomadic life started, the implements of tilling land came into being all these furthered the division of labour.

The Fish catching tribes of Baloch Coast have also developed in the similar lane, exchange the fish with other human needs, export of fish through "Yekdar" (small ship) and also a few of them started cultivation of dates along the rainy rivers and the Karezat.

Thus logically and historically, the common time ownership on cattle changed into separate family, but for a long time collective grazing, emulation "Hasher" remained, the survival of which can be seen in many nomadic tribes of Balochistan and also among semi-nomadic and the Hasher even in villages and sub-urban areas, but in a weak form), ownership but the land grazing, water areas, the mountains, the rivers still remained the tribal common property but kept tribal traditionally bond strong, due to many other factors also which would have to be discussed in other chapters, the starting of cultivation and getting human food grain, water, melon, the dates and fish export.

As Engels pointed out, that "the climate of the Turanian Highlands does not admit of a pastor life with out supply of fodder for the long and severe winter...once the grain was grown for cattle, it soon became human food." [8]

For the above reasons, the Baloch tribes still remained in nomadic and semi-nomadic life for decades, even till now, in winter towards hot regions, and in summer toward cold regions in

search of fodder was the main natural temporary migration.

The expansion of Baloch tribes from Kerman, Sistan to Derajat, from Banderabbas to Kolachi, from Nemroz to Indus. Foreign feudal regimes and empires invasions, inter tribal conflicts, hard severe conditions old aged customarily traditionalistic tribal resulted many times in destruction of productive forces and due to lack of implements of labour, rainfalls, Shortages of fodder, and draughts etc. All Baloch Tribes didn't develop equally both in terms of material and spritual.*¹⁵

*¹⁵ "Hasher" Voluntary work, under the strong influence of traditional codes.



Balochitherium (26 mln years)

The Influences of Foreign Slave Owning and Feudalistic States over the Development of Baloch Society:

- It is wrong to say that the slave-owning and feudal relations and states had not put much impact over the development of Baloch tribal society. The Military expeditions and conquer of East by Alexander the great in (333-325 B.C).

“It enabled him to set up an enormous empire stretching from the Arabian Sea in the West to India in the east, from the foot hills of the Caucasus in the North to the central reaches of the Nil in the South.”[9]

The Hellenism, “the Greek domination over the middle east and the reciprocal of the Greek and eastern civilisations in the field of economy political organisation and culture” [10] was progressive in its nature, which mutually influences and riches two civilisation, this progressive processes the mode of production and super structure also influenced in the formation of Baloch tribal society, but on the other hand, such military expeditions, invasions also played negative role in distorting and disintegration of Baloch natural economy. It also had impact over preservation of Patriarchal communal tribal relations, but also paid a way for their unity and usages of accumulated material and spiritual Baloch culture, the ruler of Turan and Makran have played their patriotic role in repulsing the occupational expedition of Alexander the Great. Many wars and skirmishes have been taken between the forces of Baloch and expansionist the so called Hellenism.

Although in large an extend , these processes, more isolated Baloch nomads from towns, but at the same time, in the period of peace it provided the preconditions of exchange between tribes and traders , the handicrafts and

also caused the migrations from battle zones towards more safe areas.

Thus such processes also created militant traditions of heroism, patriotisms, sense of tribal unity, subjugation of other tribes, development of religion, art and poetry.

Though by invasions of "Nosherwan-I" of Iran, the Aptails the occupation and government of Ibne - Khokal 976 on Kalat, the king of Gazni Subuktagin (977-97) occupation and governments of its north east region and also on "Khuzder", the assailment of turkmens and sul-jokees and their entrance toward north east of Iran the barbaric attacks of Gaznavees, as the famous Historian "Noor-ud- Adna" in his book "Collection of Histories" and similarly the author "Zabeehullah Nasah" in his book "Balochistan" at pages 9-10 published in Tehran, Iran wrote in detail about the Invasion of Mehmood Gaznazi and Shah Ismail Khan over the Baloch Population of western Balochistan, and similarly the very famous Persian Historian Firdosi described in his work "Shahnama" about the vast-scale bloody invasions on Baloch Tribes by Noshervan the King of Iran in 531, the latter issued Shahi Farman for complete Annihilation of Baloch Masses whether they are child, women and old. The other invasions the "King Gorees, and Mangols over Balochi tribes resulted in, :-

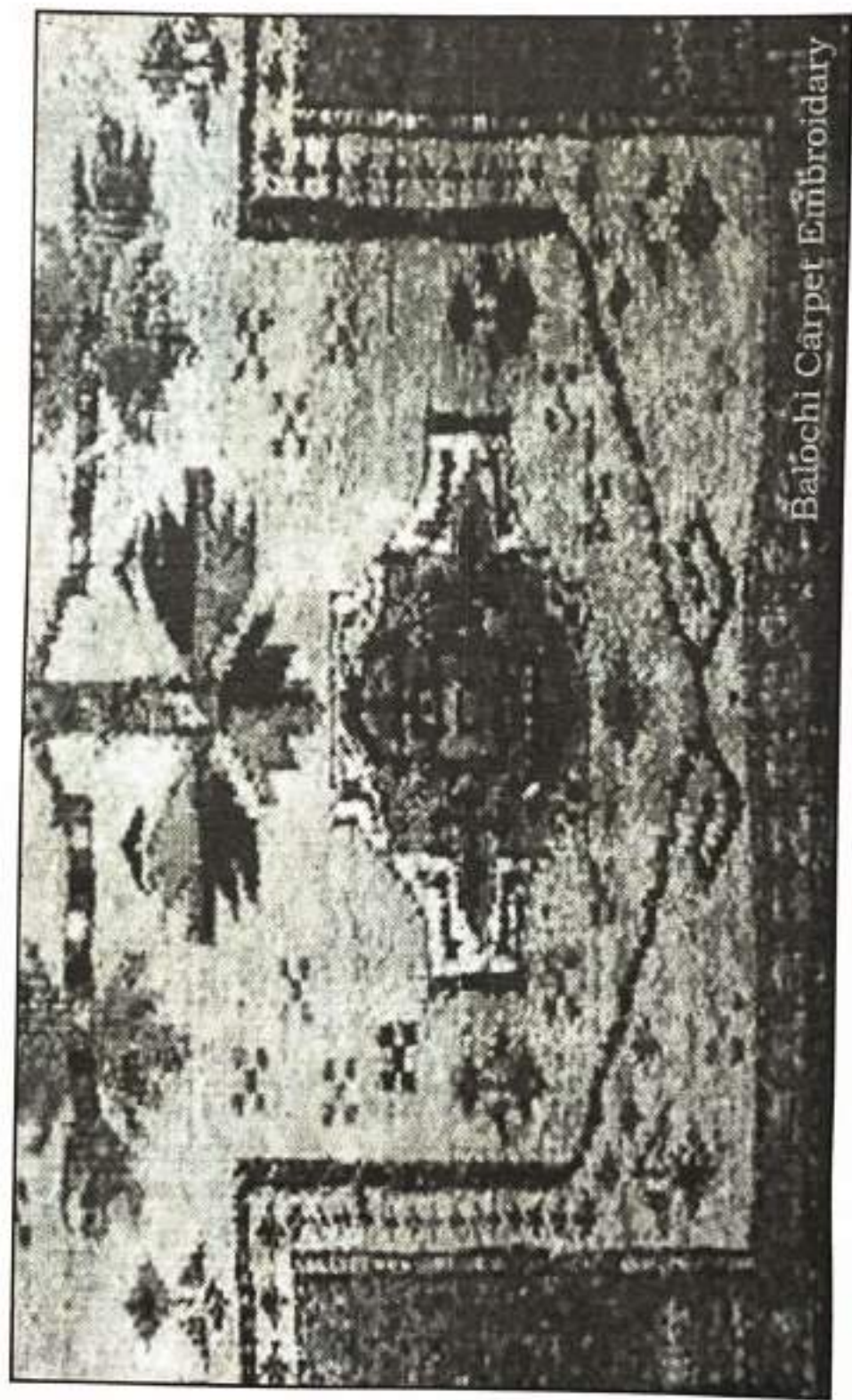
- a) destruction of productive forces, agriculture, values,
- b) Impeded the development of cattle-breeding, barter trade, growth of feudal relations, etc.
- c) Declined the small tribal united states of "Turan", "Kech" "Punjgoor", Gandawa" by the invaders.
- d) Made more strong the clan patriarchal tribal relations the clan tribal systems provided the opportunity for the emergence of now inherited tribal chiefs and Tribalism. As Y. Gengovsky, mentions:-

"The political power and control of Baloch nobility grew stronger." [11]

e) The National Consciousness, in their social psychological make up, unity defence of mother land has arisen. This was supplemental from one-hand by the heroic historic traditions of non-submission to foreign encroacher. Traditions of tough resistance; epic heroic poems were gained upper hand.

f) This processed helped very much in geneses of tribal confederacies and Baloch rules over non-occupied lands by the invaders.(when in 1410 the "Miro Mir Wari" the ruler of Turan (Kalat Balochistan) called the meeting of different principalities of Kharan, Makran, Bela, Chaghi etc and found united Baloch, tribal-cum Asiatic State).

Thus, the socio-economic unevenness in the development of society resulted uneven development in the social consciousness of people, and traditions.



Balochi Carpet Embroidary

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONS IN THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL CONFEDERATIONS AND BALOCH STATES

Evolution of Baloch Society and Formation of Tribal Conferences:

Balochistan in the period Arab conquest feudal-theocratic dynasties of Arab empires (661-750) and latter. The Abbasi dynasty, according to some Muslim historians, Abdul Fazal Behagi "History of Masshoode" pp 235-236. Al-Mugdisi "Ahsan-ul-Igasim" (p.470) quoted by the author of the "Nationalities of Pakistan," Y. Gangovsky in the p. 152 (Urdu) that, (a) the population of Balochs, were already been, their in east ward, northern Mekran and Punjgoor. While in 11st century the migration of few Baloch tribes, started, because of Gaznavees and Suljokees invasions.

- b) The government of conqueror, feudal Arab invaders, have remained till the beginning of 10th century on Kalat, Khuzdar areas.

But the more clear picture of development of productive forces, trade and other socio-economic situation in Mekran Turan (Balochistan) was drawn in the short history of Afghanistan by profession: Adbul Hai-Habibi, where as he presented the picture as follows:

- a) Balochistan was the main trade rout, between India, Sindh, Iran, Afghanistan and Arab world.
- b) The established towns of Balochistan like Kalat, Shall (Quetta), Sibi, Gandawa, Khuzadar, Punjgoor, Kach, Somiani, Banpoor, Chah Bar and Bandar Abbas Baloch coastal town were centres of trade and also some of them developed as political centres.
- c) The revenue which was collected by feudal occupants were according to the Khu-Ibne-Kardadza in (232)

collected reliable resources from the documents of the Caliph's financial system.

- "The currency dinar was gold, which had 4,25 Tolas.
- Durham was silver 2,92 Tolas.
- Incommodity financial system was Kille, which was equal to 6 kharwar."

Eastern Income of caliph

- Baloch + others Sistan = (6,776,000) Darham
- Zaranj Zabulistan = (147,000) "
- Afghanistan Kabul =(2,000,500) "
- Balochistan Mekran =(1,000,000) "
- Afghanistan Bamian = (15,000) "

All these facts vividly mention that many tribes partially or semi-partially settled, near the trade rout towns and coastline of Mekran. Now question arises, how and when Baloch primitive society, the patriarchal relations started disintegration, the emergence of private property, its particular forms, tribal aristocracy and the second division of labour? What were the positive or negative impacts imposed on culture and religion upon the Baloch tribal society's? What was the basic factor behind the commencement of tribal alliances, the communal and latter patriarchal slave-owning in Balochistan? What was the impact of neighbouring strong feudal state of Iran, Afghanistan and India in 6th century on Balochistan's state formation under strongly preservation of primitive relations?

Spontaneous tribal alliances among Baloch tribes started after 1st division of labour further divisions of labour inside tribe got impulse. When separate property, according

to Engels played, transitory period toward private property, (1) 1st tribal divisional, sub-divisional then large family*¹⁶. The bartering of commodities have been started, 1st among the foreigner traders then between the tribes and between the chieftain, individuals with the foreign traders, even on the collective basis.

In Makran stockbreeding gave further impulse to the development of separates property and exchange dynamically. When the wearing, spinning, grinding, smelting, taming etc, developed productive forces. This was the period when as result of individual bartering and separation of further division of labour from cattle breeding the Chief of Tribes were slowly assumed the hereditary form with the new privileges first through customarily values then through pressure & exploitation.

The F.Engels systematised process of emergence of private property was formulated by J.L. Andreyev, (16). "The separation of the property of individual communities with in tribe, and then the separation of the heads of large families with in the community and finally the concentration of the disposal the means of production within small, individual families"[16].

Historically, the origin of the natural tribal alliances, based on blood ties, having socio-economic and security causes, have appeared in the course of invasions, by the slave-owning states and then emperors. Due to such invasions it became objective necessary for the nomadic Baloch tribal cattle breeders to keep tribal and tribal allied bond (1st blood based) more strong in order to repulse the occupational attacks.

This on the one hand provided further pre-requisites for the development of productive forces. Strengthened and even consolidated in such an extent, the exchange within the

*¹⁶ In the shape of cattle the land, pastor, water forest zone, the mountainous areas, remained common tribal property. Though temporarily a plot of land or date trees given to some sections for cultivation and grazing

different tribes and provided a step ahead from blood tied based alliances towards territorial, economic, geographical tribal alliances which also started to create an atmosphere for... the nomadic and wondering life of these cattle-breeder Baloch tribes. This also promoted knowledge of astronomy, (knowledge about stars, find travelling directions with the help of stars in darkness) medicine,*¹⁷ herbal vegetables to be used as vitamins and proteins for human being.

Though these Baloch tribes have already been learned to cultivate in plain areas and catching fish in the coastal regions for their survival. But the alliances were in many places temporary in nature having a loose in character, some times do to some exogenous factors the alliances have disappeared but at the same time they re-appeared themselves with more militant forms when the situation demanded.

As a great revolutionary philosopher F. Engels mentions about American India tribes, that, the "Alliances arising out of temporary emergencies were concluded here and there between kindred tribes and dissolved again with the passing of the emergency disunited tribes re-united in lasting confederacies and so took the first step towards the formation of nations.[17]

In the beginning it also happened that alliances have formed spontaneously with the traditionalistic battle call (wahoo or Dahii) against invaders. The strong militant traditions played their role during war times in uniting these tribes. But soon after when the clouds of danger fled away the internal tribal clashes, old-aged enmity overlapped them. The alliances had broken and it remained

*¹⁷ In many Baloch tribes the expertise on herbal medicine (Daroo) have been developed gradually with the spin of time, latter these experts have adopted this branch of herbal medicine as their profession. Thus they started their barter with other articles and also they started their selling Halg to Halg (Nomadic temporary settlements), village to village and also in town. These nomadic tribes are latter called "Narohi Baloch" or "Pupu".

strong inside tribes in order to meet internal and external Tribal conflicts but on the other hand the democratically elected tribal chiefs during these process of war clashes became more popular. The heroism, patriotism, better skill much wisdom, made tribal chiefs more popular generals of the military structure of the tribe, some loosened their title in the defeating processes during these conflicts and resistances.

But as soon as the tribal chiefs received more than other tribesmen from looted booty, volumatily privileges the benefits from tribes, and this gradually when due to separation of property in shape of moveable property, the cattle, weapons, household belonging and some implements, the tribal chief increased in their wealth and also receiving surplus product from surplus-labour of tribes in order to meet the tribal affairs and expenditures. Thus in this way the tribal chieftain stood over and above the other tribesmen. Assumed the social status of inheritance, which paid the way to tribal nobility, specially during the tribal communal military expeditions, when tribes, sub-ordinated others and turned them into first communal slaves, as pottinger states that "the slaves are the fruit of their (Chapao or plundering excursions, and that first taken they are treated in a very harsh and cruel manner. (1.1)

In the commencement of subordination of other people, within the tribal community, actually turned these people Tribal communal slave or subordinates, which have to work for tribe as a whole. They used to make cooking arrangement, had played a role of messenger smelt iron make weapons or Durkachs and even many entered into tribe and merged.

The more hard cruel behaviour with these lower cast started with the emergence of slave relations based on patriarchal slave system when separation of the property including slaves started. Thus slaves forced to work for tribal-chief's houses, "Mehman Khana" "DiwanJah" as

well as work for tribal sub-divisions, Sardar Khail from which the Sardar (tribal chief) belong.

With the emergence of tribal nobility, the more harsh, difficult, disgusting and discriminative behaviour was faced by these subordinated people.

The above mentioned processes provided pre-conditions for partial disintegration of primitive communist relations inside Baloch society (not in all tribes simultaneously, because due to unequal development of separate and private property, the process was also unequal) and emergence of private, slave owning relations. All this also, altered and generated new customs traditions political organisation and inter-tribal relations. The "Lab"*¹⁸ system appeared. In order to pay the Lab beside the cattle that a slave was also being given to the father of girl side in marriage, because the slave also being considered to be moveable separate property. Thus the society practically divided into "Sardar" (tribal nobility) "Tribesmen" & the lower cast "Lodi" or "Ghulam" or "Naqeeb" (Slaves) and handicraft free man, (14) thus in this way a social inequality took shape in the Baloch society.

Though, the tribal alliances (alliances led by Jalal Khan and Brahmai Baloch, Hot alliance) were, except, blood ties had socio-economic and defensive reasons, but also had anti-slave-owing direction, owing to invasions by strong slave-owing and feudal emperors. Which resulted in weakening of the slaves relations entering into complete slave owning system that's why in the Baloch society slave owing system didn't emerged. Because in different spin of the history almost different parts of Baloch Tribal Alliances have continued their resistance against foreign encroachments. It is clear that these tribes did not subordinate or turn slaves by slave-owing states, but due to laws of development of these nomadic economy of cattle-

*¹⁸ "Lubb" It is custom, which appeared among Baloch tribes with the desintegration of communal relations which means payment for girl from boy side, to her father in shape of Cattle, Camel, Slave, ornament and/or money as cost of marriage.

breeding when the narrow interest of tribal chief met, and when he got the power. *¹⁹. Only through alliances they started subjugation and subordination others though the alliances latter on developed into permanent or semi-permanent Tribal federations and Tribal federative governments of primitive slave-owing type, but with strong primitive communal relations.

In 14th-15th century, the Baloch territorial ethnic formation had not completed because of, the slavery (communal and patriarchal) "Existed for a long time side by side with the primitive communal relations." [15]

TRIBAL CONFEDERACY AND LOOSE TRIBAL CONFEDERATIVE STATES BALUCHISTAN (1000 In Mekran And Turan)

A great revolutionary leader of working class F. Engels in its famous scientific work "The origion of family private property and state " mentioned that [16]

- a) Establishment of tribal confederacy signified the commencement of the downfall of the primitive clan relations.
- b) In order to meet internal and external affairs the unity of tribes into confederacy became necessary with the development of population [17]
- c) The unification of tribes into confederacy was 1st step towards national formation. [18]

Tribal and patriarchal communal relations, Tribalism still constitutes the core of social relations in a considerable section of the Balochistan's population. From British

¹⁹ Every tribe had military voluntary structure, which further enhanced by such expeditions and chapaos.



Ancient International map Showing Baloch Country.

colonialism to Pakistani forceful annexation period, many governments had run, have running on the policy of preservation of these pre-capitalist, tribalistic, patriarchal relations. Many politicians in order to deny the right of nation to self-determination to the oppressed people of Balochistan put forward a thesis, based on metaphysical approach that Baloch tribes has not developed into national formation.

The main aim of our research is to find out the real historical basis of genesis and evolution of clan, tribes, tribal alliances, tribal confederacies and from this toward national & state formations and the scientific methodology and dialectical prepositions can guide us in correct direction.

If we compare the Baloch tribal related confederacy to the F. Engel's investigated prepositions on the ancient "Iroquis gens" [18] and their related confederacy of five tribes "Seneeka*²⁰ +Kayoga+Honandga+Hoenda"+Mohak"; we find inspite of difference in space and time and difference in many socio economic ethnic geographical etc, many things and elements common in political organisation and structure of the tribal confederacy. For example the Iroquis gens confederacy has not formal (Leader) Sardar (chief) or administrative officer. But it had two supreme war chiefs with equal rights and status. While in Baloch Tribal related confederacies an alliances such as in "Brahwai-Baloch tribal confederacy" or in "Rind-o-Lashar (Jalal Khan) confederacy or in "Hot Hummal confederacy)(Kalamat).

- a) The Baloch tribal confederacy had elected their chief. Which was also the supreme commander of the war. While the chief of the every allied tribes were the chief of their Tribal armed forces, but the rights and status of allied chiefs were in front of confederacy chief were

*²⁰ It was traditionally coronation function, with huge ceremonial programme and attendance. For the formal election or coronation of the chieftain (specially the chieftain of the confederacy). According to Baloch custom.



A Typical Nomadic Baloch Women.

not equal. The chief of the tribal confederacy was not elected on the qualities and status of the given tribe from which it belonged among the qualities which had used to taken into account the individual experiences, strength, bravery, heroic popularity, determination and wisdom of the given chief of allied tribe, when due to socio-economic, military and other factors this post assumed the social status of heredity. It became the chief of the tribal nobility the "Khan or Amir", which latter on became the Baloch monarch with a strong tribal representation. See case of "Khanate of Kalat" or "Amir-e-Makran" or "Amir-e-Turan" Savi, Gandawa etc.

- b) Baloch tribal confederacy, was based on egalitarian tribal representation with equal social status, first based on blood ties, close ethnic-tribal relations, then territorial regional economic basis.
- c) There was Balochi "Diwan" (Council) of the confederacy consisting of all the tribal chiefs of their tribes plus the head of the tribal confederacy. In the beginning the Tribal chief had actually right of two votes, one as behalf of its tribe, and other on behalf of the Tribal confederacy.
- d) Every tribal chief, especially the chieftain of the confederacy was elected among the allied tribal chief's ancient (by general Diwan") confederative tribes. In a ceremonial function called "Dastar Bandi" or Coronation.
- e) This administrative institution of confederacy were consist of number of tribes, for example in case of Brahwai Baloch tribal confederacy, it was five. All of them were tribal chiefs of their own tribe.
- f) In a broader contest some tribal confederacies are confederative states not only formed through certain number of tribes but also have taken shape by different tribal confederacies i.e the Miro Mir Wari state was based not only five tribal confederacy but also was based with broader alliance of tribal confederacy of Mekuran, Kharan, Bunpoor, Bela, etc in about 1410.

- g) The meetings of the confederacy, were held openly, every person belonging to the said tribes had a right of opinion only but the final decision was taken by the heads of Tribal confederacy.

Every tribe according to its strength or according to nature or need of war or according to the decision had to provide forces, with weapons, rations, transport (mostly camel or horses) under the commandship of their cheiftain, if due to some objective reasons, the tribal cheiftain is absent, so the presence of its elder son or brother as a representative of tribe was considered necessary.

The commander-in-chief of the forces, was the elected cheiftain of the tribal confederacy. But the war plans, strategy, and tactics were usually chalked out in a democratic, convincing atmosphere among the commanders (Basically all tribal chiefs).

The main weapons in the beginning were sword and shield, stick, (with iron head or tied hair with turban^{*21}).

^{*21} The Baloch tribal men used to keep very long hair, like woman, which is called in Balochi "Peeshkao". It was actually logical; because after coiling it tightly on the head and then Turban over it provides a shield from sword attack.

PARAGRAPH-II
**ROLE OF TRADITIONS IN THE
FORMATION, OF TRIBAL
CONFEDERATIVE GOVERNMENTS
AND BALOCH NATIONAL
AWARENESS:**

Being a highly remarkable witness the recorded history, the soil of Turan (latter Balochistan) the historical Bolan pass, Kalat, Mekran, Gandawa, Sevi, Shall, Kech, Punjgoor provided a multitude examples of Blood thirsty invasions, outrages reprisals, arbitrary suppressive, subjugate rule, expansionistic moves, massacring, annihilation and cruel policies against Baloch Tribes and peoples, by slave-owning, feudal despotic powers: resulting in impediment and destruction of development of productive forces, culture, language etc.

But still history also recorded heroic deeds of new generation, the great popular uprisings, insurrections of the nomadic, cattle-breeder tribes, settled or semi-settled oppressed peoples, slaves, subordinated tribes, not only against foreign slave owning, and feudal state. At the same time the Baloch masses also agitated against tribal nobility, tribal confederative to governments, against the policies of forceful taxations and exploitations.

Thus the country of Balochistan, like other countries of the world, had seen much decay, flourishing, ups and downs let us examine few events scientifically.

When predatory expansionist invasions spreading chains of Mongolian empire headed by "Changaz Khan" "Started disintegration, by the popular and heroic resistance of the people of Europe and (14) Asia" (including our people) in the 15th century, and when the other foreign invader,



Ameer Mero mirwani (1410 - 1440) Baloch ruler of unified Baloch Country.

"Zunun Bag Argoon" conquered Kalat²² and when "Kamran Mogul" defeated the Argun family in 1530 the foreign ruler of Kalat became weak (17). The Baloch tribal confederacies in different regions, already developed from tribal voluntary spontaneous alliances, (though, these Tribal confederacies egalitarian type founded in different regions, isolated by), found the prevailing conditions, (socio-economic, political-Tribal and military) favourable for over throw and extirpation of foreigners colonial rule, and aged long subjugation and enslavement period through the tribal confederative voluntary forces with the support and alliance of urban and sub-urban oppressed population headed by tribal emerging Baloch nobility captured Kalat and established first Balochi government based and pillared by tribal egalitarian "Brahwai-Baloch tribal confederacy"²³ headed by "Mir Umar" in about 1531. Soon after, the Kalat was conquered and governed by the another (most strong "Rind-Lashari" Baloch tribal typical nomadic cattle-breeder confederacy, headed by "Sardar Shayak Rind, ²⁴

As F.Engels said about American Indians that "the Isoquois tribal confederacy [all five tribes, they spoke closely related dialectics of the same language and occupied a continuous tract of territory that was divided among the five tribes... habitual co-operation was natural... fifteenth century... this developed into a regular "permanent league" a confederacy, which conscious of its new founded strength immediately assumed an aggressive character and at the

²² See for further detail, "History of Balochistan" by Gul Khan Nasir, Pub. 1979 PP. 5,6,7

²³ Brauhvi Baloch tribal confederacy was consistent of five Baloch tribes, Merwadi, Kambrani, gurnadi, somaladi, Kalandrani headed by "Mero's " son Mir Umar Merwadi" latter this confederacy assumed the form of permanency thus laid down the Baloch feudal national formation.

²⁴ Rind-Lashari confederacy, was based mostly on two strong tribes "Rind and (Lashar on equalitarian bases, but few other tribes, latter on joined the confederacy. This confederacy did not become permanent.

height of its power (about 1675) conquered large stretches of the surrounding country, expelling some of the inhabitants and forcing others to pay tribute." The nature of the Baloch tribal confederacy, from the above F. Engels investigated propositions on Iroquois genes becomes more clear. Here one can see the vivid connection of general particular and universal. Because on the one hand.

- The establishment and activity (militant, political socio-psychological traditionalist) of tribal confederacies ("Brahwai", "Rind-o-Lashar" and "Hot") was a first step ahead, progressive in nature, a initiative one, towards disintegration of old communal production relations. It was a travel from blood tied tribal alliances towards socio-economic, territorial ethnic ones.
- Tribal confederacies actually opened a way of development of productive forces, and Baloch national formation because in these periods the Balochi language, poetry, culture developed rather considerably.
- Commencement of tribal confederacies and uprisings (armed one) against foreign feudal colonisers was progressive, revolutionary step towards the liberation of oppressed Baloch people and slaves and was creating first time in history the government of Baloch tribes in their mother land on a tribal allied basis, actually was a step forward from tribal self-government towards tribal confederative government, voluntary based, though it was loosed (as case of "Bijjar" government), but was tightened also, thus, it was evolutionary and transitional power of Baloch tribal confederacies towards the establishment of (tribal confederative cum feudal state) and then monarchical one, in Balochistan.
- It met the socio-economic, political needs of the population. But on the other hand:
- Baloch tribal confederacies, headed by tribal chiefs, generated tribal nobility, feudal, and monarchs, "Sardars" Nawabs," Khan," strengthened latters.

influence over allied tribes. But it also retained tribal traditionalistic bond, through capturing lands, distributing among allied tribes and then turning them into common tribal property. These were dialectically contradictory processes and tendencies.

- Tendency towards Tribal unity, formation of nationality and tendency towards dis-unification thrust of getting power, strength over other, subjugating other and also by other tribes strengthening its power. These tendencies were generated from the very nature of the prevailing mode of production, its marginal nature, the need to replace the old relations (which just started) by new, but also retain traditionalistic, patriarchal tribal communal relations, in order to maintain the power of Tribal nobility, emerging oriental type feudal relations thus created the pre-requisites of the "Tribalism".
- The strong influence and survivals of these tendencies are now can be seen in many parts of Balochistan.
- Tribal confederacies also socially stratified tribes and peoples, the head of confederacy, if he had belonged to the tribe "A" the tribe "A" then considered to be the noble tribe, over the rest of tribes. Then the militant tribes organised into confederacies, had considered pure Baloch, thus equiring priority over other tribes and peoples, even among the tribes the tribe of "Sardar Khel" got status over other tribesmen in Tribal traditionalistic and other activities. Even many poor subjugated tribes and peoples declared to be the lowest in this stratification which resulted, on the one hand, development of productive forces on the other hand, strongly preservation of primitive patriarchal relations emergence of Tribal nobility as a class, tribalism and ethno-centralism.

In Mekran, many tribes and peoples were considered to be lowest and even discriminational process started by using the term for these people ["Lodi", Naqeeb, Darzada" Lundi, Lutli, Behari, Korwahi" in 18th century]. In Sevi, Kachi, Kalat, Hyderabad, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan, the ruling tribes Rind, Lashar, Kumbrani, Talpur, Hot, the Mariani and Gichki of Buleda got political superiority over others, thus socially and economically other tribes subordinated, even many tribes forced to be subordinated, pay tribute and even function as a dependent-as in the case of Mekran. Because these Baluchi government did not abolished slave (oriental type) relations but retained and even developed them along side the feudal emerging relations, with strong tribal communal relations.

This tribal confederative alliances on one hand provided a united shield against new invaders, but on the other had played a role of catalyst of tribal strife, subjugation of other tribes, aggressive military expeditions, looting, destruction of productive forces and also retaining of their productive forces.

CHAKER-O-GOHRAM PERIOD, MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR (INTER-TRIBAL WAR. 1533

After ceasing power in Kalat, the Rind, Lashari, Baloch tribal confederacy, handed, especially its chieftains handed over the Kalat's power to Mir Mandu Rind, a representative of tribal confederacy and relative of Mir "Chaker", the head of tribal confederacy. "Mandu" the ruler of Kalat, became just a landowner on the expense of exploitation and capturing lands of other people by using.²⁵Repressions, aggression and other means.

The "Mir Chaker" and "Gowram Khan" the heads of the Bilateral tribal confederacy, with mutual decisions, mutual

²⁵See Mir Gul Khan Naseer's work "the history of Balochistan Pub. Quetta, 1979; pages 6-7.



Ameer Chakar Rind Baloch 1485 to 1512.

plan and drawn strategies launched tribal military expeditions soon under mined the power of ruling landlordism, a ruling class "Jam Nanda Jamot" in "Sivi" (now Sibi) and Gandawa (now Kachi and Nasirabad) and established two parallel power; one in "Sivi" headed by Mir Chaker (Chieftain of Rind) and other in "Gandawa" header by Mir Gowaram Lashari (Chieftain of Lashari), but still "Mir Chaker Rind was head of the tribal confederacy, though practically speaking, the Rind and Lashari through this military expeditions, Chapao, subordinatinary, subjugative process, assimilated other tribes and people in their separate alliances assuming an even content of tribal federation, even self-organising institutions were formed in each's territory. But traditonally (according to tribes decisions) Mir Chakker remained as the head of confederacy, thus this tribal confederacy remained a political tribal organisation in order to keep the unity, co-operation of allied tribes in case of foreign invasions, or military tribal expeditions, if necessary. On the contrary, every government (loose tribal allied govt.) was autonomous in management and organisation of their production and internal affairs. This from on one hand provided the ground for consolidation of tribal confederacy, but on the other hand created contradictions inside the confederacy. Yet inspire of management and organisational established institutions for development of mode of production of Baloch society as K. Marx put it, [Every society need a process of upper structure of social, moral and law for the management and organisation of particular mode of production (9)].

The States was not established for state, some specific institutions and general power is necessary, which according to F. Engels [presupposes a special public authority separated from the whole body of those concerned in each case (8)] mostly the Baloch traditions were governed, (but not purely in case of communal relations, because, after getting power, capturing arable markets and lands, the tribal nobility was just started developing into tribal aristocracy.

Ameer Chakar Khan Rind Baloch's Fort Sewi (1485-1512)



SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND CAUSES OF 40 YEAR SEVERE INTER-TRIBAL WAR OF RIND-O-LASHAR.

To this historical process, multi-dimensional approach concrete assessment of that situation and society in its development and specially, those material condition, for the procurement of which, the massive move of these big cattle - breeder, monadic, famous Baloch tribes, became objective necessity for their subsistence being a cattle-breeding nomadic life selection and move, towards those areas, became necessary for them, which were more developed, and can easily feed their cattle, people, and tribal huge armies.²⁶ We based, our analysis on the recorded information (uncomplete) of those societies, before Chaker's government and also the poems of Chakker era which have been received through generations orally, now in written form to us.

- After the establishment of government the confederative Baloch tribal cattle-breeder already from the upper-stage of barbarism entered into civilisation, many tribes, peoples already engaged into cultivation, trade, black smiting, tankering, weaving, art of construction etc. due to mutual influence and mutual penetration of these cultures pushed society into civilisation the beginning of which is formulated by great revolutionary philosopher of Working class K. Marx that [production begins to be founded on the antagonism of orders, estates, classes and finally on the antagonism of accumulated labour and immediate labour - No antagonism, no progress this is the law that civilisation has followed up to our days (10)]

²⁶ "History of Balochistan" Mir Gul Khan, P-7 mentions three main reasons of Rind Lashars migration to Sevi and Gandawa areas.



Ameer Gohram Lashari Baloch 1485 to 1512.

- Communal slaves, and patriarchal ones, now completely, was serving the tribal chiefs "Darbar" council as servitude servants.
- "Sevi" was not only capital of tribal confederative government, but also was the centre of politics, economics industry, culture and trade. Poetry, art, literature had started developing. Tribal ceremonial and cattle exhibitions had to be organised, which was the second step towards the disintegration of communal, patriarch relations speeded the process of privatisation, and emergence of classes. Being a trade rout both "Sevi" and "Gangava" were famous in trading and exchange, the money relations, and the vast usage of gold and silver has been indicated through history and also a following poem: -

GOHN ZIR GARI Shupahn V. Shupahn Durahn" [1.8]
 Translation: She with gold ornaments decorated

Which also indicates, that blacksmithing was quite developed, or they got from neighbouring developed societies

- Good poster, water, arable land, further division of labour, separation of handicraft from cultivation just caused production of surplus product and their appropriation by Sardar and Landowners²⁷ and peasant, thus the feudal (Ariatic type) of relations started emerging from the other hand the location and bordering of Gandawa with more developed Sindh exchange etc. started establishing ties with Sindh market rather than "Sevi" which also sharpen the inter-estate, based on Voluntary tribal confederacy. In Gandawa, iron smelting, modelling of implements, weapons, sickle, spade, saw, axe, stock, saddles, in

²⁷ Has been probably started the emergence of private property, classes, cattle owner and shepherded, landowner.

Sindh, feudal relations already took shape, trade, usury probably started, so the influence of Sindh mode of production can't be roled out. All these provided the material basis, the disintegration of voluntary based tribal confederacy and its shift towards the emergence of state, based on tribal union, an in Mongol, or neighbouring Sindh, Afghanistan type, but here with strong preservation of primitive communal tribal relations and traditions which furthered the contradiction between "Sevi" and "Gandawa" with the developmennt of population, the needs of "Sevi" felt in a lack of arable land, fodder for cattle ration for army (tribal), the "Charkker" wanted Gangawa's complete subordination in order to meet the growing needs, with the development of productive forces, the old production relation became fitter, which provided condition for the break up of traditional ties with "Sevi" and establishment of its own Power, this sharpen the conflict and contradiction with the "Rindo-Lashar" confederacy which provided the material ground for coming 40 years inter-tribal civil war between the "Sevi" and "Gandawa".

On the other hand tribal communal relations were strong, common tribal ownership in Land, pastur areas also preserved which consolidated, the tribal ties with 'Chakker' as well as 'Gohram' Any spark of tribal clashes, or enmity would have to be caused explosion of confederacy and continuation of Civil War to the abolishing of one, and success of the other or destruction of the both of them, the traditionalistic, teribelistic, enematic tendencies were rather strong.

Thus "Chakker" in order to fulfil the socio-economic and other aims wanted to subordinate the "Gohram". In the presence of the egalitarian representation in the tribal confederacy it was equally impossible for "Chakker" to convert this voluntary based egalitarian power into feudal type totalitarian type, and this became possible only by the use of force. The development and organising of armies

show the sharpening of the contradictions and this is conformed by the "Beurogh's" poem in which he tried to advice "Chakker" not a jump in the war. If jumped then it would be difficult, to come out from war the famous poem advised for peace, non-aggression, by "Beurogh" (...) ²⁸ to chakker shows well the poet role in keeping peace.

"Buragh advises Chakker in the following poem & lines.

Ease your enmity, chakker!
Chakkar Kinaghah Kotah Kun!
 Give up revengeful, passions!
Bill dae ghussawahh Siyaliaah
 Thousand Men be "Nohani" tribe.
Nohani Hazar Mudd beeth
 Except "Lashari's" word man,
Bad shah Zahm Janeeh Lashari
 They are all united to face you!
Bundunt palawah pajjechah
 Be more difficult to retreat
Puz Keenzag trageeran Charri
 Advancement, involve you in bloody war ²⁹
Dam juzzag tra, Hanii kunt
 To kill brothers, is great loss
Brathoni Kushagh tawan unt
 World is in motion and changing;
Dunhia gardish-o-gardani
 It will not be lasting for you
Pazar na-vii tra-e-fanni
 Will feel desire it along all the life
Dankra zeengagh-e-Armani

²⁸ See "Beuragh's poems in the work of Aziz Mohd Bugti "The History of Balochistan in the mirror of personalities" in which Beoragh indicates, the growing number of strong militant tribesmen, not only from Lashar tribe, but also other "Nohani". Thus invites for peace and non-aggression.

²⁹ dirty war

<< Beyragh>>

All material conditions for war already been matured for establishment of state. the event of Gohar Jatnis³⁰ massacring of cattle, and Remains humiliation was just used as a pretext -- thus in war the utilisation of tribal contradiction, fighting, subordinating militant tribal ambition on one hand resulted in extripating disintegration of "Rind-and-Lashar" rule from Sevi and Kachi and also temporarily impeded the development of ethnic national formation of Balochs. This was the history of conflict of tribes and it would be the result.

HUMMAL HOT'S RULE IN MAKRAN AND POPULAR RESISTANCE AGAINST EUROPEAN ENCROACHMENTS OF PURTUGEES.

960 miles long coast of Mekran had been famous port of trading links between Arab World, Sindh, India, Afghanistan and Iran. According to the national incomes amounted 10,000,000 Derham collected by the Arab feudal states of Ammayads [1-11] also according to export and import in 1840-41 and 1841-42, the total import was 7,48,127 and 14,58,528 rupees respectively, and the exports were 9,96,373, and 16,20,804 [1.10].

These data's once again confirms the importance of coast of Balochistan not only for Asian traders but also for European One. The navigation of Waskodegama, Purtugees confirms this

Makran, due to its geo-political location, military strategical importance for military expeditions in the East, main trade link between India, Afghanistan, Iran, Arab etc.

³⁰Gohar Jatni was, very rich cattle owner in the Chakker's premises, and she was considered being Bahot of "Chakker".

had been historical importance. The soil of Mekran Balochistan is witnessed of the more cruel, arbitrary, invasions, military expeditions, eliminative policies of barbaric, unhumanistic rulers (slave owning, feudal, monarchical and bourgeois rule)³¹.

On the other hand, history has recorded hundred and thousands of resistance movements, tribal uprisings, rebellions, revolts (spontaneous individual tribal, massive, allied tribal organised, semi-organised etc.) against invasions, enslavement, colonisation, arbitrary rule genocidal exploitation and against unhumanistic treatment, which finally resulted in liberation of peoples of Balochistan and establishment of tribal allied government of Baloch's which was just initial form of state in Mekran under Jalal Khan and latter on Mir Hummal Hot.

But when according to Marx and F. Engels [the discovery of America... The East - Indian, Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and commodities generally, gave to commerce to navigation to industry, an impulse never before known. [11]

This means emergence of capitalist production relation, in late fifteenth and sixteenth century, in Europe,

³¹ From Egyptian Thambus (1400. B.C.) Brotus (700 B.C.) the arbitrary rule of seven Iranian emperors, "Kakaos", Kahkhusro, Larasup, Gustasup, Baiman, Hama etc.) Alexander the great (325 B.C.), ex-General of Alexander Seienkos Nikator's (3.5 B.C.) empire, Chander Cupt rule, the Sindhhe's dynastee, "Rae-Chaj"(635-36) Arab invasions from "Farooqi epoch" from Rabei-h-zia-d-bin-Harsi, (20 A.D). Abdullah-bin Rabei-h (unsuccessfully returned back). Umar bin slabi (23 A.D), Abdullah Umru (28 AD) Tagir-bine -Wahir (38 AD) move till Kakan (Balochistan's one of the oldest name of village) in the period of Amir Myavia (42 AD) Abdul Rehman, °, Muhib-bin Abe-Safra (44 AD), governorship of Abdul allah bin Suhar, Rashid-bin-Umur, Jujaj-bin Sahr's rule, and Suljokees, Gasna nees, Gorees, and Mangols invasions till the fifteenth century °, [1.9].

geographical discoveries of west Indian Islands, Charted the north coast, eastern coast of South America by Columbus [As early as 1494 the treaty of Tordesillas was concluded by Spain and Portugal to define the two countries spheres of colonial expansion] [153] The conquistadors plundered, enslaved and exploited the Indians and ruthlessly put down any attempts at resistance. They destroyed whole towns and villages with barbarous cruelty. [Gold was first thing the Whitmen asked for on setting foot on an unknown shore] said F.Engels. [15]

The coast of Mekran (Balochistan) was, one of the areas, which in about the beginning of the 16th century was victimised, by the barbaric, invasions of the portugees colonisers. In 1581 the harbour of Pasni and Gwadar was burnt down by portugees invaders. Further, according to the author of "The country of Balochistan" two pictures can vividly seen, invasions and fierce resistance of Balochs.

[Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, the portugees found their way to India and captured several places along the Mekran coast. They do not appear to have penetration in-land. On several occasions they came into collision with the Kalmatis and two old guns, now (1904) lying at Gwader and one at Pasni are popularly supposed to have been captured from them. In 1581 they burnt Pasni and Gawader. [(1.2)]

In those days navigations were mostly done for trade, mostly in gulf-harbours. The Hummal's ships were also engaged in trade with gulf-Bombay (India). Exchange and trade of many articles, dry fish, dates, cattle, wool (fur), as main export of Balochistan, and tea, sugar, clothes etc. The main imports as it is clearly shown in the data's of export and import in the page [21].

Obviously, the main aim of Purtugees was to occupy and colonise many harbours and shores of Balochistan` (spread from Kulanch, Somiani to Bander Abbass, and the 960

miles long coast). In order to spread, its exploitative, controlling tentacles and chains inside the Balochistan. The importance of latter as a significant trade rout between India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Iran, Arab already mentioned, vividly, expose the colonising aims of Balochistan by Purtugees. Thus Purtugees, started terror, looting massacre a vast scale blood-shed in the Baloch and Persian Gulf, drowned and destroyed many merchandise ships.

Thus, it became objective necessity, an historical obligation, for the Baloch tribes, the tribal confederative Kalamat government, headed by Mir Hummal Hot to organise forces, sea combat naval forces, against Purtugees encroachments, barbarous invasions, colonising move, controlling sea routs, in order to:

- Save the development of productive forces, from European invasions, which, just freely had developed after extirpation of foreigners rule and liberation.
- Defend the motherland freedom, sovereignty, of tribal confederative government, the trade, and specially peoples of Balochistan from European enslavement.

Thousands of Baloch tribal heroes, the brave fishermen defended the harbours of Pasni, Jiwani, Gwader, Somiani, Ormara, hundreds of fighters under the commandership of Hummal Hot the young national Hero gave fierce resistance in the Gulf to the well equipped Purtugees colonisers and enchroachers. With meagre weapons and Baloch made battle naval ships.³² Even, Hummal built a big war ship to face the enemy. In many battle skirmishes in the sea and on the shores, the Purtugees forces have been defeated. Which caused, in re-establishment of sovereignty of Hummal's government over occupied shores. Thus, Hummal's government gained more popularity among the

³²Old style ships.

people of Balochistan, and also gave impulse to other resistance movements (neighbour)³³.

Finally, Hummal, compelled enemy, and even forced, to sign an agreement of non-aggression with Balochistan. According to Pact.

<< The Purtugees would not attack on Balochistan
and not disturb trade, merchandise ships
and Mir Hummal also not attack on the
merchandise shipment of Purtugees.
>>[1.12]

The tribal allied and fishermen forces of Balochistan (Mekran) under the leadership of Mir Hummal laid down the foundations of organised progressive anti-foreigner (anti-colonial) national resistance movement, against European colonisers in the period of development of capitalist relations in the Europe first time in the history of Balochistan. Although, the Purtugees used this agreement for tactical purposes, in order to unarm "Hummal" in order to arrest, pressurise, subordinate, and then through Hummal control Balochistan. Only the Purtugees succeeded in arrestation, imprisonment and execution of Hummal, (Hummal laid down his life for the name of Balochistan and people, but did not accept the conditions of Purtugees.) but Purtugees coloniser completely failed in fulfilling their barbaric colonising irrepressible desire. Because, the wide spread hatred for purtugees, assassination of Hummal by Purtugees, the past experiences of battles, the objective needs of society, the strong revengeful militant Baloch tribalistic traditions, provided a real massive, historical shield against purtugees enslavement.

Comprehensive look, on Hummal's

³³Humal's period saw, the Baloch National ethnic formation, based on territorial, economic, political, tribe alliance, most vividly and dialectrically.

Economic Basis:

- a) Multi-structural economy - strong primitive communist relations, communal, patriarchal slave relations (non-classical slave system, or as a slave mode of production), emerging feudal relations. Stockbreeding, date production, (Agriculture), Fishery, handicraft and trade were the main occupation of the people, which was most developed than "Kalat", "Sevi" and "Gandawa", Baloch confederative governments.
- b) Hummal Baloch tribal confederative government had a monopoly over;
 - Trade (especially foreign) and merchandise shipment.
 - The export of the Fish, date production in foreign markets.
 - The import of the articles (not completely)
 - Most taxes from foreigner traders received by government.

Politico-social basis; were,

- Government represented by different tribes, through their chiefs, headed by head of confederacy Hummal Hot.
- The central position, social status, belongs to Hot tribe.
- Voluntary tribal forces for defence, against aggression.
- General fishermen of the coastline;

Paragraph-III

Formation of independent tribal-cum-feudal state in Balochistan and its role in struggle for

national independence and feudal national formation: (from 1410 onward)

Mir Bijjar, the son of the first tribal confederative ruler in Kalat, re-captured power, through allied tribesmen seamiar, whom, suffered, by Mir Mandoos cruel policies, and those considered their tribal militant traditionalistic, duty to help Mir Bijjar in over throwing of former ruler. After capturing power, the Brauhvi Baloch confederative tribesmen and their chiefs elected Mir Bijjar as a chief of confederacy and hold ceremonial functions of its "Dastarbundi" (coronation) according to traditionalistic principles.

Mir Bijjar, commanded confederative forces against Jadgat occupants, according to Mir Gul Khan Nasir,

<< The government of Mandoo was weak, after Mir Umar so, the Jadgals re-occupied all those villages, which were vacated by Brauhis after defeat>>^{*34}

Within three majors, wars, the Jadgals were defeated, and [1.4] subordinated.

Tribal distribution of conquered Lands In "Bijjar" Period; a material basis for Permanent tribal confederacy

Mir Bijjar distributed all conquered lands among the participant and allied tribes such as "Bizenjo", "Nosharwan", "Siapad", "Kambrani", "Gurgnadi", "Sumalani", "Mirwadi", "Zigr Mengal", "Sasoli", "Zarakzai", "Jalumzai", "Zirkani Mohd Hasni", including

^{*34} Goshu and Gazin, are names of two slaves, of Mir Umar, the first ruler of Kalat. Now, the land has distributed among them, with the other allied tribes which shows that slave owning system like as in Greece Rome and even in India and China, in Balochistan or the slave relations were not predominated, but along side tribal communal relations, the communal and latter patriarchal slavery developed which means period of "Umar" patriarchal.

Goshu and Gazin (according to Gul Khan Nasir). << From Kad Mastung to "Jahoo" and Angol situated northern southern. Still the native settlement of Brauhvi tribes>> [1.4]. It is important to note, here, that the land had distributed among those who had participated in the war.

Mir Bijjar's government was very loose, tribal traditionalistic administrative type, only in case of foreign danger and other tribalistic affairs, she mobilised the tribesmen, thus slowly and gradually, the government dissolved with the resignation of Bijjar, the latter adopted its old profession, stock-raising, nomadic life and practically there was no government, and even no tribal chief, even tried for its capturing.

Soon the "Moguls",³⁵ after defeating Argoon dynasty in Kandhar occupied Kalat's vacant government, without any resistance, but soon the semi urban population allied with nomadic tribes started struggle against foreign occupation, genocidal arbitrary rule of Mogul feudal, liberated the Kalat, and handed over the government of Kalat to the new-elected chiefs of the Baloch tribes, "Mir Hasan". The latter authority was limited only in Kalats premises and his status was just as a chief of the tribal confederacy. Because the Baloch government in "Sevi" and "Gandawas" was occupied by Barozai's, Shal Kot (Quetta) and Mastung was ruled still by Moguls- The Sindh "Kalhoda" feudal were started their expansion to Kachchi - Rindo - Lashar confederacy was disintegrated, and even most of them migrated towards Punjab and Sindh. In Mekran and Derajat, the Baloch tribal confederative governments were not so strong, even divided type, to unite Balochs against neighbouring impeding catastrophe.

³⁵ Aurang-Zeb (1618-1707)- Emperor of Hindustan of ruling dynasty of the Great Moguls. A representative of Kamran Mogul, occupied Kalat and ruled for short period, because, its rule was faced, with the rebellion of Baloch tribes, small cultivators, and handicraftsmen, headed by Shams uddin and Gohram Dehwars.

The main causes of loose governments

- The productive forces, in Kachi, Sevi (due to civil war), in Kalat (due to inter-Baloch, Baloch -Jadgal Wars) Mastung, Shal, Kharan (due to foreigners occupations, invasions, even Kalat was further suffered by Mogul occupation) mostly or partially destroyed, pushed tribesmen towards nomadism, pastorism, which stronged the communal tribal bonds raised the power and supremacy of tribal chiefs, impeded the new developing productive (feudal asiatic type) relations.
- Whenever the productive forces developed social division of labour furthered the exchange and tribal producing industry and handicraft developed and private ownership slowly took shape, the foreign invasions, with new aims, culture, religions, destroyed, or weakened or deformed the laws of social development and imposed their foreigner social relations and state apparatus such processes, though from one hand, due to mutual influence of two cultures, provided the conditions for devvelopment, but with very weak forms but with the defeat of foreigners, this process needed a time to develop, but due to synchronies chains of invasions and inter tribals wars this process again slowed down, that is why the tribal allied governments did not develop into state based on to feudal national formation.
- On the allotted lands, the productive forces, again just started developing which hasn't reached in such a stage to come to conflict with old production relation, as K. Marx said, in January 1859, in its scientific valuable work, in the preface of << A contribution to the critique of political economy>> that, <<No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured at the Womb of the old Society>>. Therefore mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve>>. [1]. Through, the distribution of lands, among tribes and personalities, alter the old production

relations, in some an extent, but at the same time made the old tribal communal relations more strong. The role of traditional institutions was enormous. As K. Marx, in its work <<Economic Manuscript of, 1857-1859>> said, that, <<this community (tribal) is based on the fact that its members consist of Working owners of land, small peasant cultivators; but in the same measure the independence of latter depends on their mutual relations as members of the community, on the safe guarding the ager publicans for common needs and common glory, etc.>>[(2)].

Nevertheless, the tribal division of lands, based on tribal traditionalist principles, specially an active participation with heroic deeds in war, particularly also provided the material conditions, (a socio-psychological consciousness, not only retain their control on land, tribal dignity, but also the glory and mutual dialectically connected interests of the allied tribes), for permanent tribal confederacy. On the one hand, but on the other hand, personificated prized, granted or gifted lands, great shares from booty specially extra to Sardars, and even, "Dastari"³⁶ to Sardar and slowly gradually appropriation of considerable part of surplus - product, or arable land, led to formation of land owners, and tribal despotic or autocratics, which in future laid the foundation of ruling class of Balochistan - The Khan, Nawab, Sardars, feudal, Jams but in the beginning, collectivism, Heroism, respect to hard work, sacrifices and such other moralities were predominated, in compare to emerging morality, norms, codes, based on emerging private property, social inequality, individualism, stratification of tribes and social strata.

a) **Anti-foreigner, Mass heroism
and resistance;**

³⁶"Dastari" A part of communal tribal land, which has used to given to tribal chief, from the tribe in order to meet the expenditures, personal subsistence, tour, Mehmankhana (guest house) etc.

A transitory period for state formation (1666-1750)

The period of Ahamad Yar Khan I (1666-1695)³⁷ started, with the mobilisation of Baloch masses against Mogul, Kalhoda, Mogul representative Barozai's encroachments, invasions specially with the "Agha Jaffer Moguls" assortment and invasion on Kalat. Baloch tribes gave a fierce and tooth and nail historical resistance, to the foreign colonisers. Moguls were defeated. Now after organising tribal forces Ahmad Yar Khan, attacked on Shal, and liberated it from another Mogul governor's cruel rule, but at the same time looted the villages around Quetta³⁸, the latter shows very clearly the Khan's anti-people class character.

After land distribution and defeat of Moguls the productive forces developed more rapidly, handicraft, trade, exchange more widened the social inequality, the Bulk of arable land, status, booty from Wars, appropriation of surplus - product, the tribal chiefs became landed tribal nobility, the head of Kalat assumed a status of "Khan". So, the territorial, economic, military, alliances, spreading of Baloch government, to subordination of all tribal based allied governmental, initial state type formations became necessary.

As according to Soviet scholar Pikulin <<page 155>> quoted by Y. Gangovsky. << Neighbouring community was in its own by the end of the 16th century among the Balochs of the country's eastern areas who had turned to settled land cultivation. The Clan aristocracy of the Balochi tribes was slowly growing into a close knit feudal estate as they took possession of the best grazing ground

³⁷ Ahmad Yar Khan I's period of rule was started from 1666-till 1695.

and arable lands and brought into subjection both the local farming population and impoverished, no longer independent nomadic population. The power of the Chieftain of the tribe and its sub-division was usurped, giving way to heredity power... The Military predominance of the Balochi tribes resulted in that their clan aristocracy was tuning into the ruling stratum of the countries feudal class>>.

To safeguard productive forces, the power, tribal state type institutions, it became necessary to increase the wealth and looting booty for emerging tribal-feudal and Sardar [13] nobilities, and meet the needs of people, it became necessary to strength the military might of tribal forces against foreign invasions.

Ahmad Yar Khan's military expeditions and eighteen Wars with Barozais the occupant of 'Sevi' the occupation of Mullah "Kurkh" and Chakko (near Sindh border) and distribution of lands to zehri tribe and authoritative position to its chief very well re-affirms this.

The material and subjective conditions, when started slowly maturing and when it was felt by Magul emperors, Iran Kingdoms, and Sindh feudal dynasties that Baloch feudal - national state formation is one of the verge. They started utilising different methods to subordinate and turn this tribal confederative militant move, to weak, and thus, fulfil subjugative, suppressive aims. The emerging Baloch tribal confederative since from 14th ... 15th century, and now their centralisation toward particle tribal-cum feudal state, became warning bell to the end of these old aged cruel, genocidical tyrannical, regimes and their massacring, demolishing type invasions. On the other hand, the material conditions, for the feudal national formation, strengthened, and awakened, national awareness, national feelings, culture, language, etc. played an important role in repulsing and curbing the foreigners attacks. For example, when King of IRAN, in 1698 invaded and underfoot the soil of Balochistan with the strong army, under the command-ship of Tahma-sap-Bag, the people of

Balochistan, with thirty thousand, armed and experienced Baloch tribal fighters under the leadership of Mir Samander Khan³⁹ (1697-1714) gave historic resistance and crushed almost all the invaded Iranian forces. It was really patriotic war from the side of Baloch fighters, which is recorded in history as a War of National salvation and defence of the motherland boosting the morality, national awareness of ethnic unity.

Dialectically, interconnected, interdependent and contradictory nature of this evolutionary process, the Baloch tribal confederative governments, transitional processes toward one centralised, tribal union based feudal state, its positive, progressive aspects, and negative, plundering anti-people character can vividly expose, itself through deep all faceted analysis and in the historical events and historical episodes, proving that Men make their own history, but in given objective conditions as v.i Lenin put it in its Philosophical Note-book, that

<< Actual History is the basis, the foundation the Being, which is followed by consciousness>>[(10)].

Here, in this transitional process of state formation, in Balochistan, the actual history, the socio-economic factor, the material life, necessity of the society, the economic basis on which the levels the forms and types of social consciousness, are standing and their influence in their turn over social being especially, the lasting influences of National traditions which hunted the minds.

³⁹Mir Samander Khan (after the death of Mir Mehrab Khan I (1695-1697), in a War against Kalhodas, Mir Mehrab Khan was, senselessly utilised by the Mogul ruler of Multan for their purposes), became the "Khan of Kalat" and also, received money, presentations, by Mogul, rulers of Multan having a friendly relations, but during Iranian invasions, fought patriotically, heroically and defended the motherland its rule but on the other hand, attacks on Zhobe and Loralai its anti-people elements.

Balochistan 17th and 18th century, on the one hand, the material conditions, due to the development of productive forces, further division of Labour, separation of Handicraft and trade from Agriculture emergence of separate property, tribal inherited nobility and their development towards feudal tribal aristocracy, matured the conditions for the state (feudal oriented type), feudal national formation for its completion and it became possible, only to launch fierce resistance against foreign encroachments maraud excursions, military invasions of Iranian, Afghanis, Indians and Sindh-o-Punjab.

To struggle, against plunderers, colonisers were progressive developing aspects of this process, which was caused by or resulted by, more than 2000 years. Baloch tribes struggle, against invaders, for their survival, which due to retaining of communal tribal relations developed militant traditions, collective resistance the thirst for national unity, in their socio-psychological consciousness, even, the religious consciousness which was mostly imposed in its character by foreign invaders and conquerors, had been considered to be foreign. In the mob of religious invasion (different) and in the presence of weak religious consciousness developed by society itself, the national, ethnical, traditional feelings were predominated, thus played an important role in this process.

For example substantiation, the Abdullah Khan's⁴⁰ mobilisation, organisations of tribal forces (5000, ready fighters for any attack) and Baloch tribal masses, against, Ashraf Shah Afghan's (the ruler of ISFHAN, just

⁴⁰ "Abdullah Khan" (1716-1731) became Khan of Kalat, after tribe coup, and assassination of its passive brother, Mir Ahmad Khan II in (1716). Abdullah Khan had been considered a Hero poet, a best military strategist, and A Baloch fighter and bests commander, against foreign invaders and also a notorious, plunder marauder against the people. Abdullah Khan, was the one, who tried its military tribe might, to conquer all Baloch areas, sub-ordinate and subjugate them under its feudal rule?

before the dawn of "Nadiri" in (1725) defeated by Nadir Shah forces, wanted to capture Kalat). Strongest invasions, which resulted, its murder and complete inhalation of forces, by the militant resistance of Baloch tribal forces, led by Abdullah Khan.

Now, it had to be considered, important to create a defensive line. Thus conquer of Pishin, Shorawak and subordination of these parts, and rule by tribal Mir Faroz Khan and Mir Sultan Qahim Khan Shawani and latter on its two attacks on Kandahar shows its strategic plans to weaken, demoralize enemy (create a defence line subjugation of Kachi, Darajat.)

Abdullah Khan gain popularity, a more tribal strength, in repulsing of joint foreign assortment of Shah Hussain Khilji and Noor Muhammad Kalhodo (1st defeated by Abdullah in Kachi) from two sides (from sindhh and Afghanistan Kandahar side). The tribal militant traditionalistic capabilities, of Baloch masses, under the leadership of Abdullah Khan, the best military strategist, also using, gurella tactics prolongation of war etc. With strong feudal nationalistic patriotic feelings, the downtrodden tribal masses of Balochistan sacrificed their lives and saved the country from foreign rule. The foreign forces were defeated. But when Abdullah Khan was killed in the military expedition, against Kalhoda's in Kachi, the rule of Khan's, Mir Muhabat Khan⁴¹(due to inner contradictions). Contradiction between "Khan" ruling family, tribal chiefs, the nobility and Khan, on share, the tribal coups and counter coups, the Nadir Shah's strengthening power, and policies toward Kalat, plans and conspiracies anarchy in the rule, and Ahmad Shah's attack (1747) on Kalat, and defeat of Kalat, under Muhabat Khan rule and other factors, turned Kalat pay tributer to move strong feudal states, and also used tribal forces, in favour of these, which becomes clearer, with the quotation of Yu. Gankovsky, << During the 16th and 17th centuries a

⁴¹See, History of Balochistan, by Gul Khan Naseer, page (36-48)

number of state formations, in which the feudalising aristocracy of the Balochi tribes was in the ascendant, arouse, in the territory of Balochistan, the rulers of these states were the vassals of the Iranian Shah's and Great Moguls>>[(14)].

The tribal confederative governments and state formations (initial stages of their formation from 1531 till, 1736), basically, not Vassals of Iranian Shah and Indian or Afghan feudal monarchs, the Baloch resistance, led by these Khanates, prove. But many small estates and even in the period of Samander Khan, this happened, that Moguls paid Khilhats to these rulers, when they defeated Iranian invasions, in order to encourage, and strengthen this front against Iranian shah, which was just result of contradictions between great emperors, feudal states. To help small state formations, against others, fFirst time, in the period of anarchy, tribe coup and countercoup conflicts between Khan family and Sardar Verses Khan created condition, for vassalment of Kalat to Nadir Shah and Ahemad Shah Abdali, only in the period of Muhabat Khan (1733-1749).

Gul Khan Naseer, vividly, drew a clear picture of latters rule, state, that

<<Mir Muhabat Khan was puppet in the hands of Sardars.... He did n't work for the benefit of citizens, national progress and organisation ... In the country; there was anarchy and civil war. The tribes were out of its grip. ... Mir Muhabat Khan was the first Baloch ruler, which accepted first, Nadir Shah Iran, then Ahmad Shah Abdali Shah-e-Afghan's subordinations and tribute of 20,000 rupees yearly. 12000 men for war time and one thousand men (emergency) yearly as a "San" to King>>[1.2] The money had to be paid by heavy taxes on handicrafts, traders, shop keepers, import and export, and Men from tribes, small estates of Mekran Las bella turned into monarchical rule. Thus created socio economic and political crises, the manifestation of this crises, can be seen, a people's struggle against Ahmad Shah Abdali, in

the period of Nasir Khan for their National liberation which led for the creation of their own feudal state.

On the other hand the contradictory, negative, antipeople tendencies, plundering, subjugating, marauding excursions, looting, burning of villages, massacring of general tribesmen, while enmity is with limited (chiefs or thieves), subordination of Baloch estate or small principalities, but plundering and killing of poor nomads, or fishermen and cultivators, this, and all other numerous facts in the history of Baloch national and state formation ⁴²were not astonishing, neither specific extraordinary one only in Baloch Society, neither. These events were the result of bad characterised personality, nor, they might n't happened, if there was a good ruler as many historians try to Proof that, it was a general course, or it was resulted due to this or that ruler concealing the real socio-economic causes behind these activities, which had put lasting negative impact, having impeding character sowing and injecting tribel enmity (still now, the remanents, of the past tribel enmity, or enmity, due to inter-tribel conflicts, usually provoking by Pakistani rulers) slowed down the process of national and state formation. This phenomenon, must be studied in its essence, and the essence and main grass root of this lies in socio-economic conditions prevailing that time, and in the traditions of the tribalism, chieftain.

The F.Engels mentions, vividly quoting K.Marx that how the genitel institutions of the gensturned from peoples service against peoples.

<<Its organs were transformed into an organisation for plundering and oppressing their neighbours... from instrument of will of the people into the independent organs for ruling and oppressing of their own people. This could not have happened had not the greed for wealth divided the members of the gents into rich and poor; had

⁴² The remnants of inter-tribal wars, tribel looting acts, gangestorism can also be seen now in Baloch society, but with different socio-economic and political causes, behind them.

not the <<difference of property in a gens changed the community of interest into antagonism between members of a gens>> (Marx)[3.].

In Baloch tribe free self-governed, and administrative organs could not given birth to its anti thesis, and it really could not happened, that these free organs shifted to organised tribe allied or confederative governmental organs of coercion oppression and plundering against their own people (through these organs played an important role in national and state formations in Balochistan and became patriotic defensive organs against foreign invasions and encroachments but, simultaneously, resulted the social exploitation of masses, Tribes, if;

- a) Development of productive forces, social division of labour and exchange could not, permeated and facilitated in changing of obsolescence social relations, and emergence of separate property, a transition to private property, a inheritance based tribe nobility feudal (Khan) strata and latter classes had n't appeared.
- b) The tribe alliances except blood ties formed on territorial and economic and defence purpose basis could not took shape. If the greed for best pastoral and cultivated lands, water sources, etc. and subjugation of other could not give birth to inherited tribe Sardars, Nawabs, Jams, Mirs, feudal elite Pirs, and Khans, as an upper ruling class.

Thus, we find numerous cases, examples of latters, National patriotism, defensive wars against foreign colonisers, just and protracted wars, under their commandship, on the one hand in Baloch history; and due to class character, their feudal and tribe nobility using as a class, aims and objectives, their greed and search for power, wealth, individualism, marauding excursions, inter-

tribe wars, wars of plunder betrayals, compromised, servitudism to big feudal monarchs of Iran, India and Afghanistan and even bartering of peoples liberation with their class narrow interests⁴³ on the other hand.

The most organised chapao and marauding military expeditions, we can found almost in all periods of rule from (1531—1947), but the most organised one was in the period of Abdullah Khan which from one hand showed the inter- upper emerging class contradictions, extension of ruling sphere, but on the other hand greed to get more wealth cattle etc. and subjugate and compel them to pay tribute to the rulers, all these hampered the proper development of productive forces centralised based national formation (in the proper sence of the world) retained clan relations.

All these done, in the name of nation or tribes in order to establish a state, a material and subjective conditions of latter were matured, in the name of defence of motherland and extension of state. The wars of Plunder had been justified. All these happened, because the private property, classes started appearing, a society was turning into antagonistic, social inequality, overlapping the collectivism of tribe primitive society. In the name of progress, the cruel tyranical methods started to be used though it was step ahead but it permeated the widening of gap between tribe nobility Sardar, Nawabs, Jam, Khans and tribesmen and people, between oppressed and oppressor an exploitation became means of subsistence, of the upper ruling crust of the Balochs. Thus the need for machine of coercion, the palliating the contradictions for carrying the exploitation, which stood over and above the society -badly

⁴³ As in case of Muhabat Khan, specially, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan III, when, for fulfilment of its feudalistic narrow class interests, he betrayed people of Balochistan, and bartered and sold free Balochistan, with the expense of its narrow class interests, to reactionary Pakistan in 1948.

felt, by the rulers, and this historical act was completed by Nasir Khan I in (1750-1795).

<<By the mid of the eighteenth century the conditions were ripe, as a result of the dissolution of the Nadir Shah's empire and the weakening of the power of the great Mugals, for the whole Balochistan to unite within the frame work of a single feudal state>>. This process was almost completed in the period of Nasir Khan I (1750-1795). The feudal state was pillar by Baloch tribe confederacy and other tribe estates. Many historians, like one, drew the picture of this state; we are quoting G.H. Hughes, according to him

<<The extent of territory left by Nasir Khan I... comprised the present Sarawan (included Shal) and Jhalwans provinces, the Kachhi Gandava, Harrand and Dajil districts (Dera Ismail and Dara Ghazi Khan) in the east, together with the greater portion of the entire Mekran, (included Bampur, Kasrk and Dhizak in the west, Shal in the North)⁴⁴, the state of Las as a tributary (it was not a state, the income of Las was taken as a whole by Nasir Khan, and part of it given to Jam Mir Khan as the expenditure of tribal force for war⁴⁵), and port of Karachi in Sindh. His revenues ... exceeded thirty lakhs of rupees (about £ 300,000) per annum>>[(16)]

The real, independent rule of Nasir Khan on Balochistan started after the fierce resistance of Ahmad Shah's 1757 powerful invasion, which had actually broke the chains of dependency established in the period of Muhabat Khan. The following agreement, concluded between Durrani emperor and Nasir Khan, logically and historically confirms our argument according to accord:

- a) Khan Baloch would n't pay any tribute to Afghan Shah.
- b) Khan Baloch would n't give San-e-Lashker (forces) to Afghan Shah.

⁴⁴Yu V. Gankovsky, Peoples of Pakistan. P-150.

⁴⁵Gul Khan Naseer, History of Balochistan PP:81-82 (urdu)

- c) Although in case of war, outside the country, the Khan of Baloch provides forces as assistance to Shah Afghanistan.
- d) The shah Afghan, in its turn, give fixed amount of money, provide ammunition and other essentials to Khan.
- e) The Shah Afghan will not interfere in the internal affairs of Khan-e-Baloch.
- f) All the occupied lands will be handed over to Khan-e-Baloch.
- g) Khan-e-Baloch will never give asylum to any Sadozai princes or other Afghan rebel Sardar and never interfere in Afghan Affairs.
- h) On the above, conditions, the Khan Baloch recognize Afghan as a sovereign power.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Gul Khan Naseer, History of Balochistan PP: 62-63.



Ameer Naseer Khan I Noori (1749-1794) Ruler of
Unified Independent Balochistan.

b) Essence, Characteristic features and Nature of tribe representative-cum-feudal state in Balochistan: Nasir Khan's I period (1749-1794).

In Balochistan, the strong primitive communist, communal tribe, weak slave -owning and emergence, developing, feudal relations as an subordinated elements of composition to the upper formational institution have been travelled side by side influenced each other, and the characteristic feature of which, in super structure, the traditionalistic self-government, tribe communal based morality, ethics, and also slave and feudal based morality and ethics ideology and specially the tribe solidarity and national feelings in socio-psychological consciousness of the people have been in the prolong period of the coexistence of these relations. Particularly, in the formation, building of upper institutions in Kalat. Strong tribe communal, slave owning and developing feudal relations (weak) have been since onward 1700 in Kalat thus, in every step, feudalisation or even in the beginning slavisation process, impeded and slow down. So, the forms of state formation in Balochistan, was not classical one as in Athens or neighbouring state formations in Iran, India and Afghanistan. The forms of building of state in Balochistan were as follows:

a) Traditionalistic governments, (based on territorial, against invasions), though did not assume state formation for long time, but played an important transitional course in the preliminary emergence, foundation building and formation of feudal state in Balochistan, with strong primitive tribe communal relations. Thus, in period of Nasir Khan the unification of Baloch territories, under single feudalistic (Asiatic type) tribe Representative-cum State was formed.

- b) The evolutionary development of Baloch society, with strong, lasting influences of other neighbouring socio-economic formations, (Iran, Afghanistan, India), the more developed feudal states, monarchical regimes), reached in such a stage, in its development that the upper traditionalistic tribe leaders became, and stood tribe nobility and feudal crust the Khan's, Nawabs, Jams, Mirs, and the rising contradiction, in order to palliate, led to the formation of the state.
- c) Mass heroism, patriotism, and hundreds of year Mass resistance of Baloch masses with the development of material conditions led in a stage where the formation of centralised state based on national traditions of the people, became necessary for defence, safeguard of people, motherland, lines and wealth of tribes.

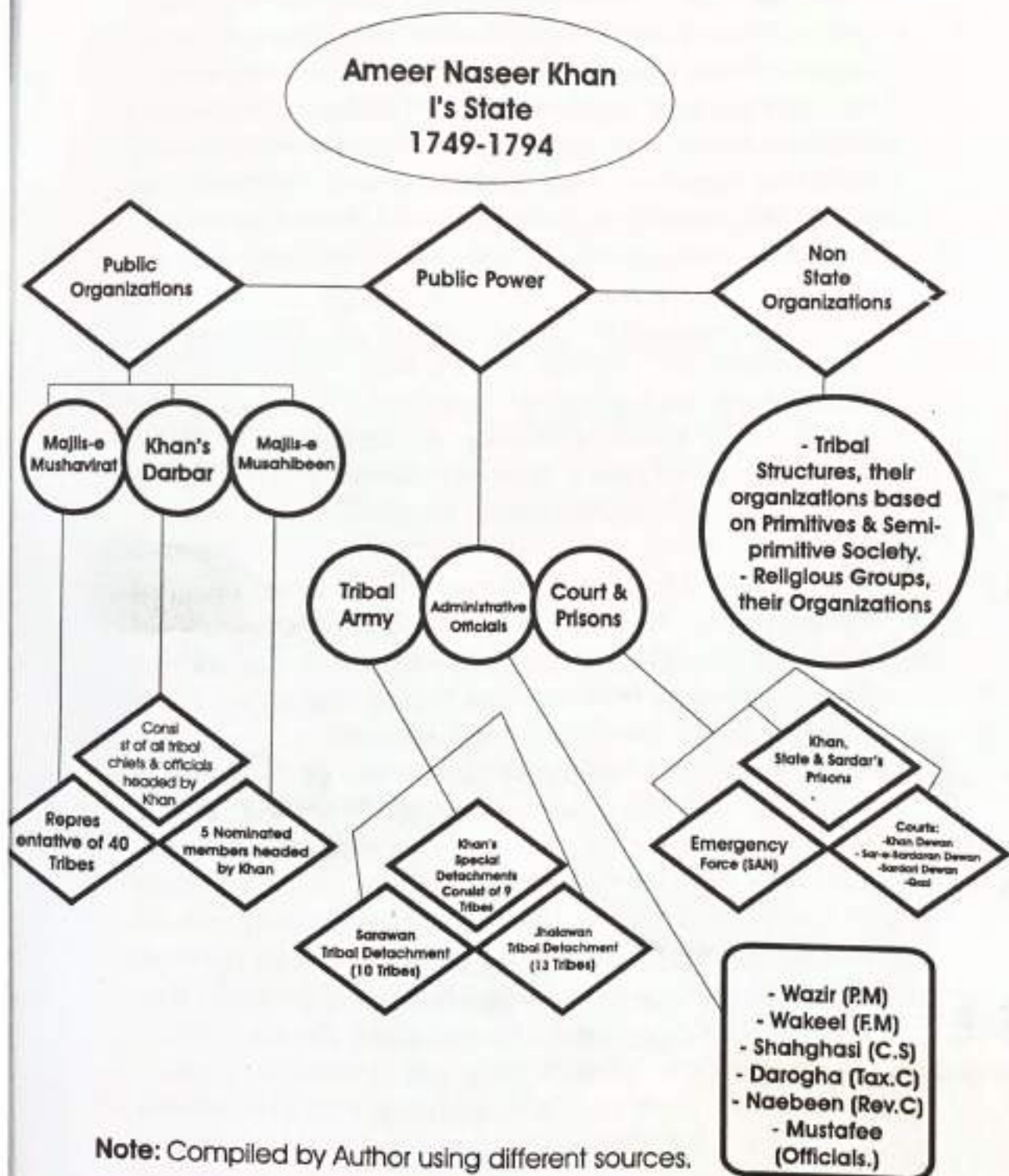
Essence of State

It is vital, important and particularly necessary, to quote, F.Engels, historical analysis, quoted by V.I. Lenin in its theoretically valuable, political dynamic work, "The state and Revolution" in deep understanding of the Nasir Khan's tribe - representative-cum feudal state.

As F. Engels says.

<<The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without; ... it is product of society at a certain stage of development; it is admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into inconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonism, these classes with conflicting economic interests might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above the society that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order" and this power arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state>> (pp. 177-78 six German edition)[11].

STRUCTURE OF BALOCHISTAN INDEPENDENT TRIBAL-CUM-FEUDAL CENTRALIZED STATE



So, the state in Nasir Khan's period neither should be considered the Wisdom, bravery, ethical and mythological power of the Nasir Khan, as many idealist historians presents the case. (The assuming the name of "Aolia-ullah" or "Nori" (The brightening) and even the place, where Nasir Khan stayed or prayed considered to be sacred. (Every person if passes, he had to add one stone in the stone gathered place called the "Chada" in the memory of Nasir Khan, even still now, many, socio-economically backward tribesmen worship such places). (Actually the power was considered, in the shape of Nasir Khan) nor it should be, considered a state, without representing any class.

The essence and content of any state, whether it was transitional pre-bourgeoisie character, it represent the economically dominant classes, a machine of coercion using as Marco Lenin's says, expression in the hands of upper class, against lower classes for domination.

So, the Nasir Khan's state, though it was based on tribal representations was the result of the development of society itself, which stood over and above the society, starting alienating from it. Thus turned state power in the hands of "Khan" (the Baloch Shah) Nawabs, Sardars, Jams, Mirs, Pirs, the big land owner, a machine of coercion "an instrument for the exploitation of oppressed classes (Lenin), the poor nomadic cattle breeder tribes, small cultivators, fishermen, peasants, tenants, and other really the power of the tribal chiefs, the Khan and Mirs came from the Baloch society. It had still roots among the tribal traditionalistic customary rules, but slowly gradually they became the ruling officials, a ruling class, the tax, revenue collectors, the administrative, or military generals governors, member of Mujlis-e-Musahibean (like present state council) the Mujlis-e-Mushavarat (House of Lords) a recognised, authoritative members of Khan's Darbar (Khan's council based on tribal representation) a members of Jury etc. A Khan himself and its cleagues, developed from elected tribal chief the "Sardar" of the tribal alliances

and confederacies became the despotic and semi-despotic rulers thus the public power was organised, and which stood over and above the society, started serving the entire interest of the tribal aristocracies, feudal lords, the elite noble upper crusts, the Khan, Nawabs, Sardar, Jams, Mirs, the parasitic, scholarholder religious clergy Pir Saints Faqirs, big land owners. It was the class nature of state, it was dictatorship of these classes against oppressed Baloch poor working people the social nature of this rule was tribal based, traditionalistic, liberal type, with the influence of other, primitive, tribal communal relations. This was the essence of Nasir Khan's state, and it was its content.

The features of the Nasir Khan's state

By using F.Engels, methodological principles, and their correct and conscious application on Nasir Khan's state formation we could draw its specific characteristic features also: to summing we can conclude:

- a) With the emergence of tribal alliances and tribal confederative governments, the blood tied alliances, travelled towards territorial, economic ones and this transition led to the feature of state. "The state according to F.Engels divided its citizens according to territory" [(4)]. The subordination of territories, regions, distribution of the land⁴⁷ settlement of different tribes in different areas, changes in the nomadic life into semi-nomadic life after getting plots of lands. The utilisation of prisoners, as a labour, or as servitude in Kalat palace and other Nawab, Mir, Jam, Derbars, subordinated tribes became the

⁴⁷In the period of Bijjar, Mohabat Khan, Naseer Khan, and other in Kachi, Sevi, Sarawan, Jhalawan, Las etc.

tillers on different state owned lands. Due to administrative purposes the settlement of huge contingent of different tribes, in different regions⁴⁸. The shifting of different nomadic tribes groups, in search of fodder or the turning of ruins towards tillers, have divided population according to the territories and according to the economic needs, as Gul Khan Naseer says, that it unified all Baloch areas into single chain.

Political Power:

<<The second is the establishment of a public power of coercion which no longer coincided with the people organised as an armed force>> (F. Engels)[5].

This public power, was not yet established, like in other feudal states, like Durrani Empire, or Magul empire, but it has not no longer remained the power of elected representative of the clan, where, every things had to be decided by the clan, tribe for the clan and tribe no, the form of this was drastically changed the inherited tribal chiefs were receiving orders from state or Sardar council, Khan council, and they were bound to obey, to give people from military services, because, now the military service, to Khan was combined economically due to receiving of "Gami lands"⁴⁹

The Military Structure of State:

⁴⁸ Zigr - Mangals settlement in Chaghi

⁴⁹ "Gami-lands" lands received by tribes from Khan, on the expense of rendering of military tribal contingents the lands were, state owned, basically but named on different tribes, if any tribe did n't provide an assistant to Khan, the lands might have re-occupied by state. The tribes were no rights, in selling or division of lands.

After getting power, Nasir Khan

- Settled all tribal disputes, according to Balochi customary principles.
- Distributed all occupied lands, specially the Kachi, into state, local population and tribes of Sarawan, Jhalawan, except the lands of Rind, Mugsis, Domki and other distributions in the period of "Muhabat Khan".
- Every tribe have provided, "Gami lands". Those, who have been organised into military organisation of the Public power.
- The Khan had to provide ration to tribal force, fodder for their horses. Jeer to Sardars, during the wartime, but opposite to tribal communal system of military services, where every tribe had to provide every expenditure, but here, the latter was altered. With adaptation of new principles, in order to facilitate collection of tribal forces, with less expenditure on the ordinary tribal men, to utilise the traditionalistic national enthusiasm more properly and actively, but along side the old system prevailed, since now. For example in 1980-82 during the war between Local Baloch tribe, against the feudal lords of Afaghan Refugee the latter, became the head of Afaghan counter-revolutionaries, had occupied the common tribal property of Local tribe. So, in the course of war every divisional sub-divisional branch of tribes has provided 5000 rupees, 10-armed men, with ration to the front. Thus re-generation of old tribal rules(tribal revivalism) still prevails, which turned the war active. Even in many tribes strictly observation of such principles can

be seen in tribal conflicts but the example provided is very well known by us.

Military Structure is as follows:

After economically substantiation and backing of military structure, the political military commanding, and its principle drawn. Which was according to traditions, but with new arrangements, sphere and authority of power.

- Nasir Khan formed three military detachments

- 1) Sarawan detachment
- 2) Jhalawan detachment
- 3) Special detachment (for maintenance of law and order, his security and emergency purposes, directly under its command).

S. N o.	Sarawan detachmen t	No.o f force s	S. N o.	Jhalawan detachment	No.o f force s	S. N o.	Special detachme nt	No.of forces
A	<u>Raisani detachmen t</u>		A	<u>Zehri detachment</u>			Tribal contingen ts	
1	Raisani tribe	300	1	Zehri tribe	1000	1	Mirwadi tribe	300
2	Kurd "	300	2	Nichari -	300	2	Kambradi -	50
3	Satakzai -	40	3	Pandrani -	200	3	Altazi -	X
4	Langho -	700	4	Jattak -	700	4	Zigr Mangal -	800
			5	Sasoli -	300	5	Gurgnadi -	100
						6	Kalandra di	100
B	<u>Shahwani detachmen t</u>		B	<u>Mangal detachment</u>		7	Sumaladi -	200
1	Shahwani tribe	500	1	Mangal tribe	1000	8	Rodani + Perekani tribe	200
2	Mohd Shai tribe	360	2	Bizenjo -	300			
3	Sirparra tribe	200	3	Khadrani -	300		Total	1750
			4	Sajidi -	300			
			5	Hasni -	500			
C	<u>Bangulzi detachmen t</u>		C	<u>Magsi detachment</u>				
1	Lehdi tribe	700	1	Magsi tribe	1000			
2	Bangulzai tribe	700	2	Dinarzai tribe	100			
3	Rind tribe	1000	3	Lashari	100			
	Total	4800		Total	6100			

Source: History of Balochistan by Gul Khan Nasir. (Pages 53-55)

Administrative Structure of State:

Organizationally: "The existence of state power is embodied precisely in its officials, the army, the administration and courts apart from this, its physical embodiment, it is but a shadow, an idea, a name". (Marx)[7.]

Though, in Balochistan, the class antagonism was not, yet developed, though the public power was in some extent, was insignificant. But due to sharp National contradiction with the more developed colonizers the contradiction between Baloch masses against invaders were much strong, which became the main contradiction and the emergence of Public power, started governing on the socio-psychological, national traditional feelings of the Baloch masses. The socio economic and political crises during Mir Muhabat Khan's period sharpen the anti-colonizer and anti-non patriotic policies of the Kalat Khan's. Trade, export and import were becoming weak. The burden of Taxes, felt almost, in all sections of the population, weather, in kind, money, or Game-Lashker (Soldier to Ahamad Shah). All this deteriorated the situation.

Thus situation, demanded more resolute actions from patriotic national feudal forces, from in order to from one hand to break the exploitative chain of Durani Empire, and further to regulate the production and reproduction of real life to save the nations from enslavement, heavy taxes, etc.

Nasir Khan's patriotism, conscious traditionalistic, national behavior. Economic and social substantiation to military tribal organization created a socio-psychological climate, to form a public power in accord to, the level of people's consciousness, development of society, and prevailing national traditions.

Nasir Khan's state can be put in third type of feudal states in sixteenth century and seventeenth state of South-east Asia, namely << Burmese states of Ava. The Leotian State

of Lan Xang, the sultanate of Philippine and the Malaccan peninsula and those of western Malaya, where the state administration was run by the group of feudal lords descended from tribal leader, feudal pattern of Agriculture were not particularly advanced and large part of population still lived in accordance with tribal customs>>. [17] But with some distinctive peculiarities, because the pattern of formation of Nasir Khan's state, was mainly based on tribal unions, tribal permanent confederacy, and tribal inherited emerging feudal estates, << Mongolian feudal state of 1206, was formed a number of small states and tribal union (18)>> but the composition of Balochistan's Feudal type of state was, owing to small states, comprised all tribal union based or tribal estate based governments by feudal type, tribal chiefs, namely in Mekran, Las, Derajat, but these were, yet, not developed into state formation.

Thus having a distinctive particular characteristic features of Balochistan's feudal state had its specific type state administration, the organs of power:

The Military Tribal Administrative Structure:

According to provincial based detachments, (see table P.20) one Sardar was nominated as a chief or "Sare-Sardarane-of Sardars, of the given province, namely chief Sardar of Sarawan, and Sare-Sardaran of Jhalawan, among the Sardar belong to these provinces, as an provincially responsible high official in front of 'Khan'. All sardars and tribals were subordinated to these officials. Then the tribe of every 'Sardar' further, administratively divided (according to traditionalistic division) into 'Takkers' (headed by Takkery), 'Phalli' or 'Zai' (headed by Mir) 'Shalwar' (headed by 'safaid reech' a respect person) was officially nominated, among these tribal division, subdivisions. Which were responsible in all tribal affairs⁵⁰, in

⁵⁰The sardars, juridical authority was limited only on their tribes, in the given regions. They were responsible of tribes socio-economic, politio, military and customarily affairs, and also, had a

front of tribal chief and the tribal chiefs were responsible, in front of Sare-Sardaran (nominated by Khan) and the Sare-Sardarans was in front of Khan Nasir Khan I. It was actually the proper combination of Baloch tribal traditionalistic pattern of leading with emerging feudalistic, mobilistic land lordistic administrative ruling pattern of state.

The tribe had to elect their Chieftains, but according to Gul Khan, the author of 'History of Balochistan' the approval of 'Khan' was necessary. The Sardar was elected generally, from the same family or clan, in many cases the qualities were preferred. Non capable person could be dismissed by Khan, from Sardari, according to tribe's decision or request [103] at any time which shows Khan's traditionalistic rooted method of feudal ruling on the backward tribes, to keep its hold strong on tribes as well as on Sardars, strengthen its power.

Socio-Political Basis:

(The Majlis-e-Mushawarat)

- a) Under its Presidentship the Khan of Baloch established a state council, named 'Majlis-e-Musahibeen', with nominated five members, including two chiefs Sardars of Sare-Sardaran-e-Sarawan. Sare-Sardarane Jhalawan (highly officials of the two main provinces) and three Mirs of Altazai, in order to tackle the socio-economic financial and state problems. The Permanent presence of the members of council was necessary in the capital of Balochistan, which was highly authoritative organ of the state. Before taking any decisions about any urgent or important problem, the 'Khan' had to put it in council.

right to represent there tribes in Khan's 'Balochi Diwan' traditionally it was tribal democratic, inherited representations, feudalistically was nomination by big feudal lord, descended by tribal confederacy leadership. It was its peculiarity.

- b) There was another council, based on tribal representation named, 'Mujlie-e-Mushavarat' (Advisory council type). More than 40 tribes, through their chieftains, or representatives, were representing this council. Every tribal Chief or representative of tribe, with the decided tribe military force, of its 1/12 "Game-Lashker" had to present in the Kalat, twenty-four hours, which was termed "San". The 'Shah Ghasi' (A.D.C) of state was responsible for their ration, encampment, and other expenditures. The main aim of this council was;
- Participation involvement and utilization of all Sardars in state affairs, specially war, national and international in order to keep Sardars happy, involve, strength its power, tight control on tribes.
 - Through participation of their representatives in state affair the 'Khan' wanted massive active support from 40 strong tribes, the main pillars of its patriotic type feudal building and feudal national formational state.
 - To meet the emergency situation through tribal forces, the minds of latters were hound by national, tribalistic feelings and traditionalistic militant emotions. Their utilisation was of tremendous importance than any regular army. Because, the involvement of 1/12 part of fighter force of tribes, means the permanent involvement of whole the tribe against enemy. The involvement and utilisation of whole tribes in any way, means, mobilization of the Baloch masses against invaders, and also, against another tribes, to fulfill its narrow - feudalistic aims, too.

Therefore, it can be well concluded, that the Nasir Khan's state was neither classical feudal state. As it was in Europe, or "Iran, India, nor it was completely comparable

to the third type of states, including Durrani (Afghan) south east Asian feudal states, and Mongolias feudal state of 1206. It was tribal representative-cum-feudal state, the content of which was feudal (weak). Pre-feudal tribal traditionalistic, relations, and the form were feudal but it was rather active form_carrying the elements of feudal national formation. The allotment of 'Jagirs' estates and prized based lands to Nawabs Sardars, Mirs, Jams, and Pirs, saeds led to the full formation of feudal lords in Balochistan, which had (since now, in Bughti, Jhalawan) their own prisons, primitive organs, bands of oppression on poor people, and occupation of other lands, a tribal Zandarn type forceful tax collector ("Shashik" "Sung", "Zare-Shah", "Zare-Sar", "Mali", "Bijjar", "Pudhss" the Sardari taxes)⁵¹. After Pakistanis occupation, these feudal lord tribal chiefs established their links with bureaucracy in order to subjugate the peasants tiller and tenants, to carry the exploitation and press social protest.

Now taxes were became tremendously important << in order to as F. Engel pointed out, maintain public power, contribution from citizens became necessary>>--- in possession of public power, and of the right to impose taxes, the officials are now organs of society standing over society>> [6]

⁵¹ Name of the imposed taxes by "Khan" and Sardars over masses, the detail has been given in Chapter-II.

For Nasir Khan: State, the levy of taxes means:

- To maintain public power, the officials the tribal chiefs, the permanent emergency forces were always present in Kalat, belonging 40 tribes.
- To meet the War expenditures, expenditure on production the building of dams, veti-culture, and Agriculture and all other.

For this purpose, Nasir Khan first of all, appointed a Minister Akhund Mohd Salah and a financial department, headed by financial "Wakeel" (financial minister) and established the posts of the Niabeens of Daroghas in Kachi, Sarawan, Jhalawan, Mekran, and also a management (ADC type) official 'Shahghasi'. The later, sphere of authority was to arrange seats into Derbar for Sardar, according to their status, provide Ration, and other expenditures for emergency 'San' and for specially "Khan's detachment (the special detachment). Thus Nasir Khan organized a system of Financial and tax-collecting system, divided different regions, defense different type of taxes, revenues, made responsible the tax collecting officials. All officials were paid.

The System of Taxes:

- The main forms of taxes or rent were in kind, money, labour and tribal forces.
- The 'Khan' relieved Hindu community from Jazia tax, but a tax was imposed on all Hindu shopkeepers the 'Sung' taxes 4-rupees/per load. For Hindu shophees, Presto and also from Muslims for Pirs, Sophioe, Derwashes.
- Revenues, from all state owned, lands, taxes, from all private owned lands, according to the fertility, locality, and productivity of lands.
- Revenues, incomes, tributes, and taxes from Mekran, Bela and other provinces.
- Minimized taxes on trade, handicraft, manufacturing in order to develop the productive

forces, and encourage foreign and local traders, thus;

- The Sardar's slowly turned all collective base cooperative tribal collection as Sardari taxes, in the name of military expenditures.

Main Economic basis

After fierce resistance, given by the people of Balochistan led by Nasir Khan I, for their Liberation, against Ahmad Shah Durrani's powerful invasions in 1758, and after the agreement concluded bilaterally between Durrani emperor and Khan-e-Baloch. [See page 14 of the article] The productive forces developed. Trade, handicraft, opening of manufacturing industries, weaving, spinning, ammunition etc. export and import, and exchange, development of Agriculture, introduction and separation of horticulture and viticulture from Agriculture, provision, and supervision of pastoral areas, mountains, increasing production of dates, fishing, furthered the division of Labour. Now surplus labour, and surplus product, for market started, private and state appropriation of surplus - product, gave birth to feudal, landlord, tribal aristocracy, the parasitic clergy (Sophees, priest, pundath), handicraft man, the traders, small commodity producer, the rich, middle cattle owner, and shepherds, the Rich, middle, and landless peasants. The tenants and also fateful labour including slave type.

As K. Marx, in its scientifically fifteen years research work the "Capital" volume III, about labour rent that "As in Asia under direct subordination to "state" which stands over them as their landlord and simultaneously as sovereign, then rent and taxes coincide, ... under such circumstances, there need exist no stronger political or economic pressure. Then that common to all subjection to that state. The state is then supreme lord. Sovereignty here consist in the ownership of land concentrated on a national scale ... although there is private and common possession and use of 2/10[Rule Marcow, 1962] Land>>.

As Soviet Scientist, Leonid Alayer, Characterizes the social structure of eastern medieval societies, the common, according to his was, (in all)

<<Supreme state ownership of the land this implies

- a) Recognition, at least in theory of the ruler as the supreme master of the land.
- b) The ruler's right (some times restricted, but also practices to grant and confiscate land.
- c) The imposition of a tax on all land (with few exceptions):
- d) Government interference in the structure and conduct of agriculture. >>

Basing on this he formulates, three forms of ownership, which, in many aspects (except few) are common to the Balochistan's independent tribal cum-feudal states. These three forms of ownership, formulate by Soviet Orientals are as follows:

- << 1) State ownership.
- 2) Private based on government grants.
- 3) Private (or communal) involving payment of taxes and other duties.>>[15/a]

The Economic basis of Nasir Khan's state:

- The economic foundation of Balochistan feudal Type State was the feudal ownership of land. Levy of taxes, revenues on state owned, private or estate lands and incomes from ports, routes (trade) were its manifestation.
- Tribute received from Afghan feudal empire for provision of army assistance. Honours titles and estates or region receiving by successive mission booty receiving by conquering of different regions, including Baloch areas.

In summing the landed property system in Balochistan, during Nasir Khan's period was:

- a) State property ownership (Khan's ownership of Land). Theoretically and practically (by force) was recognized by people.
- b) Tribal common⁵² property ownership "(Jamii-Diggar)"
- c) Tribal Gammi common but granted by state, for rendering of military service or successful conquering of region by allied tribes ownership (Gammi – Diggar) also involving payment, mostly in the shape of rendering military assistance to "Khan"(state)
- d) Private property ownership:
 - State granted lands to, tribal chiefs, "Nawabs", 'Pirs', "Saint", "officials", "Clergy", "Mirs", etc.
 - Estate-ownership of Jam of Lasbella, Nawab of Makran, Nawab of Kharan, but these lands in final, analysis, was state. They had to pay taxes, revenues to Khan.
 - Lands of tribal chiefs, which in one or other way cutting tribal communal (common) lands, and to its possessions or at least receiving the bulk of revenues, taxes etc. for Khan or for himself.
 - Small land and cattle ownership.

Laws and Judicial department of state:

⁵²Common (communal) in Baluchi the common ownership of land is called "Jamii Diggar". This system of ownership exist even now in many tribes. Every member or branch of tribe had and still have right to cultivate, or got fruit from it, even with the decision of tribal council to give small plots to individual cultivators among or outside the tribe for cultivation. But no one can possess, mountains, Jangles, rivers, water springs, dates, even for the unification of tribes.

Judicial department and judges were nominated, either by "Khan" or with the recommendations of Khan's darbar or Majlis-e-Mushawarat or Musahibin. The Judicial System of state of Balochistan was actually the combination of tribal customs, national or age-old traditions, religious rules, and feudal laws. Which in final analysis had served the Baloch upper ruling crust, the "Khan", "Nawabs", "Sardars", the ruling officials and religious feudal hierarchy. Because the Baloch traditional - tribal judiciary system, elected by tribes for the tribes, now, after development of Baloch tribal nobility aristocracy, and especially after feudal state, the judicial system also assumed the class character, that is why highest blood compensation for chieftains, higher for "Sardar or Khan Khaili" (family) lower for general tribesmen and lowest for defendant servants or so-called tribal or now, tribal Lodis, Naqeebs etc.

This Judiciary system, with its cruel forms, with the modern elements of police, bureaucracy, bourgeois police, and officials. The tribals Chiefs, Nawabs, have their own courts. They even search for cases. They decide what ever they like. Even the peoples are forced to attend such feudal type traditional courts. Mostly the decisions are forceful, unjust. The forceful fining and procurement of 1/3 or 2/3 of fine by the Chieftain or head of "Jirgah". So the people of Balochistan are facing triple and Multi - oppressions and subjugation's in Judiciary system - that is from "feudal type, government backed traditional court" (Jirgah). The tribal nobility's self-established traditional feudal (Jirgahs) on the one hand, and the "Pakistani Military, bureaucratic courts, the colonial type bourgeois orthodox Muslim courts" on the other hand.

During Nasir Khan's state, every Sardar had its own "Kazi" (Muslim Judge). While "Sare-Sardaran"⁵³ (the

⁵³ "Sare-Sardaran", there were two Sare-Sardaran, sardar of Sarawan and Jahlawan provinces. This name or title still exist, assuming the name of Chief of Jahlawan and Sarawan, given by British colonial authorities, renewed and coloured by Pakistani

heads of Sardars) had complete right in their Jurisdictions. But the right of appeal was preserved to "Khan-e-Baloch" the ruler (feudal).

This introduction of "Rawaj" system, the high blood compensation for chiefs, feudal, saint, confirms once again the class nature of the laws which very well proves the Soviet scientist "Chirkin", formulation, about law:

That:

<< Another important feature of the state is the existence of law as a special system of norms of behavior expressing the will of the ruling class (classes) and supported by measures of state coercion>> [16].

Socio-economic relations between urban and rural population

In the feudal epoch, the over lasting influences of well developed socio-economic formation, specially Afghans, Tajiks, Punjabees, Indians and Sindhhis, Iranians, on the socio-economic relations developing in Baloch society was resulted that according to Yu Gangovsky's expression, <<craft among the Baluchis was concentrated in the hands of un-Balochis. In the few cities, the bulk of population was also non-Baluchies. In the main, it is the Hindus, natives of Multan and Shikarpur who were engage in trade. They possessed about 400 - 500 best houses in Kalat in the early nineteenth century.... The Hindu merchants purchased produce of land and cattle due to the land lords as tillage and supplied them with all kinds of commodities imported from India, Iran, Afghanistan and Middle Asia... [14/a]

Though, on trade, shopekeepering settlers, were dominated, but the bulk of Baloches, after establishment of state formation, been being engaged in handi-craft, weaving, spinning, exchange, bartering, export and import, in case of

new type colonial authorities to those of collaborators and compromisers.

Mikran, Kech, Punjgoor. The appearance of different social stratas, petite, producers, handicrafts, small trader's workers, had taken shape. The cattle breeder tribes, and peasants, fishermen, in order to meet their, other requirement started bartering. Thus, a new socio-economic relation increased between nomadic tribes, peasants and small city dwellers, traders. Which also gave birth to mortgage system, money commodity relations, slowly took shape. The small cities, became the knitted economic marketic cells of Baloch society. Which furthered the division of labour.

The all Baloch towns, were mostly controlled and covered by foreigners, that is why, the socio-economic influences of markets, imposed religious theories, spiritual cultures, also influenced the Balochi language, culture, poetry and literature, many Baloch tribes, even, adopted languages of advanced one, for example. The Balochs from Derajat, adopted Sarahiki and Sindhhi. Brahvi Language took more than 300 words from Dravidians; also many parts adopted Persian, Pushto. Though, in the Nasir Khan I Derbar the art literature, Poetry was, considerably developed, even many books have been written by hands, but the state language was Persian. The Arabic stood Islamic religious language. These literacy heritages were destroyed by English invaders in 1839.

But, on the other hand, the development of town based markets, furthered the exchange, commodity production (small) and relations with rural population, from one hand widened the gap of development and contradiction between the so-called cities and rural areas, but on the other hand served, an economic, material levers, in unification of Baloch tribes, fisherman, peasants, handicraft and other workers into Balochistan and paved the way for completion of Baloch nationality formation which was inspired of all its contradictions, complexities, libyrinths was historical progress

After the death of Nasir Khan I in spring 1795 at Gandava, the centralized feudal state was turned weak and started emergence of principalities. The main reasons were: -

- a) The growth of feudal estates.
- b) The less revenues, receiving by Kalat rulers decrease from three million rupees to 3 Lakh 50 thousand rupees.
- c) Contradictions, between arising nobility, tribal feudal verses Khan, and among ruling families.
- d) East Indian company, British colonies, maneuverings and, the utilization of inner contradictions by neighboring feudal states.
- e) The tribal representative structure of state, the privileges, surplus product and lion shares from booty, the tribal chiefs became autonomous started imposing taxes and became feudal rulers in their regions. They felt de-centralization in their favour, still now in many regions, the Nawabs, Sardars, have been, self-rulers. They arrest people, set taxes, seize lands, etc.

Concluding Remarks:

Now question arises, whether, alongside, primitive communal relations, prevailing in Baloch society, the emergence of communal and patriarch slave owning relations, and emerging (further having perspective developing), feudal relation (not as a classical form) were progressive and logical steps in Baloch Society's history? Where these processes were universal, natural historical Law governed processes or by chance? The establishment of tribal unions, and unified tribal - representative -cum- feudal state in Balochistan was progressive and political importance or just it was for replacing of tribal communal relations collectivism, cooperation, Brotherhood etc. by tribal aristocratic type feudal order, individualism, ethno - prejudices, ethno centralism?

The development of Baloch society was, is and will be the logic of history, the dialectical interconnection of universal, particular and general, development of socio-economic formation, each, as Lenin said "is a specific social organism, whose inception, functionary, and transition to higher form... is governed by specific laws" [12] The necessary stages of development of society. The complexities of each formation, its development, in general can't block the flow of methodological and epistemologically assessment and scientific analysis of the main general stage of its development. It is fact that, in Baloch society accept, primitive communal mode of production other slave, feudal, (and now capitalist) relations never developed as a dominant mode of Production, and in Baloch society there was no slave - owning state and classical feudal state. Though, there was Asiatic Slave owning and feudal state around and inside Turan (Balochistan ancient). Though, they put lasting impacts (positive negative) on Baloch societies.

But, we find Baloch society, like otherwise in general, in its functioning, changing and development from lower to higher, it is historical progress this is its logic historical progress, had n't been accelerated by leaders will, Nasir Khan's determinacy, nor it impeded by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah's invading and inhilative ambitions. As classics of Marxis -Leninism, considers history, "a single contradictory, dialectical natural process, a succession of epochs and generations organically is linked with each other".

All historical progresses, proves this proposition, and it applies also on Baloch historical process from tribe Establishment of Balochistan, a feudal type.

State, emergence of classes, class society was progressive steps than, primordial society. Where the productive forces were extremely backward, blood tied relation's tribal alienation psychological, mythological consciousness was governing. Though there was no exploitation, no classes

and no state. Only primordial democratic self-government was functioning. The shift from this to exploitative, class and state society from communalism cooperation to individualist, tribal aristocratic feudalistic order was rather pity, bitter, but it was necessary more mature stage than previous one. It created the more scopes for development of productive forces, division of labour and exchange material and spiritual values and culture. It was maturer shift, became, first time in history.

- All Baloch tribes and people were established their relation, not on blood, but economic, territorial, cultural and ethnic social community level.
- The completion of Baloch feudal nationality formation in feudal relation gave birth to stable, national psychological, ethnic feelings, self-awareness, from tribalistic ethnocentrism to patriotism, but at the same time, alongside this, tribalistic aristocratic fundalist culture, morality class interests, etc. deepen the social unjustness and inequality.
- Due to the development of Productive forces, further division of Labour, exchange and trade relations, the old economic basis or production relations, started altering, thus. The Pre-State pre-classes non-political society, gave way to the formation of state- the feudal emerging production relations, were the material or economic basis of Nasir Khan's state. --- A political state started alienating from society - the first, political unification and identification of Baloch nationality in its feudal national formation. Which (the state) had an effective, reverse influence on socio-economic conditions of the society, and on the National struggle for independence.
- The state had based on tribal representation, sort of oriental type republican elements, but the tiller, serfs, servitude, slaves and all poor working people were actually deprived of any sort of political rights. The sort of democracy was enjoyed only

those of tribal chiefs, Mirs, Nawabs, Sardars, Takkarees, Pirs exerting their common interests.

- Strong tribal and national traditions, religious, mythological dogmas, plus emerging feudal norms, morality, ethics, had the main intermingling elements, spiritual cultural development of society using F.Engels expression the religion was << the all embracing synthesis and the most general sanction>> [8] The entire feudal social order, combining and utilising with strong ethnico, communal tribal traditions of Nasir Khan's period (and almost all the Khanate rule) in order to crush the peasants, rebellions, anti-feudal anti-Sardar struggle of the people. Crushing of Zikri Baloch peasants and poor stock breeders in Mekran, in the name of Islamising process, substantiate our arguments⁵⁴

- The urban life had started development. The Art, literature, poetry, trade, handicraft, exchange bartering with rural life, development of agriculture, etc. Shows the reverse influence of state on economic and conditions.

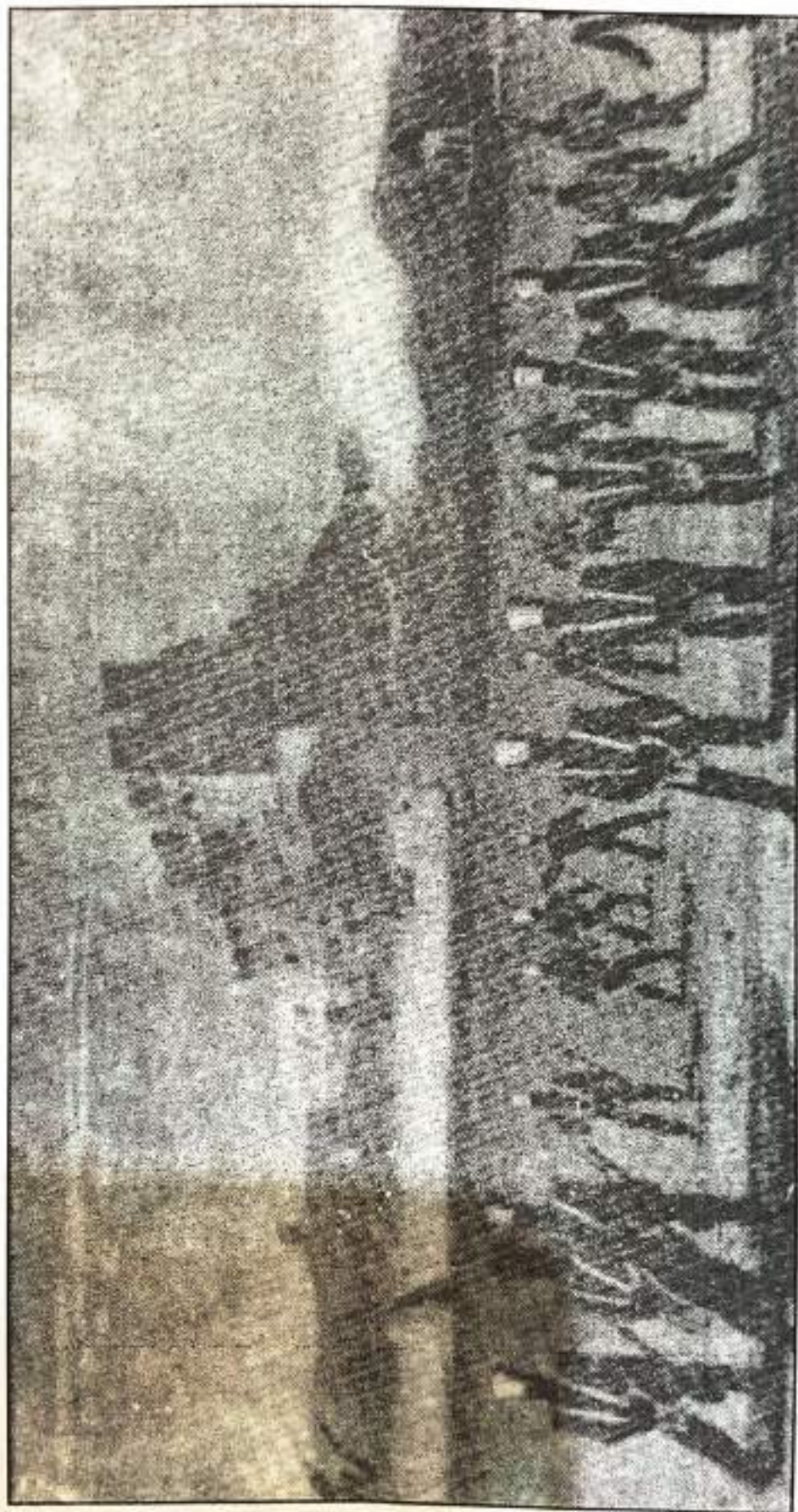
Every new, higher socio-economic formation is progressive than previous, outdated one, but, its evolutionary development, decay and seeds of its perishing, must be seen in its development, it develops, but in a process of its development, it reach in a stage, where it losses its justification, viability a capability to proceed, so, the new higher stage, which creates in the womb of the old proceed ahead, slowly, gradually or leap like dominate, the old.

F.Engles formulated the essence of Marxist conception of historical progress, the mentioning of which is paramount important, in our investigation and correct understanding of process of historical progress.

⁵⁴ Nasir Khan and Ahamad Shah Abdalees joints expeditions, against non-Muslim rulers.

The creation of Zikri religion, and religions revolts, actually shows the imposing character of Islam by Arab conquers and then religious minded Baloch rulers.

<< All successive historical systems are only transitional stages in the endless course of development of human society from the lower to higher. Each stage is necessary, and therefore, justified for the time and conditions to which it owes its origin. But in the face of new, higher conditions which gradually develop in its womb, it loses its validity and justification, it must give way to a higher stage which will also in its turn decay and perish>>[9.]



British Forces are attacking on Kalat Palace, Capital of Baloch Country, 13 Nov. 1839

CHAPTER TWO:

TRADITIONS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH COLONIALISM AND SEMI- COLONIALISM.

PARAGRAPH-I

- I. Balochistan: Under British colonial and semi-colonial system and spontaneous peoples resistance movement (Period (1839-1947)**

Colonialism, being a phenomenon, a system of politico-military socio-economic and cultural, complete domination, subjugation enslavement, oppression and exploitation of appraised peoples, country's and nations by capitalist, metropolitan and imperialist country's, for markets, sphere of influence (economic-military) of capital investment plundering of huge sources of raw materials, (for metropolitan industries) Tens of thousands cheap, labour, of colonism, strong hold of military strategic importance (cultural invasions etc.). With a varied forms, colonialism, but the main content to remain always vivid, to serve metropolitan, capitalist, imperialist country's big business, monopoly capital and reactionary circles.

<< Lenin's definition of imperialism, three forms of colonial enslavement may be identified:

- a) Colonies, or the countries, exploited by metropolis and dependent on it politically, economically;
- b) The semi-colonies, or the countries, which enjoy formal political independence but are tied up by inequitable international treaties and are exploited in the same way as the colonies;

- c) Dependent countries, or the states enslaved and exploited by economic methods of monopoly capital domination.[14]

Lenin, in its enormous, theoretically rich, politically dynamic methodologically valuable, creatively scientific substantial work, "Imperialism; the highest stage of capitalism", not only revealed, methodologically key propositions of capitalism's development into, highest stage, the monopoly capitalism, its sources of development into essence, direction of development, its historical place, not only revealing the law of uneven economic and political development, the doctrine of Socialist revolution.

This work providing revolutionary weapons, in the hands of communist and revolutionary vanguard parties for knowing, revealing its most reactionary features, and its installation, through massive revolutionary blows, but also Lenin provided a methodological key for better understanding of pre-imperialist. Colonialism, imperialist stage colonialism, neo-colonialism and other forms and means of exploitation, (of appraised classes peoples and nations), in their development, and decay.

As Lenin showed, that the development of pre-monopoly capitalism, of capitalism in which free competition was pre-dominante reached its limits in the 1860's and 1870s. We now see that it is precisely after that period that the tremendous "boom" in colonial conquests begins, and that the struggle for the territorial division of the World becomes extraordinary sharp. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that capitalism's transition to the stage of monopoly capitalism, to finance capital is connected with the intensification of the struggle for the partitioning of the world>>[8].

Table-I
Colonial possessions

	Great Britain		France		Germany	
Year	Area 000,000 Sq. m	Pop. 000,00 0	Area 000,0 00 Sq. m	Pop. 000.0 00	Area 000,0 00 Sq.m.	Pop. 000,0 00
1815-1830	?	126.4	0.02	0.5	-	-
1860	2.5	145.1	0.12	3.4	-	-
1880	7.7	267.9	0.7	7.5	-	-
1899	9.3	309.0	3.7	56.4	1.0	14.7
1914	33.5	393.5	10.6	55.5	2.9	12.3

**Source: Henryc-Morris" "The History of
colonization"**

The above table, vividly manifest, that Great Britain's colonial possessions from (1860), 2.5 million sq. increased to 33.5 million sq.m With the population 145.1 million to 393.5 million respectively, because<<Britian was oriented on a colonial solution to its economic problems and the country's bourgeois had long since been aware of the value of the colonial empire>> (a soviet scholar F.Polyansky. An economic history)[16].

- The classical development of capitalism, its maturity before others.
- The emergence of monopolies, finance capital, and investment export of capital by Britian, to colonies and its interence into imperialist stage.
- The resolution of capitation's, economics contradiction, and class conflicts was thought by

Britain's Bourgeoisie, in colonial expansion that is why Lenin called Britain, a colonial imperialism.

- Importance of Indian oceans countries, generally, Persian gulf countries particularly politically, economically, strategically for Britain capitalism.

So, the Balochistan, also, being a part and parcel of Asian continent, victimized by this giant colonial plunderer the process of colonizing started, in the period when Britain (1840-1860) reached in the apex of free competition and the monopolize were just in embryonic form, but as monopolies emerged, the finance capital, and when it was felt sharply by industrial capitalists, that export of capital to colonies, is paramount, the forceful annexation, colonisation, dismemberment and semi-colonisation of different parts of Balochistan completed even handovering of different parts to neighboring kingdoms, such forceful disintegration of Baloch nation, had never seen before which laid the artificial boundaries between the people. Thus complicated, their anti-colonial national struggle, which happened, with many nations, tribes, peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, during imperialist colonialism.

The Balochistan, and peoples of Balochistan, have been under the pre-imperialist and imperialist, colonial, semi-colonial, and now under special type colonial, spreading Chains, griped and tightened, first by Great Britain, and than UA imperialism lacky reactionary Pakistan, thus, according to the N.A. SIMONIYA'S (a well known soviet orientalist) formulation of three phases of colonialism, we can conclude, that Balochistan had faced the first two phases, under Great Britians colonial, semi-colonial yoke, that is

- a) <<Creation of the political preconditions of colonialism it is identified with the expansion of trade and merchant capital.
- b) Industrial capitalism in European countries, initiated the second phase of



Defence of Capital of Baloch Country Kalat, 13 Nov. 1839, in which Amir Mahrab Khan alongwith 300 persons martyred. By British Forces.

colonialism... regular supply of raw materials required by the industry of the metropolis gave birth to a new, and typical colonial type of division of Labour...in which traditional modes of production gradually disintegrated, and parts of there released component drawn into colonial synthesis in a new division of labour, whose agents were:

- a) Local small scale producers
- b) The colony's merchant and usurious capital and
- c) colonial capital of mother country.>> [17]

In Balochistan, the characteristic features of 1st and second phases of colonialism, were:

- a) though military diplomatic means, the political conditions of colonialism and semi-colonialism, was created, through treaties with Baloch rulers, the latter retained their autonomous, semi- autonomous rule, thus characterized the loose political pre- conditions, dismemberment of Balochistan handovering of different parts to neighbouring Kingdoms, colonial, partial or semi- colonisation, leased based occupation, substantiate this argument and also proves, the fierce resistance, given by the people, which naturally had to reflected in political policy making of British colonial control that is why, in the,
- b) Second phase the British occupants deliberately retained the traditionalistic, Pre- bourgeoisie relations in order to retain their hold through traitor tribal chiefs, under feet patriotism, the Balochistan's merchant and usury capital, did not develop, because of the Britian's policies of capturing all the market, export, import trade etc. through non- indigenous Euro- Indian traders, the share of indigenous population of Balochistan in different occupations in towns were not more than 6% in towns , their markets were occupied by foreigners, i.e. the population of Quetta had 24, 600 among them 18, 682 were colonizers with army, service staff etc. though, in this phase, the metropolis country, the Great

Britian was long ago entered into the imperialist stage. In many other colonies, they were in the 3rd phase of colonialism, but Balochistan was the most backward among the UK's colonies, semi- colonies where, capitalist relations emerged in very embryonic form late in 1906. << At that time, according to Y. Gangovsky, the 95.5 percent of the population lived in the country side, most of whom were engaged in extensive cattle- breeding, landing a nomadic, semi-nomadic life. There were 6 towns with a total (population of 40, 000 in Balochistan>> [18] This means that from (1838-1900) the development productive forces of Balochistan, were impeded or latter solved down with the colonial plundering this two phases, were discussed, further and the third phase of colonialism, in the next chapter of the book.

Though the European colonial expansion of Balochistan started, by purtugees invasions of 15th and 16th century, but due to many factors, particularly the fierce militant resistance of peoples of Balochistan, the colonisers failed to realise their evil designs, but practically, the colonising of Balochistan started just after the notorious treaty imposed on fire kingdoms of Arabs, by British in 1820⁵⁵in Persian gulf from one side and according to Marx.

<< The barriers of the western frontier, were not in the hands of British during the period from 1838 to 1849, in the SIKL and Afghan was British rule subjection to definitive possession the ethnographical, political, and military frontiers of the East Indian continent, by the compulsory annexation of the Punjab and of Sindhh. These were possessions indispensable to repulse any invading force issuing from central Asia, and indispensable against Russia advancing to the frontiers of Persia... there had been added to the British territory 167,000 square miles, with a population of 8, 572, 630 souls. As to the interior all the native states now became summoned by British possessions, subjected to British suzerainty under various

⁵⁵See Noted p. [15]

forms, and cut off from the seacoast, with the sole exception of Gujrate and Sindhhe. >> [1]

So, on the other side, the above quotation, by Marx, not only shows, the military strategic importance of Balochistan, (the shores of which include it into Persian Gulf states, and its location between India (Sindh, Punjab, Iran and Afghanistan) and its usage as spring board, and permanent base, but also reveals the socio- economic lasting colonial plundering aims of British colonial empire. Some other reasons behind the colonising of Balochistan are as follows,

- The sharpening contradictions, and colonial rivalry between British colonial power and Tzar Russian colonial empire, and subsequent importance of Iran, specially Afghanistan for British colonial power, to colonise, or semi- colonise or in case of failure at least neutralise, or turn it into " Buffer" between the two colonial robbers, the Anglo- Afghan War of (1838-42)⁵⁶ confirms this.

- India became the battle field in the contest of the industrial interest on the one side, and of the moneyocracy and oligarchy on the other ... the manufacturers ... of England ask for annihilation of these antagonistic powers in India>> and also around India, for more colonial expansion. Because,

- a. Marx further clearly mentioned, that << the more the industrial interest became dependent on the Indian market, the more it felt the necessity of creating productive forces in India>> [2]

This means, further stimulation and mobilisation of oligarchic Anglo- Indian army,

⁵⁶During Anglo- Afghan war of 1838-42, British colonisers, wanted to seize Afghanistan and in case run country through their loyal, famous agents, Shah Shuja-ul- Malik, during this campaign it became paramount important, for British to use Balochistan, as a base, spring board, through their chiefs the Khan and sign treaties, to subordinate them. The first treaty between British government and Mir Mehrab Khan II, the ruler of Kalat) 1817- 1839).

- a. To annihilate antagonistic governments or subordinate them or bind them with imposed treaties. Treaties of 1839, 1841, 1851, 1876, with Balochistan also indicate the above aim of oligarchy and industrial, capital.
- b. Occupy, colonise, the strategic points, not only for military purposes, but also for raw material, labour resources and sphere of colonial influence in the Asia.

- Military, strategic, geo-political location of Afghanistan, Iran and Balochistan, specially, the latter's utilisation, as a springboard for colonial expansions, pre- ditory colonial wars, retaining of hold on colonies, safeguarding of western frontiers etc. The spy investigative, explorative mission of so- called traveler potinger in 1810, already was provided, British colonies a treasure of information's about Balochistan, its people and its strategic importance. As Ulas Yar, a pushtoon writer, says, in its book, << English colonizer and Afghanistan" that, the Potinger in 1810, had already visited, Balochistan, Afghanistan and Iran, and had provided a lot of information to Frangi (UK) as a spy [1.1]

Potinger collected detail information, about the autonomous positions of different principalities, inter-Sardar conflict, contradiction, and also ways and means of governing over Baloch traditionally militant people, which very much facilitated, and encouraged British troop penetration through Bolan Pass.

As F. Engels mentions, that << in December 1838, the army marched toward Sindhh, which country was coerced into submission and the payment of a contribution for the benefit of the Sikhs and Shah Soojah, Feb. 20, 1839, the British army passed Indus. It consist of 12,000 men, with above 40,000 camp followers, besides the new levies of the Shah. The Bolan pass was traversed in March, want of provisions and forage began to be felt; the camels dropped by hundreds, and a great part of the baggage was lost...the

occupation of Afghanistan, Indian treasury 1,250,000 per annum: 16,000 troops, Anglo- Indian and Shah Shoojah's had to be paid in Afghanistan; 3000 more lay in Sindh, and the Bolan pass. >> [5]

These are the true pages of history, which provides general picture, the politico- military, economic interests of the Great Britain, and its feudal elite lackey from one hand, and also, indicates, the mass resistance, economic boycott of people of Balochistan, Afghanistan, behind the military colonial expedition. The main purpose, an importance theme of study, here is, to give more clear, a rather more bright picture, of peoples and tribes resistance near Bolan pass (the Balochistan's main historical pass), their resistance to colonial empire, the betrayal of feudal tribal elite circles, and the strategy, tactics, ways and means of British colonial plunderers, in colonising, semi- colonising. The vast territory of Balochistan, through treaties, leases holding and some places by force? Whether occupation of Balochistan was, merely politico- strategic or there had tied socio- economic Great power colonial aims? What methods and tactics, colonisers in submission, or subordination of Baloch rulers. Though, it is well known by the readers that, the colonial empires, specially, the Great Britain (had 47% of colonies in the world, 1/5 of the territory) in Asia, Africa and America, in the process of colonisation, used different strategies, tactics, differ from country to country to country, nation to nation and even tribes to tribes. Let us share in reading the voice of an open political colonial superintendent, Mr. Sir. H.R Green advice and proposal that,

<< The great evil to be avoided was interfering in any way which the social and political states of the chiefs and people of Balochistan. >>

What ever, there camouflaging, maneuvering, dodging, dressing pulliating tactics, in relation to oppression peoples of colonies, the main essence always, remained and remains the same, the enslavement, exploitation and subjugation of the people, either by force, or by bribing their wavering rulers, or by politico- economic pressures.

What even be the farm...soon the readers, know, in case of Balochistan, the undermining of the treaties, established so-called friendship between robbers and robbed, by the champions of the treaties and friendship a main crown of civilisation in front of borber nationality, the Baloch (according to the champions, the owners of Britian civilisation.)

Scientific approach, lies always, here, when one must use K. Marx and Engels methodological propositions, in studying of the history of colonialism, in their collected works under title " on colonialism" where, these great scientists, revealed, the grass socio- economic roots of colonialism, using the dialectico- historical materialistic methods, the unity of historical and logical, analysis and synthesis, connection of politics and economics, and our investigation remains uncomplete if we do not creatively apply Lenin's, formulated points on dialectical logic. In our case under study, the all faceted examination of an object counting with human experience and truth, provides a real scientific angle in Baloch National liberation movement, under British and Now pro- imperialist reactionary Pakistan's colonial rule.

These methodologically important keys, opened the door, to better understanding of real process of colonisation, its development, that is apex, and decline and also, the National liberation, its objective basis and subjective growing activities, this means,

a. The colonisation of Balochistan, by Great Britian should not by no means, only should be considered, the external political factor, for strategic importances and purposes and neither only be, an inner weaknesses, and factors, but also, its deep grass roots, led first and for most in Great Britains capitalist mode of production its crises contradiction (the economic basis) and also in super structures the colonial socio- economic political policies. Her contradiction with other colonial powers, for sphere of influence market cheap and skilled labour, natural

resources etc. have developed the situation of the decay of Great Britain Colonialism.

Balochistan's economic basis superstructure, specially the balance of forces, people consciousness in resisting colonialism, its strategically, and economically importance for mother colonizer, for their economy, further expansion, self-guarding of her objectives in neighbouring colonies, peoples countries and, also, it is very important to see this process in connection with, the socio-economic and political importance of neighbouring Iran, Afghanistan, India, and the attitude of mother countries (metropolitan) towards them and also the positive or negative influences, successes and failures of the anti-colonial resistance movements in Balochistan; In this way; and only in this way our approach to this, very important problems be scientific, concrete and comprehensive.

b. Our assessment remain uncomplete, if we, do not show the rate of the depth of subjugation and socio-economic exploitation, the impact on the growth of productive forces of Balochistan, and production relations, the major, minors and basic, contradictions of the Baloch society.

A short, glance at the History of British colonialism in Balochistan:

After, Mir Nasir Khan I (the Great ruler, who has establishment of tribal representative cum feudal, oriental type unified state in Balochistan.) The contradictions, in the economic basis, due to the development of Productive forces, emergence of feudal tribal elitist classes and upper crust; became more sharper, which reflected in the super structure.

The desire of feudal, or tribal estate owned chieftain elite, "Jams", Nawabs" Shahzadaz's" Sardars "Mirs" toward establishing autonomous principalities, with in the Balochistan; more exalted the conflict between feudal inherited ruler "the Khan" and Jam, Nawabs (the feudal tribal elites)⁵⁷ and specially in the period of Mir Mehrab Khan shaheed (1817-1839) this contradictions for power within Kalat for political elitist representation, and also for bureaucratic elite turned them more sharpen. Particularly, when Mehrab Khan wanted a monarchical rule, less dependent on tribal representative through Sardars. The surmounting contradictions, utilized by the Franghee more diplomatic and conspiracy manner. In this way, the Franghee imperialism wanted to bring his agent Shah Shuja-ul-Malik in the power in Afghanistan. Shah Shuja-ul-Malik, who has got temporary political asylum at Kalat, was also wanted to use this loyalty in his and his master's favour to deteriorate the situation in Afghanistan. These contradictions surmounted, through colonizer agents, led in anarchy, Sardars rebellions against Khan, elimination and killing of many chief Sardars, highly state officials, crushing of rebel Sardar, Nawab and Shahzada (Ahmed Yar Khan) and their supporters by Khan forces, and specially, the concluded, imposed treaty on Mir Mehrab

⁵⁷ Gul Khan Nasir, the author of the "History of Balochistan drawn, a more detail picture of inter feudal elitist circle, Khan Kalat, between " Khan and Sardars and also between Sardars, Sardar and feudal type bureaucratic elite, elergy elite (the court) verses Sardars and Khans see, after Nasir Khan the I's priiod.

Khan in 1838, by British government through English representative "Bruns" and specially the Great Britain colonial expansionistic politico- military, socio- economic aimed goal directed strategy, created a favourable and pre-conditions, not only usage of Bolan pass, as it is stated in the treaty⁵⁸ to occupy Afghanistan, but also opened the way for Balochistan century old colonisation.

- During December, 1838, ⁵⁹ marching through Bolan Pass, the Britain army faced fierce spontaneous Baloch tribal resistance, skirmishes, attacks, and heavy loses of soldiers, camels and baggage and Ration boycott from the Baloch people of Kachhi, Sibi, to British army.
- The attacks, provocation, through British agents and looting of Burns, missionary committee , returning with documents of first imposed so- called friendship treaty,
- Mir Mehrab Khan's military assistance to Afghan government, against Afghan traitor, the British agent Mr. Shooja-ul-Malik,⁶⁰ on the one hand, and on the other hand;
- British strategies to suppress, subordinate Kalat, run it through their agent, and occupy strategically important points.
- Receiving of reliable, secret information, about the secrets of the Baloch, the Kalat historical citadel, through, her agents.
- Bribing of many Sardar, getting their help, utilising their contradictions with "Khan of Balochistan" in their favour.
- Utilisations of inter- tribal contradiction, in their favour in order to keep colonial yoke on the people and continue exploitative colonial policies.

⁵⁸ See the tables of treaties, table I

⁵⁹ See quotation [11] of Engels, on page 7 of the work.

⁶⁰ See "History of Balochistan" by Gul Khan Nasir page- 115

History of humankind speaks loudly; about the wars, one the on hands, wars of oppression, domination, subjugation, enslavement colonisation, imperialistic and reactionary; and on the other hand wars of just, defensive, protective, wars of liberation, revolutionary anti-colonial, anti-imperialist wars. Wars between counter revolutions.

Unjust, aggressive wars, by war monger faces and their ideologues (Bourgeois ideologues), justify there predatory wars, and condemn just wars in the garb of different nations, with falsification of history, (as now by US imperialism and its allies, justify nuclear, chemical, biological arms race, and its transfer to anti-space, in the name of "Strategic defence system"). Just as British colonisers, in the name of civilisation, development justified, massive massacre of people, destruction of their culture, language and occupation of their motherland as in case of to put shah Shuja-ul-Malik, on the power in Afghanistan and given defensive help to puppet pre-British "Khan of Kalat" Shah Nawaz", and in the name of "friendship and Iran from Tsar Russian "colonial Yoke" Two being Anglo-Afghan wars, and Anglo-Baloch wars, have been justified.

Marxists Leninists, in contradistinction to, Bourgeois idealistic, metaphysical approach to wars, considers wars, analysis wars, historically; Dialectic-materialistic approach, and classifies wars into just (progressive) and unjust (reactionary) wars.

As Lenin said that, "we Marxists differ from both the pacifists and anarchists in that we deem it necessary to study each war historically and separately".

So, all wars, in socio-economically backward country of Balochistan, from the tribes, working peoples, nomads, shepherd peasants, or, have been fought against foreigners, British colonisers, the aggressive invaders, for their liberation, for defence of motherland, were progressive in

their character, what, ever their forms, spontaneous, unorganised, shattered, whether based on low lord tribal militant consciousness, without any perspective and target oriented, by politically unconscious, socio-psychological aware people, were, actually anti-colonial wars, assuming character of anti-imperialist, National liberation in the 20th century.

On the other hand, the British colonial expansionist wars had clear-cut aggressive dominative, native and socio-economically exploitative colonial character with the ever casting perspective for the enslavement of colonial peoples and nations. The main motive grass source for such unjust wars lies in the antagonistic class societies, above all in capitalist socio-economic formation etc. growing deep contradiction, was, is ace, and will continue to be the main generators of wars.

As Lenin further, emphasised, that, << we understand the inevitable connection between wars and class struggle within country; we understand that wars can not be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created>> (11)

With the growing needs dependence of British economy on clones. The Finance capital, Financial oligarchic upper echelons, the reactionary colonial policy makers did not hesitate to use the more aggressive methods, with notorious, "gun and gold", "divide and rule" crush and rule, colonise and exploit etc. in almost all colonies, as well as in Balochistan, though in the latter case with cruel aggressive oppressions, different political tactics have also been used, but the main essence remained the same to crush, subjugate colonise and exploit Balochistan, in the interest of finance capital (imperialism reaction) and capitalism.

As many historian, try to prove that, then was miss-understanding between " Khan of Kalat" and British colonisers, or their were few provocateurs in the Kalat, which compelled Britain colonisers to invade and occupy Kalat; (the capital of Balochistan in Nov. 1839.) in doing this, these bourgeois authors absolutely forgets. The main

causes, the socio-economic, politics military sources of Britain colonialism and its colonial aggressive expansionism, which compelled Britain colonisers, wondering thousands of miles away from England in Asia, Africa and America, which in continued till now in the name of so-called aid to developing countries, in the neo-colonial apartheid, Zionist reactionary systems of imperialism, in our modern epoch.

As "Major Wilshire" a command in chief colonial occupant army, in Nov. 1839, after successful aggressor, and occupation, of Kalat in its written report to government of Great Britain writes, that <<I received point orders.... To overthrow, Mir Mehrab Khan, the Khan of Kalat, from power on expense of its open enmity to English nation... with 2 platoons of local horse ancillary; one royal platoon; Herring 17th Regiment of her majority; 21 Bengal infantry; Bombay engineer core; 2 house artillery guns and four shahs cannon (according to Hughes, it consist of 1261 men and 6 horse artillery guns⁶¹)..... After commanding force resistance...

We entered the enemy countless fought bravely, persistently and vehemently in every step and enemy defended every inch till the inner portions of the citadel.... Mir Mehrab Khan gave force and brave resistance and killed a sword in hand, with their men.... But with sorry I confess that, the killed and wounded persons on one side in enormous>>. The loss of (Mir Mehrab Khan) its troops exceeding 400, of the rest, about 2000 men were made prisoners.

⁶¹ (see "country of Balochistan" by Hughes PP. 204-205

The above statement shows: -

- The Blood thirsty, colonial expansionistic mission of great Britain
- The metropolitan chauvinistic English nationalism.
- The bloody day in the history of Balochistan.
- The fierce resistance by the Baloch masses, for the defence of motherland.
- The broken treaty of friendship with Mehrab Khan once again confirms the, Mehrab Khan advice to its, young son "Nasir Khan" << do not trust on promise and treaties of English, they will never turn to be our friend, do not trust sardars, sardars seeks their chance, as they left me during difficult time, and turned to English money, they will also leave you in difficulties>>.

These formulated advisory points of Ameer Mehrab Khan, also important, in the struggle of people, for revolution, but Mehrab Khan understood British colonises when their occupational army was very near to kalat but the role played by Mehrab Khan, and its followers were patriotic, and mass resistance, laid the foundation of National liberation struggle in Balochistan.

The role of sardars were non-patriotic, even they welcomed will shire' army in Mastung⁶² assisted him.

The British army, after occupation destroyed the historical objects, robbed the treasure, captured the historical documents destroyed, which they did it in India and other colonies, but what ever the heavy loses, the temporarily defeat, this occupation played a role of inflammable material, opened the eyes of masses, sparked the rebellion all over the Balochistan, against British colonizers, and also demarcated between the patriotic and pre-British forces inside Balochistan. Sharpened, and brought the contradiction against colonizers at the front thus turned this

⁶² We discuss the role of feudal tribal elitist circles latter on.

contradiction into major one and which is continued till 1947 (and till now, against reaction Pakistan, US imperialism, with new forms and content).

The British colonizer, decided, to run country of Balochistan through loyal, agent, Shah Nawaz Khan, in order to keep political control, on Kalat, for the better understanding of society, utilisation of inter-sardar, or inter tribal conflicts (which was deliberately provoked by enemy forces) to penetrate among the tribal for spying and colonising missions thus to kill Baloch down traded masses, through Baloch, but under the political command of Britain, strangulate the resistance movement, by spreading and people conspirator tentacle, reach its final objectives; to colonise, enslave, exploit demonstrated masses, to feed finance capital.

Soon, after the occupation of Kalat the British colonizers hold coronation of puppet Mir Shah Nawaz on December 1839. <<This was thought, that with the backing of English, Mir shah Nawaz, gain popularity, and continue to be a puppet in the hands of English men>> (Six Henry Durand, an author of "1st War of Afghanistan"), (1.4) with the formation of semi-colonial politico-administrative structure; Lieutenant Koday,⁶³ as political agents to Kalat, with army English army and Lavies, were nominated and puts of Balochistan, Mastung, Quetta, Kachhi was handed over to Afghan English puppet, Shah Shujah, the same set up Russia, English political agents, and two Baloch sardars⁶⁴ as Masson mentions, that, Khan's attitude towards English man, was limitative, even for his supporters, as they usually said, that << country is of masters (sirs) Khan is their assistant it was impossible for Khan to govern>>{1.5}.

⁶³ Koday, was known, among the Baloch "Lubdain"

⁶⁴ Sardar Mohd Khan Shahmain, on the salary of 200 rupees, became the assistant to English political agent, captain Bain and saeed Mohd Shareef, to captain Ras Bail' Kachhi.

History of Balochistan, proves, the class character, disloyalty to nation and mother land of upper crust, the tribal nobility, Sardars, Mirs, Khan, Jams and clergy said elitist circles, but the Britain colonising process, its Western, building and other tactics, also, started demarcating between the downtrodden Baloch masses, and their upper crests, the tribal, feudal elites, between the forces of National liberation, patriotism, militant, progressive, on the one hand, and forces of pro-colonial, non-patriotic chemists, traitors, the mostly tribal chiefs, Mirs, Jams, Nawabs and Khans on the other hand⁶⁵. All these events once again revise history, that people make their own history, not a chieftain, a well commander a God gifted Khan, a Hero. Yes Masses, the Baloch masses make their history, but in a definite given objective historical conditions. The colonizers, the class enemy, (the imperialism and reaction) can deform social development, slow down the revolutionary process, by using force, but can not turn the wheels of history, every dominative, subjugate, and exploitative methods deepen the ensues, sharpen the contradictions, create a material and subjective basis for development for making history- because history is maternal law governed process.

British colonial conquerors, the so-called "civilisation" missionaries, in order to fulfil their evil designs started oppressions, massacring, burning of villages i.e. assortment (bloody) on Mangals, invasion on Punjgoor, occupation of

⁶⁵ For example, Shah Nawaz's acceptance to be puppet of colonizers, welcoming, supporting of Major Willshire colonial army by Sardars of Sarwan in Mastung; acceptance of posts by Sardar Mohd Khan and land lord, religious elite Mohd Sharif, under semi-colonial political structure; Sardar Gichkees inviting to Lieutenant Koday (Lub Dain) to arrest Nasir Khan (rebel, an organizer, for capturing power in Kalat) and crush people; many Sardars services, and killing of Baloch, under Lub Dain's command, secret information, by Wazir, Baloch administrative elite of ex-Kalat to English man, Saloo Khan's achakzai getting money from English against Kakad, purshtoon reels, and so on, so port.



AMEER NASEER KHAN-II
Ruler of Independent Balochistan
(1841-1857)

Kahan (2 May 1940) and many others in the name of crushing all those, who stands against colonial rule, in order to nip in the bud the resistance preparations, and possible or started spontaneous rebellious of different tribes or all these, created material inflammable pre-conditions combined with the peoples traditionalistic Baloch awareness and anti-foreigner traditionalistic militancy, of anti-colonial national liberation movement of peoples of Balochistan.

SPONTANEOUS MASS RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION OF KALAT:

The British colonizers with their own hands, lit fire against people for their domination turned against them; it was national, being a phenomena of reactionary, robbing, exploitative, enslaving, challenging character to free people, the colonialism, came at once, contradiction with the militant, traditionalistic, rotted, national awareness sentiments (socio-psychological consciousness), and patriotism of the Baloch and Pushtoon masses of Balochistan which led to the general massive, spontaneous assistance in Sarawan, Kohloo Kahan, Bolan, Kachhi, Quetta.⁶⁶ And other areas and region against British colonizers ad their agents, for sever months, finally resulted, the mobilisation of rebel masses, under the leadership of Nasir Khan (Ghazi) is Gul Khan mentions, that,

⁶⁶ Marri Baloch tribes resistance to English forces, Kullorins ignomoneous defeat in "Kalat area in near phalujee (see Gul Khan 156-7); Kakad pushtoons, attacks on Quetta, the colonial citadel; general rebellion in Sarawarn, which spread in such a scale and which even, compelled to agent Sardars to join the rebels, other wise might be killed oppression on English camp under the leadership of Nasir Khan, (where 60 enemy's soldier been killed); an historical joint pushtoon (Kakad) and Baloch forces attacks on colonial base camp in Quetta. (Shal kot) English forces got heavy loss.

<< Mir Nasir Khan, with the tribal forces of more than 400 men, decided to conquer Kalat on 25th July 1940, left from Mastung 1st august (1940), attacks on Kalat>> inspire of Lieutenant Lubdain, strategic security of Kalat, army and agent tribal forces did not success, in maintaining of Kalat under their tyrannical colonial rule, hundreds of liberation fighters laid down their lives which subsequently resulted in the surrender of enemy forces. The English political agents were arrested and after the liberation, the tribe's fighters and subordinated Sardars hold coronation of Nasir Khan, as a Khan of Kalat (the Youngest Khan).

Now, it has been considered and historical Balochi duty, to liberate other parts of Balochistan, from Britain colonial occupants, thus patriotic forces, the liberation fighter tribes, under patriot Nasir Khan's commander ship, soon, left Kalat, gave Kalat's power, in the hands of Azam Jan; for the liberation of Kachi, Gandawa, having getting many successes; Nasir Khan retreated, due to fresh English army units; on the other hand Jhalawani liberation forces attacked and ignominiously defeated English forces; in short the resistance movement for the liberation continued in Bolan, Kachhi, Mastung, Kalat, Gandava, Mula area, but on the other hand English colonial army under commander ship of General Naut, invaded Kalat, and re-occupied it on #, November, 1840.

TREATIES BETWEEN BRITISH COLONIAL POWER AND BALOCHISTAN RULERS: CHARACTERISATION.

As in, V.I. Lenin's famous note books on imperialism, he mentioned that,

Balochistan, is nominally independent, Great Britain owns the railway and 200 yards of "British territory" ("leased") on each side. "The country mountainous "the closest relationships of friendship and alliance with Britain" (the country) " has of course, puts its whole foreign policy

entirely in her (Britain's) hands, but for the rest is as much an independent motive state as, say, Afghanistan or Nepal," [11]

The great Britain's colonial spreading chains of exploitation and domination, as a colonial yoke on the independent countries, nations and peoples, were commanding by those colonial British political policies, of the superstructure, which the latter standing, and stimulated, on the economic basis of the classical capitalism was developing in Great Britain, spread through politico-military, socio economic and imposed diplomatic treaties, leased, contract protectorate systems and means.

Balochistan, in colonising and semi colonising processed by Great Britain faced, on one hand colonial military in invasions, forceful occupation, forceful annexation, dismemberment of her parts, political rule, the burden of taxes, economic plundering cultural invasion, deliberate impediment of development of productive forces (specially semi-colonial, regions and rural areas) etc. but on the other hand, diplomatic missionary, moves, imposed treaties, Sardars English men, Khan's and British colonizers, collaboration, lease, and contract based so called friendship treaties spy missions, combinatory moves in the names of treaties, and so on so forth.

Characterising, the treaties of 1839, 1841, 1854, 1876 and June 1983 (leased treaty about shal area), which are imposing and compromising collaborating nature; between British government and rulers of Kalat, should be characterised in: -

- Historically, in historical sequence, and the light of historical events of that prevailing period.
- The light of British colonial expansionistic, exploitative politics the growing needs of her economy, and latter dependence on colonies. The economic areas of system, and proletarian, struggle in Britain.

- Surmounting struggle of the peoples of Balochistan, and in their the (Khan's) rulers and tribal nobilities emerging class interests, the latter's (clears interest) domination over national patriotic duties, resulted in betrayals, disloyalty to national and their collaboration with colonial master in the name of treaties.
- The light of degree of the anti-colonial liberation struggle of the British colonies specially India, Afghanistan (Iran, etc., peoples struggle, and in their mutual influencing, even on treaties.
- The growing international contradiction, between the colonial power, for the partitioning and repartitioning of the colonial world, specially offer emergence of monopolies, finance capital and imperialism.
- as Marx and Engels, in their famous work, the "German ideology" about the relations of the nations and states, there scientific approach, towards, this very important problem, states that,
- << the relations of different nations among themselves depend upon the extent to which each has developed its productive forces, the division of Labour and international intercourse>>

So, the inter state relations, the stable relations of nations, in final analysis determined by the level of development of productive forces in the country, and its place in internal division of labour and particularly depend upon the socio-economic systems (exploitative non-exploitation) and corresponding economic relations, and the direction purposes and long term aims of the given states and countries.

The relations between the colonial power, and colonies dependent or semi-colonies, haven been

always unjust aggressive in nature involuntarily, imposed in character having a features of collaborative and compromising with the pro-colonial or non-patriotic feudalistic rulers and the latter considered jointly colonial pacts and treaties secret, materialises faithfully, follows the lines and wording of the colonial masters, thus, are opened the ways and means of exploitation and stable occupation of their country, peoples and nations.

The base owning pacts, so-called friendship treaties between Great Britain and Rulers of Kalat first and for most were imposed reactionary and aggressive which was signed after the break throw and colonialists penetration, and occupation of the many parts, specially, the capital "Kalat" thus qualifies these treaties between the well developed socio-economically and politically biggest colonial power, the Great Britain and the socio-economically, extreme backward, dependent country, Balochistan, the treaties for colonial expansion, subjugation and exploitation for the entire interests of the industrial and finance capital of Britain, it had also compromising and collaborating class character, on the part of rulers of Kalat to maintain their rule, under Britain's colonial, semi-colonial political umbrella and guideline, to materialise, treaties considering the treaties, a secret documents and subjugate their own people in the favour of those of the colonial power.

If we analyse the treaty, signed in 1839 between the ruler of Kalat Mehrab Khan and "Britain" the representative of the British government especially it's point No. 'one' 'two' and 'three' (see treaties appendix p. 1.10) they had: -

- a) Imposed aggressive conditional in character having a military strategic, economic

purposeful nature getting a authority for usage of historical passage of Kachhi "the Bolan pass" to Afghanistan, putting a responsibility on the shoulders of "Khan-e- Kalat" keeping complete safety of the "Bolan pass" and supply of provisions, fodder etc. to British army specially "Mir Mehrab Khan's subordination to the loyal agent of British Shah Shuja" once against testifies the truing of modern colonial diplomacy of Great Britain with socio-economic and Military power, over the traditionalistic inherited monarchical Baloch rulers diplomacy, using F. Engels expression, "the revolver triumphs over .

Sword; in its work "European workers in 1877"

... "The triumph of force is based on the production of the arms and this in turn of production in general- therefore, on "economic power" on the economic situation, on the material means which force has at its disposal... force cannot make money; ... must be provided through the economic production; ... Armament, composition, organisation, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time in production and on communications"...and the introduction of the fire arms had a revolutionising effect not only on the conduct of war itself, but also on political relationships of the domination and subjugation" (6)

For the development of capitalism spreading of its sphere of influence, expansion of its markets search and control of trade routs, strategic points colonising, subjugating of the countries, for natural resources, cheap labour etc. interacted of capitalist system; and usage of force to yield profits, feeding exploitative capitalist system; such was the history of capitalism in Europe, Russia, America and these are the, consequences of socio-economic

backwardness of Asia- African countries, including Balochistan.

All usage's of Guns, gold, diplomatic weapons, treaties of so-called friendship between civilised Great Britain and Barber (according to English Men) nation " the Baloch" all this for the sake of existence, development of capitalism retaining of established colonial (Indian etc) markets; occupation and neutralising of Afghanistan and Balochistan, for base and trade route, against, its colonial rival Tzar Russia; for further spreading its influences, all this for according to Lenin, (" development of capitalism in Russia")

"Capitalism can not exist and develop with out constantly expanding the sphere of its domination, without colonising news countries and drawing old non-capitalist countries into the which pool of world economy" (12)

But when people, the patriotic Baloch tribal fighters, challenge, British colonizer army's penetration into Balochistan, through their spontaneous rebellion; sabotaging supply of Army's provisions; boycott of the small cultivators, not to provide provisions and fodder to the colonisers, then the manifestation of Britain's civilisation was, in general massacring, bombardment of the people, and occupation of Kalat, through modern weapons and trained army; revealed, the true face of aggressors, even in front of their composing collaborators, the Khan, Nawabs:

- b) The same treaty's (1839) article number 4th and 5th shows, more palpably; the
 - Class character of Baloch feudal rulers (the tribal inherited nobility), that, its recognition, on the above condition. (Especially submission to Britain, and subordination to Shah Shuja) as a monarch of Balochistan by East India company and "Shah Shuja of

Afghanistan. Just to get the new title and maintain the rule over Balochistan the "Khan of Kalat" accepted the dependency of British and its lackey's, but when, Khan found, that its title and rule, would not remain, and the English Men are non-trustable, he fought fearlessly and patriotically, with freedom fighters, for defence of capital. When colonisers army in Nov. 1839, assaulted on Kalat, with the support of many Sardars, who were hostile to Khan, due the contradictions for power and privileges.

- 150,000 rupees subsidy assistance in article No. 5th once again shows, the "gold policy" of Britain and also importance of the country for her future colonial plans, of encroachment.

1841 and 1854 TREATIES AND THEIR ANATOMY.

In these concluded treaties (6, October 1841, and May 1854) between Major Outram, representative of British east Indian company, government representative colonel 'City' and Mir Nasir Khan ii "the Khan of Kalat" and the latter treaty (of May 1854) was concluded, with Major John Jacob, C.B representative of British govt;

- Recognition of Nasir Khan ii, as Khan of Kalat
- Returning of annexed parts of Sarawan and Kachhi to Kalat.
- Taking out of army from Kalat's premises,
- Arrangements of Nasir Khan's coronation by British and its allies; shows, that,

The last two year's (1839-41) mass spontaneous rebellion and fierce resistance movement of the freedom tribal fighters, of Balochistan heavy loses; and also, Britain's defeat in Afghan front; the rising movement in India; economic crises, unemployment and chartist movement ⁶⁷ in (1842-47) in England, famine their tactics,

⁶⁷ See the International working class movement" p. 492 pub. Moscow, 1980, vol., 1

The above-concluded treaty shows the failure of British nominated puppet ruling system. Thus relied, on the inherited Baloch ruler Nasir Khan II, which due to the leading of rebellion struggle got popularity among many tribes men of the country; British thought, this traditionalistic ruler, as a new effective card in the hands of British colonialists for fulfilling their exploitative ambition.⁶⁸

As Gul Khan Nasir put this agreement, that, << Mir Nasir Khan II, took out the freedom Crown, which was coroneted by nation; but now, he accepted the crown of enslavement by the hands of English men. (1.7)

Franghee with the changing of their tactics, handing over a power in the hands of Nasir Khan II; basically aimed at to boil down Baloch masses anti-Britain sentiments and rebellion to neutralism them for time being; secure the trade, army base-rout; one the one hand, and to meet properly the difficulties which were facing them in Afghanistan; to provide them fresh assistance; on the other hand this way of compromise giving autonomy to Balochistan; was considered to be the best breathing period understanding of the socio-psychological traits of the Baloch and pashtoon people; organising of new conspiracies; utilising of Inter-Sardar and Khan contradictions; and interfering through them, and when situation ripen, the stable semi-colonisation and colonisation would have to be completed.

But, when it was considered an important for colonial expansionistic strategic point of view, that one military base between sindhh- Balochistan ⁶⁹border, is necessary;

⁶⁸ Through Nasir Khan II, the Franghee succeeded, an agreement with "Marree freedom fighter tribe heads, Mir Dost Ali, others on 17, December 1941, and Nasir Khan gave an estate to Sardar Marree in Gandawa area.

⁶⁹ With the getting of release of Mir Bijjar Dombki, the tribe have also, some how became silent.

and when they felt, that Nasir Khan, after foundation of regular levies type army the "Bazgeer" and "Khud Sawar" (and their training) strengthening and spreading its power, and might break the semi-concluded, between "Khan" and Sir John Jacob; in this way, franghee got a stable semi-colonialism in Balochistan.

Because, with the signing of (new treaty, the treaty of 1841, was annulled, in which the power and ways of English interference were, rather limited.

The article (iii) of the 1854 treaty, (see-treaty appendix.) The British colonisers politically, imposed semi-colonial rule on Kalat made Balochistan dependent, politically and economically'; all the foreign policy of Kalat was seized through the so-called friendship treaty (article II of treaty) This in fact, aiming to bound Kalat not to establish any relations with any state against Britain.

Because << a change with the conquest of Sindhh and the Punjab, the Anglo-Indian empire had not only reached its natural limits, but it had trampled out the last vestiges of independent, Indian States ... and the whole of Indian at its fact. No, longer conquering, it had become the conqueror. The armies at its disposition no longer had to extend its dominion, but only to maintain it >>(3)

For this purpose; (and specifically, after Anglo-Persian war (1856 Oct.); Revolt in Indian army (1857); after subjugation of strong Sikh revolt in 1849; growing anti-colonial, anti-British sentiments of masses in Afghanistan and Balochistan; turned Balochistan, not only bridge, for colonial expeditions and trade between Anglo-Indian empire, Afghanistan and Iran, but also coastline communication bridge-via-Bunder Abbas to England's European army and also made it a ling base country with

With this agreement Nasir Khan, handed over, the brave freedom anti- British fighter "Kasoo Shahwani" to British executors with the compensation of Major Lubdain which was an act of betrayal from side of Khan to those fighters, through home, the Nasir Khan succeeded in getting of power.

western south Asian countries, for International owing to the location); and on the bases of above aims, the British colonialists got the permission of using Balochistan as their base.

<< Should it be deemed necessary to station British troops in any parts of the territory of Kalat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by British authorities>> (treaty 1854 article IV)

Article number v of the treaty 1854, and also above quoted article (see Appendix) confirms, that,

<< Since the great muting of 1857 it had become a matter of the first importance to connect India and England by a direct chain of telegraphic communication, and this which was completed in 1864, had left to a careful exploration of the sea coast of the Las and Mekran Provinces, and to the acquisition of the much useful information in connection with those parts of Balochistan... and the viewing of this, so to speak, modern terra -in-cognita. (Hughes) (1.8)⁷⁰

Though, the British colonialists, declared there non-interference, in the internal affairs of Balochistan, they were doing every thing, if they had liked, but through Khan and the name of concluded treaty of 1854. But practically, the colonialist using different methods of Penetration; the above aim, which was, even confessed by bourgeois author, the Hughes, was completed in 1864, but, the permission had, (of establishing communication lines got in the new treaty of 1876's vii,⁷¹ including the permission of railway line, which should be discussion latter on.

⁷⁰ (Unexplored country) This means, the English Men, were much interested in the exploration of the unexplored country. These processes started with the East Indian Company's native army's officers, Captain Chistie and Lient. Sir Gold Smith continued Potinger's travel inside Balochistan in 1809 and 1810, and latter in 1861.

⁷¹ (See Appendix treaty of 1876.)

The Balochistan, for Great Britain, become a focal point, a significant bridge not only for trade purposes (see v article of treaty) but due to the following conditions,

That, << the revolt in the Anglo-Indian army has coincided with the general dissatisfaction exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations, the revolt of the Bengal army being, beyond doubt, intimately connected with Persian and Chinese wars. >> K. Marx (7)

The importance of Balochistan, as a trade rout had become more important, by Anglo-Indian and Afghani traders, when British got many facilities in using of Baloch coasts, the total export from Somiani port from 9, 96, 373 rupees in 1840-41, to 16,20,804 rupees, in 1841-42, and the total import, from 7,48,1-7 RS. To 14,58,528 RS. During the same period, the trades were mostly to Bombay, Mascot, and Sindh.

Till there conditions, importance of the country and previously, all acknowledged treaties; the British policy towards Balochistan keeping it as a semi-independent country; the territorially vast area, militant resistance, (spontaneous) and its decline, due to sharp conflicts between Sardars and Khan, and their faithfulness towards Britain; prepared ploughed and even watered the ground, for Great Britain's colonial Bourgeois harvest; which resulted in the suffering and double, even triple oppression of the peasants, fishermen, Shepherds , working people nomads.

THE TREATY OF 1876, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN: AND BALUCH RULES: IT'S CHARACTERISATION.

The treaty of 1876, between Great Britain on the one hand, and Khan of Kalat, Balochistan, Mir Khudadad Khan, on the other, in a period, when according to Lenin, that



Coronation of Ameer Mahmood Khan II by UK Representatives(Kalat 1831)

"After the crises of 1873, a lengthy period of development of cartel; but they are still the exception. They are not yet durable they are still transitory Phenomena." (13)

This was the time when.

<< Early 1870, Britain achieved the greatest successes in its industrial development, and was a real "factory of the world," in 1872, it accounted for 50 percent of the world out put of hard coal and pig iron, and over half the cotton. British ship building industry produced almost 90% of the increment in the world tonnage. London was the chief credit centre, its world capital. Britain share in world foreign trade reached two-third and reflected the exception scope of the British Bourgeois economic expansion by that time, >> (19)

So, on the other, this treaty was signed and, old treaty of 1854, during the Nasir Khan ii was renewed, and ratified, on the eve of changes of the British colonial administrative system, in India, when Queen Victoria has suppose to be the empress of India; and British plan of 1879-1881, to occupy Afghanistan and turn it its semi-colony; and this period also, marked in the increase of new colonies,⁷² On the other in 1850-60, the International solidarity of working class, the rebellion anti-colonial movement of oppressed people, acquired, and expressed themselves internally; specially, the Paris commence, 1st proletarians revolution in France, have pushed capitalism deep into crises, and showed the way to the proletariat and other oppressed people, a way of freedom from the exploitative Yoke of capitalism.

Second, British's transitory monopolistic colonial system, from non-monopoly, was on the verge; the export of capital acquiring an important place in the formation of monopoly capitalism. So, according to the British strategic plans, economic colonial plundering policies, it had been considered.

⁷² Abyssian war in 1867, the Perak expedition of 1875, a second Afghan war in 1879 to 1887, 1876-77 Great Britain seizes trans Vaal;

Kalat" with the utilisation of every inter-tribal elitist contradictions, as a weapon of pressurisation, and instrument of maintaining of indirect or semi-direct rule, and for opening, and preparing the pre-conditions for colonising of this region in near future, for in the entire interests of the emerging monopoly capital.

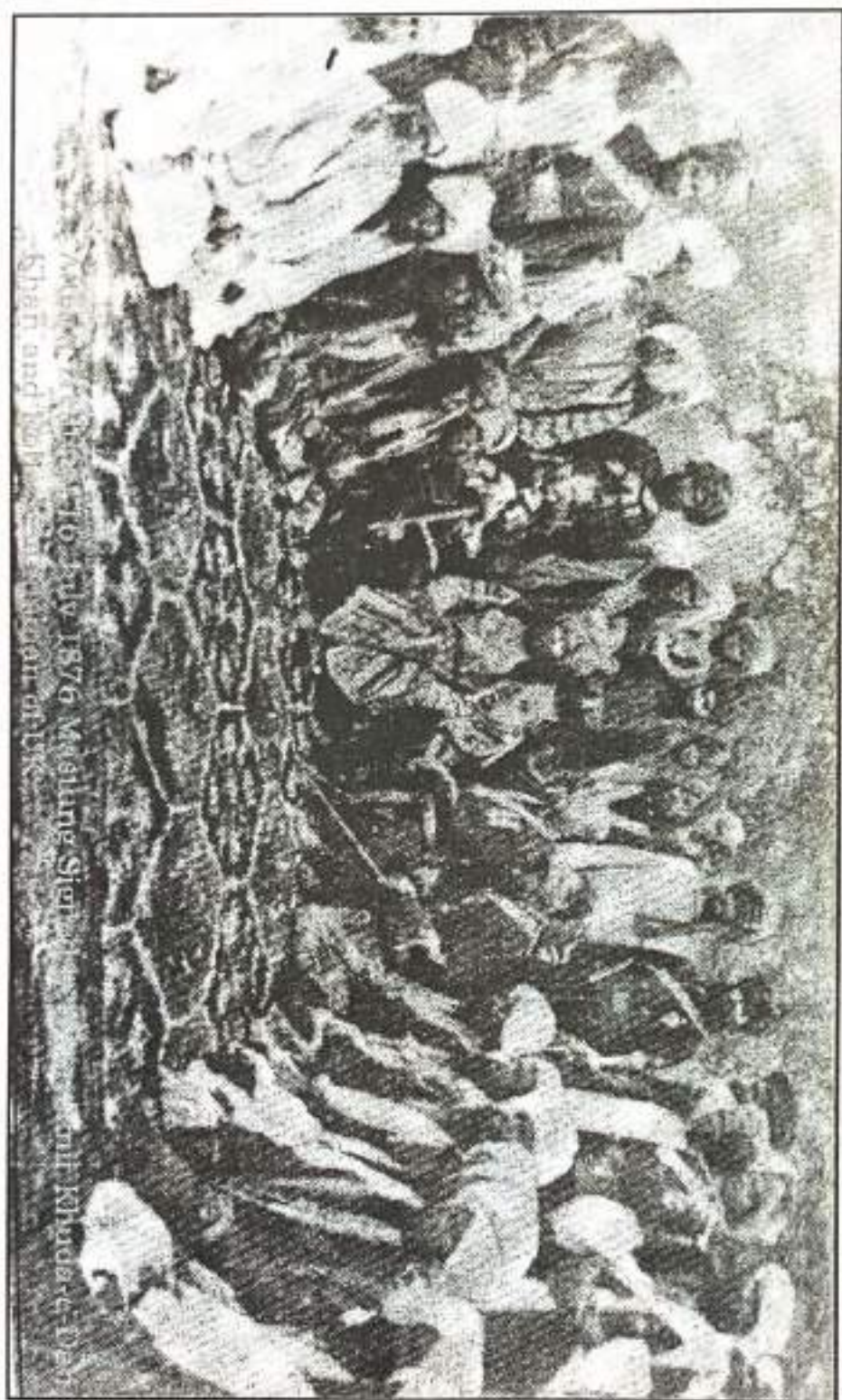
I.e. the close connections, treaties with the Khan and relations and even subsidies to Sardars, the compromise of Khan and Sardars, by H- Green, and isolation of patriotic minded nationalist, anti-colonial forces from Kalat power, 1857; specially the Mittan Kott conference of 3, February 1871, and the decision of which ratified on 19, October 1871, in a resolution, the important decisions were:

Article No. 2 All the management of those tribes those who accept Khan's sovereignty should be dealt directly through Khan owing to their chieftains.

Article No. 3 All the wages of "chieftains" and 'elders', which are fixed by British government, should be paid through Khan. [See 'History of Balochistan' by Gul Khan Nasir Page 224]

These decisions once again confirm,

- a) Great Britain wanted secure Military and trade routes through Balochistan by strengthening Khan's position in order to turn it effective loyal and lackey ruler, subordinated and guided by colonizers.
- b) 21 years of civil and Sardar-Khan conflict (from 1857—76) and masses rebellion against British was actually undermining its plans and preparations for 2nd Anglo-Afghan war etc. thus, it was thought in many occasions and English Mission because more active to play a role of reconciliation between their agents 'Sardar and Khan' for compromise, in order to save them not to crush them in such prolong conflicts.



Shen and his family, 1876. Machine Shop, and Rhude & Co.

- c) Through compromising of Sardar and Khan, it became practically possible for them to isolate patriotic freedom fighter forces by utilising and binding Khan and Sardars with signed treaties huge bribes corruption etc.

Third. The period of 1856—1876 was the period of anarchy disturbance crises (socio- economic and political), a civil war a sharp armed clashes between traditionalistic tribal ruling⁷³ elite and emerging monarchical elitist circles for power; and also period of masses protest against the triple oppression⁷⁴ heavy taxes⁷⁵ taking a direction of anti- feudal (sardar) anti- foreigners (Britain) in the garb of these conflict between upper elitist circles in the form of anti- British activities ambushing looting, blocking the British trade and army supply forces and ways.

Thus this period had to be characterised on the one hand a period of crises in the policies of ruling elites; struggle between depriving traditionalistic tribal nobility and emerging monarchical "Khan" and its followers, and on the other hand a struggle between patriotic minded forces verses "Khan" and "Sardars" and people's social protest against rulers and Sardars; which outburst in anti- franghee general rebellion, thus dialectally had connected the anti- (feudal) Khan and anti- Sardar struggle with anti- franghee (anti- colonial) struggle. Which in final analysis especially its anti- franghee direction and advancement had to curtail and shatter, all British's colonial plans in near future and

⁷³ Hand overing of "Sardars" demands list (in May 1869) to the British representative captain Herison.

⁷⁴ The Khan's rule was started developing along the absolute monorchial type of rule, so in order to feed the regular army it had become necessary to robb and fine and impose taxes on ordinary people.

⁷⁵ TRUNGAD Tax. A tax which was taken by cultivators every after 4 days and there had not fixed measure for it. Whatever the Khan's authorities had liked to rob the cultivators.

was harming the trade, the international trade. That is occupation and annexation of Balochistan have considered a major mistake by British side.

Because in case of occupation:

- Maintenance of rule would have to be difficult.
- The role and mass anti- franghee sentiments had to grow into general rebellion.
- The franghee agent Sardar and Khan's position had to be dominated by patriotic minded forces.
- The natural unity of anti- franghee Afghan forces with the patriots of Balochistan could have to become inevitable.

This was the main reason that the Hughes mentions that the

<< Vigorous actions made to it in 1874 by Sir-W. Merewalter, in this expedition it was never intended that any annexation of country (Balochistan) should take place, but that some town such for instance, as Quetta, might have to be occupied by British troops. >> [1.9]

Before 2nd Anglo-Afghan war it had to be considered that foundation of cantonment (military base) in Quetta and establishment of complete control on Bolan pass; and semi-colonial rule in Balochistan is impossible without concluding new treaty which was broken due to many factors in 1870.

Thus Captain "Sandeman's" (a well known notorious colonial tactical diplomat) two mission of arrival in Balochistan in order to

- Stop the Sardar's revolt against "Khan"
- Make a compromise between "Khan" and rebel "Sardars"
- To procure the security of Bolan Pass through Khan and Sardars.
- To conclude a new treaty of 1876.
- Procurement of Quetta and Bolan Pass on lease by Khan.
- To understand better Baloch society its contradictions, socio- psychological traits of peoples, tribes, the

emerging morality of upper Baloch crust in order to establish a new system of rule over Balochistan. I.e.; He chocked out policy which is known in history of Balochistan as "Sinmin Nizam" or Sandemen system.

In the treaty of 1876.

- The ex treaty of 1854 was rectified.
- There would be stable friendly relations between Govt. of Britain and Govt. of Kalat, was signed.
- The govt. of Britain continues to recognise Khan's just power and respect the independence of Kalat and provide assistance for defence, if needed. While Khan would have be bound with Sardars for security of routes.

Albeit of above agreement, the British imperialistic colonizer never respected the treaty of 1876. Their encroachment grew slowly and gradually. Even in the article 4 of the treaty 1876.

British recognised Kalat's representatives (the ambassador) presence in Anglo- Indian capital, but on the other hand getting permission of presence of its representative with meagre detachment in Kalat, and declaring its role of mediator between "Sardars" and "Khan" in the name of lasting relations of friendship between two governments once again confirms her role of political advisor and anti-people ambitions.

The article 7th of 1876 treaty, it is mentioned that,

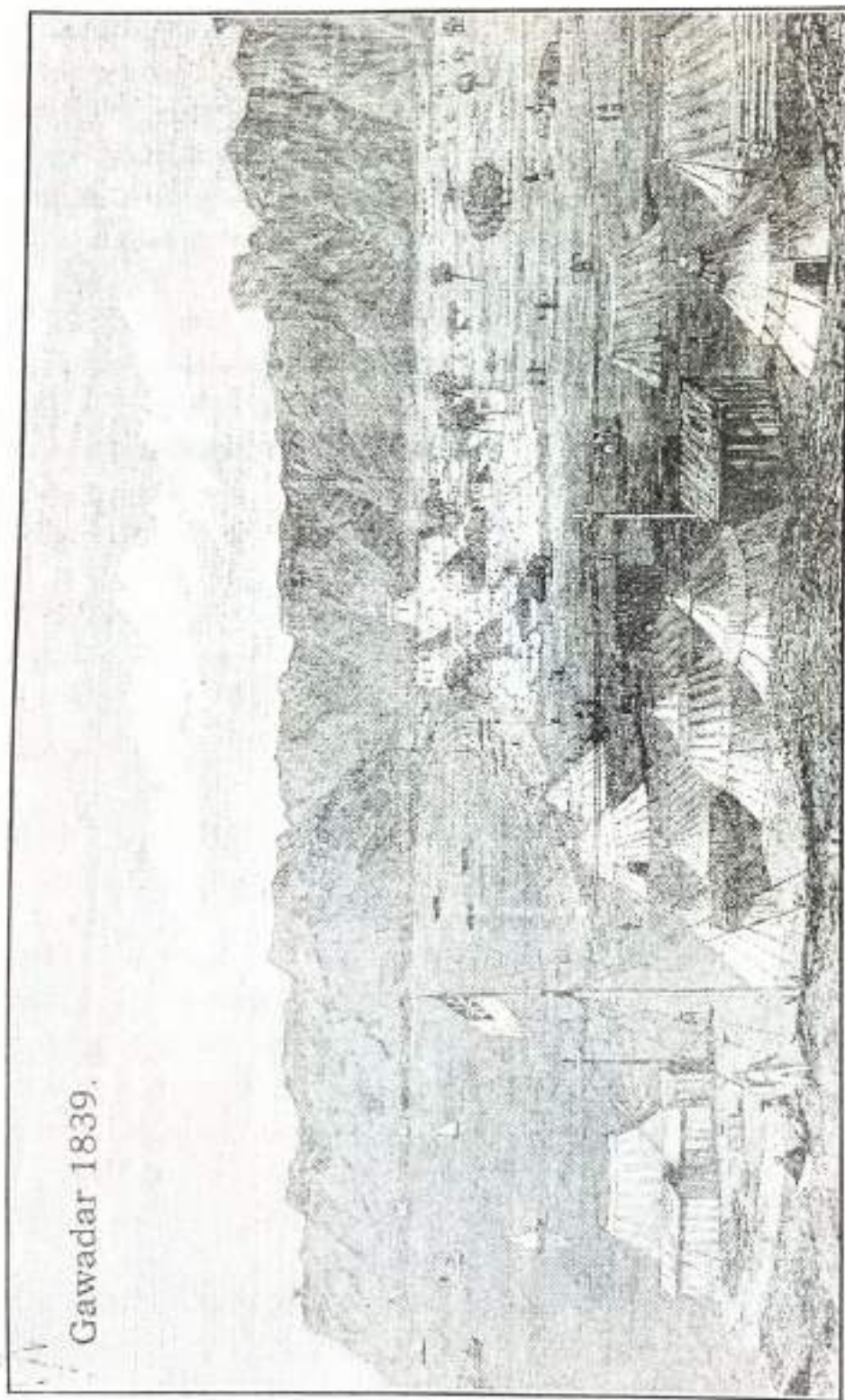
<< The railway and telegraph lines would have to be constructed sporadically, in the Khan premises. On the condition that the conditions for above purposes would have already been decided. >>

And also usage of those areas which would have to be considered by British government necessary or obligatory for trade and other aims, the British govt. had a right with the permission of Khan to usage of such areas.

These two above permissions and treaty of 8 June, 1883, about Shal and Bolan areas practically socio- economically opened the way of monopoly imperialistic colonisation and semi- colonisation and deformation of the natural development of productive forces of Balochistan and people's life. The colonial economic structure with colonial political structure with certain changes only its forms continue till now- a days.

For more correct understanding of these subsidiary treaties, see the documents of the treaties taken from British official documents published in books. See in appendixes from pages 329 to 334 of this book.

Gawadar 1839.



CHAPTER NO. 2

PARAGRAPH: II

ROLE OF COLONIALISM AND SEMI COLONIALISM IN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS IN BALOCHISTAN AND EXPLOITATION WORKING MASSES:

Socio-economical backwardness of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is a phenomenon, the root or main causes of which can be revealed, only historically; only in colonial legacy of imperialist colonial system; in their partitioning and repartitioning and socio-economically plundering by colonial powers and imperialist countries; in their politico-military domination, subjugation by these colonial so-called "civilised" robbers, in the light of their colonial policies, in their main objectives the essence of which in one form and other form, even more reactionary form lies in the present Imperialism's colonialism neo-colonialism, Racialism, Zionism, system of exploitation's and subjugation's and oppression; but with, the emergence of new epoch, imitated and geared by Great October socialist revolution; emergence of world socialist system, triumphant peoples democratic, and (National liberation revolutions change the balance of forces in world arena, thus caused, in shrinking of Imperialism and its reactionary allies sphere of influence, open colonising and neo-colonising activities, thus, with the felt of revolutionary strangulation, the world imperialism above all US imperialism becoming more reactionary and using, different means of ways for plundering of peoples, nations and countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As K. Marx, in "the British rule in India" mentions, that, << the misery inflicted by the British on Hindustan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind that all Hindustan had to suffer before. >> [1]

The peoples of Balochistan, suffered more than any British colony, under British direct and indirect rule; the misery, and backwardness of masses, changed into chronic colonial diseased legacy, at the end of this rule (in 1947) and which was retained, and shifted, and have been fed, with more reactionary, new methods, under Pakistan special colonial rule.

In this or that objective and subjective factors the British colonial aims and policies about this region on the one hand, and, the class interests and case character of traditionalistic feudal type monarchical and tribal noblest interests of Baloch rulers, were predominated, on the other hand; the complete foreign policy went in the hands of British colonizers, through imposed subsidiary treaties, thus turned country into dependent, colony and partial colony; which though initiated from 1839, but practically started with the opening of British Residency in 1877 in Quetta, after 1876 treaty of Mastung.

The main aim of British coloniser was to spread the sphere of influence, establish military cantt, procurement of Key to India; stable, secure trade and expedition route dominate and subjugate peoples. Neither they had aimed to establish capitalist relations in the country, nor, to abolish pre-capitalist, even pre-feudal relations in Balochistan, but in contrary to this, British colonisers, not only deliberately retained feudal and pre-feudal relations but, even, stimulated fed to the more conservative traditionalistic class type exploitative tribalist institutions like "Tribalism*"⁷⁶ "Chieftainship*"⁷⁷ the latter of was

⁷⁶ That time, due to Location, Quetta was considered to be Key to Hindustan.

⁷⁷ Tribalism is an ideology of tribal isolation, tribal "Patriotism" tribal patriarchal customs and traditions; it defies the clan-tribal

emerged, with the emergence of private property and classes, (the upper crust of tribes) which exist till now Pakistani special type colonial period; a special weapon, in the hands of Pakistani reactionary Militarists and colonial administration of Balochistan, against the anti-imperialist National liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of Balochistan.

Using prominent soviet, philosopher, the head of the soviet sociological Association, professor 'Khachuk Momjan's' expression, that, the << Capitalist Britain tried hard to slow down the development of capitalist industry in colonies...1750, law prohibiting... capitalist Britain was resisting the development of capitalist relation in the colonies...tried to slow down... and to maintain the most reactionary pre-capitalist relations... in the epoch of imperialism... were forced to promote the emergence of industrial production...but not out of desire to end feudal forms of exploitation...British imperialism... simultaneously, took steps to slow down the development of so-called native industry.>> [2]

In Balochistan, the natural development of productive forces was either impeded, destroyed or deformed- as the result of colonial aggressive invasions exploitative methods, and the control over trade, (export, import) market, exchange by Anglo-Indian's or other embedded the

aristocratic upper crust which allegedly connects raw- and -file clan or tribal members with the spirits of ancestors; it demand blind obedience to the power and authority of the chief and his entourage and their worship as the patrons and mentors of a clan or a tribe."

Sources: "philosophical foundation of scientific socialism" pub, Moscow, 1985, p. (239) (by institute of social sources.)

development of capitalist relations, effected local production which resulted in retaining the pre-capitalist, relations; the tribal-cum feudal consciousness and tribalism, Chieftainship was prevailed.

I.e. invasions, occupations, assortments to many towns, such as Quetta, Kachhi, Dhader, Sibi, Mastung, Kahan-Kohloo, Punjgoor, specially the capital Kalat, and also Gandava, after 1837 till 1842, by British colonizers. They destroyed productive forces, burnt villages, and looted harvest for feeding of colonial army, horses. Killed working peoples tribesmen etc., statistically after occupation of Kalat from 1837-1842 period, the destruction of productive forces, dropped in production can be vividly seen in the table- I

According to given, table, the total import from Bombay, Mascot, Sindhh, Afghan, was 7,48,127 RS. In 1840-41⁷⁸ which grew from value (7,48,127 to 14,58,528 in 1841-42, that is 1.8 times, while the export, which depend on the productivity of labour, development of productive forces and their natural development, was total value (2,48,246 RS. In 1840-41 which dropped from total value 2,48,246RS.to 1,62,276 RS. That dropped about one time, which vividly shows:

- Unbalance of payment, about 5, 00, 000 RS. 13, 00, 000 RS. Respectively.
- Flow of foreign goods.
- Control of trade by Anglo- Indians.
- Destruction of productive forces, in many parts.

⁷⁸ While before English invasion << in 1836... the revenues reached 35, 000 RS. Derived from duty of 3 percent, on all import and export >>, Hughes <<the country of Balochistan>> p. 14

IMPORTS to Somiani

	Value in 1840s-41	Value in 1841-42
By Afghans from Bombay....	Rupees 6,29,884	Rupees 12,73,221
By resident traders at Bombay	64,615	93,776
By resident traders at Mascot.	42,225	30,275
By resident traders at Sindh ...	11,403	61,256
Total imports ...	7,48,127	14,58,528

EXPORTS from Somiani

	Value in 1840-41	Value in 1841-42
By Afghans to Bombay....	Rupees 67,061 1,74,718	Rupees 83,544 56,625
By resident traders to Bombay	1,434	5,973
By resident traders to Mascot...	5,033	14,134
By resident traders to Sindh ...	2,48,246 7,48,127 9,96,373	1,62,276 14,58,528 16,20,804
Total export ...		
Total import...		
Total value...		

Table-1 A

Value of the export from Somiani (and Mekran ports)

Year	To Sindh	To Bombay
	Rupees	Rupees
1870-71...	1, 64, 543	1, 93, 900
1871-72...	2, 14, 132	1, 83, 663
1872-73...	76, 895	1, 84, 184
1873-74...	84, 110	1, 64, 813
1874-75...	1, 78, 273	1, 31, 443

See [3]

Value

Table-1 A

Imports of the Somiani (and Mekran ports)

Year	From Sindh	From Bombay
	Rupees	Rupees
1870-71...	1, 47, 907	1, 12,330
1871-72...	2, 16, 188	61,163
1872-73...	1,57,622	69,368
1873-74...	1,46,143	49,335
1874-75...	1, 33, 606	37,662

Page 134

<< Custom duties at Somiani: 1840.

- One each bale of piece-goods, 10 rupees;
- On other articles, at the rate of RS. 3.2 Anna's to merchants, and RS. 3.8 Anna's to ryals.
- On every slave a tax of RS. 5...

Each pilgrim to Hujaj paid a fee of RS. 2 Anna to the customs contractors of somiani, out of which 6 annas, the customs went to the Jam, or native rulers, that up to 1841, a duty of 4% was levied at Somiani on exports and imports

of every description, and Rs.4 ½ on each house, while in additions to this a transit duty of one rupee was payable at Bela on every camel-load of merchandise passing it from the northward, but caravan from the coast which had already paid the regular customs dues at Somiani were freed from this additional impost. >> (P. 135)

Exports goods: Wool, ghee, hides, seeds, dates, leaves, firewood, camels, bullocks, donkeys, and horses.

Import goods: Sugar, Silk,

Manufacturing = oils, cotton, cloth, coarse texture, coarse carpets.

If we, look, at the table I A, on the statistical data of trade from the famous somiani port of Balochistan, before the last treaty of 1876, and before the British colonizers permanent Residency at Quetta we find that, historically, the Balochistan port was important, before, 1839's British occupation the value of export, was about equal, even more than import, but the given table, even shows, that after the treaties of 1839, 1841, 1854, 1876, and after the laying down the Telegraph communication lines (in 1863) from, according to Hughes information

<< There are no roads... only camel tracks, ... There is only one sign of modern civilisation to be seen, this province and Las state, and this is the Land-live of the Indo- European Telegraph department, (I.E.T.D) which runs from Karachi, in Sindh, to Jashak (Jask), in Persian Balochistan, a distance in all of 697 miles by wires, having intermediate stations in Ormara, Gawader, and Chah bahar. From Jashak it is placed in connection with the Persian port of Bashir by sub-marine cable.>> (4)

It shows, there was no other sign of modern civilisation until 1886, when British started laying railway lines, but it also, shows, the colonialists interferences, there safety measures, not only strategic (military) purposes, but also,

interferences in Trade; allotment of lands, estates to their loyal non-indigenous population.

I.e. << The Hub estate, comprising nearly 34, 000 acres was... granted by the British govt. in perpetuity to one Khan Bahadur Murad Khan an enterprising and public spirited Afghan, who had been able to render important service to the government at a time when such were greatly needed; >> [5]

According to Hughes provided statistics, because the only statistics, we have got are by English bourgeois authors. We have to use their statistics also, but with scientific, Marxist politico-economic approach and critical remarks. So, the table I- A, which provided 5 year Trade (export-import) dates, was the period of British colonizer partial indirect rule over Balochistan; shows:

That in 1870-71, the export from Somiani- Makran ports were more in value than import, that is, export in the said year 1870-71, the total value was 3, 58, 443 RS. While import, with total value in the same year was 2, 60, 237 RS. With the balance of + 98, 206 RS. Even in 1871-72, the export increased, more than previous year, but the import dropped from 2, 60, 237 RS. To 1, 77, 351 RS.

The above data confirms that there was balance of trade, and there was no destruction, and partial destruction of productive forces, but actually, this was not the case. The whole trade was, actually belonged to Afghans, Hindu, Sikhs, the residence of Bombay which had engaged, in trading the, trade goods, from Afghanistan, Via, Balochistan port, there was also land rout to Sindh, Punjab, Iran, the, thing, which was receiving by Baloch feudal type monarchical rulers, were taxes, imposed on these traders. The part of the taxes, had been received by Sardars, Mirs, Jams, Nawabs, from these traders, that is the traders while buying goods from small products of Balochistan, they used to pay less for them; and the imported goods with high prices.

The small producers, from one hand, had compelled to pay taxes to Sardars, feudal ruler, revenue etc. on the other hand, had to sell, in the exchange of other goods, very cheap. This was the triple oppression and exploitation of the working people.

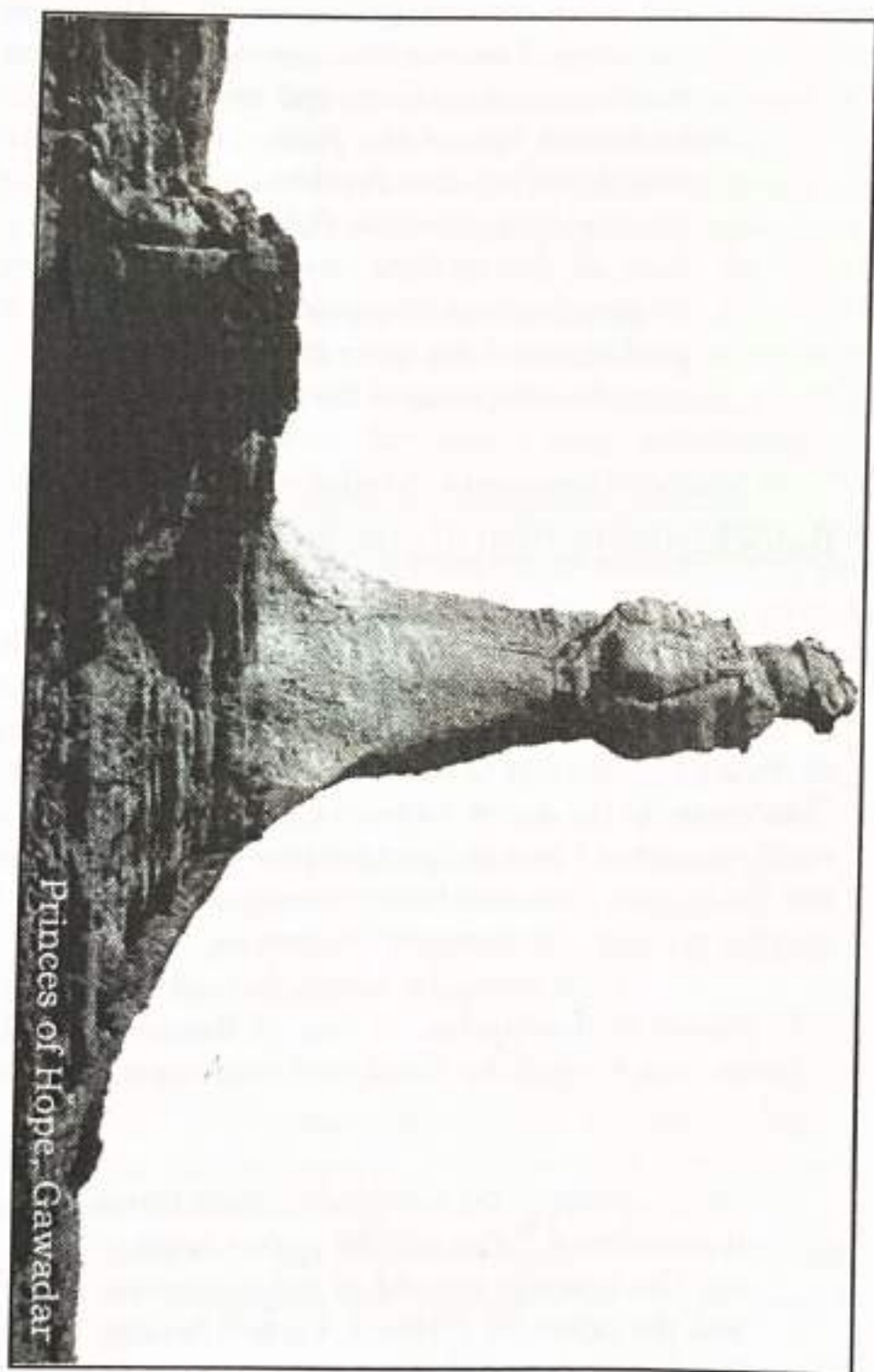
Taxes, revenues, lands, and empower other scio-economic privileges, were the main objective sources of inter tribal aristocratic, and tribal monarchical elitist conflict, which ran from 1854 till 1876, that why the best, notorious British colonizer strategist, observer sandmen (advised British colonial authorities of India, that,

<< The civil War is continued between Sardars and Khan of Kalat, this time, in Balochistan>> The chiefs have invited British government in Balochistan, many times, in order to save them from Khan atrocities. This is the best occasion, to enter in Balochistan with out resistance, which would be sporadic and difficult to get for us, Sardars and khan's friendship is very important>> [6]

The above, statement of "Sandmen" once again re-affirmed the colonialists, strategy and tactics toward Balochistan, which, also, in this or that form have been used in many countries for colonising and subjugating people, but this statement, and till now, the role of the Baloch rulers, tribal nobility, the chieftains, Jams, Nawabs, recorded in history, unmask, the class character, anti people collaborative character (with British colonisers).

This period not only shows the War between upper crust of Baloch rulers, by the provocative acts of franghee colonizers, but this period, while reading the history of Balochistan, one can understand, very well that, this period was, the period of anti-feudal, anti-foreigner struggle, a form of social protest, because of the double... and triple oppression of the rulers, colonizers, foreign traders. The suffering of the masses can be seen in the following remarks.

- Imposition of different taxes, fines, funds on tribesmen small producers, in order to meet the expenses of state above all the regular army i.e. "Trangad" tax and other fines.
- During Sardars vests Khan conflicts many Halq (villages) destroyed, burnt, productive forces are destroyed, innocent peoples were killed, which caused further impoverishment.
- English colonizers vital trade interests, and oppressions of Anglo-Punjab and Sindh frontiers forces, on Marree Bughti, Derajat, Bolan, Kachhi, Gandava, areas looting, burning, massacring, pushed people up into grave and under poverty line.
- When, the Khan's army finished its Ration, fodder, they usually looted, robbed, the tribal people, the cultivators.
- Colonizer policies, to provoke conflict, between locals, and penetrate in the name of reconciliationist. This led further aggravation and suffering of masses.
- Khan's huge number of horses, camels, sheep, were usually damaging the crops of small cultivators.
- In the Kalat, foreigners or Khan Families occupied most of the posts; the local people were fully deprived, of any democratic rights.
- Traditionalistic, customarily conflicts, also paved the way for the impoverishment of population.
- Above all Khan's emerging absolute monarchical rule became conflict with traditionalist tribal noblest system of govt. and this conflict was utilised fully and completely by British colonisers, against the peoples of Balochistan, and their national independence.
- The state plays an important role in development of the productive forces, the national economy above all agriculture in such



Princes of Hope, Gawadar

backward countries, where feudal type and pre-feudal relations prevail. But on the other hand, because of the British imperialism's colonial and semi-colonial policies, and relations in economic basis on the one hand, and weak traditionalistic pillaring and monarchical-cum-traditional rule of the Khan of Kalat, on the other hand, retarded the state to play its role for developing agriculture fully and satisfactory, thus, all this resulted in further backwardness of many regions, impoverishment of the small producer, and the latter migration towards the more develop areas of the Sindhh and Punjab.

Socio- Economic Structure of Balochistan in British colonial period:

The British colonial penetration, in Balochistan, though geared by strategic, and trade rout importance of the country after concluding of 1876's treaty, the opening of British residency at Quetta, 1877, and appointment of 'Sandeman' to the Agent, Governor general, and with the establishment of Cantt in Quetta, based control of Quetta and Bolan area, after concluding new agreement of 1883, in order to using "Sandeman's" expression.

<< It would be better, that our forces must be present at Balochistan, in case of Russian possible attack, that it could be faced with out loosing time>>
(7)

But, latter on, when Balochistan was dismembered,⁷⁹ this was the period, when
<< The boom at the end of the nineteenth century and the crises of 1900-03. Cartels became one of the foundations of the whole of economic life. Capitalism has been transformed into imperialism>>, mentioned by V. I. Lenin, as a third stage of development of monopolies, in its famous

⁷⁹ See P. 12 A

work. "Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism". [8]

Capitalism, in Britain, in its classical form, developed, more and finest than any other capitalist countries. The developments of UK monopolies, finance capital, out paced other countries. The capitalist colonial system of UK, developed, into monopoly capitalist colonialism, before than other colonial powers, that is why in 1876, the Great Britain's colonial possessions were 22.5/000,000 sq. Kilometre, with inhabitants 251.9/000,000. While in 1860, the colonial possessions were 2.5/000,000-sq. kilometre with, inhabitants of 126.4/000,000. In 1914, it grew from 22.5/000,000 to 33.5/000,000. Sq. kilometres with the inhabitants 393.5/000,000. This means only in the period of 16 years (1860-1876). Great Britain spread its chain of colonial possession, eleven times (from 2.5 to 225). Persia, china, Iran, Nepal and Afghanistan and Balochistan, were not included, because, they were dependent or semi-colonies. The territory of these countries were more than 19/000,000, with the population of more than 380/000,000, while the total population of the world that time 1,657.0/000,000, with sq. kilometre 133.9/000,000 why it happened?

Using V. I. Lenin's methodological preposition, that, << Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself, even states enjoying the fullest political independence. >>[9]

As, with the emergence of main role of monopolies in the economic life, and transformation of capitalism into its highest stage, imperialism, in Britain, the monopolies, which developed from free competition, but it did not

abolish it, competition remains along side monopolies, inside them.

So, Now, the sharp contradictions and rivalry between monopolies, for expansion of colonial possessions, raw material resources and even, thirst of finance capital to utilise every technical means, to transfer non, fertile land into fertile, specially for cash crops for industries to yield super project, grew, under times more than before, as capitalism grows, as monopolies, becomes, the dominant in society; thus aggravated the basic contradiction of the capitalist system pushed it into general and cyclic crises, on the one hand, and are sharpen the contradiction between colonise and colonial imperialist countries. On the other hand,

That is why Lenin mentioned, that,

<< Colonial possessions, only gives the monopolies complete guarantee against all contingencies in the struggle against competitors, >> ... the more capitalism is developed; the more shortage of raw material is felt. >>, The more intense the competition and haunt of the sources of raw material through out the world, the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies. >> [10]

That is why British monopoly coloniser decided.

- 1) To establish buffer zone between Tzar Russia and Britain Empire, the Afghanistan was selected after the defeat of second Anglo- Afghan war, (1878-1880).
- 2) To utilise Balochistan, as a colonial base, raw material supplier, a Trade Key route, a connecting channel between Anglo-Indian empire and Europe and it is considered to be only possible; due to previous resistance; to rule over Balochistan, only partially only direct rule over special regions taken on base contracts bases, using different ways and means of control, patch with tribal-traditionalistic elitist administrative system, the feudal- colonial system, but, with dismemberment.

As American encyclopaedia, mentions about Balochistan before 1944, that

<< It is wholly under British influence and partly under British rule.>> [11]

Thus Balochistan, like pushtoon areas, divided into different pieces and parcels annexed Baloch areas into Iran, Sindh, Punjab and Afghanistan and many pushtoon are been incorporated into Balochistan; the Rest divided into three main territories of Balochistan; that is

- a) British Balochistan based territories + Pushtoon incorporated areas (9,096 Sq. miles) annexed with British Empire in 1887
- b) Agency territories (45, 132 Sq. miles) British rule through tribal aristocratic colonial administration.
Kalati Balochistan (80, 410 Sq. miles) included Sarawan (except Quetta, Nushki) Jhalawan, Mekran, Kharan, and Las Bella. (British rule through feudal monarchical-colonial structure that is through "Khan of Kalat")

From the above, dismemberment of Balochistan and Pushtoon territories, the British colonisers aimed to complicate national consolidations of militant Baloch and Pushtoon; weaken their anti-colonial anti feudal, anti-money lender national resistance; dismantle the chains of influences of each nationalities heroic glorious struggle against British; to break the unity of different tribes of the 'Baloch and Pushtoons and also to impede the historical unity of Baloch and Pushtoon and also Sindh against foreign coloniser encroachers;

But life is more complicated; people make their history themselves, in a specific material conditions. History had not followed and would not be made with the anti-humanistic ambitions, oppressive, exploitative will of the UK, USA, Germany, Russia, French etc, colonial emperors, nor History had made with the loyal colonial-feudal agents of these encroaches. Nor, history dependent on the will of Pentagon, world imperialism led by USA the most reactionary forces. The Great October socialist revolution 1917, emergence of socialist community countries, collapse of colonial system, emergence of newly liberated countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The change in the balance of forces in world arena once again re-affirmed Marxist materialistic understanding of history';

The artificial division of territory of different nations; through complicates, slow down, the relations, situation and national formation, but it cannot impede the international or national solidarity of working class and oppressed peoples.

The unity of Baloch Pushtoon, and Baloch Sindhis against British colonisers, once again testifies, and which is developing into the unity and qualitatively new- solidarity, between all oppressed nationalities, oppressed classes of Pakistan and their progressive forces, against imperialism Pakistani reactionary ruling complex, against feudalism and monopoly.

The administrative colonial system, and exploitation of masses:

- The British Balochistan, the agency territories, was ruled directly by British A. G. G., (assistant governor general) and every town,

and P. A (Political Agent) which was agent to A. G. G. The P.A was the, all in all, the colonial army, was under his command, which could utilise, against people, at army time. The total powers were with A. G. G, but on regional levels with P. A. the P.A also, had guided the tribal- aristocratic- colonial administration. Slowly and gradually British imperialist representatives usurped the all-legislative powers. The A. G. G Commissioner, P. A and their administration.

- The Kalati Balochistan, which was according to treaties, was dependent and semi- colony, ruled by the directly inherited Baloch monarch, "Khan of Kalat" (though slowly, its powers were restricted by colonisers) and indirectly by British representative of A. G. G, that is P. A, the latter also exercised the colonial administrative method; but the more useful method, which was exercised was, the feudal-colonial and tribal aristocratic colonial type administration, under their politics.

So, in Balochistan, the British colonial superstructure or state apparatus was combined with the traditionalistic monarchical tribal aristocratic administrative ruling system, but the latter power was subordinated to the colonial rule.

The feudal colonial- or tribal aristocratic colonial subordinated administrative or ruling structure:

In order to fulfil their colonial ambitions, the capitalist and imperialist British colonisers used different methods of ruling and controlling over this vast territory. One of the effective method, which latter called Sandeman colonial ruling system, was used for rule over Balochistan over tribes and over country side, through ruling feudal upper crust, the tribal nobility (Khan, Sardar, Mirs, Muhtabers Jams, Nawabs) by corrupting, giving privileges; retaining their social status, providing lands, benefits estates, prizes,

medals titles (like "Nawab" "Sir" "Khan Bahadur" "C. I. E." "C. S. I" "C. B. E" etc. "Baglar-Bagi"). To upper Baloch crust, to make them disloyal to nation; to strengthen tribalism, Chieftainship, and create tribal cum feudal consciousness; under mine national patriotism; finally make dependent, and subordinate the upper elitist Baloch traditional rulers, to the British political advisors and rulers and to utilise them for.

- To keeping of law and order in countryside, in the tribes.
- to facilitate collection of revenues, taxes, fines etc
- To nip in the bud of every emerging anti-franghee resistance, or to receive information of such acts.
- To make responsible every sardar, in keeping law and order in the tribe or in the area.
- With the establishment of Levi system" a military might of chieftain, a corruptive incentive, facilitate the arresting, spreading of influence of power relation of imposed laws etc.
- In case of conflict, with other colonial rivalries, to recruit army from tribes, through agent chiefs i.e. in 1st World War British stated recruiting by force or through the influence and force of sardars in Africa "when even Britain is at war she has to call upon her colonies and dominions and other foreign powers to depend her." An African revolutionary KWAME NURUMAH Sindh [12] and Asia. The Britain had failed in Balochistan, due to the strong spontaneous resistance movements of the masses against UK from below, and the colonial aggressive policies of the UK, against the people of Balochistan which created an atmosphere of anti-British, anti-feudal type, that, limited the influence of sardars over their tribes, specially on the said recruiting

questions, even the spontaneous resistance of many tribes had broke out, when they came to know, that "franghee" is going to recruit from the tribes.

- With the provisions of estates, Wages, titles, to means to strengthen the class positions of the tribal chiefs, the Mirs for class oppression over their working people. The nomads, shepherd, peasants, fishermen small producers workers etc. all these colonial system.
- Retained patriarchal tribal, feudal, relations, especially in Kalati Balochistan, in the country side of the British Balochistan, impeded, or slowed down the development of productive forces, on the basic of such colonial economic relations, the tribal cum feudal consciousness, the superstitions tribal prejudices, to feeling of tribal ethno centralism, tribal patriotism in the super structure developed.

The Masses, suffered, and faced triple oppression from Khan and its administration. Second from Sardars and then levies forces, third from British, Military oppressions, imposed taxes, economic plundering of colonial army, their laws which even resulted in the migration of peoples in adjacent neighbouring areas.

PUNITIVE COLONIAL LAWS: -

The laws, ordinances, which was promulgated in Balochistan, during British colonial period which still exist, with very few new amendments in Pakistan colonial period (i.e. "Frontier criminal code" was working very actively till 1979), were reactionary-colonial in their nature, oppressive and subjective in their character, serving the vitas interests of the British imperialists first and for most, and than the narrow class interests of the Khan, Nawabs, sardars, Jams, Mirs, feudal elitist colonial elements.)

The "Frontier criminal regulation 1901" adopted, was the most cruel and criminal in connection of the masses this law provided.

- Complete authority to colonizers, to protect their colonial settlements; strangle army rebellion; punish those who make any political conspiracy against British and its lackeys to restrict and punish political activists.
- This law legalised , all crimes of colonizers and their allied Sardars feudal and money lenders, to confiscate and usurp the lands of people; their personal property; make collective fine in the interest of Sardars and colonizer for economic pressurising purposes;
- These laws were criminal colonial and Sardari system's punitive, exploitative weapons, against cultivators, shepherd nomad tribes, and working people functional directly and indirectly, even simultaneously, under the legislative power of the P.A, through nominated "councils of elders" (Jirghah). So, it means that, the colonial mother countries formulated legislations, were functioning into traditional frame and form, but with the full power and content of the British colonial legislation.
I.e according to law, no Baloch, or Pushtoon
- Settlements near colonial settlers.
- Right to set fire, destroy villages take oppression, against all tribe or population, if, it had become known, that, the some people had been marking conspiracies or preparation against British rule.

For further detail, read " History of Balochistan" and even understand the F. C. R., operating till now.

The so-called Primitive accumulation capital in Balochistan: Expropriations, exploitations under U.K.

The land, pasture, natural irrigation, fishing, water sources, trade, have been basic problematic elements of the Balochistan economy. Behind all colonial invasions; Khan's all estate rulers expeditions, against their own tribes; Most of inter-tribal wars; elitist conflict between "Khan" the despotic monarch and "Sardars" emerging tribal aristocracy; British colonial process and leasing of fertile lands (i.e Nasir abad, Bolan, Dhader Kachhi), one of the basic economic nerves includes the basic means of production (in Balochistan case, were the pastoral areas, cultivated lands, fishing coast, water sources and trade,) and basic means of subsistence.

How, and when, under what conditions and under which political policies, the people of Balochistan, has been expropriating since long time? Specially in the period of British imperialist colonisation, when

<<The very first steps of capitalist development in Balochistan from the beginning of twentieth century. >>
[13]

It was the period, when, capitalism entered into its highest and last stage---the imperialism, and the colonialism of Great powers, turned into imperialist colonial system, the most, reactionary, cruel, system of domination, subjugation and exploitation, for formal colonial—semi-colonial and dependent countries, and in this period, the colonial stage was characterised by "N.A Simoniva", the soviet orientalist, as the third phase of colonialism when << Industrial entrepreneurship is transformed order of succession, and at different periods.>> [16]

In Balochistan, the nature of so-called primitive accumulation of capital was extremely slow, zigzag complicated one, having different phases (non-complete, also at a different period, at one place, the power of capital with the introduction of capitalist relations (as in case of Fishery) slowly, gradually, converted all small or community fish producers, into fishermen, the labours (i.e as case in Karachi, Somiani, Pasni etc), expropriated them,

from basic means of production, the only means of subsistence, other place, the imposition of heavy taxes, taxes, revenue from kind to money form, while in the conditions of the lack of public work etc. utilisation of force; imposed extra work on colonial, or granted to chief's land; usage of force, legislations, traditional institutions; turned bulk of the turning a good pastoral zones into so-called grazing forms (actually officers hunting form) or imposition, procurement of grazing taxes by colonizer, their agent tribal chiefs, and other cruel methods, burning of villages, destruction of communal rural industries by military oppressions, in the name of keeping law and order all this and other colonial methods, expropriated, ruined, bulk of cultivators, nomadic flock owner tribes, artisans --- thus, started turning them into day-labourer, or agriculture-labours, but the lack of jobs, industries, created a pre-conditions for their migrations in more developed areas of Sindh, Punjab, but this process, not took once, for even it took time, even, sharpen now-a days but at the same time, the alien embryonic capitalist relations, (though deformed the economic structure, but did not directly to the territories of colonies and semi-colonies"[14]

Though, Balochistan, in this period found itself, in the 2nd phase of colonialism, because the export of capital, was actually the building of 1000 miles railway, extraction of mines, (oil, coal, chrome), and establishment of irrigation system in Nasir abad regions, for cotton, and other cash crop production, to supply those textile mills, industries, which were already started in British India, and British itself specially, the chrome to British war industries, when it was badly needed, during 1st war, as our retired brigadier S. Usman Hassan, writes about Pakistan's colonial masters, that,

<< When, during 1st world war, Britain badly needed this metal it laid a railway line, from Bostan to Muslim bagh ... Once 2 million tonne of chrome was extracted...the

English, sold its companies in the hands of Pakistanis, after Pakistan's creation. [15]

So, the Balochistan was turning into the second phase of colonialism---as a raw material supplier to metropolitan Britain, according to given many factors. Objective and subjective, the British capital rule was becoming welded with the traditionalistic tribal-cum-feudal particularistic ruling (spiritual-judicial) system in Balochistan.

Using Marxist methodological principles, the Question (so-called primitive accumulation of capital in Balochistan, varies some specific features, it happened then India, because,

As Marx said, that, "the history of primitive accumulation... in different countries assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different eliminated and disintegrated the pre-capitalist relations, but even, due to "preservation (of these relation) policy, which once again confirms K. Marx factual wording taken from reality that, << the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire>> [17]

Socio-Economic Structure and the exploitation of masses.

Colonial and colonial- feudal economy.

- a) The Land question----Expropriation and Exploitation.
K.Marx, in its famous work "capital" which is actually the dialectic-materialistic approached, work in Marxist-political economy, which is the main core in Marxist work, a strongest weapon in the hands of w-class and its allies, against capitalist mode of production, for qualitative new, in-exploitative mode of production---socialism-communism through revolution.

In this investigated work, Marx, laid down the Marxist methodological principles of deeply understanding of the phenomenon (the capitalist mode of production) in its essence, in the essence's motion, in the analysis and synthesis, in the unity of historical-logical.

In the Vol - I of the capital, ch. XXVII, K.Marx showed the Expropriation of Agricultural population from the land>>.

We use this work, as a methodological prepositional work for our investigation and also, their creative application in our conditions (the conditions of Balochistan under British whole influence, partially rule), and also use, Marx, in this work, "the legislation against expropriators" "the so-called primitive accumulation of capital".

Pre- British period, in Balochistan, there was the following land ownership, as in many oriental countries with some distinctions.

- a) State ownership "Khan's ownership of the Land.
- b) Communal tribal---- granted by govt. for "Game Lashker"⁸⁰
- c) Private (communal tribal) common property ownership of tribe.
- d) Estate ownership (Mekran, Kharan, Las Bella); the revenues, were, had to be distributed among the local rulers and central state "Kalat"
- e) Private; Government granted lands to pirs, saints, Mirs, Sardars, Seyed, Mullah for required services or other in the shape of Jageers.

⁸⁰ Grant of land, by state, to tribe as a whole, for the provision of soldiers or services in the Khan's army.

But after British colonial invasions, concluded with unequal imposed treaties, specially based, contract based treaties, (getting of Shall -Bolan region, Nasir- abad, Noshki, and control on agency territories, Marri- Bughti- areas .Sibi, Kachhi, incorporating of Pushtoon territories, and declaration and annexation of British Balochistan, radically, even fundamentally changed the land ownership in Balochistan, and from feudal-communal ownership in feudal- colonial economy, by British Bourgeoisie, using K. Marx expression, <<.... The fraudulent transfers of the state domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan properties, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive- accumulation. >> [18]

For the maintenance army interests, railway laws, colonial administrative spending, and the extraction and procurement of such taxes, revenues, had dressed in Parliament decisions, legislative orders, welfare names etc. but inspite of all these sheds and colourings of Bourgeoisie civilisation, the colonial plundering, the expropriation of the small producers from their means of production, and to turn them into wage- slaves, for surplus- value- for profits, monopoly profits, as Marx said, that,

<< The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilisation is unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes necked. >>[22] they are the defenders of property..."

The barbarism of the so-called civilised Britain, while checking their own compiled reports, in "Balochistan" through the ages (consist of British Gazetteers). The primitive accumulation can be vividly seen, basing ourselves on colonisers, Government reports, and other historical materials, we can conclude the following.

- Till 1901-1903, most of the land cultivators had cultivated by the small owners (tribal common property includes). Only the state or the lands of Nawabs, Sardars, Jam, Mir families, (Nawab of Kharan, Nawab of Mekran, Lasbella, and Khan's family among pushtoon Nawab of Jogazai, and other big landowners) had cultivated through tenants, and servile dependents. The existence of day labourers were, just nothing, but

In << 1931, we find a substantial section of tenants and labourers (22.4 and 7.7 percent respectively of all families engaged in agriculture) even though more than a half (52.4 percent) of Balochistan peasants were still cultivating their own estates...>> [23]

So, the only change was, the transformation of feudal forms of exploitation, with feudal tax-collecting traditional system by colonial, that is imperialist colonial forms of exploitation, with modern tax collecting system, a most organised and tyrannical forms of robbing, though, the latter methods is connected, with the most subordinated feudal tax- revenue extractive system, due to the specific conditions.

It was actually, the displacement of feudal large-scabland ownership (Baloch feudal state) by imperialist colonial ownership. It also, ruined handicraft and artisans.

According to Yu. Gangovsky. That, the << taxes rose 82% in Sibi region between 1879-80 and 1902-03, and 350 percent in 'Quetta region between 1882 and 1895. One of the reasons is that taxes were collected in kind (wheat) to supply the British troops. >> [20]

In India, the land tax was also highly construction of railway for Military purposes, spending on Burmese war,

spreading of colonial administration system, decline of cotton, after American civil war, Expenditure, on II Anglo- Afghan war and also other factors, the tax system revenue and tribute collecting methods became more cruel and high, in order to meet the colonial expenses. The structure of the colonial administration's tax budget gives clear ideas... From 1897 to 1902, land tax accounted for 37.4 percent, the salt tax for 12.1 percent, revenues from opium 8.9 percent, excise 7.9 percent, duties 6.8 percent, stamp- duty and post tax 6.7 percent, income tax 2.7 percent, forest tax 2.4 percent, local taxes 5.3 percent etc.... the share of land tax being the high>>.... [21]

The above, table shows, that, the British colonisers considered taxes in these periods, a mainstay.

K.Marx's this generalisation, taken from the real processes of primitive accumulation in England, while applying this formulation, creatively in Balochistan (British colonial era) we, vividly see from the history, and available materials, one can easily find, usurpation of state lands, occupation of common tribal lands, expropriation of small commodity producers, fishermen, artisan breeders cultivators of their means of subsistence.

In British Balochistan (many parts had taken on lease, Quetta Bolan, Nasirabad, Nushki, Agency territories and pushtoon areas incorporated, thus British established direct colonial rule in 1887.) after establishing direct colonial rule:

- a) The system of ownership of land in pre-British Balochistan have changed, (fraudulently, by the methods of primitive accumulation,) after British colonial rule, which brought thousand times more suffering, misery, than before which served a role of catalyst, for colonial, National and class oppressions, on the toiling masses.

- b) The Balochistan (feudal monarchical) state ownership of lands were fraudulently (though different unequal, imposed treaties) usurped by colonizers; and the system of traditional tax, revenue collectors (five or force labour imposers, completely or partially subordinated by modern system of tax, revenue collections. The British colonial tax collecting system), thus tenants became colonial (but modern serfs) serfs, a cultivator, labouring force, a surplus-product producers for feeding of British colonial organs; arduous labour, with primitive old implements the state land tenants, became free from freedom << as Marx said << there new freedmen, became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of productions, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements>> [19].

But in the British Balochistan, more than half of population had been ousted from their means of productions, through different ways and means. They had been turned tenants, day labourers, or migrated towards the towns for search of jobs.

- c. The land question was further aggravated when in order to make, landowners tribal aristocrats and money lenders her social pillar for UK colonial rule in Balochistan the private land ownership was legalised which resulted in:-
- a. Expropriation of lands from peasants, by tribal colonial aristocrats.
 - b. Usurpation of most of fertile land by landowners and moneylenders:
 - c. Usurpation of fertile part of tribal Communal lands by their chief's in the
 - d. Pro-colonial, anti-people activities, of British agents (sardars, Khan's Mirs, etc.) increased in

order to get landed estates, prizes, titles etc from UK, imperialism, for the anti-people service.

That is why in Balochistan (British & Kalat) even, the revenues and tax extraction from chiefs, landowner pro-British social fillers, were very much meagre, in comparison to others, which further stimulated colonial service from the side of upper crust.

- e. But on the other hand according to Y. Gangovsky, that <<

The Baloch often rose up in arms to resist colonial, feudal and money lender oppression>>

- d: Pro-British tribal chiefs, the members of so-called Jirgha the Mirs, saints etc, were granted lands, honorary titles, allowances etc. For the great service to UK colonial administration, by dispossession of peasants, or usurpation of state lands, which raised the number of tenants, day labourers, villages, even migrations increased.
- e: The tyrannical rule of sardars Khans over tribesmen, tenants, artisans, colonial government and their anti-people policies encouraged shepherds, etc.

SOCIO-CLASS STRUCTURE OF BALOCHISTAN IN BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD:

The Multi-structural and patriarchal economy of Balochistan with heterogeneous compositional non-class or semi-class developing population, was on the one hand diametrically different of that metropolitan colonial countries, but, also in some aspect different in many eastern colonies.

The class relations, and their development process was, very weak, non distinctive, marginal one, even from nomadic to tenancy and day labourer and again from this to nomadic life due to many factors, but if so, the day labourer was deep rooted influence and relations with traditional institutions and specially due to colonial tyrannical polices, these marginal ties pre-feudal ones more strong. The other factor was slow, uneven, and limited (population and regional level) development of capitalist relations.

In 1945, the colonies of imperialist power sprawled on a territory of 38.6 million-sq. k.m. with a population of over 670 million that is about 30 percent of the worlds land area and population. [28]

So in this period that is in 1947 the formational structure of Baloch society was:

- Pre-feudal relations

A. Strong survival of communal tribal relations

Feudal-semi-feudal relations

A. In Balochistan neither slaves, nor-feudal as a system was established, but the communal tribal, slave owning feudal relations had been travelled side by side for a long time.

- Capitalist relations

- Capitalist relations, with very embryonic naive form

Colonial economic relations

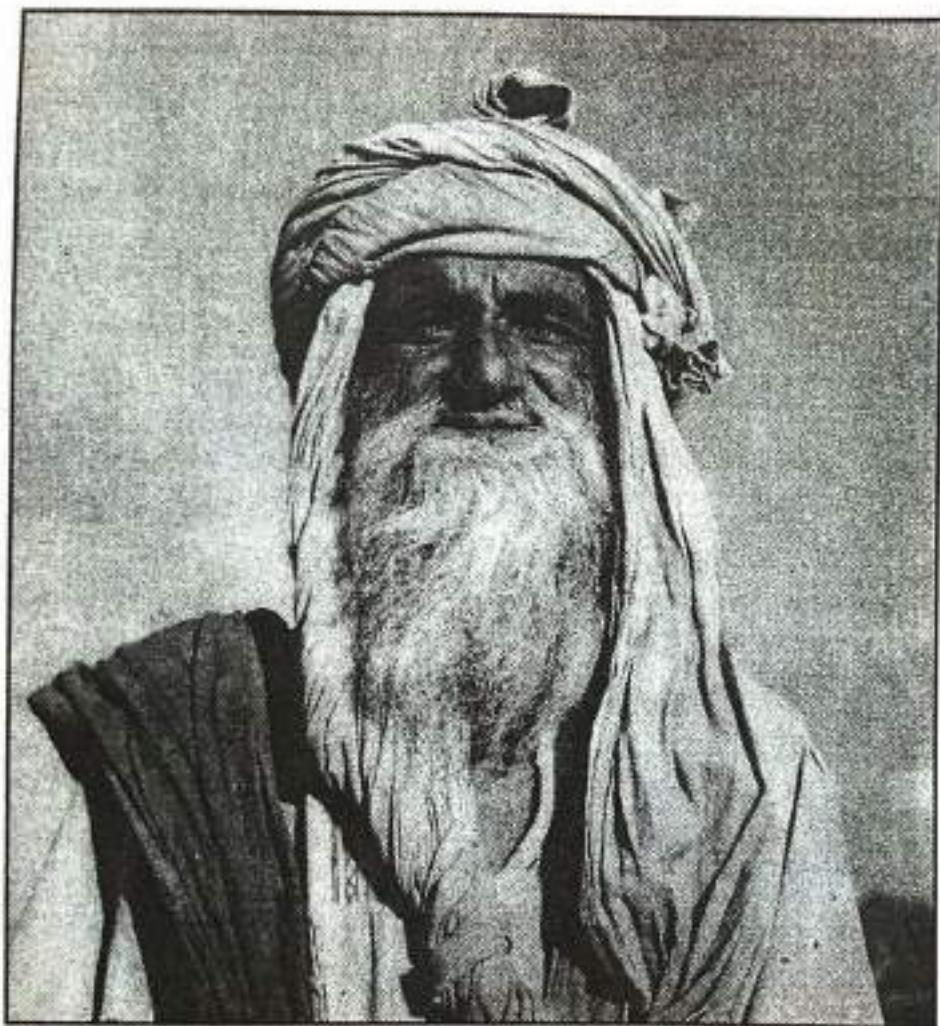
- Colonial and semi-colonial economic relations were pre-dominated.

So, social structure of society was the old communal and traditional social structure was connected with very weak, embryonic modern one gave the following picture of social structure.

Nomad and semi-nomads:

The term nomads, itself, does not designate any class, but in its composition it carries classes and marginal ones (like shepherds, flock owners, (rich, small or petit.) tenants, day labourers, including "shat bazgars">> (that is agricultural labourers) which symbolises, all the non-settler population, wondering in search of fodders and work but semi-nomads are those who were mostly semi settlers, tenants, peasants, flock owners, also shepherd, day labourers.

The more than 50 percent of population of Balochistan was nomads and semi-nomads.



Typical Baloch Tirbal man.

The Shepherd:

The shepherd were numerous, more arduous labourer class in nomads, and non-nomad population which flock or graze, others cattle in very hard conditions, but was receiving in kind, very meagre wage yearly, that is 1/10 or one chap on every 10 cattle "Yak Khordae Sara. The flock owner had to choose one small sheep over ten, according to its benefit. The shepherds were ruthlessly exploited ones in Balochistan, and had militant potentialities in armed struggle against colonizers, among the tribal nomads. Among shepherd camel, horse, sheep and cattle grazers had to be found

Flock owners:

a) Rich flock owners:

These rich flock owners were, either tribal chiefs, Khan's, Mirs, Jams, Nawabs, (the upper tribal crust) which had flocked there cattle and sheep, by keeping a hard worker, a shepherd in most places from the self-created lower levels of the tribes, in order to exploit than ruthlessly.

b) Petit or middle flock owners:

Among the majority of the nomadic or semi nomadic tribes, had small or petit cattle owners. Though among the bulk of the cattle breeder tribes there was small flock owners. They themselves grazed their flocks. Some of them had also worked as a day labours, a field worker, while moving into cultivated areas, especially during the harvest season. Some semi-nomadic tribes had assumed or preferred cultivation of the given common tribal plot or worked as a tenant for time being.

But due to colonial, semi-colonial and feudal cum tribal chiefs- polices, lack of grazing facilities spreading of diseases, and droughts, these small flock owners after

ruining, became day labourer, field worker, or tenants (land less) and pauper. So the marginalising processes of small flock owners, into day labourer, field or road workers, or after migration into Mills workers or tenants could be seen vividly. But on the contrary, some time the reverse process also observed.

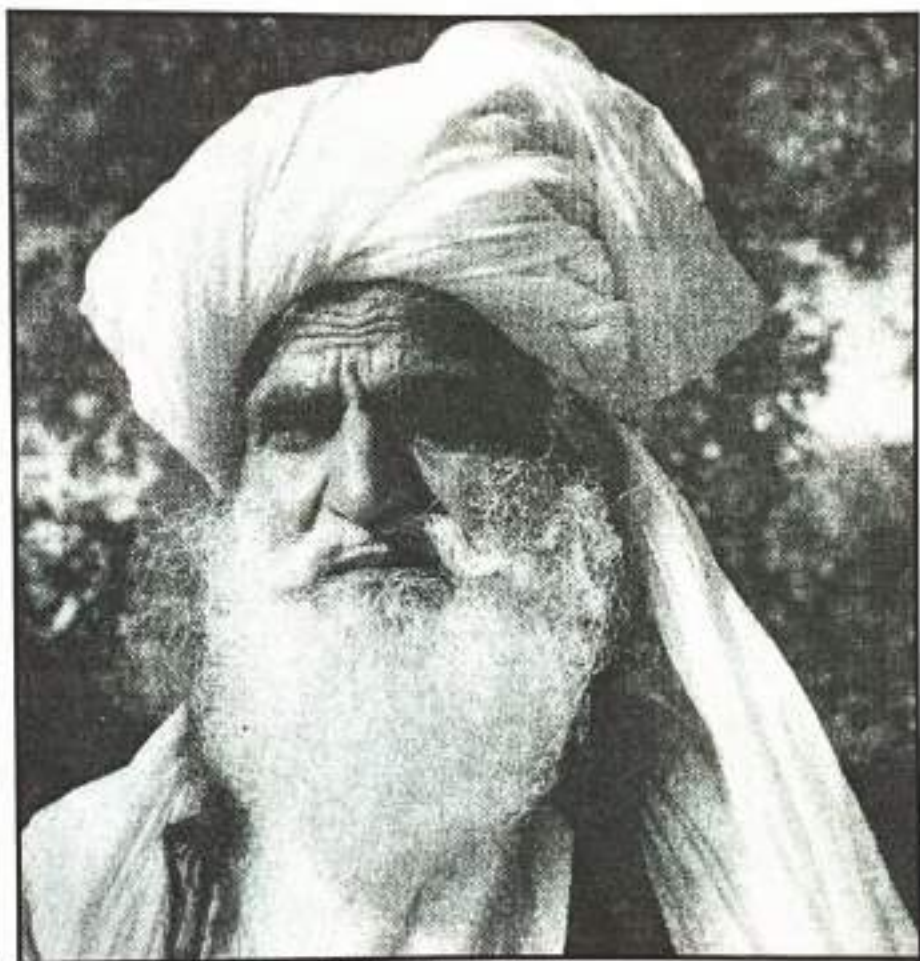
Tribal Chief Feudal type landlords:

Among the feudal (oriental type) class, there were feudal, in the shape of "Khan" "Nawabs", "Jam" and landlord sardars and also landowner religious feudal hierarchy, "Pirs" "Saints etc. Mostly these classes were the upper exploitation classes of Balochistan, which owned the best plots of lands, the best water resources, the revenue tax collectors, the possessor of the peasants, tenants, dependent servants, shepherds, the actors or procurators of "force labour" labour rent, or rent in kind' and these classes were the upper ruling classes of Balochistan and also the collaborators, the compromisers and the agents of colonial authorities.

Petit-commodity producers; or petit owners:

The bulk of the Balochistan population was small commodity producers, among them small fish producers, small traders peasants, small flock owners, Artisan, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, small date producers, weavers, transporters (mostly camel owners working as transporters or "Ushtir-Kash")

The bulk of the day and field labourers, workers (mine, mill, road etc) tenants, emigrants workers and also semi-proletarians and pauper, bandits, thieves hired killers of sardars lower civil servants, drivers etc, come in the marginalisation process from the ruined small producers, but as a working class, with a class consciousness these ruined elements or workers did not develop but some how its processes started in emigrant Baloch workers in sindhh, Punjab ideas of tribalism, psychology of patriarchal



A Typical Baloch Tribal Leader .

traditions, petit owning were governing their minds. According to the data taken from the table 1 of Soviet writer Ibrahimov P-11 Pub. Moscow, 1973 (30)

The total labour force in Balochistan (1951) Just after Britain's breaking chains was 354/000 among them 3,500 were engaged in fish production, 4,200 in mining, 35,200 in construction, 16,200 in trade, 5,200 in transport, 14,000 in civil services and 9,500 in lower civil services and 260,300 in agriculture.

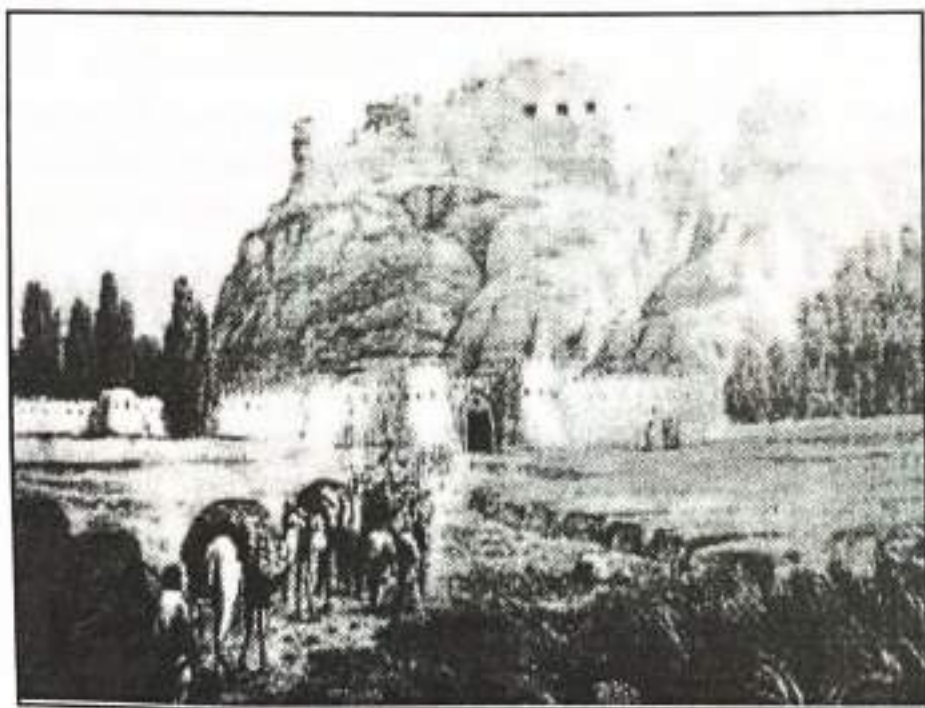
While in Semi-colonial Balochistan, the total labour force was 168,800, among them 1,375 were engaged in agriculture, 3,500 in fishing, 600 mining, 12,800 in construction; 5,200 in trade; 2,500 in transport; 2,900 in civil services; 2,900 in lower services, and 800 in others.

These data show: -

- The development of capitalist relations, and reviving of small producers were developing in British Balochistan while in semi-colonial Balochistan, the emergence of capitalist relations, were non perceptible and marginal socio-economic relations, deforming of natural development of capitalist relations, by the monarchical semi-colonial policies, functioned as an internal factor. Thus, brought misery backwardness and sufferings to the masses. The colonising and semi-colonizing processes brought unevenness in socio-economic and political development in the country

Aims Behind colonial settlements:

British colonizers, paid much attention, in colonial settlements, the " only 15.8 percent of the urban population were native of Balochistan, the rest having come from behind the frontiers either as British soldiers and service men or as persons catering for British army and administration.>> [25]



Meeri Shal (Quetta Fort) in 1836 before leasing to UK by Khan of Baloch .

According to the following data, compiled by the author, from the book "through the ages." Vol: II Pub. 1901

British Balochistan

Quetta and Pishin	= 18,682
Zhob	= 6,216
Sibi	= 5,547
Bolan	= 1,707
Loralai	= 6,542
 Total:	 = 38,694

More than 38,694 English, Irish, Punjabees Gujratoes, Aroras, and other non-indigenous population of colonisers. All these were serving in colonial administrative security etc.

The main aims through colonial settlements were as follows:

- a) To exercise colonial political power properly by establishing colonial administration, through non-native population of Balochistan.

For example: - in

Defence	=	2,708
Personal house Holding and Sanitary	=	1,150
Food drink and Stimulations	=	435
Textile and fabrics	=	1,504
Transport wood & Can work	=	268
Commerce under Earth work & labour	=	1,164
Administration	=	1,021
 Total	 =	 20,152
Compiled from the book "through the ages" - 1901		

- b) To establish colonial towns and their control, through colonial settlers, for the monopolisation of Trade, Business, (import export) marketing etc, and to make formation of Baloch Bourgeoisie very much difficult.

Relations could ... allow part of the land lords to strike out on their own as traders and money lenders and there by gradually go- bourgeoisie." But their efforts would stumble on the monopoly which the Sindhi, Gujrati, and Punjabi traders and money lenders, in intimate contact with the British capitalists, enjoyed in the internal market and in the domain of credit and monetary operations. Hindus from Sindhi and Khojas from Kach controlled whole sale trade in the state of Kalat... The agents of the Shikarpur firms controlled trade in Sibi; the same applied to Las Bella and other areas of Balochistan." [26]

This process, led to the ruining of artisans, fishermen petit fish producing families in coast of Mekran, Karachi, Somiani, only in British Balochistan, in 1921- 1931 the number of artisans decreased by 63 percent and almost all the fish producing families or individuals slowly and gradually lost their basic means of production, marketing, and trade, after monopolisation of fish industry by Bourgeois Khojas, and gradually became wage worker fishermen for the wealthiest Khojas, Memons and Agha Khanees.

Using K. Marx expression from "capital" that << the smell of their fish rose to the noses of the great men. They scented some profit in it...>> [27]

After smelling profitable perfume from Baloch small fish production, the Khoja, Memon, Agha Khans capital tied with UK capital, though their power of wealth, colonial administration.

- c) To utilise Indian Labour force, mostly in railway, transport road work etc. had aimed at
- Blocking the ways of development of Baloch working class, creating jobless atmosphere, disuniting workers, forcing local population to migration in Sindhi and Punjab for extreme cheap labour.

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For Example only 6% of all the Balochistan population were engaged in different work, while 94% of colonial population were on the work.

But, the process of expropriation of agricultural population, in one or another form, from the soil, ruining of nomads, and fish traditional industries, was, actually the so-called primitive, accumulation of capital in oriental style, increased the number of villages, tenants, day labourers, etc.

For example:

Quetta- Pishin had 329 villages & Killis in 1901, in Sq. mile 5, 127, an increase of 45 percent pop. From 1891-1901.

Loralai District possessed 245 villages in 1901, in Sq. 9, 626 miles, since British occupation 69 new villages established,

In Zhob, 69 new villages, in Bolan 224 villages, in Chaghi 40 new, etc.

<u>Work fields</u>	<u>Quetta</u>	<u>Bolan</u>
<u>Sibi</u>		
Transport & storage (railway)	488	1,
449		
Earth work and general labour	278	462
Railway		
Administration (Police, clerks, Levis)	73	84
Defence		
	239	
Personal house hold and sanitary Service		67
1, 409		
Building (Masson)		47
Light, fuel & fodder		38
Food, drink etc.		
Commerce	34	
Independent		14
		32

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Agriculture	85

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Agricultural and artistic profession	46
Others	31

- (d) With foreign population, the UK colonizers brought new productive relations, as well as westernized model colonial rule, the administration, the defence methods (Army + Police secret forces) all educational system (limited only for colonial foreigner settlements) new productive forces, railway, manufacturing factories, trade etc. but all these were deformed, one sided structure of Balochistan economy in colonial (British) period, this one sided non- comprehensive development, only development in a few branches, in few towns, in the entire interests of the colonizers and their imperialist masters, pushed Balochistan indigenous population into nomadic, pastures, strongly preserving pre- feudal relations, and after ruining them, at least turned them into arduous cheap labour force for extraction of coal, chromites, oil, production of fish etc. in more harsher conditions, in order to exploit wage workers fully in case of migration to Sindh and Punjab.
- (e) As Soviet scientist "Glery Shirokov" mentions that,
 << The use of colonial methods of exploitation ...Involvement of eastern countries into an international division of labour...Wide reliance on non – economic methods of compulsion... and the wide conservation of pre capitalist and transitional forms of socio- economic relation.....These relations limited both the scopes of possibilities of a transition of local capitalism into more mature forms. >> [29]

In semi-colonial, dependant Balochistan (Kalat State) its low level of development, and backwardness, was the result of mutual penetration, and mutual strong influences and combination of external and internal factors, in which

semi-colonialism, very slow, gradual growth of capitalist relations from above non-development, policy of UK, and preserving policy of feudal and patriarchal relations, functioned as an external factor. While prevailing feudal, pre-feudal

CHAPTER 2

Paragraph III

GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND ITS LASTING IMPACTS ON DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI- COLONIAL NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND GENESES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN BALOCHISTAN:

1905-07 Revolution in Russia;
and its impact upon Balochistan:

With the shift of the head quarter of the revolutionary movement to Russia, in the turn of the century, in the age of imperialism, due to previous socio- economic developments and surmounting contradiction, << namely, The most backward system of land lordship and the most ignorant peasantry on the one hand, and the most advanced industrial and finance capitalism on the other. >> (Lenin) [1]

The acute class struggle, peasant revolts and national uprisings; Rich revolutionary experiences and traditions of the popular masses; the influences of European workers movement, (scored successes by Marxism) on Russian revolutionary movement; impact of V.I. Lenin's and others politico- ideological profound work; the acute socio- political and economics crises during Russo- Japanese war; Revolutionary crises and discontent among masses; (strike etc.)

All these factors caused, 1905, Revolution using expression of V. I. Lenin, that,

<< Dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people, >> [2] But this Revolution (1905-07) also played a significant role of catalyst, in awakening and arousing of millions of oppressed nations, and down trodden masses, in colonies and semi- colonies, in their fight for political emancipation all around the world, specially in Asia.

" World capitalism and the 1905 movement in Russia have finally aroused Asia. Hundreds of millions downtrodden and benighted have awakened from medieval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy.>> [3]

The manifestation of the 1905, Revolution deep imprints, on the movements of East, was bourgeoisie revolutions in semi- colonies, and upsurge and momentum of National liberation movements. The Revolutions in Turkey, China and Persia,⁸¹ and revolutionary upsurges in India, in the Dutch colonies etc. once again confirm the deep everlasting influence of the Russia Revolution (1905) as an external factor.

The Chain of anti- colonial, anti- imperialist in its form, and anti- feudal, national uprisings, revolts, the fierce armed resistance to UK- colonial forces, in Balochistan, though isolated, non- centralised spontaneous, with great traditional, militant tribalist influence, from 1880- 1902, in different regions, have got moral encouragements, and momentum form 1905-07 Russian revolution specifically, and from the revolution in Turkey, Iran, and from the upsurge of National liberation in British India, generally;

These stormy revolutionary events in East, the Russian Revolution of 1905, even put everlasting influences, and even, in the changing the direction, enriching the potential content of anti- colonial national struggle on the revolutionary armed revolts of the people of colonial

⁸¹ Revolutions in Iran (1905-11), Turkey (1908-09), China, (1911)

(British Balochistan) semi- colonial (Kalati Balochistan) Balochistan in 1906, specifically on "the revolts of 1906-1908 (Jhalawan), 1910, 1914, 1915, 1916,"⁸²

As Gangovsky, clearly mentions that,

<< The Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and the subsequent revolutionary events in Iran and India had a far-reaching effect on the anti- imperialist and anti- feudal movement of the Balochi people. >>[4]

The objective conditions and specific causes behind these peoples resistance:

Using V.I. Lenin's methodological preposition, that, <<actual cognition of the cause is the deepening of knowledge from the externality of phenomena to the substance.>> [5]

All revolutionary uprisings, and revolts, though unorganised, spontaneous, dispersive, isolated regionally, but these were not the "events" or "effects" which had no causes, their specific causes had lied in the given material objective conditions, out side the mind and consciousness of the oppressed and colonised people of Balochistan, neither these "events" were the will of any militant national heroes.

In brief the following were the objective conditions and factors, which resulted anti- imperialist anti- colonial national revolts, in a most cattle- breeder backward country;

1. The presence of semi- feudal, pre- feudal, tribal communal, relations of production, with the most backward, the most suffered downtrodden masses of Balochistan, on the one hand, and , the imposed colonial, semi- colonial capitalist relation (embryonic) with the feudal, monarchical forms of exploitation on

⁸² For further detail see, "History of Balochistan" by Gul Khan Nasir.

the other hand, show the main contradiction behind these events

2. The contradiction between the previous tribal-communal political traditionalistic institutions, and the UK's modern colonial administrative state political institutions collaboration with Baloch tribal-feudal ruling institution and the latter anti people measures in dismantling the former, natural rule in the country side.
3. Imposition of heavy taxes⁸³, forced labour, forceful recruitment for 1st war, extra fine burdens, manifold revenues, by colonial and semi- colonial revenue collectors, with the strong burden of "Khan", "Jam" and "Sardari" taxes.
4. Traditional militancy experiences and influence of past anti- foreigner acute armed resistance of the popular masses.
5. The influence and impacts of Russian Revolution of 1905, the revolutionary changes in Iran, Turkey, India, Afghanistan and the impact of Great October socialist revolution, as an external factor.
6. Influence of "anti- foreigner" resistance events, in different Baloch tribes and regions, and subsequently, traditional national response for militant solidarity. Specifically, the cruel colonial rule and actions raised the national political awareness, which resulted in unfolding into mass spontaneous resistance.
7. Influences of, anti- British upheavals, in Turkey, India, "Khalafat tehreek" etc. on Balochistan, during First World War.
8. Influence and everlasting impact of Great October socialist revolution on politico- ideological awareness, creation of political party, and anti-imperialist, anti-colonial resistance of the national liberation, specifically spread of socialist ideas in Balochistan, though in naïve and immature forms, basically was revolutionary democratic ideas.

⁸³ For taxes from kind to money, ruined peasantry brought paupers and unemployment.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, 1917, and Politico- ideological genesis in Balochistan:

The Great October socialist revolution of 1917 in Russia, the first successful socialist revolution, which ushered and geared a new, modern epoch, the main content of which is transition from capitalism to socialism and communism; 1st time in the history of mankind, raised the red flag of socialism, national liberation peace and progress higher and higher (in the real meaning of the word) provided a beacon and mainstay in the awakening of oppressed masses of Asia, Africa and Latin American for national liberation revolutions, which provided a revolutionary torch in the hands of working class of Europe and other continents for complete class emancipation, because,

<< The Russian model that reveals to all countries something- and some thing highly significant- of their near and inevitable future... and the international significance to mean the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale.>> (Lenin) [6]

October revolution pushed imperialism and capitalism deep into crises, with the changing of << radically the political and socio- economic aspect of the one of the biggest powers, elevated the international liberation movement to a higher plan, "charted the road to socialism for the whole world, (Lenin) and has shown the bourgeoisie that their triumph is coming to the end. A new chapter began in the history >> (said in the theses of CC of CPSU ON THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE V.I Lenin) [7]...The liberation of the dependent peoples from colonial and national oppression ... the over throws of the power of the exploiters and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat...>> [7]

The Great October revolution gave ever lasting imprints on the national liberation movements in the East, in the directing and correcting their orientation goat setting politico- ideologically, against imperialism and their colonial exploitative system, provided an objective link of unity between soviet power (the socialist revolution) and national liberation revolutions, for their more successful, energetic efficiency against world imperialism, as Leninism emphasised, that a real <<policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest alliance with soviet Russia of all the national and colonial liberation movements.>>

The October revolution, also sparked off, generated new enthusiasm deepened the anti- British, anti- colonial national liberation struggle of the people's of Iran, Turkey, India, Afghanistan and Balochistan.

The more armed resistance and insurgents in the years of 1917-1928, got new impetuses, which sparked after October socialist revolution, and changes around Balochistan. Though all these rebellion movements (armed) failed, not achieved their goal, but they gave valuable lessons and generated a new phenomenon - the phenomenon of political struggle and establishment of political parties. The ideas of socialism started, influencing political life of Balochistan.

**The main causes of defeat of
Balochistan Peoples Armed Resistance
against British Colonial Domination:**

The following are the main objective causes, and subjective factors in unsuccessful character of the armed resistance of the toiling masses of colonial and semi-colonial Balochistan:

1. Socio-economic backwardness of the country; strong influence of the feudal, semi-feudal relations, and their system of bondage with colonial capitalist relations;
2. Presence of strong phenomenon as "Tribalism", "Chieftainship" and tribal aristocratic semi-feudal colonial administrative set ups, having subordinating character to British colonial state administration; the former served the interest of their own narrow-class and the interest of the latter, weaken, disperse, the national resistance.
3. The Baloch armed resistance movement, was spontaneous in its nature, mostly based on feudal national militant tribal traditional sentiments and psycho-ideology; and which was stimulated by traditional, tribal political institutions but under strong influence of tribalism, which impeded the unification of movement in the national scale.
4. The process of national formation, according to natural development was deformed, by introducing colonial policies by British, which led in the preservation of pre-bourgeoisie relations, and Archaic institutions, thus made national consolidation very difficult>> [8] and complex, which put negative effect on the national resistance.

As Gangovsky said, that,

<< Balochistan colonial dependence and socio-economic backwardness had a negative effect on the ethnic processes at work in the country>> [8]

5. The British colonial, capitalist economy, the colonial imperialist policies in this region, led to the uneven

socio- economic development, which effected political unevenness in the anti- British national resistance lackness of economic objective ground to movement gave birth to negative phenomenon- as tribal ethno-centralism; tribalism, and Chieftainship; pro-Britain tribal, feudal⁸⁴ elitist. All these brought non-patriotism, collaborative and compromising attitude of Baloch tribal chiefs, and ruling "Khan " "Nawab" "Jam" due to their class interests led, finally in the defeat of resistance movement,

As Gangovsky's quotation supplements, brightens and lightens, the above argument, that,

<< The country's socio- economic development was exceedingly un uniform...capitalist system came into its own only in the advanced, northern and north-eastern areas of Balochistan as a derivative of the British monopoly capital operating in the country. In other areas of Balochistan, feudal relations by out of - date clan- system survivals were predominated ... The feudal lordship.... To take advantage... to fortify there own position and disguise class contradictions, and the policy of British colonial authorities aimed at reinforcing their power through using inter - tribal feud and the bribing the Balochi exploiting top. >> [9]

6. The leading and guiding motive force, behind the resistance was some patriotic- minded tribal chiefs, the patriotic tribal heroes the small producer tribal militant fighters. They were not able due to the lack of political consciousness to unify resistance movement, and to bad it to its destiny lackness of goal - orientation, though many leaders sacrificed their lives, but many of tribal chiefs due to vacillating character, when their class interests met. They at once subordinated to colonial authorities and betrayed the liberation cause.
7. Lackness of progressive, minded, national political forces, and political parties, to unite, mobilises the

⁸⁴ The role of Khan of Kalat, the tribal chiefs was subordinated to the colonial rule.

masses against colonialism, imperialism, less than one national banner.

8. Lack ness of anti- imperialist national front.
9. Traditional militant fighting capabilities of Baloch masses had never changed into conscious organised methods of fighting remained spontaneous, semi-organised, and irregular non- centralised one.

Marxism- Leninism on Politics:

Importance and Need of Political struggle in colonial and semi- colonial Balochistan:

Marx- Engels and Lenin, provided a key methodological scientific, materialistic approaches on politics, political phenomena and on the political process, in which << Engels letters on historical materialism>>, Marx work << the capital>> "the class struggle in France" " the housing question, "Revolution and counter revolution in Germany", "the Eighteenth Broodmare of Louis Bonaparte" <<A contribution to the critics of political economy>> (Marx) "the civil war in France" Lenin, most of the works, specially, "state and Revolution" "Left wing communism and infantile disorder" "on trade unions" (in 1921 written). <<Once again on trade union and the mistakes of current situation and the mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin. >> (January 25, 1921) and many other.

All the classics of Marxism- Leninism latter on, communist and workers parties and scientists creativity developed the tenets of Marxism in realm of politics.

The most important tenets of Marxism in the realm of politics were formulated by famous soviet philosopher, a scientist "Dr. Fyodor Burlatsky"

head of the dept. of philosophy in the institute of social sciences of USSR. In the following way, in its work, "the Modern state & Politics"

<<First, the doctrine of basis and super structure, of the decisive impact of the mode of production of material goods on state, law and politics;

Second the doctrine of the reciprocal influence of state, law, and politics on economic and social life.

Third, the doctrine of class struggle, and in particular political struggle, as the basis of social development.

Fourth, the doctrine of the inevitable displacement of the bourgeoisie state and bourgeoisie politics by the socialist state and proletarian politics through revolution and the gradual withering away of the state and politics under communism. >> [10]

To better, profound and comprehensive understanding and analysis of politics, which is (the sphere and field of activity of relations of classes, part strata, and nationalities, the peoples, designing to win political power in the interest of a given class, nation or party; politics being an active element of super structure which in its turn exert active influence on economic basic, on over all social life.

Every economic basis, the socio- economic relations have their own corresponding superstructure, (which includes political, philosophical, artistic, ideological ethical, religious, and other views and institutions (state, courts, churches, etc.).

As Engels put in the letter to "Joseph Baloch" that, <<The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of super structure... also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical

struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. >> [11]

The Economic basis, which is the sum total of all production relations, the economic- social relations and structure of society, is ultimately decisive, in the final analysis, but the superstructure having a relative independent character of its basis though, the latter determine the content and essence of the superstructures, specially, politico- ideological superstructure and its all around make up, but different elements of superstructure, they have also character of relative independence, they influence each other, thus the superstructure as a whole, acquire the character of relative independence, therefore, it is always <<an active force influencing, in order to protect, reinforce and develop, all aspects of social life, including its own basis. >> [12]

That is why Lenin, called, the more active, plastic element of superstructure the politics dialectically showing the connection between politics and economics in its famous work "once again on trade union"

That, << Politics is a concentrated expression of economics... politics must take precedence over economics. To urge otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism. >> [13]

Lenin precisely shows, here,

- The dialectical correlation and connection between economic and political factor.
- The ultimately, in final analysis, the decisive factor, the economic on the make up and formation of politics.
- The most active, influential, reciprocal exerting influence of politics on economics.
- The Need of progressive, and revolutionary, politics and political struggle, in the salvation of the economic problems.
- "Politics is concentrated expression of economic,"

- By this Lenin shows the dialectical combination and interconnection of two categories politics and economics and over this the active role of "politics"
- To show, <<the key objective force of political movement, revolution and revolutionary transformation in the socio- economic laws of social development in which, the latter manifests itself in politics... objective law through their subjective- conscious form bring large numbers of people in political motion" [14] according to "Semyonov" a well known soviet philosopher.
- Lenin criticised, those who take meta- physical leftist, revisionist approach to such phenomenon as economic and politics.

K. Marx, in its famous work, "preface to contribution to the critics of political economy" provided the comprehensive profound and deep scientific answer, in correct understanding of:

- Materialist understanding of economic basis in relation to superstructure.
- The reciprocal influence of superstructure on economic basic.
- The ultimately decisive factor of mode of production, its basic contradictions, the contradiction between productive forces and productive relations.
- The law of social revolution.
- The law of the determining role of social existence in relation to social consciousness, said that,
<< In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations... namely relations of production... the totality of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of the society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions, the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that

determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production... From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The change in the economic foundation sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. >> [15]

In the above scientific preposition, consistent application of materialist view of history and strict Historicism.

Now question arises, about power, and its role in political struggle. In the class struggle and in the revolution, the role of state power becomes also at the fore, and paramount important, becomes objective necessity the main principle, "the basic sign of a revolution". (Lenin)

The main regularities of socialist Revolution and also of National liberation revolutions can not be fulfilled, otherwise, the seizure of political power and establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat (in socialist revolution) and dictatorship of the working people (in national-democratic revolution).

Because, the main feature of any revolution lies, in the transformation of state power from one class to another, from exploiters, to exploited, but by seizing.

The Bourgeoisie, or colonial, neo- colonial bourgeois, "state power" what ever, assumes forms, shadings or colourings, the main "essence" and "content" remains the same, to serve the bourgeoisie and other upper classes, against lower classes, to protect, preserve and develop the capitalist mode of production, the capitalist colonial, neo-colonial relations, thus, with out smashing of old out- dated power of the appropriators, the robbers, by the appropriated, and robbed, colonized classes, and social group, the main task of the revolution, to change the old, exploitative production relations, by the "new" non-exploitative, and the radical transformation of society could not be fulfilled, otherwise, as,

Lenin put it,

<< Marxism recognises a class struggle as fully developed, 'nation wide' only if it does not merely embrace politics but takes in the most significant thing in politics- the organization of state power."

Thus seizure and smashing of old power by progressive classes the vanguard of which is proletariat, is, and will remain an answer to the fundamental question of any revolution, and the answer would be incomplete and non-comprehensive, if the establishment of 'new' revolutionary power (dictatorship of the proletariat, or dictatorship of the working people) should not be considered, as the basic condition, for complete smashing, expropriation of exploiter classes, the change of production relations, and transformation and development of society. So, according to Borlatsky,

<< State power is the form of social power that has a class character, relies on special instruments of coercion and has a monopoly on issuing laws and other decrees obligatory for the entire population. >>[16]

In the period of Mir Azam Jan coronation (1931) and latter on, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan's taking semi- colonial power (1933-1948) under the auspices of UK's colonial vice-ray-Hind, Recognition of Khan's power, the "Kalat". Internal autonomy, declaration of Britain's policy's toward, 'Kalat', and suggestions by UK- colonizers, to modernise semi- colonial Kalat's administration, the establishment of "state council" (based on tribal chiefs), and even, formation of "House of Lord" and "House of common" in the Britain model in Kalati- Balochistan, during Ahmed Yar Khan Period, even introduction of many reforms like abolishment of slavery, heavy taxes, forced labour, modernising and promotion of trade, commerce, agriculture, and manufacturing, (but in a very limited, under capitalist imposed, semi- colonial and colonial relations).

All these, changes, and reforms, were superficial changes in the 'form' of semi- colonial, and colonial dependent

"state power" they did not change the "content" and essence of the colonial- and semi- colonial power of the UK- imperialism, because,

- The "essence" of the UK's colonial, semi- colonial power remained the same. The political rule, semi- colonial in Kalat", colonial in British Balochistan remained the same, but with new elements of political manipulation, due to many objective and subjective factor, aiming to strength the ties of semi-colonial power, with Archaic, and monarchical feudal, ruling institutions of Balochistan.
- It was, even not any profound changes in the super-structure, nor, it put an effective influence on economic basis, but it stimulated national liberation movement. No-doubt,
- The feudal monarchical cum tribal mobilistic rule, the power, remained, semi-colonial, dependent subordinated power by UK-imperialist rule over Balochistan. Thus undermining of national independence, sovereignty remained, even preserved, with a new more strong, but complex, contradictory 'form', due to the contradictory nature of the UK's colonial and semi-colonial power, controlling, directing preserving the traditional feudal power of the Baloch rulers.
- Though it exacerbated the anti-colonial anti-sardar contradictions, opened a way to more active politics.
- In this example question of "Power" as it is tested, by the experience of the entire socialist and National liberation revolutions in our time) had, is would be principle question of any revolution and revolutionary party.

Socio- economic conditions and political struggle in Balochistan, as an objective necessity:

Economic- basis and super structure:

Not only, obstruct notion, but also a concrete historical analysis, is first and for most needed here, while showing the dialectical interaction between economic basis and super structure in colonial and semi- colonial dependent Balochistan.

In pre- colonial, even pre- Nasir Khan's rule, there was some how, correspondence, between, economic basis and super- structure because of the dominant primitive-communal- tribal relations and the communal tribal organisation of the Baloch society was, some how, organically linked in a single socio economic organism, though, the disintegration and marginal class formation was, their but very embryonic latter on, this development reached into a stage, where we find Nasir Khan's state, the feudal oriental, but deep rooted with tribal communal relations, prevailing the Baloch society that time, it also, brought changes in political superstructure, which found reflection, in Hot government and then Nasir Khan I's feudal type state power as in tropical Africa (pre-colonial)

<< Disintegration process of the communal system and the formation of a class society of an early feudal or feudal type began the character of political super structure changed too, which found reflection in the emergence of big state associations and the consolidation of the power of feudal elements. ⁸⁵>> [17]

In the colonizing process, the UK- expansionist colonizers, due to the strategic importance of Balochistan as a "bridge head" showed, nothing interest even in the imposition of capitalist relations, thus preservation, and retaining of backward economy, its natural process of development was deformed, due to colonial yoke, the colonial predatory wars, against local population, destruction of productive forces, and losses of the men in National liberation wars.

But, when economic, trade importance of Balochistan (partically trade and raw material sources) and their badly

⁸⁵ Ghana, Nigeria, Bugard, Rwanda etc.

need for British India's and Britain's Industries, was felt, then construction of railway, extraction of coal, oil and Bariot (specially for 1st world war), was exceeded.

<< The amount of coal extracted rose from 122 tons in 1886 to 10, 300 tons in 1891, and 47, 300 tons in 1903.... The 1st enterprise of industrial type arose; four steam mills, one steam press and two refrigerators.....Mechanical & railways shops were built. In the period of 1st and second world war the extraction of chromites was a new large-scale development (over 21, 000 tons in 1903).>> [18]

Thus, the capitalist colonial economy was introduced, only in northern- part of Balochistan, which deformed the natural development of Balochistan economy, because, due to complete conquest of power or partial colonial rule, the inner process of socio- economic development remained backward, and the ruining of handicraft, artisan, commerce, the peasantry, brought pauperisation, marginal and migration of bulk of the population towards towns or Sindh-o- Punjab, thus, the country turned into raw material and agriculture appendage of metropolitan Britain.

This process, though sharpened the contradictions between capitalist colonial economy and extremely backward relations, between foreign traders usury capital, and foreign encroacher bourgeoisie and between local handicrafts, emerging traders, between the imperialist colonizers, and their rule and between masses of Balochistan,. Between the requirement of the limited capital and army of hired labour.

The political super structure in Balochistan was, after establishing colonial rule, was moulded and changed, and, also, the traditional archaic ruling institutions, and feudal power,⁸⁶ was connected, assuming a full subordinating colonial and semi-colonial character, just for the entire service of the UK's colonial and semi-colonial rule, so,

⁸⁶ oriental type

The designing of political colonial ruling structure was penetrated in such a way, that it put, an ever lasting imprints in controlling, paralysing and directing the local political traditional institutions for their service, thus, the latter turned, a mid subordinated traditional ruling chain, a heavy burden on the shoulders of the toiling masses, opened a multi-ways of oppressions and exploitations, main pillars for UK's colonial and semi-colonial rule over Balochistan.

Thus, there was not complete correspondence of economic basis, and super structure. The political super structure, using BRAG INSKY's expression that <which had to service the colonialists corresponded not to the entire economic basis but only to that part of it which was connected with capitalist production> [19] and case of Balochistan capitalists type and feudal type production.

The interaction between economic basis and superstructure, was not, like interent in Bourgeoisie society, it has due to emergent Multi-structural marginal economy the political super structure was corresponding on unleashed and developing (very embryonic farm) capitalist relations, and at least, to the feudal relations in the country.

While characterising, the political colonial super structure, that it was modern- colonial state machinery, which had capable to subordinate, exhaust or put in service, the traditional political institutions of "Khan" "tribal chiefs", "Mirs, "Nawabs" for the entire interests of the UK-imperialists, in order to;

- Suppress, national awareness, feelings politico-psychological climate for National liberation.
- Through, the "power" state, law colonial politics influence, those spheres of economy, which must serve foreign capital.
- Deprive, down trodden and oppressed people of Balochistan, by fundamental socio- economic politico-

national rights, by utilising the colonial and semi-colonial state apparatus.

- To press, palliate the anti-colonial, contradictions of Balochistan society, and to remove, as a pre-concrete a pre-conditions for removal, or at least, lessening of national upsurge, as Abxi Levkovsky, the soviet economist said, that,

<< The state super structure meets the interests of not all, but only some of the economic structures and some of the classes connected with them.>>
[20]

In Balochistan, the colonial state super structure met the interest of colonizer bourgeoisie class, the colonizers traders, usury capital, the landlords, tribal nobility, and feudal semi-feudal elitist circles.

But the alien political, colonial-semi-colonial political super structure, which was imposed by force, engagement and agreements, had a corresponding character with the economic basis of British, subordinated, but in case of British Balochistan, the national political traditional super structure was chopped off, paralysed, and by twisting it, complicately completely moulded it in service of the UK. And in case of semi-colonial Balochistan (Kalat state) the political super structure tribal-cum-feudal, and feudal type traditional institutions, were though, subordinated, had put in service of the colonial-semi-colonialism posed super structure, but at the same time there preservation and retainment, made possible to rule over the rest of Balochistan, through the subordinated forms of political super structure, having a strong imprint of UK's colonial, modern super structure.

This process was much complicated, non-stable and contradictory in its nature, and short lived-historically because, the multi-structured or

marginal nature of society, according to "Alexei LEVKOVSKY D. Sc. (ECO).

<< Is always relative and temporary, a more or less stable equilibrium between several structures in the socio- economic basis, it is realised and upset through a specific interaction of many classes (the class struggle) and is politically consolidated by the super structure, especially directly by state.>> [20]

So in, the colonial- semi- colonial Balochistan the political super structure including colonial, semi- colonial state, colonial law, economic policies, influenced quiet another way to the local economic basis, with the imposition of capitalist relation (only in few regions, that is its northern part just before and after 1st world war) amalgamated, subsequently, brought quite a new type of obstacles, contradictions and gave results. This influence of colonial and semi- colonial super structure, started hampering the natural process of economic development, creating obstacles << to both various flows of local capitalism and petrity- commodity production. >> (LEVKOVSKY), and as Gangovsky said,

<< The annexation of Balochistan by the British colonialists not only speeded up the development of commodity- money relations, but also paved the way for the conversion of the country into an agrarian appendage of the metropolis. The import of factory made articles (in the 1st place textile) was in steady progress; along side with higher taxation this led to a large scale bankruptcy of the local artisans, whose numbers dropped 63 percent during the 1921- 1931, period alone.>> [21]

Correlation between economic basis & Superstructure



**Acute contradictions & problems of
their salvation: (British colonial period)**

So, the acute contradictions in the economic basis; aggravated, on the one hand, the contradiction between colonial production relations, and prevailing economic relations, as a whole, between imposed capitalist, and traditional natural economy, on the other hand, contradiction between colonial monopolistic bourgeoisie, the alien traders, usury- capital and the local emergent traders, commercial national type, bourgeoisie.

The colonial economic relations, and introduction of capitalist relations (in limited, only in some parts of Balochistan, came into contradiction with the natural development, even capitalist type and petit- commodity producers.

The socio- class contradictions, between the colonial economic relations, and feudal, tribal relations, on the one hand, and, the peasantry, (land less, or ruined), working people day labourers, the fisherman, small commodity producers, shepherds. tenants, on the other hand.

All these, above, mentioned contradictions (having national and social character), in the multi-structured, socio- economic basis, found reflections in the (colonial and semi- colonial) super structure, in the given British colonial and semi- colonial state which generated serious contradictions, battle of old and new ideas, political, ethical, anti-imperialistic, anti- colonial, national, etc.

As, K. Marx, F. Engels, vividly mentioned in 1848, << when people speak of ideas that revolutionises society, they do, but expresses the fact, within the old society, the elements of new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old

conditions of existence ... The religious moral, philosophical and periodical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change.>> [22]

Thus, the set of contradictions, in the super structure, assuming slow, sharpening, conflicting character, in the shape of battle of ideas pro-imperialist, pro- colonial, tribal - cum- feudal, compromising political ideas, on the one hand, and anti- imperialistic, anti- colonial nationalistic, feudal patriotic idea and progressive political ideas politico- psychological ideologies, for power, dominance and liberation.

In the super structure due to the varied contradictory process, and to the nature, and class interest and class battles, the different tendencies, vividly observed and in the result of that different type quit differently.

For example, the imposition of colonial- semi-colonial political super structure (by force, or by diplomatic agreements etc.) on independent Balochistan, and dismantling, subordinating of existing political super structure or in many regions (where strategically or due to stronghold of National liberation resistance), retaining and preservations, even feeding of them, with new subordinated forms, resulted from one hand, with the process, the gradual submission of these archaic traditional political institutions of feudal type, tribal rule, due to their narrow class interests and vacillating character or due to the British pro-feudal pro- Sardar's policy of creating, strengthening, even legalising of private property as the Jagirs, titles, positions, in the colonial subordinated traditional power etc. by British imperialists, finally turned, all these institutions, in

collaboration and co operation with colonial state, and turned them in the service of their interests.

But, on the other hand, British these acts, were predatory negation of national traditional rule even limiting and curtailment of feudal "Khan" and tribal chiefs power over Balochistan, for their narrow- class interests dismemberment of the country annexation of British Balochistan; expansion of UK's rule even over Kalat, pro-current of the bulk of taxes; by colonial authorities; growing interference in the internal affairs, even traditional affairs; complete domination of foreign policy by UK, and non-respect of the agreements and treaties; control of trade etc. by UK traders or Indian, Sindhhees, Punjabees limited the power of "Khan's" , "Nawabs", "Mirs" etc. These found themselves, a meagre share holder, being Baloch's traditional rulers, in the robbing, exploitation of the oppressed masses and political power for governing over masses, which, subsequently, resulted in the sharpening of contradiction, within super structure, between'

- Feudal, monarchical, hereditary rule and colonial semi-colonial power.
- Feudal, monarchical cum administrative power and between archaic tribal nobilistic power, allied with British, even in many cases not allied.

The expression of these contradiction, can be seen in Sir Janson's (A.G.G to governor general) to report to govern-General British India, that,

" The new Khan, relatively would be strong and would considered its rights, to act according to 1876's agreement, and demand for all powers and liberty, to which this agreement provides, and, it is quiet possible that new "Khan" would demand to end our interference in their internal affairs, and

would limit our interference, in such, that is limited in agreement. The British government should not make a blunder, by giving, such autonomy, that the 1876's agreement provides it, such a backward state like Kalat in the borders of Sindhh and (Iran)>> [23].

These, contradictions, assumed sometime open conflicts, other times manifested in the forms of demands, for power or stopping of interference or restoration of 1876's agreement. The Ahmad Yar Khan monarch (1933-48) tried its best to get more autonomy, its link with Muslim league leaders; Balochistan, specially its own hereditist rule, he relied upon legal aspects of the struggle, kept its covert links, with Kalat state national party even Mir Azam Jan, Mehmood Khan also, tried to get support of tribal chiefs, the traders etc, to extend, and get more power, but due to their narrow, feudal class character, the manifestation of their feudal monarchical nationalism and so called feudal "Patriotism" drifted towards compromise, surrender of national interests, betrayals to national liberation and their patriotic character turned into protective and conservation nationalism of local oligarchies including "Khan" tribal chiefs, estate owners. "Nawab's Jams and colonial, semi-colonial bureaucratic elements, were connected with British encroachers these never pass off their interests as those of the whole nation.

As, Marx, very clearly put it in << Moralising criticism and critical morality>> that, < The five sound senses thus unanimously testifies that, the rule of the princes is the basis of the old society, of its gradation its prejudice and its contradictions>> [24].

The British colonizers, tried to palliate the contradictions, between the semi-colonial feudal elite, between Khan & Sardars between ruling elites, between Khan and English advisory political administration, by introducing and giving new suggestion, and reforms (the so called more democratisation) like, "state council '(consist of chiefs of the tribal chiefs) handing over more power to Sardars in Khan's ruling administrative or penetrative, and controlling through agent corrupt elitists bureaucratic elements like, prime minister of Kalat sir "Shams shah" etc.

Baloch society, as society in general, was not stagnant, but living dynamic organism, which is governed by natural historical laws of social development. Society being, the highest social form of motion of the matter, branched of nature and historically well developing form of human life. Men being a subject of historical process are not just as an "assembly", or "conglomerate" forming the system of society.

But in the course of purposeful activity and in production process, men enter into production relations (material, politico- ideological), are inseparable part of society. Society is always in developing, and it should be seen in its development. The nature, biological, demographical also put affects on society, but not decisive ones, like mode of production, economic basis and super structure, class struggle, political struggle's etc.

The colonial and semi- colonial yoke on Balpchistan, though, put negative influences in the natural development of society it created obstacles, deformed its economic structure, suppressed social struggle in the form of national upsurge, preserved backward, traditional economy but could not stop its development. The bourgeoisie national formation of Balochistan started, with the emergence, development of capitalist relations, with the emergence of local merchants, traders, small commodity producers, with hired labour force, workers, national intelligentsia.

Though, 1st these classes and marginal classes and social groups, like national traders, petty- bourgeoisie intelligentsia, and working labour force, with those Baloch and pushtoon areas, whom have incorporated or annexed in Sindh, Punjab, British Balochistan with British empire, and then in coast and Kalat areas.

So, after the emergence and development of these classes and social marginal, demographic groups, the contradictions in economic basis reflected in super structure, the contradictions between oppressed masses (Baloch and pushtoon and other) of Balochistan and UK colonial political rule, between the oppressed people classes and monarchical- feudal rule of Khan its bureaucratic feudal elitist segments and tribal- nobilistic tradition rules of "Sardars", "Khan", "Malik" (in pushtoons) "Nawabs", "Mir", "Jams" between the pro-colonial, pro- Khan elements and petit bourgeoisie nationalist, or democratic elements.

Thus, the changes in socio- economic basis, also further, these contradictions, in the superstruction, which found their manifestation in the genesis of national politics, in anti- imperialist, anti- colonial, anti- feudal (Sardar) liberation struggle of masses, in petit- bourgeoisie nationalist and progressive ideas, politics, and in politico-psychological national feelings, thrust for liberation from colonial yoke; because, as LEVKOVSKY put it, that the,

<<these contradictions can only be resolved through class struggle through an upsurge of the national liberation movement.>> [25]

Thus, it was felt by national emerging intelligentsia, the petit bourgeoisie democratic and nationalist element, even patriotic forces to establish their political parties, Anjumans and groups, to carry anti- colonial national struggle for liberation of peoples from colonial, semi-colonial yoke, and establishment of united democratic Balochistan, because, the socio-economic and political

internal pre- requisites for the creation of political parties, already matured, the subjective got important role to play. It is obvious, that in the super structure along side, the ruling ideas, politics, ideology, the ideas, politics, ideology etc. also paced with and travelled along side,⁸⁷ but it was weak, which only took the tribal or feudal nationalist ideology as a dominative one, among the political ideas which were actually politico- psychological national feeling, provided leadership in the hands of patriotic tribal chiefs and feudal Khans, the latter, with their narrow- class interests, egoistic; nobilistic feelings, betrayed the nation and oppressed masses, in different turns and stages, before their role was progressive in the beginning , but with the turn of century after their function as a second exploiter, after British, turned their leading role out- dated, reactionary, and their patriotic nationalism became conservative nationalism (compromising, surrendering character), for this , now, it became the objective necessity to organise parties, in order to lead and grind the masses to their destination.

The law of negation operated in the process of political development in Balochistan, the political leaders of the tribes or Balochistan the head of the tribal confederacies, once, elected by the people, themselves, and in the process of social development, these leaders, themselves, after, acquiring upper class or nobilistic positions negated the primitive political systems, by replacing them with feudal- cum- tribal absolute ruling political systems, which proved a heavy burden, a cruel exploitative rule over broad down trodden masses, latter on, with the changes in the economic basis, and created of new classes, and social groups, development of national formation, a new ideas, convictions politics and need for establishing new political systems felt, in order to negate the old colonial, and semi- colonial feudal system, but retaining, the only valuable thoughts, among the "patriotism" national strong feelings in politico- psychological terms democratic traditional

⁸⁷ Ruling ideas, politics etc.

values (productions, and spiritual ones) etc. here dialectical negation of negation, operated. So, to, change the political systems, the other elements like political organization of society. What is obsolescence, out dated and establish new, that fully correspond to the needs of the society and emerging progressive classes, groups, peoples.

International politico- ideological dimensions And Their impacts on Balochistan:

Radical changes caused by the Great October socialist revolution. The influence of Marxist ideas grew immeasurably through the world. Communist parties began to appear under the impact of the October revolution.

International Situation and its impacts:

The international situation, and creation of third international and its growing contact and influence, just after the Great October socialist revolution 1917, was very briefly characterised by A- Reznikov, a prominent historian of comintern and National liberation in the East, briefly and comprehensive in the following quotation, from his work, "the comintern and the East." It states, that,

<< The setting up of the communist international became possible only after the radical change in the international situation caused by the victory of Great October 1917, revolution. The influence of Marxist ideas grew immeasurably through out the world communist parties began to appear under the impact of the October revolution, and the years of 1918- 1919, were a flesh point of revolutionary activities in Europe. In January 1918, some two million workers in Austro-Hungry and Germany went on strike against the onerous terms presented to soviet Russia in concluding the Briest peace. In the same month a proletarian revolution took place in Finland where the worker govt. lasted until May. In September that year a soldier

Muting took place in the Bulgarian army, put down by the government with the help of foreign troops. In October and November the Austro-Hungarian monarchy tumbled after military defeat and as a result of upsurge in the revolutionary movement. Revolution in Germany broke out in November (although collaborationists halted the revolution at its bourgeoisie democratic stage.) A mass strike movement swept many European states in early 1919 and the oppressed peoples of east began to stir the most important of such actions were the 4th May movement in China, the Amrit-Sar events in India and the uprising in Korea. The peoples of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Mongolia took up the liberation struggle>> [26] and the National liberation upsurge manifested itself in Africa and Latin America.

The social democratic ideas, among the petit bourgeoisie revolutionary intellecterate and revolutionary democratic fighters, had already been spread, in Turkey, China, Iran, India, Associations and groups inclined to socialism, already appeared but these were immature in the period of (1903-16).

The 1st triumphant socialist revolution of 1917 spread, Marxist ideas, thousand times more energetically then before, more enthusiastically, and vehemently then before the millions of oppressed peoples of East in colonies, and dependent countries welcomed revolution of 1917 more vehemently, with response in the form of national liberation upsurge, as a freedom, citadel for oppressed peoples; in fact, October revolution establishment of Proletarian dictatorship (allied with working people) end to Tzar colonialism so on and so forth, brought a new dynamism in the politico ideological life of the Eastern people particularly establishment of and communist and revolutionary democratic parties, in this region made political struggle of people national liberation more bright theoretically.

**GENESIS OF POLITICAL
AWARENESSES AND POLITICAL
PARTIES:**

East, specially, its location, between Iran, Afghanistan and British India, where politico-ideological changes were arousing, mobilising people, influencing or young fighters, the petit-bourgeoisie, revolutionary democratic ideas, conceptions, spreading, socialist ideas spreading, especially in India and Iran. The successful national revolution liberation movements in Iran and Afghanistan and the socio-economic and political crises of Baloch-o-Pushtoon society itself, aroused, awakened and spread ideas of National liberation, social justice and socialism, first and almost among the Baloch and pushtoon youths, the progressive, liberty minded students (studying in British India, and in Balochistan) revolutionary minded intelligentsia, and petit bourgeoisie nationalist elements. Freedom of Afghanistan, from British neo-Semi-colonial yoke, mostly, influenced masses the patriotic minded nationalist forces, helped, in exposure of symbiosis of local feudal, semi-feudal, archaic institutions, (Khan' Nawabs, Sardars, Malik' Jams etc collaborators and compromisers, the pillar of British colonial semi-colonial rule, the implementers of Colonial and semi-colonial oppressional, exploitative rules and laws over masses) with the powerful British occupants, big capitalists, and Indian Business, traders, among the masses.

And, those young progressive fighters, whom, under the influence of internal and external factors, already stated forming of groups, associations, and circles of like-minded peoples, further exposed this.

The internal situation from these years (1905-33) was, under acute crises. Colonial national and social oppressions, exploitation over masses gained new,

punitive dimensions. The political situation in semi-colonial Balochistan was worse, due to large scale UK-occupants interference, in country side the oppressions of masses, the tribes by their Sardar, was more acute. The tyrannical rule of English appointed Prime Minister Sir Shams Shah on the verge.

So, the progressive minded people, representatives of petit-bourgeois nationalists and young progressive intelligentsia, servicemen and students, set a task in front of them to liberate Balochistan from colonial and semi-colonial yoke, to unite its dismembered parts into single democratic Balochistan to open the way for socio-economic development and general education to remove backwardness and illiteracy and to end the social oppression of feudal and Sardars.

And it was throughout, that without establishing a party, which could guide, lead and mobilise masses, unite all anti-colonial, national liberation forces, but it was possible only clandestinely due to cruel colonial policies and tyrannical colonial feudal policies of Kalat rulers.

Thus, 1st time in the history of armed spontaneous resistance of masses of Balochistan, a group of progressive, nationalist intelligentsia, teachers, service men founded, an under ground association, under the named, << young league>> and << Association of united Balochistan>> (Anjuman-e-Itehad-e-Balochistan) in 1920 at Mastung, with a conscious goal-setting under the leadership of Abdul Aziz Kurd then, the movement of another progressive son of Balochistan, Mir Usaf Ali Magsi, to call, and awaken nation, in their writings for national liberation, in 1929. Then, the declaration of << Association of united Balochistan>> under Usaf Ali's leadership, in July 1931 at Quetta. The programme was as follows: -

- To unite all the parts of Balochistan

- To struggle to end the <<Sardari System>> that is, Chieftainship.
- To struggle for generalisation of education in Balochistan.
- To propagate, nationalist and ideology based on non-exploitative system, for the preparation of armed struggle among Balochs. [27]

Publication of book let, under titled, << Shams Gardi>> (Shams tyrannical rule) and agitation against prime minister tyrannical, rule, and demanded a ruler, which would announce, constitutional and responsible government with elected assembly and with cabinet and associations political campaign for limiting of powers of Pro-colonial elites, all over the Kalat (semi-colonial Balochistan).

These were the 1st step towards, genesis of politics, political struggle and emergence of political associations, which led in the formation of political party <<Kalat-State-National Party>>.

The association, in order to implement their political programme, called, All-India Baloch conference, at "Khan Gadh" (now Jacobabad) which, was held 29, December till 31 December 1932.

Resolution, which was passed at conference.

- United Balochistan and complete political freedom
- To end "Chieftainship"
- Equal hereditary rights for women.
- To include, Derajat (now in Punjab) and Jacobabad into Balochistan.
- Provincial status to British Balochistan.
- To end Reza Shah Pehlavi's genocide in Western Balochistan.
- Demand for free education and establishment of colleges.
- To develop communication
- Demand for Home Industries.

In British Balochistan, another association under the name of <<Anjumane-Watan>> Motherland association was founded in 1936, under the leadership of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai (which presided All-India Baloch conference in 1932) and he also established a press titled << Istiqlal>> with the strong financial assistance of patriotic nationalist minded people, and the progressive leaders of (now ban) Anjuman-e-Itehad Balochistan.

The activities of "Anjumane-Itehad Balochistan" was not only limited to political propaganda, meetings and public tours the leader of "Anjuman" opened two centres for publication, one in Lahore, where in the newspapers, the general secretary started a chain of news, about the liberation of Balochistan, and at Karachi, "Samad Khan" also attended meetings and publishing articles about Balochistan, (though they were arrested soon).

Many members of << Anjumans resigned from their services, crossed the borders and started publication of weekly newspaper << Al-Baloch>> latter << Balochistan Jadid>>⁸⁸.

These newspapers, under the editorship of Mohd Hussain Anqa' and Mohd Naseem Tulvi" played, an important role in raising the consciousness of young people, and the case of Balochistan got much propagation internationally.

The political struggle of Anjumane-Itahad Balochistan, resulted in mobilisation of masses against pro- British semi- colonial feudal- elitist elements, the rulers and Sardars, that is why, when this political pressure was felt, some socio- economic reforms, were announced by << Khan of Kalat>> for instance <<end to forceful labour, and forceful tax <<Sung>> by it was just on the paper.

⁸⁸ Jadid means modern.

But, the political demands of Anjuman were representing the wills and aspiration of general masses, above, all local petit- producers, local traders, the peasants. Thus, after getting support from the different oppressed classes and social groups, it became a heavy pressure on "Kalat State." So, the socio- economic reforms, like increase in the budget allocation for education, modernisation of ports, elimination of forceful labour, betterment of communication system, after 1933, in Kalat.

In Balochistan, with the establishment of << Kalat- State National party>> (K.S.N.P) in 1937, the political struggle got new momentum, accelerated political mobilisation among masses, awakened youth, united, all national patriotic, progressive petit bourgeoisie elements, and revolutionary democrats around the new party; aroused masses; created a political pressure, with the support of masses for new reforms in Kalat State; for instance

- party's role in abolishing of Multi- faceted taxes; like "forceful labour" << Zare- Sir and zare- Shah>> "Mali", "Bijjar", "Pursi"
- Equal blood compensation.
- Haling of agreement, on handing over of Jiwani port to UK
- In spreading education, even when the delegation of "KSNP" was arrested; (which had for demands) the agitation and strikes in many parts of Kalat state pressurised semi- colonial feudal rule to release the delegation and accepted their demands, the demands were short terms.
- Party's role against British colonial and its allies Sardars and Khan's tyrannical rule.

All these above activities and policies popularised the KSNP, among the masses. Specially KSNP's role in getting of independence of Kalat, and unity of all other parts, though the party was banned in 1939, its leaders were ousted from Kalat, all the newspapers like weekly "Istiqlal Quetta", "Kamal Hind", "Al- Haneef Jacobabad".

"Balochistan and Balochistan Jadid Karachi" were prohibited in Kalat premises.

Though, the British colonial occupants, did their best with their local allied institutions and agents the Khan's Sardars, semi-colonial elitist elements, in banning, in crushing of "KSNP", to uproot progressive, national politics, because the direction of movement was anti-imperialist- anti-colonial, anti-feudal- Sardar. Which actually laid down the revolutionary democratic politics and its foundations in Balochistan.

With the ban ship; the political and mass roots of party, did not finish; The political agitation's and demonstrations, against ban ship was not only spread all over the Balochistan, but in Sindh, Punjab and other parts of British India. Newspapers wrote articles, leader of "Congress" gave statements against these undemocratic, tyrannical acts of Kalat State. Which again confirms the popularity of "KSNP" not only among the masses, but its international links with British India's liberation movements, especially with "Congress".

The popularity of "KSNP", (which was continuation of first association (which was founded in 1920, renewed in 1931) was reaffirmed, in the elections of 1947, after Kalat; political independence by getting "39" seats out of "52" in the Balochistan house of common. The party's leaders and members fought for democracy, national liberation of other parts of Balochistan, not only in the house of common till 1948, March, but outside assembly.

Before, knowing main trends, in these political groups and parties, one must deeply analysis the nature and depth ness of national and social struggle, (the struggle between classes and social groups even individuals, like-minded peoples).

And, as Borlalsky, said,

<<The struggle between the new and old, between the revolutionary and conservative sides of political phenomena, in the course of which the old is displaced by the new – this is the determining feature of any political process. >> [29]

Using, Marxist, methodological basis, we, not only show, the struggle between, those classes and social strata, whom were on the power and not on the power, but, political struggle between the political system of state, even to show, different interests sympathises, non-sympathises, collaborations, complete in this way, only, in this way, we can be able to understand, main motive force behind, political process of that concrete time and concrete situation, under concrete international situation prevailing that time.

Briefly we can mention, as a concluded remarks, that: -

- There had 2 main camps, liberation and counter liberation, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary.
- The counter-revolutionary camps consisted of British powerful colonial occupants, foreign capitalists, (imperialist forces) traders, usury capitalists, and colonial elitist administrative bureaucrats, on the one hand, and colonial feudal-semi feudal landlords, "Khans" "Nawabs" Sardars, Pushtoon Maliks" Jams "

Pro-British Mirs" and semi-colonial feudal-elitist, administrative and archaic institutions, on the other hand. It was amboisis, the unity of two poles were, relative, temporary, and the clash of interest, and struggle for more share, more robbing was necessary, inevitable being, a contradictory, complex process. Even, contradiction within one pole.

The "Anjuman" and "KSNP" properly utilised these contradictions, in their favour but the relations with (Azam Jan Khan 1931) and latter with Ahmed Yar Khan was such that the "Anjuman" or "KSNP" relied and trusted them. They failed to expose the vacillating class character of their Khans in front of conscious cadres and masses thus it created problems for the party.

This experience provides, a key proposition even more valuable experience for revolutionaries while utilising any contradiction, or allying with any national patriotic forces, it must be kept in mind, that, their class interests and compromising character must be exposed among conscious political groups and cadres.

The rule of Ahmad Yar Khan was shown in history such that, << he participated in the liberation movement, he had connection with "KSNP" etc>>. Let us examine, and cover the wrong picture of "Khan" Kalat, with exposing its true face, its class interests. Here one should also, take class approach.

Ahmad Yar Khan was feudal monarch-cum bourgeoisie, under the strong influence of orthodox-Middle class and feudal religious (Islam) ideology. His feudal cum-monarchical class character drifted him from national feudal patriotic, feudal, monarchical nationalism to ward reactionary, conservative and protective-nationalism; the latter gave him compromising, vacillating character. Thus he surrendered the interest of whole nation and also his political role, which is confirmed during British rule, his signing of annexation of Balochistan in Pakistan; his

governorship in the dark period, a period of reaction; (Bhutto's period).

His bourgeoisie character, with modern colonial western type education, felt the historians that, he is bourgeoisie nationalist, but influence of orthodox, Muslim ideology, led him compromise on the national interest, as a whole, betrayal and surrender on national sovereignty and identify of Baloch nation, thus, he became a "playing card in the hands of Muslim league (a Pro-British party, representing Muslim feudal bourgeoisie, and colonial bureaucratic, Muslim elitist). Ahmed Yar Khan founded its class interests, inside Muslim League with its feudal, landlord class as a whole.

Desire, for power, for more power, brought him in contradiction with British semi-colonial political structure, and, also with Sardars (the archaic, tribal nobilistic institutions which was aided and tackled by UK- colonial authorities, in such a way, and such a degree, that, had a purpose, not only to subordinate, for colonial service, against people but a weapon" to pressurise feudal monarchical institutions specially the "Khan" for submission to colonial occupants, in such a degree and level, which had needed, and among the other functions, by Sardar institutions, had, to utilise, skilfully, for collection of revenues, Taxes (heavy) forceful labour for suppressing, mass anti-colonial rebellion by continuing inter-tribal wars and specially, against national patriotic for instance under colonizers directions, joint attack of Sardar for on "KSNP's conference at Mastung), though, the Sardars were, the main pillars of feudal cum monarchical rule in Balochistan, but with the "aid" and direction of UK colonial administrations, the political struggle of Sardars against Khans for more share in the semi-colonial power and in the booty" of oppression and exploitation, but on the other hand, Khan's desire to control all the powers in their hands, and to use, Sardars as a main tools, but subordinated ones, for governing over Balochistan, and also for, more power from English occupants.

But when, even, English, by bribing, corrupt Sardar's through tribes, "Jagirs" power in tribal council or in Shahi council succeeded to use, this card against any anti-colonial manifestations, then the contradictions between Sardars and Khan within, this contradictory feudal cum tribal archaic institutions, was sharpened, only in such a degree, that, the hold on both the Sardars and Khan's ruling institutions had become possible.

But, on the contrary, English colonizers were, using the Khan's feudal monarchical institutions, against this institution (in case of Patriotic elitist elements) and against those Sardars, and their tribes, in order to submit and suppress any anti-foreigner feelings.

That is why, "Khan of Kalat," when felt, that his position and hold on Sardars is becoming weak, and the contradiction, within this traditional institutions making him power less, and specially "Khan's felt, that his hold on power, due to English interference getting less or loose that, he considered, it in its class favour to establish relations with "Anjumans" and with "KSNP" but when the principle differences between "KSNP" and "Khan" became more vivid, or utilised by English occupants, or their lackey into Sardars, then you found, that specially, when the compromise, between "Khan" and "tribal chiefs" was done by English, or by "KSNP's efforts particularly, when KSNP's political struggle became dangerous, not only against colonial masters their lackeys Khan and tribal chiefs then, their had no hesitation by the side of Khan and its feudal cum-tribal archaic, nobilistic institutions, in breaking relations, in attacking and, in charging political leaders and finally in banning of "KSNP in Kalat and even formation of the Sardars party.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Consult for more detail, History of Balochistan, by Gul Khan.
P. 468

Here lies the dialectics of the contradictory political institutions and political process,

As Lenin mentioned, in "philosophical note book", that. << Development is the struggle of the opposites,

The unity... Of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, and relative. The struggle of the mutually exclusive opposites is absolute. >> [30]

By using Lenin's this rich dialectical methodological preposition, and its creative application on the political system, processes and phenomenon of past and (also for present). Showing the dialects of the contradictory processes, that is the contradictory nature, of feudal- type monarchical, tribal mobilistic, archaic institutions, the contradictory, elements, unity and struggle of the opposites, for power, for more booty from one hand, its arise, development and decay,

And, the political struggle within the colonial and semi-colonial political institutions, the ambiosis---- of modern colonial political institutions, with Balochistan's traditional archaic and feudal institutions. The unity institutions, determined by economic basis of the metropolitan imperialist country, with the traditional political institutions, stood on the economic basis of backward pre- bourgeoisie relations,

Here, we had vividly, mentioned, the unity of these terms opposite institutions were relative temporary, compromising, collaborating character, an equilibrium of modern and traditional, that is alliance of reactionary and conservative classes, on colonial- semi- colonial basis while the struggle between the two opposite, between the new (reactionary) and old (conservative) was necessary and absolute, due to its very contradictory nature, and this was the source of development of political processes in Balochistan, but, it was non- basic contradictions, but on the other hand the basic contradiction was in between British colonial socio- political system and the emerging requirement in national politics and economy,

But, on the other hand, there was

2. Camp of progressive, national patriotic, petit bourgeoisie democratic, and revolutionary democratic, representing the classes and social strata, the working people, peasantry, shepherd, downtrodden tribes, the students youths semi- proletariats, petit- bourgeoisie local traders, merchants, and also very naïve emerging (very weak national bourgeoisie) a new political progressive phenomenon having a national liberation and democratic character, though, very weak, emerging and developing which, was the result of the contradictions, within the economic basis, the colonial and semi- colonial anti- colonial, anti- feudal, political phenomenon, united in the forms of "Anjuman's and in "KSNP".

POLITICO- IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS.

The two, in main politico- ideological trends, among the emerging political organizations and associations in colonial and semi- colonial Balochistan, in the period (1920- 1948), could have been observed.

- a) Petit-bourgeoisie nationalistic or revolutionary democratic oriental type with socialist direction.
- b) National bourgeoisie or National reformist trend. Congressional style.

Using the expression given in the fresh book

<< The revolutionary process in the east past and present>>
edited by professor R. ULYANOVSKY, that,

<< The progressive elements of the petit – bourgeoisie revolutionary intelligentsia in the east turned to the ideas of socialism when a working class had not yet been formed ----- all this was still in an embryonic stage in the east...attempt to find the answer...how were they save their countries from the tribal catastrophe touched off by the merging of colonialism with the local feudal monarchic regimes. >> [31]

Among the Eastern countries, Balochistan was the most backward country socio- economically. The UK's colonialism and semi- colonialism combined with local feudal type monarchical regimes of "Khan" with its archaic traditional institution, and their system of double and triple oppressions and exploitations, brought a lot of sufferings, for masses, and made the development of productive forces, the working class, more difficult. So, immediately the ideas of scientific socialism, was taken from one hand and ideas of "Gandhism" and Congress politics, on the other hand, by the emerging progressive elements of petit- bourgeoisie revolutionary youths, and the progressive section of the national patriotic forces, (petit- bourgeoisie, democratic- nationalists elements etc.). Simultaneously, without grasping the essence of these ideas. In the presence of:

- Colonial semi- colonial economy, with the presence of feudal- pre feudal relations.
- Absence of working- class.
- Influences of psychological traditionalistic tribal religious ideas with mythological, superstition ideology, on the conscious of political activists and masses.
- Lack of education.

According to Gangovsky, provided data, << Balochi intelligentsia was slow to take shape in 1903, there were only 2 secondary and 22 primary Schools in the country, in which the children of un- Balochis, the servicemen of the British administration, were mostly enrolled (including just 349 children of the local citizens)... Even 40 year after there was only 80 schools in the country. In 1947, native accounted for less than 2 percent of the teachers, i.e. about 2 dozens. >> [32]

- The experience of liberation struggle is only the form of armed resistance; an enormous, great heritage done by tribes of the Balochistan headed by patriotic Heroes and also patriotic minded tribal leaders.

All these factors made difficult, for progressive elements and petit bourgeoisie democrats to specially, the revolutionary young fighters, to grasp assimilate the very essence of these two ideas, taking one and rejecting other.

So, what were the politico- ideological conditions, which made possible in spread of ideas of "socialism" and "Ghandhism" congressional politics?

The conditions were as follows:

1. Presence of the criticism of Bourgeoisie ideas of colonialism, feudal, monarchical traditionalistic ideology among petit- bourgeoisie nationalists and revolutionary youth of Balochistan.
2. Spread of ideas of scientific socialism, after Great October socialist revolutions, which not only influenced the revolutionaries in India, Iran, Afghanistan and also the youth groups in Balochistan and specially the Baloch youth studying British India's institutes.
3. The influences of Indian national liberation movement and growing ideas of "Ghandhism" not only on the national patriotic forces, (including feudal nationalist) of Balochistan, but, also on Pushtoonistan (NWFP) even the title "Baluchi Ghandhi" (Khan Samad Khan Achakzai), pukhtoon Ghandi or "Sarhadi Ghandi" (Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan), was widely used.
4. Presence of the ideas of National liberation, Justice, equality, which was further, deepened, with the ideas of scientific socialism (in revolutionary democratic ranks, like Mir Usaf Ali Magsi, Mohd Naseem talvi, Mohd Hussain Anqa, Abdul Aziz Kurd and other. Malik Saeed and other like minded, like Abdul Samad Khuwaja Khail etc.), and with the doctrine of "Ghandhism", (among the ranks, like, Gul Khan Nasir, Malik Faiz Mohd, Ghous Bux Bizenjo, Abdul Samad Achakzai etc.).

The development of the 1st trends, with its nature form (now, that is revolutionary democratic, with the properly consideration of Marxism and Leninism as a source of inspiration and guide to action. The perspectives for the

communal formation, lies, in the development of this revolutionary trend, and the move, to fight "opportunism", left- Sectarianism, which is getting momentum.

The "Ghandhism" or national bourgeoisie congressional, with the doctrine of "non- violence" is alive, among the emerging National and commercial bourgeoisie, Middle-Strata, liberal-bourgeoisie petit elements believing on bourgeoisie parliamentary reformist politics the main sources of which lies, now in Revisionism but in weak dying trend due to given, material and spiritual (objective and subjective factors) conditions.

The "KNSP", was neither vanguard, non-revolutionary party? The nature of the KSNP and "Anjuman Watan" was anti-imperialist, anti-colonial national front.

In the whole period of "KSNP" it gained popularity among the masses, it united all the national patriotic, revolutionary youths, the petit bourgeoisie democrats, progressive minded servicemen, students, middle sections, working peoples.

- The political programme, which she had, gave coincided with the national and social interests of the masses.
- The Political activities, which are done by her political activists, were also anti-British, anti-Sardar anti-Feudal orientation, raising a slogan of National unity, including all other ethnic groups of Balochistan.
- There leaders almost, devoted, to set cause of the "KSNP", but opportunists, by penetrating, gave lot of damage to the party.
- The party faced persistently, the attacks, by UK-colonial administration, combined with local feudal-monarchical regime of Khan, and Sardars, and continued, political struggle, for free and democratic Balochistan.
- Party's mostly, used, the political forms of struggle.

CHAPTER NO. 3

THE EXPERIENCE OF INDEPENDENCE:
BETWEEN BRITISH AND PAKISTANI
COLONIALISM AND SEMI-COLONIALISM:PARAGRAPH. I**I. Historical experience of National independence
in Balochistan.**

Inauguration of modern epoch by the great victorious October socialist revolution, its waste scales comprehensive influences and impact on National liberation movements, (colonies- semi- colonies, and dependent oppressed nations). Into working class movement and emergence of socialism as a system, which resulted further deepening of general and cyclic crises of capitalism and imperialist system.

As Lenin mentioned << the general crises of capitalism, is the period of the actual collapse of capitalism on its entire scale on the birth of socialist society.>> [1]⁹⁰

Complete & vivid defeat of German Fascism, militarist Japan, by the USSR first and foremost, in II. World War.

Emergence of people's democracies in eastern Europe, mounting (N. L Ms) National liberation movement, collapse of imperialist colonialism. Vivid manifestation of proletarian internationalism by USSR, sharpening of qualitative new world socialist system (W. S. System) type of inter relation, (socialist division of Labour) emergence of many newly liberated countries on the world map, pushed capitalism & imperialism further into deep general, cyclic, political crises, this and other factors change the balance of forces in favour of world peace, national independence, social justice, progress and socialism.

⁹⁰ V. I. Lenin = C-W vol= 27 Moscow pub. 1165 pp. 130- 131

The great, expansionistic, imperialist colonial empire,⁹¹ UK, felt most seriously, that the recessing of land under feet, cracking, disintegration of colonial castles, volcanic erupting situation inside colonies, semi- colonies among other factors:

- Loosing of economic positions in Latin America, Canada, the middle & Far East.
- Anglo- American financial agreement of 6, Sept. 1945. As Andric Gromyko mentioned << this agreement was an indication of how US monopolies were exploiting Great Britain's economic difficulties⁹²>>
- Undermining of monopoly's position in colonies, specially India, Burma, Malaya (Asia), Africa,
- Indebtedness in unbalance of payment, less resources of "dollar" or (hard currencies)
- Difficulties in restoration of industries to produce goods for export, to complete balance US monopolistic invasion, (the industries were engaged in war).
- US's high custom duties, strong monopolistic capital control, involvement & griping of Britain by different economic agreements, & compelling UK to pay for US.
- "Britain woods agreement" which brought imparity of steeling pound in relation to dollar & increased US grip, monopolistic level,

<< More than quarter of loan lost by Britain economy through the rise in prices between the middle of 1946- August, 47. ... Further.... Lost approximately dollar 240 millions, in exchanging pounds for dollar.>>⁹³

⁹¹ UK, colonised more than 47% of the countries of the world, "Sun do n't set in UK's empire"/ see world past history. Vol. I

⁹² "The overseas expansion of capital" by A. Gromyko progress. Pub. 1985, (Anglo) p. 193 underlined by author.

⁹³ "The overseas expansion of capital" by A. Gromyko progress. Pub. 1985 (Anglo) p. 196.

Here, our main orientation is not this, to explain downfall of UK, monopolistic capital & emergence and growing role of USA overseas monopoly capital expansion, but, in fact, to show the deep socio- economic, political crises of UK colonial empire, not only the mounting class contradictions, class struggle of working class against bourgeoisie, but, the deepen crises political revolutionary situation in colonies, dominions. All these factors, caused in very active, diplomatic missions based on plots, conspiracies against oppressed colonised nations. In order to process decolonisation into neo- colonialism, by sowing national, religious, territorial conflicting seeds, thus, in resuming changing the iron chains of exploitation, enslavement with golden polished chains⁹⁴.

Balochistan, being a part and parcel of planet, old aged gripped by colonialism, semi- colonialism, expansionistic envisions, since 1838, by British, with strong historical fighting traditions against imperialist colonial powers (though spontaneous mass resistance, mostly armed resistance)⁹⁵ could not stood aloof from revolutions, upheavals, from anti- imperialist, anti- colonial struggle, specially, Balochistan found itself in a world politics, when balance of forces, were radically changed in favour of peace, progress, national liberation, social justice and socialism. The external contradictions of the Baloch society, became fore, and turned into major sharp contradiction. Contradictions were between:

- Kalat state and imperialism, colonial power
(semi- colony)

⁹⁴ Cabinet Mission May, 1946, India, "compromise plan" 6 May 1946, "Lord Mountbatten plan" British parliamentary delegation, December, 1945, in India, Britain Ministerial mission of March 1946, led by "LORD Peethak Lorange" (the history of India vol. I & the history of Balochistan.)

⁹⁵ See "History of Balochistan" by Gul Khan Nasir chapt. 9, 10 "the nationalities of PAK. By Ginkovsky" Pages. 197- 198 Baloch rebellion of 1897- 98, 1900, 1907, 1915, 1916, 1925, 1927)

- People of British Balochistan (colonial) and UK, colonial domain.
- People of dependency leased areas against colonial administration.
- Colonised, exploited against colonisers and exploiters,

So,

- Political movement for the complete liberation of Balochistan under the programme & banner of "Kalat State National Party" was launched. Strikes, demonstrative propaganda worked:
- In British Balochistan under "Uror pushtoon; and "Association for motherland" the established parties were, started political campaign against British colonisation.
- Kalat, which was semi- colony, a partial autonomy, have been considered the main centre of united Balochistan. Because, Kalat have got a status of Balochi "capital" since 500 years. So, the rulers of Kalat were also interested in the liberation of Kalat. , But due to their class character, they were in vacillating position. The legal aspect of "Kalat's (Balochistan) case have dealt by "Khan" of Kalat. (The feudal tribal monarch of Balochistan)

Historically & logically Kalat Balochistan has got its independence on 11, August 1947, in a joint communiqué released from British crown representative & by the conference, from House of viceroy Hind,⁹⁶ the following communiqué was announced.

"Kalat State National Party"*⁹⁷

➤ Founded in 1st April 1937.

⁹⁶ The higher body conference was held on , August, 1947, at Delhi, presided by the representative of British Crown , Viceroy Hind" also attended by representatives of congress & Muslim league.

⁹⁷ See documents of National Party in "History of Balochistan" P. Gul Khan Nasir Chapter: 12 P. 444-445

- Complete liberation & formation of democratic
- Republic of Balochistan.
- Communiqué for independence of "Kalat"***⁹⁸

1-Govt. of Pakistan accepts state of Kalat, an independent and autonomous state, which have a relation with British govt. through treaties, and she has a different status, than Indian states.

2-In this connection, legal position would be seen, that, either all those treaties, between Govt. of Britain and Govt. of Kalat, on based areas, could be transferable to Pakistan or not.

3-There would be negotiation between the representatives of Pakistan & Kalat, after cleaning the legal position.

4-These stand still agreement between Pakistan & Kalat, would remain in force during this period.>> [4, 487]

- The following communiqué from the presidency of Indian viceroy, presence of representative of crown, India, & Pakistan, vividly confirms legally substantiate & politically proves, historically indicates that Balochistan (Kalat).

- a) have been, is , and will be status of independent country, which has not been part of India ***⁹⁹ and British India, which is,

- b) Its independent status was not only accepted by imperialist representatives, but also by congress & Muslim league.

- c) Acceptance of Pakistan, to Kalat state, as an autonomous independent state, and in future readiness state to state negotiation, and its announcement before the announcement of dismemberment of India, proves importance, tense situation, thirsty atmosphere for independence, mass political activities in Balochistan from one hand, and UK imperialist designs (for future) & UK Pakistan's reactionary plot, on the other hand.

**⁹⁸ "History of Balochistan" Gul Khan Nasir vol. II
P. (487) see for further details.

***⁹⁹ Mughal India.

The article No. 2 of independence announcement of Kalat (capital of Balochistan) clearly throw search light on hidden objectives, evil designs, anti- Baloch w. masses imperialistic reactionary plundering plots, both of UK and Muslim league (representatives of Muslim comprodor bourgeois feudal vested interest), though "Lord Mount batten, plan of August 1947, confirms once again positions of leased, contractrated, annexed areas, and even UK, from one hand put vaguely handovering of based Kalat areas, in the "independence declaration" but on the other hand, UK informed the heads of Baloch artificially created 2 states "Kharan" "Lasbella"¹⁰⁰ that after leaving or removing AP (UK) there old status, as a part of "Kalat" would be restored.

All this clearly mention, that,

- From one hand, UK was compelled to give Kalat independence due to internal and external revolutionary situation, specifically popular democratic (anti- imperialist) forces, it was thought, that if the Kalat would n't be independent the anti- imperialist forces may intensify anti- imperialist, anti- colonial struggle in Balochistan and this push them to be pro- soviet.
- UK, on the other hand wanted a loose, non centralised dismembered Balochistan, in order to bring back Balochistan an object of exploitation by new methods, by leasing or declaring protectorate, like Hong Kong or Oman, owing to Balochistan's geo- political, economic & military strategically point of view.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Khan & Lasbella, Mekran districts were part of Kalat, owing to its notorious "divide and rule" policy UK, declared two separate states of Kharan & Lasbella, separated them from Kalat and started governing through their representative, in order to further squeeze and decentralised Kalat.

¹⁰¹ After independence, UK, offered Kalat, that you are weak, and completely under developed, country so, the UK take over Kalat for its development on based agreement bases consist of 25 years.

The following agreement shows the historical importance of Balochistan, between govt. of UK, Afghanistan and Balochistan, Agreement of 1839, article No. 4

- << Khan Baloch is agreed, that, his govt. would be responsible for supervising and providing (including transport (old) for trade from "Shikarpur" (now in Sindh) to "Kuchlak" (Balochistan), from one edge of border to other with the compensation of 1, 50, 000 Kaldar.¹⁰²>> [5, 25]

Later on September 1839, under the Brigadier Dil Shair, the Bombay Britain army, with full preparations with canons, guns, etc. attacked on Kalat. Fierce heroic resistance was given by the rulers of Kalat, but on 23, Nov. 1839, Mehrab khan with his 200 guards and fighters died in the palace, this was the event, from which, Baloch patriotic struggle against UK imperialism practically started from different corners of Balochistan. All this indicates the strategic importance of Balochistan, not only for Military expedition, but also for East India companies plundering trade route.

All these and other economic plundering of Balochistan confirms once again the long-term aims of UK. She knows very well that Khan of Kalat is a feudal lord, a monarchist nationalist, one can easily put him into Knees. If not this way, than the other way and means, through artificially created contradictory state of PAKISTAN, though conspiracies, plot, Islamic injections or Islamic brotherhood, and in the final

The Kalat due to mounting political pressure rejected this offer by National party.

¹⁰² "Kaldar" old name of currency, Baloch and pushtoon- still use Kaldar for rupee.

through occupation and forceful annexation. Later expansionistic & occupational move and their realisations once again confirm "UK doctrine."¹⁰³

KALAT'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE & ESTABLISHMENT OF BALOCH PARLIAMENT (1947- 48)

- a. On 12, August, 1947, National liberation of Balochistan (Kalat) and establishment of national independent sovereign state of Kalat was announced by traditional tribal feudal vested monarch, "Khan "Ahmed Yar Khan"

The historical national flag (Red, green) was raised, in special ceremonial traditional function; gun salute was given to national flag.

In liberation speech, before participant of liberation ceremonial function, it was taken oath and clearly stated, that, aim,

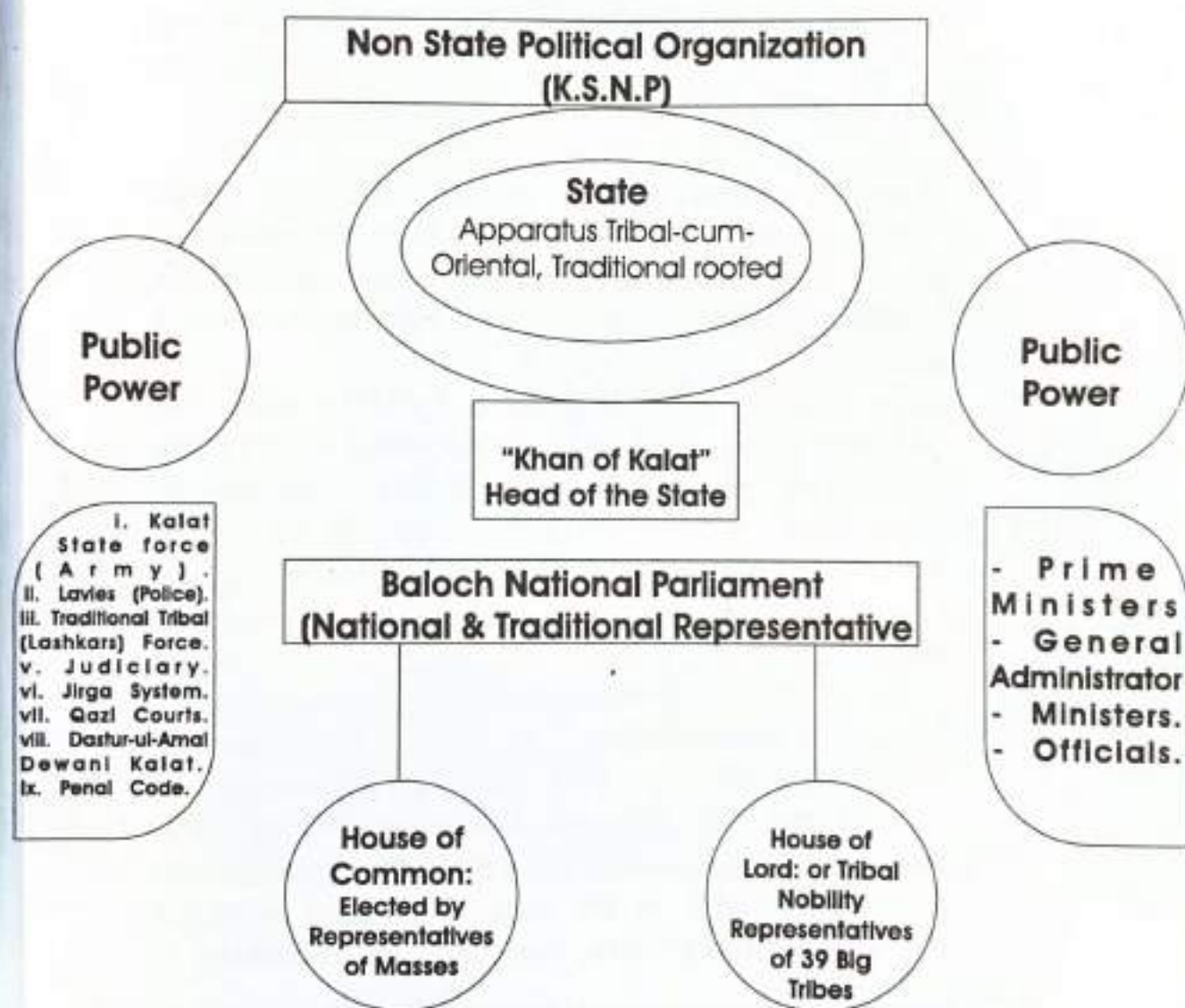
- a. To completely, liberate Balochistan from enslavement from foreign yoke.
- b. To unite all Baloch into one centre.
- c. To traditional rule this Kingdom.
- d. Hope good relations & assistance to neighbouring peace loving Kingdoms.
- e. Indian origin population is our equal citizens. It's matter of joy that our people have not involved into Hindu- Muslim communal riots.

Introduction of Reforms, establishment of House (estate) of Lords¹⁰⁴, & House of common.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Manage to Baloch by Ahmed Yar Khan. P. 25

¹⁰⁴ "House of lord" (Sardars & Nawabs) was consist of all 39 traditionally its nominated latter own inherited tribal Chiefs. That time tribal bond traditionalist structure was much strong, with a communal- tribal- ownership in basic means of production (land, posture areas, forest, mountain etc), but tribal chief had a

**BALOCH NATIONAL STATE OF KALAT AFTER INDEPENDENCE
(11 August, 19 47 till 30 March, 19 48)**



Note: Compiled by Author using different sources.

House of common was elected on limited franchise bases, among the representatives of villages, regions, semi- towns, nomadic group "the Mohtabers". Here mention should be made, that Kalat state National party, due to its progressive political line exposing colonialist anti- w. people expansionistic policies, creating obstacles in fulfilment of UK's of peasants, though these taxes were officially abolished in 1938, reforms by Khan- e- Kalat, but it was actually functioning, because the structure of Kalat state, was that time estate- cum- semi- colonial, traditionally hold by tribal chiefs, from below and from above the colonialists advisors & feudal monarch.

- There were tribal conflicts, which unable tribal people revolt against their own tribal chiefs, though many revolts can be mentioned, but were spontaneous, isolated, veiled with traditional hesitation & weaknesses.
- Most lands in Mekran, Kharan, Lasbella, Kalat, the laid was belonged to chief of the tribal nobility, the feudal type traditional monarch. Here one can see many revolts against monarch, to end the taxes. The Kalat state- National party launched a struggle against cruel rule, taxes, for education unity of Baloch tribes under one flag, liberation of country from British Yoke. Also they demanded for the resign of prime minister, representative of UK, that resulted abolishment of taxes evil plots i.e. (demanding of "Jiwani port" for economic & military purposes) was exposing opportunistic compromises, agitating for progress changes, in the state, demanding complete liberation of Balochistan, thus UK's representative, in

privileges, private land, with the tribal nobility in their areas were semi- autonomous, they were receiving taxes from traders, merchants, & also from tribal named, (Shashik 1/6) (Haftiq 1/7) traditional revenue tax w. peasant or shepherd (10 rupees) or two sheep per year, & other taxes named "Zre- e- Sur" & "Zar- Shah" with the income.

¹⁰⁵ See "the History of Balochistan" by Gul Khan Nasir, the activities of the National Party.



Kalat got help of tribal chiefs (even used tribal chiefs against National party) finally banned National party, under the ordinance issued by kalat state council in 1939. The leaders of party (KSNP) were deported from state. Newspapers¹⁰⁶ were abandoned in Kalat premises and so on and so forth.

The (K.S.N.P) was working clandestinely, and used Bolshevik methods, of work inside different institutions. The K.S.N.P was mostly consist of Middle, lower middle stratas, the teachers, jobbed students, small commodity producer, Baloch intellectuals (of that time) with congressional, progressive nationalistic, and revolutionary democratic tendencies.

So, in the election, this was held first time in history of Baloch people. K.S.N.P's representatives took part as independent candidates, and got 39 seats out of 52 in the house of common and astonished the chieftains, though they tried their best to defeat these K.S.N.P affiliated candidates, but fail. It shows the popularity of K.S.N.P among the masses because K.S.N.P's programme in the monarchical, colonial darkness was a torch to show the way to life.

As V. Semyonov, mentioned in its article entitled "political ideas, myths and symbol, Basis structure and role" published in "problems of contemporary world" p. 45. <<..... political ideas, symbols and myths depends with out any doubt primary on what interest they express" P. 51)

¹⁰⁶ Weakly "Istiqlal" Quetta, (sovergnty), "Kamal Hind", "Al-Hanif" Jacobabad, "Balochistan" and "Balochistan Jadid" (modern) from Karachi and other newspapers were widely spread in Kalat (semi- colony) or (semi- autonomous) carrying anti-imperialist, anti- colonial, anti- feudal progressive materials, that why A. A. G of British Balochistan, with their colonial reactionary lackeys tried their best to ban political activities, the newspapers, were preaching for liberation of Balochistan"



AMEER AHMED YAR KHAN-II
Ameer Independent Balochistan
(1933-1948)



Members of Baloch Parliament , during Session (March 1948)

In short, the K.S.N.P's ideas, political interests were corresponded to the interest, of the w. oppressed masses and tribes, with pre-capitalist relations. These ideas were directly impairing their consciousness (national socio-psychological consciousness).

Yet not turned into political or ideological one.

Structure of Baloch State after independence (of 11th August 1947).

Nature of Regime: -

- a) - Estate- cum- representative feudal- cum- tribal monarchist regimes.
- On the one, hand, deep rooted tribal aristocratic, traditionalist, feudal particularistic, representations, reflecting, the pre- capitalist relations, and aims of upper classes and segments of Baloch society, headed by traditionally, inherited chief of the tribal chiefs, with a new status "Khan" Baloch.
- On the other hand, being on the main political brain the rev. democratic, nationalistic, anti- colonialist elements, reflecting Baloch society's general masses, specifically petty producer, traders, handicraft middle part strata intellectuals, and teachers.
- On the third hand, in the shape of prime ministers and ministerial official, imperialistic, colonialist titled elements, pro- UK and pro- Pakistan, hidden planner advocates, were representing moderate, liberates bourgeoisie and even compradors of PAK.

Contradictory nature of Regime: -

- External contradiction of Regime was mostly with UK, specially with PAK, reactionary, right conservative regime and this contradiction were remained major one, because.

- a. – Kalat (the Balochistan) was partly got independence, all British Balochistan ceased and based areas were, yet not returned to Kalat,^{*107} and even.
- b. – The Pakistan's annexation and its expansionistic policies were become more vivid, because all British Balochistan was shifted from one colonial boss (power) to its pro-imperialist agent, Pakistan.

So, the external contradiction, remain major contradiction, between the forces of national liberation, anti- imperialist, anti- colonial on the one hand, the forces of UK imperialism, colonialism, Pakistani reaction and local pro-UK traditionalistic on the other hand.

It is pertinent to mention here that only the central Balochistan was liberated while the eastern and western Balochistan remained under the yoke of colonialism and reaction.^{**108}

- The British Balochistan, (especially leased Baloch areas and Maree, Bugti, Dalbandin tribal areas and Dera Jat tribal areas), being a part and parcel of Balochistan from centuries should have to be returned, not as an inalienable right of Baloch nation to- self-determination, as provided in the "independent act 1947,
- But on the contrary, it was shifted from metropolitan colonial power to the pro- imperialist, Pakistan reactionary chauvinistic power; this act sharpened the external contradiction and oriented it towards Pakistan.

^{*107} Discussions, and debates on the bill and threat of PAK's annexation policy was clearly condemned, both in House of common and house of Lord, Which shows and indicates the sharpening of external contradiction see, a History of Balochistan" "Report of parliament" chapter. 14 vol. II

^{**108} But not economically, because semi- colonial productive rulers and patriarchal traditional structure was still prevailing, and which was giving birth another contradiction, between developing productive forces and old semi- colonial patriarch traditional productive relations. The activities K.S.N.P indicate the contradictions.

- Leased, contracted, annexed areas, also shifted from metropolitan directly colonial administration to the newly created pro-imperialist state against the aspiration of the people of region. Thus the arisen new situation has not changed colonial synthesised structure in its content, turned those internal contradiction of Baloch society as minor one.
- Those are the contradictions between Baloch Parliament and Khan of Kalat.
- House of common X House of Lord,
- Between House of common,

Actually, the internal contradiction of regime was reflected on the:

- a) National emerging capital structure (very embryonic).
- b) Patriarch, archival pre feudal, feudal, tribal- cum- feudal productions relations and traditionalistic structures.

The "House of lord" comprising all the chiefs was representing the traditionalistic- tribalist, aristocratic relations. While the latter, House of common, was representing the emerging National structure (embryonic), the monarch, under the strong grip of traditionalistic, patriarchal feudalistic structure, representing the traditional one.*¹⁰⁹

- The monarch, from one hand was representing national traditionalistic character, but on the other hand, being a

*¹⁰⁹ In Kalat are coalmines, and oil extracted was started many years before. The "BOC" Burma Oil Company on contract bases from 1918- 1936, on the compensation of 2, 000 rupees, small scale productive (handicraft, grain producing, cattle breeding, Home industries, such as "ordnance Factory", cloth weaving machines, skin polishing, wood cutting, carpet weaving industries) and also Agricultural farm (small scale) viticulture trading etc. So, in this way non- pre- feudal relations were shaping, and which based on simple co operative, and manufacturing, that was the actually capitalist. Relations with very imperceptible form, but the content remain feudalistic traditionalistic. Further look ex: - Khan's views & message to Baloch p. 57 Pub. Kalat.

chief of the all tribal chief aristocrats, representing the big feudal class, with hundreds of peasants, thus, his position was wavering, non- persistent his much influence by Muslim league party Islamic ideas, testify this, but on the contrary tribal chiefs, though representing class of say land owners aristocrats, but, the strong Baloch national traditions, also, was influencing their deeds, that is why they were wanted the system of govt. based on old Baloch national traditions, that is why annexation with Pakistan was extirpating their aspirations, and Baloch confederative status.

Conclusion:

- a) – In socio- economically backward colonial, semi-colonial countries, where, patriarch, tribal communal pre- feudal and pre-capitalist relations prevails the national traditions plays an important role, but even some times preponderate their forms.

As Engels put it correctly- <<economic situation is ultimately decisive, but the political situation etc. even indeed traditions, which haunt human minds also play a part, although not decisive one.>> [6, 157]

The struggle against British colonialism, for establishment of national state, this, for unification of all decentralised, dismembered, part of Baloch historic territory, actually, shows socio- psychological- national consciousness reflecting real life of people, with strong traditional forms, as Marx, put it valuably that, << the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a night mare on the brain of the living.>> [7, 247]

- a) The nature of state, may possibly be National bourgeoisie in its form, but feudal in its content.*¹¹⁰

*¹¹⁰ F. Engels letters to J. Balokh in Kongsberg sept. 21- 22, 1890.
S.W. 4 p. 157 (urdu)

While studying the structure, nature, composition of state and monarchs power in Kalat (Balochistan) after liberation, and 1947. We can conclude that, the state was national, bourgeoisie (embryonic) in its formation, (State- cum- representative monarch) and tribal- cum- confederate, representative, traditionalistic in its content.**¹¹¹

- b) Imperialist and colonial forces, different means, for colonising and neo- or semi- colonising oppressed peoples and nations. The only way, for the salvation is to launch, persistent, militant, anti-imperialist, anti- colonial, National liberation struggle, mobilising and guiding masses, a political dynamic theory and corresponding political ideas, reflection the entire interests of masses, was needed.
- c) The peoples of Balochistan, had a historical legal, theoretical, political right, to establish their own independent state. Historically and logically basing on the all the treaties of 1841 to 1893 and also the standstill agreement between the emerging government of Pakistan and Khan of Kalat, which was presided by the Lord Mount Batton (Britain viceroy) in a round table conference held on 04 August, 1947, which was latter on telecasted on 11th August 1947 by New Delhi Radio Station. According to which "the government of Pakistan recognises the independence and sovereignty of the Kalat State as its status is different than other states of India and as relations with government of Britain was based on agreements" (Article I of the Standstill agreement 05 August, 1947). Therefore, the status of Balochistan is like Nepal. All these,

"Ethiopian" "Anatomy of A traditional policy" by JOHN MARKAKIS" ADDIS A BABA Oxford University, press New York part IV pattern of power p. 195- 288

**¹¹¹ The two opposing tendencies, in a relative unity, and struggling against each, can be clearly seen, tendencies of old and new, the list was a progressive one, shows the developing process of the state, its contradictions.

legally and politically qualifies the case for independence and sovereignty of Balochistan as per UNO's declaration on the banning of colonies, also justifies Balochistan case.

- 1) << To grant immediately all colonial countries, trusts and other non- self- governed territories complete independence and freedom in the formation of their own national states, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial regime and the colonial administration in all its guises should be abolished completely and the people of these territories are given the opportunity to determine their own future and form of govt.
- 2) To abolish all strong holds of colonialism in the form of possessions and leased districts in foreign territories.¹¹² [9,2]

¹¹² 1960 Adaptation of declaration by the 15 Session, December 14, 1960, general assembly of UNO. Submitted by USSR, states, the complete abolishing of colonies, in any form or guise.

<< No to colonialism, No to Racialism>> Novosti press agency publishing House, Moscow, 1985, P. 2

CHAPTER: 3

PARAGRAPH-IIPAKISTANI AGGRESSION ON
BALOCHISTAN AND FORMATION OF
TRADITIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE AGAINST PAKISTANI
SUB- IMPERIALISM:a) CREATION, ESSENCE, NATURE AND
MAIN LINES OF ACTIVITIES OF
PAKISTANI BOURGEOISIE: (NEO-
COLONIAL)

Artificially, created PAKISTAN on the basis of so called two nation theory "Hindu- Muslim". This phenomena and all social- phenomena's must be approached scientifically using Marxist- Leninist principle, the "principle of "Historicism".¹¹³

Only, and only in this way our approach on PAK will be scientific, the concrete historical situation of that time prevailing, the main aims, designs of imperialism, the creators, architecture of Pakistan, and also, the main long term purposes, evil reactionary designs of its engineers.

Our main aim of research is not only based on these phenomena, but in connection with other situation processes and phenomenons, it helps us to investigate the "Rescent Balochistan--- a special type of colonial object". After putting a search light on PAK, going deep into phenomena, exposing the main elements of substance of state, its nature character and specially the main classes, which it serves.

- Main causes behind the creation of PAK.

¹¹³ Lenins's letter to Arrest Almend.

As communist party of India clearly and concretely put it that << Pakistan is plot between British imperialism and Muslim bourgeoisie feudal- vested interests¹¹⁴>>[2, 224]

- The so- called liberation of Pakistan from UK's colonial Yoke, as the result of anti- colonial resistance of masses, the creation of Pakistan, division of subcontinent on religious- steeped- bourgeoisie ideological bases, was actually counter- revolution- anti- liberation artificially created phenomena- which was nothing to do with the substance of National liberation and freedom, but in the garb of freedom, banner of Islamic Pakistan, the creation of Pakistan was merely, vividly, a formal alliance, having a imperialist "master serving" character by Muslim bourgeoisie feudal vested and "servant feeding" nature by imperialist masters, an interlacing interdependent politic strong alliance between UK, imperialism, world reaction, new- colonial ideologist on the one hand, and Muslim compradors industrial feudal- vested bourgeois¹¹⁵ on the other hand in order to form and establish new political power and system a so called Islamic state¹¹⁶ (Pakistan) to protect more actively influence, the growth of formal colonial economic basis- that is the colonial production relations- based on private ownership in the means of production to meet the imperialistic aim, now through new- colonialism, after collapsing of colonialism. (see Appendix p. 2)
- The creation of Pakistan was result of the exploiting sharpening of the Indian society's contradictions, capitalist pre- capitalistic relations.

¹¹⁴ "History of India"

¹¹⁵ On March 23, 1956 Pak. became Islamic republic "can Pakistan survive" Tariq Ali p. 49

¹¹⁶ Rising Muslim monopolistic families- the most of 22 monopoly families Haroon, Siegal, parcies, Awan, Habib etc. [3, 44]

- a. Religious, ethnic, national ethnographic haunted traditionalistic difference on the one hand and contradiction between Muslim (minority), bourgeoisie-feudal vested colonial bureaucratic, military serving elite, and Indian big bourgeoisie (Hindu) feudal, colonial bureaucratic syntheses on the other hand^{*117}, by UK imperialism in fulfilling its neo-colonial structure limiting the scope of National liberation of people of India, all such type of religious, communal pre-juices, riots always been used by colonial empires and now in modern epoch.^{**118}
- To disintegrate, disperse tactically, the strong anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-feudal, anti-big foreign capital- National liberation front of oppressed Indian working people in order to
 - Safeguard its invested capital.
 - To create favourable pre-conditions for new-colonial economic structure.
 - To safeguard the interests of Muslim and Hindu bourgeois, and land lordism, feudalism.
 - To impede the growing National Liberation Revolution of India into National Democratic Revolution.^{***119}

UK's Cosmopolitism national chauvinistic ideology notorious policy of "divide and rule" in a new mode neo-colonialism played an important role in creation of Pakistan.

^{*117} Look UK's latter policies, using Hindu and Muslim puppet bureaucratic elitist circles in colonial apparatuses, in army etc. N.A Simminova "the Destiny of capitalist. In orient" read third stage of colonialism." "The activities of the buyer-up were easily observed" p. 12

^{**118} Communal clashed in Lebanon, Sikh extremists riots in India, Shia-Sunni riots in Iran, and in between IRAN & IRAQ.

^{***119} Growing class struggle of Working class alliance with the peasants' uprisings armed clashed, popularity of left forces in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras etc. was giving dominance of revolution in the hands of left forces.

- a. Try to impede and create possible obstacles in the way of changing balance of forces in favour of peace progress national freedom and socialism.
 - b. Make newly independent countries, totally dependent (economically) on imperialism and reaction.
 - c. To counter spreading Marxist- Leninist ideas by bourgeoisie ideology- with propagating religious characteristic – bourgeoisie nationalistic- ideas, in such backward societies.
- Through creation of Pakistan, the UK imperialism started pressurising Balochistan in order to put Balochistan into her knees to sign the twenty-five years contract giving the sovereignty of Balochistan to UK Crown to implement long term world imperialism, in this region, and in case of denial, occupation and annexation through Pakistan would have to be possible*¹²⁰.

Nature and Essence of Pakistan's State: & Critical criticism of two nation theory.

To understand properly the essence of any phenomenon in our case Pakistanis states, its latent ties, relations and internal laws determining the main features opposing trends, contradictions of material system the economic basis on which Pakistani state stands, and its role of serving upper classes (bourgeois + feudal) must be traced out.

- The "two nation theory" based on religious demarcation Hindu and Muslim, was the monstrous, pre-planned self-created inhumanity, (anti- working masses of India, the soul of the imperialist capital).
- The formation of nations does not rely upon religious because religion himself is "product and reflection of the economic yoke within society"*¹²¹ being a special

*¹²⁰ Declaration of Pakistan as southern flank of NATO, by Rogers (chief of NATO) testifies it "New times" Moscow p. No. 37 Sept. 1985 p. 19 A weekly soviet Magazine.

*¹²¹ Lenin.

form of social consciousness, based on idealism theology, metaphysical subjective thinking always stood against materialistic world out look, in antagonistic class societies it serves the ruling classes. Specifically in feudal, now even with modified form and tactics serves bourgeoisie societies.

In history of nations religion has been used in anti-imperialist, anti- colonial dominations for freedom, but it has, also been used in favour of these forces, including bourgeoisie classes,**¹²² against revolutions against freedom of the nations- in final analyses in oriental countries- religions- steeped nationalism is actually bourgeoisie nationalism. Because imperialist forces also utilise and even change the religion for their class interests, while nations are,

<<Lasting, prolong historical community of the people, a form of social development based on community of economic life in combination with the influence of class factor, community of language territory, culture, consciousness, character and psychology.***¹²³>> [4, 27]

As Lenin formulated it, <<Nations are the inevitable product and essence of the bourgeoisie stage of social development.****¹²⁴>> [5, 435]

The above prepositions and the process of historical formation of nations, once again confirms that religion (being a fantastic reflection in minds of the people the external objective forces dominating them) do not determine the emergence, origin and development process of nations. The people of one nation may believe, one or different or

**¹²² IN Indonesia "Serikat" movement, have gained mass base against Leninism & NLRev. Dutch colonialist it played an important role, but in IRAN, against "Shah" it played progressive role, but at the same counter- revolutionary conservative role (playing), even in India, it has used against British yoke, as well as against NLRev. (Hindu- Muslim communal rites)

***¹²³ "Leninism and National question" pub. Moscow 83 P. 27

****¹²⁴ Lenin = C.W: Vol. 20 p. 435

even non- of religion, while different nations and nationalities, may believe one religion or different religions, while the nations for nations are their own laws of development.

The creator and head of Pakistan state, (Quaid-e-Azam) "Muhammad Ali Jinnah" himself, very well clarify the nature of state, and also expose its own, that is bourgeois class's ambitions behind the creation of such state.

<<You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your Mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan, you belong to any religion a caste or creed- that has nothing to do with the business of the state...now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindu would cease to be Hindu and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.*¹²⁵>> [6, 42]

The above statement of president of Muslim League during the final stage of creation of Pakistan, and before all other statements, including "two nation theory", while comparing- they goes quite contradictory and opposing in character, in real term of nation and religion, but in its above, address (Quoted) tells the truth, but after using Islamic, sentiments, ideology, for the entire benefit of imperialism, capitalism and supra nationalism of Punjab. He confess about the bourgeoisie nature of state but after getting power, after killing thousands and thousands of human lives, in and Hindu- Muslim communal riots, just to quench his, and his masters in-humanistic bourgeoisie imperialistic ambitions.

While assessing we draw the following conclusion.

- Pakistan State is not Muslim but Bourgeoisie State, which is created for bourgeoisie- feudal- vested classes

*¹²⁵ First address at constituent assembly in Karachi, on 11, August 1947 taken from "can Pakistan survive" pub. London, 1983, p: 42

of Punjab to serve them, in exploiting lower classes- in the names of Islam.

- PAK state, being a B... state, is a powerful machine of coercion**¹²⁶ and oppression, against working class working people and oppressed nations, for fulfilment of expansionistic, imperialistic**¹²⁷ neo- colonial aims.
- Religion is personal faith, but it can be used for B. state, while, Bourgeois state is a strong political instrument to safeguard and consolidate economic basis- of Pakistani society, based on private ownership in the Means of production and neo- colonial economic relations.
- Usage and keeping of Islamic republic "God gifted country" is merely sign board in cheating and using religious sentiments of innocent peoples. Keeping religious steeped ultra right conservative and reactionary parties hold on masses, prolong bourgeoisie rule in Pakistan, justify every creed of cruel exploitations of W. class and oppressed nations, to pay for their masters, to counter, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas in spreading – thus PAK state is the result of contradiction of Muslim- Hindu bourgeois and imperialism's neo- colonialist policy.
- "To keep it in front of us an ideal" means to accept bourgeois rule, prolongation of exploitation of working masses and uncomplainingly robbing by bourgeois state. Which gives bourgeois parliamentarianism***¹²⁸ <<which combines democracy (not for the people) with bureaucracy (against the people)*¹²⁹>> [7, 340]
- Religious, ethnical, racial differences and sentiments, emotions, rites, prejudices always been being used by imperialism reaction, upper classes against lower, here it is the vivid example.
- Not religious, but bourgeois ideology governs the theoretical political course of Bourgeois State of

*¹²⁶ Marx

**¹²⁷ Occupation of Balochistan and Kashmir (now Azad Kashmir)

***¹²⁸ Jinnah's quoted speech.

*¹²⁹ V. I. Lenin "state and revolution" S.W. selected works, progress publisher Moscow, 1977 p: (340)

Pakistan. This is the politics of bourgeois, reactionary classes, it was the politics of Muslim League in order to manipulate the sentiments of religious minded people in their favour.

- The meaning of Pakistan as they, preach, "La- Elaha- Ellallah **¹³⁰" God gifted country". While assessing the apparatus of state (that is Military - bureaucratic formation type) state policies towards working classes, oppressed people and nations, its complete dependency on imperialism and service for reaction, above all world imperialism led by USA. Its functions... the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie assuming the shape of dictatorship of military is a state, given or gifted by 'God, stands above the society, is a secret. With Islamic dress... does not matter, it stands against lower classes and oppressed nations. Which needs revolutionary smashing through recognition of right of nation to self-determination and establishment of national democratic state. As V.I. Lenin define <<Bourgeoisie state are most varied informs, but their essence is the same, all these states whatever these form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie."***¹³¹>> [8, 286]

So, what ever its form, dress, shape, whether gifted by God or better to say gifted by the UK, imperialism to the bourgeois and feudal- bureaucracy of Pakistan. What ever its flag- it is in final analysis serves and serving imperialism, local reaction, Pakistani big monopolistic bourgeois, bureaucratic capital, feudal elite's, against lower classes and oppressed nations.

- PAK state, being based on religious prejudices- it is not its end, it penetrates from this prejudices penetrates, into

**¹³⁰ But from 1958 to 1970, 1977- 1985, bourgeoisie Parliament became a dream and replaced by Military governed, self-propelled Parliament. (Marshall Law)

***¹³¹ V.I. Lenin, "state and Revolution". Lenin, select work: progress pub. Moscow 1977. P. 286

the different sect of Muslim religious*¹³² ethnical, cultural, language, national discrimination**¹³³ are main product of that economic basis prevailing which state, stands it spread its tentacles forward to represent bourgeois class and backward to- feudal aristocratic, elite's, thus develops exhausts and expose itself-completely.

- Pakistani nationalism (religious steeped) is main product of imperialism's cosmopolitism big nationalism, aiming dissolution or denial of rights of other nations and nationalities within certain "model" of dominant nation which representing a blind chauvinistic bourgeois nationalism of monopolistic bourgeois and feudal elite's of Pakistan, and first and foremost of Punjab- which stands on the bases of Bourgeois state backed by USA, and local reaction, propagates, demands takes measures for so called Pakistani Nation building and Punjabi domination and artificially dissolution and mergers of other nations nationalities into it, seeks to hide or reinvigorate the contradictions by dressing or palliating in the name of "Islamic brotherhood" and Islamic nationalism. All these are nothing, but actually, the attempts of big bourgeois + feudal + reactionary Military junta to further, and consolidate the domination of imperialism, and specially to safe the sinking contradictory state, in the revolutionary stormy sea of w. class and oppressed national struggle.
- Characteristic feature of the state,

PAK State is un- natural, artificial, parasitic bourgeois state, under the strong frame of US imperialism's neo- colonialism

*¹³² Sunni- Shiat riots of 1985- between state and shiat, in Quetta, "Nimazi & Zikri" clashes in Mekran many times 1978, 1980 "Dawbundi- brelvi" clashes of Lahore, Karachi, Peshawer, Quetta, "Muhammadi & Wahabis" in brief. There are more than 72 sections, each doe not recognises each other, the state, its policies, and the socio- eco- conditions are main breeding soil of sectarian clashes.

**¹³³ National, language discrimination, language clashes in Sindh; Bengal testifies this, Feb 1948, 1976.

and reaction and which created on non- historical, non logical unjustified grounds against the will's ambitions and aspirations of w. class and oppressed nationalistic, East Bengal¹³⁴ (now after 1971, Bangladesh), Sindh, Pushtoonistan and Balochistan. The contradictory nature highly centralised politician origin of the economically dominant classes, created inflammable materials, which sooner or batter; with revolutionary struggle and revolution of w. class and oppressed nationalities, would have to provide sin- qui- non of its dismantling and smashing and replacing by revolutionary dictatorship of the w. masses, through National democratic revolution.

- The Pakistani state, being a pro- imperialistic, parasitic neo- colonialist centralised (artificially created Centre of power) bourgeois state have knitted inter- colonial set ups, structure—the economic colonialism, (Balochistan) through its reciprocal active influence over economic basis functions in these parts, as an established colonial, semi- colonial administration. Thus assuming complicated, contradictory and sinking character, inherent in such type of state, which sooner or latter would be cracked and dismantle through united revolutionary blows of working class, working people and oppressed nationalities.¹³⁵

The main lines of developing of the activity of the contemporary neo- colonialist Bourgeoisie state of Pakistan:

¹³⁴ Bangladesh were created in 1971, after national liberation revolution. From the beginning, the status of east Bengal was, like a colony of Pakistan- socio- economically and politically, they felt under subjugation of Pakistan (Punjab)

See documents of cp of Bangladesh "programme of ND. Rev." 3rd Congress Feb. 1980, "liberation for about 25, years under the colonial type of rule and exploitation of Pakistani rule."

¹³⁵ Indignation and discontent among the masses of Sindh and Balochistan is aggravating now- a- days. May 1982- 83 oppression on mass demonstration in Sindh, testifies further the totally ever cine machine of pro- imperialist bourgeoisie.

Following are the main lines, on which the activity of state is running:

- 1) Protection, preservation, and implementation of imperialist monopoly capital, the transitional corporations above all the USA" neo- colonialist plundering operations inside the country, and protecting imperialist monopoly (capital) property, by every means (specifically by state- liberal economic policies of privatisation's, laws for new incentives, privileges etc.) against any attempts and pressure from progressive forces and classes for their Nationalisation and demand for increasing the role of public sector in the economy, and,
- 2) Protection and developing of capitalist mode of production (as a dominant mode) preservation of pre-bourgeoisie relations in countryside (and especially in oppressed Balochistan, Sindh, Pukhtoonkhua etc.) Protection of capitalist property, feudal property and the property of Pakistani (more than 37) families of finance capital, the emergent privileged classes and social straits (like upper echelons of bureaucracy, retired generals of army superintendents of Police, specially the Military-bureaucratic capital in Pakistan.)
- 3) Regulation of the economy, the development of productive forces in the entire interest of foreign imperialist monopoly capital; in the plundering benefit of Trans national corporations; in the keen class interest of Pakistani monopolies, the family, finance capital, (specially of Punjab), and in the interest of Military—bureaucratic capital, (specially of Punjab), also taking into account, the interests of feudal- cum- bourgeois classes, but in many regions, like Balochistan and tribal areas of Pashtoonkhua (NWFP), the law of uneven developing of productive forces is under operation, the development of productive forces only in those sectors, where raw materials, specially minerals for monopolistic industries of Pakistan is needed.

- 4) In order to protect capitalist system, preserve pre-bourgeois relations (feudal mostly), lessened and smoothed over the class contradiction between capitalists and proletarian between feudal and peasants, the state intervention in their social relations, through punitive laws, expansion of social legislation's, ban on strikes, ban of politics in the trade union activities; ban on progressive literatures pamphlets (usually by naming it "anti- state", "anti- Pakistan", "against sovereignty of Pakistan" etc.) by rules and regulations limiting the activities of trade unions, the peasant associations, even co-operative associations, and also by using different methods like feudal, right orthodox terror, by eliminating of leaders etc.). For example (feudal "Gunda bands" in Sindh, Pashtoonkhua (NWFP) and Balochistan, The right orthodox- Muslim new fascist terrorist groups "thunder squad" affiliated by Jamaite-Islami etc. in Sindh, Punjab etc.) with the complete protection and instructions, even co-operations of govt.
- 5) State- control, influencing and stimulation of the mass media, like Radio- TV, press, cultural establishments also Mosques, Madrasas, "Eid Gahs". The educational institution--for the purpose of spreading, instilling bourgeois ideology, orthodox- religious propaganda, big national chauvinist ideology, tribal-feudalistic psychology—and censorship, ban on progressive, class ideology in any mass media--Thus mass media is fully in the spiritual service of ruling elitist circles classes, the bourgeoisie, imperialist, reactionary classes.
- 6) Defence of the politico- Military and economic interests of the neo- colonial, pro- imperialist Bourgeois state of Pakistan in the international arena—through collaboration with imperialist states, above all US- state acceptance of unequal subordinate military pacts (known, like SEATO, SENTO and Baghdad Pact in the past, and now, undeclared or in the new garbs, like Washington—Islamabad- Riaz axis, US—China—Islamabad, Tokyo Axis and so on), economic sanctions, dictations, grip of world capitalist economy and relations and co-operation with reactionary- feudal-

monarchical authoritarian regimes of Arabian Gulf- (like Saudi- Arabia) fascist- semi- fascist totalitarian states (like Israel, Chile, south Africa and Turkey).

7. Socio- economic, ideo-political, socio-psychological, military- strategically struggle against:
 - Anti- imperialist, democratic forces of Pakistan for example (ban on political activities, totalitarian Marshall Law rule, or civilian authoritarian rule in the country). Some times gives democratic rights, political freedom etc. but these in purposes of to bring reformism.
 - All communist, left, progressive, revolutionary democratic forces of Pakistan, in all other oppression regions, provinces, by arresting, extra judicial killings, executions imprisonment, modern torture systems, total ban on their activities.
 - Left revolutionary democratic, and national democratic forces of oppressed Balochistan, Sindh, NWFP through Military oppressions (Military oppressions on Bengal and Balochistan, now on the pushtoos of Khyber) Military and police actions (like recently on the toiling people of Sindh, and processions in Balochistan, NWFP), willing, mass arresting etc. in order to not allow them to carry struggle for their politics- economic emancipation.
 - Even, struggle all those, petit bourgeois elements, parties whom want curtailment of foreign capital, nation of foreign and local big business etc.
 - All social organizations, associations, trade unions of working class, peasantry, teachers, lawyers, doctors, employers etc. having anti- imperialist, democratic or national and class demands with such orientations.

Like permission of those social organizations, whom are working under govt. or right- reactionary political parties, espouse and under them.

- 7) The Pakistani state, being a neo- colonialist character of subordination to imperialist states, above all US- imperialist state, have not only a special function in

payment of indebtedness, the interest rates on credits to facilitate the normal flow of foreign monopoly capital and yielding of super profits; by exploitation of mass of working class, the agriculture workers, not only to export workers for monopolistic enterprises in Gulf; (in order to get hard currency in shape of remittances to pay back, the interest rates for imports etc.) not only militarization of economy is growing, but also, it allows herself to obey imperialist adventures, hegemony ambitions, and play a role of imperialist, reactionary "bridgehead" and "front-line-state" in south, south-east Asia, and to act as a destabilising instrument in the region, (undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan; pressurising instrument, against anti-imperialist non-aligned role of India; against revolutionary movements), handing over of military bases to USA in Balochistan;

- a) When due to the crises in socio-political and economic system, crises in the policies of ruling classes and groups of Pakistan, and especially due to political pressure from the masses and changing situation etc. The state function remains the same in its "content" but only the forms of political power may change. This means from Marshall Law totalitarian regime to civil-bureaucratic authoritarian or from this to petit-bourgeois or conservative democratic regimes. But when we find democratic regime with democratic freedoms (as the result of elections). But at the same time we see,

1. Limitation of the power of parliaments and assemblies.
2. Usurper of big share of power in the heads of army and bureaucratic and feudal lords of Punjab.
3. Clear-cut interference of local and foreign imperialist agencies.

Now: Benazir Butto's regime is populist type petit-bourgeois one, but the real power is in the heads of Military-bureaucratic complex, big imperialist bourgeois, guided by US- imperialist and their agencies like CIA and pentagon.

CHAPTER NO. 3

PARAGRAPH- IIb) Occupation and Forceful
annexation of Balochistan:FORCEFUL ANNEXATION:

Brief theoretic- political and legal remarks,

On the question of annexation, K. Marx, F. Angles and Lenin, laid down the methodological prepositions, for scientific approach, to this very important question of "annexation".

Three Marxist- Leninist principles, namely, principles of "Historicism", "commitment" and "Revolutionary spirit", must be guide and compass in correct, comprehensive approach to any phenomenon like, in this context, national question and question of forceful annexation.

V.I Lenin gave a brief definition, with concrete theoretical approach in his famous work, "critical analysis on National question; and right of Nations to self- determination." He said that,

<<Annexation is violation of the self- determination of a nation; it is the establishment of state frontiers contrary to the will of the population. >>

While, <<the concept of annexation usually includes:

- 1) The concept of force (Joining by mean of force)
- 2) The concept of oppression by another nation (the joining of

alien region etc.) and sometimes.

- 3) The concept of the violation of the status- quo.>> [1]

Definition:

The forceful annexation is a phenomenon, an in-humanistic violence act, by imperialist, reactionary Racialist, Zionist, Fascist and new fascist forces, bourgeois states, having a cruel, expansionistic, big or super- national chauvinistic, anti- people ambitions of oppression, domination, occupation and exploitation and their implementation by undermining national freedom independence and sovereignty of a nation, under footing and unrecognising the in alienable rights of the nations to self- determination, disregard of concept of status- quo, by purely violence annexation means, against the will, aspirations and humanistic rights of the working people of the nation, nationalities or countries by bringing under a new state boundaries.

In the period of pre- imperialist and imperialist colonialism, the nations, countries and regions were forcefully occupied by war-mongering armed forces, during the imperialist wars, imperialist, capitalist colonial power revelries, in regional conflicts and <<in division of the world, for the partition and repartition of colonies and sphere of influence of finance capital>> as Lenin put it [2], and then forcefully annexes, even divided between big robbers, like booty without regarding ethnical, linguistic, territorial, natural boundaries as did in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In Africa and Asia, the newly liberated countries are facing ethnic—tribal or national problem, being a by-product of colonial heritage of imperialist, metropolitan countries. The picture in Africa,

<<The colonial partition broke up the previous economic and cultural ties. The new political frontiers of the colonial

possessions cut across long- established ethnic territories and dismembered many African people. >> [3 a] further the authors elaborate, that,

<<The annexation colonial wars of the European capitalist powers upset the natural independent processes of economic and ethnic integration. >> [3 b]

The acts of aggression, occupational and annexation world imperialism, led by USA and their reactionary lackey regimes, haven't stopped, with the disintegration of colonial system, but it acquiring new features, new masked or necked terrorist form, with a new contents for super profit, for exploitation of working peoples and for imperialistic new-colonial domination and subjugation, directly or indirectly, through established, "artificial centres of powers" (neo-colonial reactionary or sub- imperialist bourgeoisie monopolistic state machinery). For instance ISRAEL-with the ideology of Zionism forcefully annexed not only Palestinian country, but other Arab lands by exercising Zionism.

PRETORIA-not only occupied Namibia, but also annexed South African's whole country, through apartheid system. Pakistan- not only forcefully annexed Balochistan, but, its move to annex "In the garb of Islamic nationalism."

The most vivid examples of occupations forceful annexation recorded in history, but the resolutions of Security Council and general assembly of UNO enough for enlightening of these.

About 11 resolutions of condemnation of resolutions on the censuring and condemnation of Israel's aggressive annexationist acts, wars against Arab people and countries adopted prior to October 1973.*¹³⁶

*¹³⁶ See Resolutions No. 248 of March 1968, No. 256 of August, 1968, No. 262 of Dec. 1968, No. 265 of April, 1969, No. 270 of August 16, 1970, No. 280 of May, 1970, No. 285, Sep. 5, 1970 etc.

If we turn the pages of history, we find that the forceful annexation of Balochistan different parts and regions were completed under different names, forms by various methods and means like;

- Through lease friendship and contract agreement imposed by British colonisers, and by violation of these agreements, gradual annexation of agency territories, leased own areas, after 1887 and establishment of British Balochistan.
- Incorporated it, as a province of British India.
- Partial control, annexation of Kalat Balochistan and their different more developed districts (like Dera Jat, Dera Ghazi Khan) into the provinces of British India, like Punjab, Sindh and NWFP (Pashtoonkhua).
- The Rest of the parts of Balochistan, like Sistan- o- Balochistan, was forcefully annexed and incorporated with monarchical Iran and Afghanistan, in the name of "Boundary commission" of 1872, testified in 1895-96, under the leadership of Sir.T. Holtish and Captain Makmohin.¹³⁷
- The capital of "Kalat" with the territories of Kharan, Mekran, Lasbella and Sarawan (that is Kalat Balochistan) was made dependent and semi- colony. The internal autonomy was with Khan of Kalat (Baloch tribal confederative monarch), while foreign policy was controlled completely by British.

How, and when, under what conditions the British Balochistan (colony) and Kalat Balochistan (semi- colony's) few parts were annexed in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP. The Britian Balochistan and latter Kalat independent Balochistan was annexed into Pakistan, disregarding the standstill agreement of 05 August, 1947 and all other treaties of 1841, 1954, 1976, 1883 concluded with British Government after partition of Sub-continent and creation of India-Pakistan.

¹³⁷ See further detail in Mir Gul Khan Nasir's, the history of Balochistan. P. 337.

Whether, these forceful annexations, remained in force after creation of Pakistan, why and how their transformation realised?

What was the reaction of political parties, progressive nationalists patriotic minded Baloch masses and social strata, about these new reactionary acts by Pakistan?

The main question arises about the independent, sovereign state of Balochistan, which was established just after the August 11, 1947's joint communiqué, issued by viceroy Hind. Was occupied and latter own forcefully annexed with Pakistan, against the revile and aspirations of the whole nation. What reaction was observed by different classes, parts states, their representative and nation as a whole, against this shameful reactionary, cruel act of Pakistan?

The rebellion by Baloch masses against the above forceful annexation and occupation was progressive and supported by the progressive forces?

How, one can compare this case with the case of Namibia, Palestine and other oppressed nationalities?

In order to answer all these questions one must proceed historically, logically and with the postulate of analysis synthesis.

B/1 <<Colony Trade>> between imperialist UK and Reactionary Pakistan:

(After August 14, 1947 of creation of Pakistan)

British Balochistan—Overlapping British colonial rule by new colonial, imperialistic dependent masters: Nothing has changed:

B. Balochistan. —The Militarily, politically, colonial administrative & economic base of UK colonial power, which had taken by Baloch monarchical (tribal-representative) on contract, with subsidiary <<accord of 1879, between British and Kalat, Latter, annexation of other parts, area about 9,096 sq. miles.¹³⁸>> [23]

The Quetta population of which were 24600¹³⁹ most of them was colonial army administrative, officials and other colonizers.

Quetta became the capital of British Balochistan and cantonment after 1905 became the trade market and production centre. Quetta was the first city of Balochistan where capitalistic relations (embryonic) took shape, <<simultaneously when Quetta became the city Centre of province, then the demand of food has increased.¹⁴⁰>> [24]

Quetta was not only Military Cantonment, trade and Market political administrative colonial Centre in Balochistan, but it was centre of regional. The central point, a base, from which Afghanistan, Iran, Sindh, Punjab, Arabian Sea, the trade and other aggressive colonial strategically, anti- people activities had carried out. That is why 1000 miles railway has been

¹³⁸ "American encyclopaedia" Vol. 3 pub. 1944. USA.

¹³⁹ "The Nationalities of Pakistan" by Y. Gangovsky. P. 196

¹⁴⁰ Latter Quetta, became the political centre, for the National liberation movement of Balochistan, which feed in its lap, different political organisations, associations, trade unions, students unions, engaging in political struggle for the people's N. rights.

built from Sindh (that time province of British India), through Bolan Pass*¹⁴¹ to Quetta—from Quetta to IRAN (Zaidan)**¹⁴² and—through Chamman to Kandhar (Afghanistan). The development of Quetta, as

- a) Trade, productive, Market Centre.
- b) Establishments of schools, Cinemas.
- c) Roads buildings.
- d) Huge cantonment, presence of Military and other official.
- e) Presence of colonial governor house "A. G. G" All these vividly, demonstrates that, all these modernisation in Quetta, was built basing on colonial military purposes. But all these changes in British Balochistan, though based on colonial plundering, subjugation, brought link between different parts of Balochistan, commodity, money relations, gave impetus to small commodity producer. According to "Indian independent act" and Kalat independent declaration of 11 August 1947. All the leased contracted and annexed areas, which had historically belonged to Balchistan, were being a historical part of the country of Balochistan they have to be returned back to Balochistan, in 14 August 1947. But as Marx in "capital" says, <<Force is the mid wife of every old society, pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power.***¹⁴³>> [22]

The colonised people of British Balochistan never tested freedom for a single moment. There sufferings due to new domination and operation have increased. Burden of heavy taxes (raised almost 350%), with very low wages for mine road and other workers (12 paisa per month) and police repressions against the workers of political parties remained

*¹⁴¹ Bolan Pass is the famous historical pass in Balochistan, which saw many epoch, periods of aggressive, colonial forces and also patriotic defenders.

**¹⁴² Zaidan, the capital of Iranian Balochistan & Sistan, ginue to Iran Kingdome by British.

***¹⁴³ K. Marx "capital" Vol. I P. 703, Pub. Moscow New edition.

order of the day. The trade market and shopping was controlled by the outsiders. The suppression small commodity producer tightened the grip over Flock-owner tribes, imposed by the new administration.

Legal and political position:

- It was refusal and undermining of Indian independent act 1947, in which all principally states should decide their own accords.
- It was equal to the dashing, "the stand still agreement" of 11 August, 1947, between govt. of Kalat and govt. of Pakistan under UK auspices as the article-II of the agreement clearly mentions that <<After clearing the legal position of this matter, it should be decided between two states, till, that period a stand- still agreement would be in force. >>
- The so-called votes, taken from municipal committee Quetta*¹⁴⁴ in favour of Pakistan from clearly shows:
 - a) Undermining of all legal treaties, between independent Kalat state and British crown, especially treaties of 1876, 1879.
 - b) Denial of all independent acts, declarations by the side of UK.
 - c) Proves, imperialistic, reactionary plot between colonial state of Pakistan (one the plan of partition of India) and British colonialists for future evil, anti- Baloch designs.

*¹⁴⁴ July 1947, in town Hall Quetta, elections were held in which, (by using different means) the members of Quetta Municipality & "Shahi Jirga" gave vote in favour of Pakistan. Here mention should me made, that:

- a)—The members of Quetta Municipality & "Shahi Jirga" were puppet, self- nominated, pro- British elitist circles, most of them were colonisers. People neither elected them, nor they represented the will of the people.
- b)—The real representatives of the people were their political spokesman, which were in the prisons.

- d) It also expose, very brightly, the UK's economic interests as well as, military, in Balochistan and its plan to keep Balochistan under her control—by this or that way in future.
- It was a revengeful action on Kalat, by the side of British imperialism to put Kalat to undermine the sovereignty integrity and unification of Balochistan—this was the result of the people demonstrations agitation*¹⁴⁵ against British plots, to get the contract of "Jiwani" to turn it into Naval base both for military and trade purposes.
 - K.S.N.P which was called for united National front, the preparatory committee, met with Anjoman -e- Watan (British Balochi) Baloch league (Karachi), which also called people to struggle against colonial semi-colonialism and against clan chieftainship for the complete emancipation and unification of Balochistan.
 - Handing over of British Balochistan to Pakistan, meant, to create pre- conditions—for complete and gradual occupation and then annexation of rest of Balochistan, the aim which was not completed by UK, it should be completed by its lackeys parasitic elitist circles of Pakistan.
 - Politically, it was selling of people's of British Balochistan, against their will & aspirations to another colonial buyer, with very cheap prices—which memorises, the progressive mankind, the cases of Palestine, Namibia, & people of South Africa, Bantustan and many other countries. Thus it was "colony trade" which was replaced "slave trade" in a sense, that, slave were soled from one to another slave owner, but without land—in Balochistan—It was

*¹⁴⁵ K.S.N.P—exposed from 1936, the policies of British & through mass struggle, they undermined the coming imposed terms and treaties about ports. Because, in 1938—39, the British handed over, the Gwader to Sultan of Oman, in order to get more oil extracting & base privileges & to hold Oman completely as a protectorate, and also aim was this to divert Balochistan people's attention.

slave¹⁴⁶ also slave trade, with their motherland. This was the new imperialistic design to finally hold and control Balochistan through his lackeys.

¹⁴⁶ The slave system in Balochistan was abolished in 1926—27, by decree of Kalat State.

PARAGRAPH II

GRADUAL OCCUPATION AND
FORCEFUL ANNEXATION OF
B/2) INDEPENDENT BALOCHISTAN:
(March 1948—June 1954).

The modern National liberation struggle of the peoples of oppressed and dominated Balochistan, with new forms orientation and Programme, under new conditions, started historic- logically with the "colony trade" of British-Balochistan, and gradual occupation forceful annexation of independent, sovereign Balochistan, by imperialistically designed, artificially created in the interests of Greater Punjab and the upper Bourgeoisie, feudal classes in the name of and "Ideal Muslim State" of Pakistan.

The latter, according to Zia- ul- Haq.

<<Pakistan is like Israel, an ideological state. >> [7]

For more detail and comprehensive look on the question of forceful annexation and occupation of independent Balochistan, one has to use the following methodological prepositions.

- Whether occupation and annexation was occurred against the will and aspiration of the masses, the nation and progressive classes, social strata and their political representatives?
- What the decisions of the representatives of the masses and their assemblies?
- <<A clear cut distinction, according to Lenin, between the interests of the oppressed class and exploited people and the general concept of the national interests as a whole, which implies the interest of the ruling class>>

- <<An equally clear distinction between the oppressed dependent, subject nations and the oppressing, exploiting and sovereign nations.>> [8]
- Long term aims of imperialism and upper ruling classes of Pakistan, above all Punjab's national interests, the interest of Punjab upper classes in occupations and expansionistic policies.
- The Mass rebellion with progressive directions against occupation and annexation and their continuation with anti- imperialist direction, by progressive Baloch masses, classes and part strata, and the interests of the peoples of Balochistan.

Speaking historically, with special emphasis, it was clear, that Balochistan, from August 11, 1947 got her complete independent status from British- semi- colonial and colonial yoke. The declaration of an independent monarchical parliamentary (England Model) state with two "Houses". The "House of Common" (elected by people's representatives) and "House of Lords" (traditionally elected by tribes, having hereditary status, nominated by Khan). Shows perfectly well, that the political, legal and national status of Balochistan, after declaration of independence officially, and functioning as independent sovereign national state from August 12, 1947—till March 30, 1948) and as a autonomous country with Pakistani advisor from March 1948—till June, 1954), as united state of Balochistan. So, it is quite clear from the above discussion that:

- Occupied and forcefully annexed country by reactionary Pakistan.
 - The right of nation to self-determination, and the inalienable right of people of occupied Balochistan.
- So, the mankind, the UNO and other peace and freedom loving people have to support the genuine demand of the masses of occupied Balochistan.

The role of Baloch Masses and different marginal social strata against annexation:

The political, national movement combined with the feeling of national awareness, traditionally militancy in socio-psychological behaviour, love to freedom, these were the finest traits combined with the positive national patriotic feelings revolutionary democratic ideology, petit- bourgeois democratic thinking and with negative tribal, chieftainship, feudal nationalistic ideology in socio- psychological politics, were reflecting in the superstructure, in one form or another form, representing the interests of the different classes marginal ones and other social groups resulted in unfolding of the movement.

When just after the formation of reactionary Pakistan, (a neo- colonialist bourgeoisie- feudal state in between India and Balochistan). The expansionistic aims of orthodox- middle class, Muslim feudal party, "the Muslim league" was felt necessary, then the exertion of pressure on independent Balochistan on the question of annexation, became a prime task of the designers of the Greater Punjab and their upper classes (like rising monopolistic bourgeoisie and feudal lords).

So, by different ways and means under different methods, the forceful annexation of Balochistan is realised.

Under the forceful annexationist ambitions of the upper classes, the will of the Baloch people always been undermined in the history; disregarded to their independence and sovereignty became the prime aim and main key for exploitation and subjugation of the forcefully annexed country or nation.

The name of Islam, "An Islamic Ideal State"

The so-called two nation theory "Muslim and Hindu" by waste propagation of communal rites after partition; by the diplomatic missions of the governor general, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's tours and threatening methods at February, 1948, at Sibi, the ruling quarters of reactionary Pakistan, tried their utmost best, to influence Balochistan, to join Pakistan, but all these gone in vain.

Then, the process of threatening, preparation for violence means, controlling of sea coast of Balochistan by naval forces; conspiracy games, bribing corrupting methods to feudal and tribal chiefs of Mekran, Kharan and Lasbella districts, and also administration + in dictation of class interests + threatening to Khan of Kalat. Like,

Governor general's letter to Khan on February 2, 1948 in which it is written, that,

<<I was glad to meet your Prime Minister ...I advise you to join Pakistan without further delay. >> [9]

This letter of Governor General of Pakistan indicates very well, that the Pakistani rulers already decided to swallow Balochistan by force, and turn it into colony of Pakistan.

The threatening methods, pressurising tactics, economic blockade, conspiracy moves were strongly condemned, by the majority of population specially among the freedom loving people, their representative <<Kalat State National Party. >>

The vigorous struggles, against Pakistani colonial moves, were given solidly by the elected assembly <<House of common>>, politically and ideologically.

Politically the <<house of Common>> was represented the middle-urban, semi-urban strata, including revolutionary and democratic intelligentsia, the petit producers, artisans, handicrafts, rising national merchants, traders, small

shopkeepers. The peasantry and working people on the one hand and patriotic, nationalistic and reformistic forces, the patriotic clergy (like Maulana Arz Mohd, Maulana Mohd Umar) patriotic informal tribal leaders, on the other hand.

Composition of "House of Common"

Nation Traders and merchants, (Muslim Hindu)		Patriotic Clergy	Patriotic nationalist, middle strata "Zamindars and petit producers. The Mirs.	
No of Seats	10	5	37	K.S.N.P. 39

[10]

After the communal tribal political organisations the "House of Common" was the first democratically elected assembly of independent and sovereign Balochistan, in the age of imperialism in the history of Baloch society.

So, the decision of the "House of Common" had thought, the decision of the bulk of population representing the interests of the Baloch nation as a whole. Being a modern democratic political institution, contrary to the <<House of Lord>> (the traditional political institution or assembly), it was representing the interests of the broader masses, including the interests of the rising National merchants, traders, petit bourgeoisie and patriotic nationalist forces.

Though the masses consist of different classes marginal strata and social groups. There was a contradiction within the assembly, between the representatives of different classes and social groups, but only on the questions of society's socio- economic, politico- culture development.

But, on the questions of:

- Liberation of British Balochistan from the Pakistani colonial yoke of and its incorporation with united Balochistan.
- National sovereignty and independence of Balochistan against the encroachments, annexationistic designs of reactionary and chauvinistic Pakistan.

The unity among the members of "House of common" their bold persistent stands against annexation, and anonymously decisions, reflects perfectly well the major contradiction in the space and time; the antagonistic contradiction with sharp between the patriotic, freedom loving national democratic forces and the rising national bourgeois of Balochistan on the one hand, and the big national chauvinistic feudal, colonial heritages bureaucracy, military elitist and so-called Muslim bourgeois, Pakistani reactionary and conservative encroachers, on the other hand.

The common unanimous decisions of the "House of common's" in the sessions of December 12, 1947, and February 25, 1948 at Dhadar, it is clearly mentioned that,

<<There will be no discussions and relations on the question of annexation. The only possible relations with Pakistan be friendly relations like between two independent and sovereign countries. >> [11]

According to the data, compiled on the basis of the book <<Pakistan's Baloch>> (Russian) by B. Ibrahimov, Balochistan (Kalat, Mekran, Kharan, Lasbella) four years before partial annexation was 168.8 thousands among them 81.4% was engaged in agriculture, cattle breeding and nomadic more than 2% in fishing, 0.4% in mining, 7.6% in construction, 3.1% in trade and commerce, 1.2% in transport, 1.8% in higher civil services, 1.8% in lower civil services including clerks, peon etc. and 0.5% in other jobs.

Among 81.4% of labour force engaged in Agriculture, more than 55% of them were petit producers and 18.48% of total labour force was engaged in trade, transport, fishing,

mining, construction and services artisans etc." [12] which were representing in one form and other form by Kalat state national party and above all in <<House of Common. >>

Though in house of common, the representatives of the rich peasants and clergy patriots and emerging national bourgeois type merchants were also their, but the part of clergy turned as a religious feudal type hierarchy stood milts feudal.

In spite of fact, that the members of "House of Common" were elected on limited franchise bases under constitutional type monarchical rule, but the majority party, "KSNP" which got 75% of seats (included 47 elected and 5 nominated) and 82.9 percent of seats among the elected seats in the house of common.

According to the composition of "KSNP" it was representing petit producers, the handicrafts, artisan shopkeepers, traders, transport, mining, construction and fishing workers, even patriotic mind, rich peasants, the middle strata civil services, intelligentsia (national) students emerging national bourgeois (very weak in deed) and democratic forces and according to the Programme of "KSNP" it was representing the interests of the petit producers and working masses and national democratic forces in general.

So, the voice of "KSNP" and the decision of the "House of Common" was the voice of people and decisions of the people for the maintained defence of their national identity, national sovereignty and independence, against any foreign encroachments and plan for occupation. Which fully corresponded ideologically politically the entire interests of the population above all the working people for their better life, for development of productive forces and society as a whole the development of which was impeded, deformed due to Balochistan's dependent and semi-colonial position, and because of the British policies towards dependent

countries, deliberately the preservation of pre- bourgeoisie relations above all archaic traditional institutions.

And legally, the decision of the sessions of House of Common against annexation and maintainers of country's freedom was corresponded fully <<the independent act of 1947>>, <<Kalat (Balochistan's) independence communiqué of August 11, 1947>> and the <<official declaration of Balochistan's independence of August 12, 1947>> and specifically the aspirations of the masses, the tribes which were broadly manifested during the independence day, from the semi- colonial yoke of imperialist Britain, and their oath persistent determinacy for the liberation of other colonial parts of Balochistan (British Balochistan, the leased territories etc.).

The <<House of Lord>> a traditionally archaic political assembly, consist of 36 traditionally inherited tribal chiefs of the "Sardari Jirgah" (tribal chieftain council), also vigorously decided in its 4 January's session of 1948 at "Dhader" against annexation in the joint decision of the House, it is said that,

<<The house will accept any decision of "Khan" the great about the friendly relation with govt. of Pakistan, basing and retaining the independence and sovereignty of this country (Balochistan) but, the house would not accept any decision about annexation with Pakistan which undermine or end the separate identity of Baloch nation. >> [13]

This decision shows the positive aspect politically and psychologically of the traditional institutions, having patriotic anti-colonial character, but the house of Lord had dialectically complex, and contradictory character.

The patriotism and nationalism of tribal chiefs were tribal patriotism and feudal nationalist one. Traditionally, psychologically and due to class interests the annexation with Pakistan, would have been seen by them, undermining

and limiting of their traditional power and the "power" especially in independent Balochistan.

So the interests of the Balochistan's traditional rulers, became in sharp contradiction with the new colonial-reactionary rulers of Pakistan and orthodox- Muslim feudal—thus Baloch feudal nationalism in the above decision of "House" manifested itself in contradistinction with Pakistani (Punjabi) chauvinistic nationalism having colonial and expansionistic aims.

But these contradictions haven't taken the form of antagonistic contradictions because these contradictions were between the upper traditional rulers verses Pakistani colonial heritage, upper rulers above all feudal.

As because <<the landlords were the largest single grouping on the Muslim league national council...the landlords (in league with civil servants) prevented any basic reforms. >>

In Pakistan as whole 6000 landlords owned more than 3.5 million peasant house holds, many of them were political or religious leaders in their region. >> [14]

That was the reason, in case of limiting the power of traditional rulers a seeds of patriotism and anti- Punjabi supra-nationalism, came at the fore, traditional politics in the frame of socio- psychological manifested them in anti-colonial decisions with positive elements with the support of progressive classes and part strata in House of common.

But due to the backwardness of society, weakness of national state with embryonic form the process of national integration became difficult and due to the monarchical constitutional (limited) type rule from above the integration of the common efforts against colonialism and foreign encroachment for safeguarding independence of two institutions, the modern emerging and Archaic social structures did not gave energetic blow to encroachers.

The <<House of Common>> having a petit- bourgeois out look in general got a vacillating character due to influence of tribalism did not take vigorous political actions and did not start political vigorous more energetic campaign for the mobilisation preparation of masses against any actions for annexation, the influence of reformistic bourgeoisie ideas of non- violence on the few elements of "KSNP" also played their role in limiting the function of the national democratic in the boundaries of "House of Common" in fact:

- Weakness of rising national bourgeoisie
- Weak national patriotism, because of its grass root to traditional tribal structures.
- Lack of commanding national politics and party.
- Limited power of House of common in state formation.
- Above all forceful violation of status- quo, corruption of "Khan and Nawabs" by Pakistan.
- The unpersistent, tribalistic feudalistic class character of "House of Lord".

But on the other hand weak gearing of national integration process cause by the "House of Lord", the seeds of disintegrated inherited in the narrow- class interests of the tribal chiefs, the traditional ruling elite's with traditional forms of exploitation to the masses, but with traditional forms of compromising, collaborating and vacillating character.

The "House of Lord" felt their power liquidated in annexation with Pakistan—thus this contradiction forceful annexation. But on the question of national integration; democratic decision of House of common; the question of limiting traditional exploitation of the people by KSNP, they came to contradiction with the modern democratic institutions in Balochistan which led them to vacillation and compromise.

Specially, the threat of usage of force, by Pakistan; promising of restoration of their traditional power under Pakistan; corruption of Khan and Nawabs ultimately, turned

the patriotism and feudal nationalism into tribal patriotism and protective conservative nationalism having a compromising, collaborating, subordinating and vacillating character with colonial- state apparatus.

That is why the monarch "Khan" himself states, that, "I signed on the documents of forceful annexation without consulting my people."

And the Nawab of Mekran, Kharan, Lasbella and other Sardars and Nawabs surrendered the national interests of people and country.

In the above discussion, it is concluded perfectly well, that, neither the toiling people of Balochistan nor their representative assemblies were in the favour of annexation.

Pakistan forcefully annexes Balochistan and mass spontaneous rebellion:

The process of forceful annexation of independent Balochistan was very cunning, tactical corruptive type combined with strong violence, against the will, aspirations of the freedom loving people of Balochistan. Which is unlashd and completed as follows:

- Denial of the reception and receive of the 15 Men governmental + parliamentary delegation of independent Balochistan.
- The question of Kalat was shifted from Governor General to Minister of foreign and state affairs, at 8 March 1948.
- Control of Balochistan coast through Pakistan Naval forces and announcement of the Major districts of Balochistan (Mekran, Lasbella and Kharan) 1st as independent states, then at 17 March 1948, their forceful annexation with Pakistan was completed against the will of the whole population—accept "Nawabs".
- All the Military and police forces of Pakistan at Quetta, Sindh, and Punjab were alerted for Military operation to

suppress any rebellion, as an obstacle in front of forceful annexation.

Govt. of Pakistan ordered Brigadier of Quetta, <<prepare and alert for oppression on Kalat>> [15]

- Surrender and abrogation of "Khan of Kalat" at 27 March 1948.
- Forceful annexation of Balochistan was completed at 28, 29 March 1948.
- Arrestations ban on politics and "KSNP" imprisonment of leader.
- Tortures were carried out.

The causes of forceful annexation:

- After the failure of the Muslim league leaders to achieve the whole of Punjab and Bengal—the religious orthox chauvinistic, expansionistic ambition of pro- imperialist conservative feudal classes and reactionary Muslim bourgeois and colonial Military generals and bureaucratic elite, for greater Punjab—was found its way in forceful annexation of Kashmir, Balochistan and others.
- Need to establish economic colonialism in Balochistan—as a raw material and energy supplier for the industries of Pakistan—in the interests of Muslim clan rising monopolistic bourgeoisie of Pakistan. The monopolistic companies of which already replaced English companies like <<Balochistan chrome company>>, <<Imperial chemicals industries>>, <<Paveel Dafrin>>, "Bernia oil company" etc.

In 1959, the industrial assets of private Muslim clan bourgeoisie in Pakistan was 67percent, the share of foreign and non- Muslim bourgeoisie was 21.5 percent, which the share of public enterprises were only 12% in which the pure governmental share was only 5 percent.

So, the forceful annexation of Balochistan, (due to its strategic trade and rich mineral resources) was holly and solely was in the entire interests of the Muslim monopolistic bourgeois committees, the feudal lords of Punjab and ruling upper pro- imperialist echelon of Military and bureaucratic elites against the will aspiration and interests of the working people of Balochistan—thus Pakistan's act of aggression qualifies the terms occupation forceful annexation and economic colonisation of Balochistan.

The most backwardness of contemporary Balochistan, with lowest per capita income, the highest illiteracy rate in Pakistan; typical special type colonial superstructure with colonial economic structure—is the main base for raw material supplier of Pakistani industries functions as a main back bone hard currency; energy supplier with low population.

According to the fresh data, issued by <<Pakistan 10 years in statistics>. Of 1980—81, Balochistan produces 80.9% natural gas in Pakistan Fluorite 100 %, Magnesite 100%, Manganese 100%, sulphur 100%, coal 51.9 %, Barites 71.8% (15,832 tonnes annually) chromites 100%, Marble 10.2% and Ebray stone 100 percent of all Pakistan's production. [Compiled by us] [16]

The major and most important minerals are exploiting by Balochistan, only through natural gas Pakistan gets annually 275 million \$ in hard currency, 50 million \$ from <<Gaddani ship-breaking. >>

Establishment of US- bases in Balochistan. Presence of 65-division army including paramilitary forces—Engagement of more than 10 transitional companies in exploration of minerals, testifies the economic- colonialism of Pakistan and foreign monopolies.

Balochistan after occupation have been turned an object of exploiting raw material supplier to Pakistan.

- To control (43% of Pakistan territory now) waste territory of Balochistan, specially the long coast (about 760 mile) for Multi- purposes for deployment of imperialistic bases and economic aims only through her forceful annexation and colonisation.
- To hold annexed Balochistan (British colony). to suppress national liberation movement for united Balochistan and to assist shah- e- Iran in this connection for retaining of Sistan- o- Balochistan.
- To balance the two wings (East and West) through annexation of Balochistan.

Spontaneous rebellion against annexation:

While profoundly comprehensive assessing the question of forceful annexation of alien territory and retaining the nation against the will of population in a new state boundary—The manifestation of the reaction of population, the rate of protest and show off the national awareness and sentiments of the masses, (which depends upon the political consciousness, national unity, the political organisation and strength of the masses to combat foreign cruel forces) should always be considered and the enemy's or occupants actions against population, specially their political parties.

Just after forceful annexation, the occupation of Balochistan was tightened with military might, police strength, administrative colonial net work, diplomatic corrupting moves, arresting, imprisonments, tortures, expulsion of patriotic minded civil servicemen, detentions of leaders of KSNP, ban on KSNP in Pakistan with special orders.

The reaction of peoples the tribes the nomads the working population, the revolutionary youth, patriotic minded national forces and even clergy of Balochistan, their manifestation in spontaneous rebellion in Sarawan, "Serlatt", Jhalawan, protest in Quetta, Mekran and other parts of Balochistan and which is continued after 32 years of

complete annexation with a clearest anti- imperialistic, anti-colonial, national directions, with new Programme and strength under progressive ideology till now; once again confirms and testifies and open the eyes of progressive mankind and progressive forces in Pakistan, that the aggressive shameful act of forceful annexation and occupation of Balochistan by reactionary Pakistan was,

- Against the will aspiration interests of the working peoples of Balochistan.
- Against the inalienable right of Baloch nation to self-determination for the undermining of not only the independent and sovereign status of Balochistan, but also rules of UNO.
- For the forceful retention of Balochistan in alien pro-imperialist neo- colonialist state boundaries for the oppression, suppression and domination of oppressor Punjab's upper classes over Balochistan.
- The struggle against forceful occupation of Balochistan is historical duties of revolutionary forces.

The rebellion of people of Balochistan against Pakistani annexation and occupation is progress, anti- imperialist struggle, if we the progressive know the ABC of Marxism—Leninism; we must not only condemn the act of Pakistan's occupation and forceful retention of Balochistan not only to support the struggle of progressive classes and social groups, but also fight for their right of nation to self-determination. We, the revolutionaries are against occupation of independent territories, by imperialist and their ally lackey reactionary forces, because we are for the Leninist right of nation to self- determination and restoration of historic status of Balochistan, which is recognised by UNO.

Because, we stand to weaken and undermine the economic back bone of foreign imperialist and local clan monopolies in Pakistan—to provide the opportunity to the working class

to attack on bourgeoisie machinery for class emancipation and power which would weaken through such rebellions.

As Lenin expressed it,

<<If we do not want to betray socialism we must support every revolt against our chief enemy, the bourgeoisie of the big states, provided it is not the revolt of a reactionary class. By refusing to support the revolt of the annexed regions. We become objectively, annexationists. It is precisely in the "era of imperialism", which is the era of nascent social revolution, that the proletariat will today give especially vigorous support to any revolt of the annexed regions so that tomorrow, or simultaneously, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the "great" power that is weakened by the revolt. >> [17]

From different political corners, supporters of the supra-national chauvinism, the pseudo-leftists and right wing reactionary elements, favour the shameful aggressive act of Pakistan, in the pretext, that the National liberation revolt in Balochistan is revolt of conservative traditional tribal chiefs for the restoration of their traditional power. The Pakistani economic colonialism, introduction of capitalist relations are progressive that is why, the support of revolt in Balochistan, means to support conservative classes against modernisation and the suppression and condemnation of such revolt means in favour of modernisation (better to say Pakistanisation) in favour of peoples.

Close looks at such a phrase—mongering full supporters of forceful annexation covering it with playing of words.

In the historical sequence, we proved, that the upper ruling echelons of traditional institutions, the Khan's, Nawabs, Sardars, rich zamindar's nationalism was always feudal nationalism, their patriotism is tribal patriotism, easily stepping towards compromising, conservative nationalism and patriotism, surrendering national interests, betraying people, for their narrow class interests that is why British

colonisers, subordinated these traditional institutions for carrying of their colonial and semi- colonial rule and exploitation of masses through traditional political institution, the "Khan and Sardars" and the latter through the support of colonial rulers, exploited people.

This process, subordination of traditional political ruling institutions and their utilisation in favour of ruling classes, Military bureaucratic elitist, the big bourgeoisie and feudal lords of Punjab was neither stopped nor weakened under Pakistani occupation, but it is feudal strengthened favoured, even made it social pillars for maintenance of colonial rule over Balochistan, for national domination subjugation and class oppression both by Pakistani rulers and Sardars.

Preservation of pre- bourgeoisie relation evens pre- feudal archaic institutions; continuation of Jirgah systems; the strong alliance, closest co-operation of tribal chiefs with colonial administrations (with military general, bureaucratic officer's civil high official's settlement depths. With police heads etc.) Enforcement of British "Sandeman system" maintenance of Sardars Levee systems; provision of social status in government; this and other factors, like in suppression of Balochistan movement, 90% of tribal chiefs collaborated with Pakistani authorities.

Even for taking of any step towards forceful annexation and occupation of Balochistan, the Pakistani neo- colonial rulers took especially into account the entire interests of the tribal chiefs the "Khan" "Nawabs" and "Maliks". The English policy was geared with Islamic injection to traditional ruling institutions, after annexation of "Kalat State" (including so-called Mekran, Kharan, Lasbella states) the upper colonial administration was exercised through the Khan and Nawabs rule; the formation of the "united states of Balochistan" in 9 April, 1952 in favour of Pakistani colonial rulers, and their main social pillars, the feudal lords, Nawabs, Sardars (the non-patriotic upper crust) in order to:

- Palliate and smooth over the anti-colonial and Sardari system antagonistic contradictions.
- To take a time to boil down the sentiments and feelings of national awareness, rebellion action, discontent and fissure among the masses, due to colonial economic structure + pre-bourgeoisie relations the socio-economic crises.
- To suppress the national liberation movement, by dramatising that "feudalism ended era of democracy started" etc. in order to open the way for complete annexation. And which finally completed with suggestions and acceptance of these "Sardars, Nawabs" in 16 June, 1954 at town Hall Quetta, by Minister of state and boarder region Mr. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gorman's announcement of official suggestion the annexation of union states of Balochistan, in the Pakistan Province of Balochistan.

Though this decision limited the powers of Sardars but the conflict for the power, never took the form of clashes, antagonistic contradictions, it always remained in the frame work of compromise, even with the suggestion of Khan and other Sardars the united States of Balochistan at 20 September 1954, because the special area of Province of Balochistan.

The so-called progressive ideologes, and hidden pro-occupations bourgeoisie thinkers, while dealing with the question of Balochistan and national liberation movement always ignore the contradictions in the society. The colonial type economic relation with pre-bourgeoisie relations impeding the development of productive force, making the difficult the life of the working people; the colonial type administration and state apparatus with their traditional allies;

Also ignores the interests of the lower classes of Balochistan and not see the interests of the ruling classes of Punjab, in the occupation of Balochistan.

They, even do not pay attention to the struggle of the national progressive forces, the progressive classes and social groups, with an anti-imperialist anti-colonial (Pakistan reactionary rule) and anti-feudal direction which not only struggling with revolutionary programme, against the upper classes of Pakistan, but also, against the imperialistic monopolies and local feudal chiefs for national and social emancipation that is why which is to dialectically linked with anti-imperialist struggle, class struggle in Pakistan, but also dynamic form of class struggle in Balochistan becoming significant, energetic democratic struggle and its revolutionary flow of water is in the main stream of world revolutionary process, against world imperialism for progress,, peace, national liberation and socialism.

As Marx said in its letter to,

<<It the special task of the central council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but the first condition of their own social emancipation. >> [19]

In the age of imperialism, present condition and to totalitarian rule of Pakistani reactionary dictatorial circles, representing the Punjab's finance capital military-bureaucratic capital combined with feudal lords, under strong grip of US- imperialism's neo- colonial domination. The occupational questions of Balochistan, the right of nation to self- determination for national emancipation bring at the fore—because it is not only the prime condition only of their social emancipation, but it became the condition for the class emancipation of the workers of the oppressor Punjab and national and social emancipation of the oppressed nationalities. The practical revolutionary solidarity with the national liberation movement of Balochistan is the practical step for the unification of the oppressed working people of the oppressor and oppressed nationalities, and the practical solidarity from the side of

people of Balochistan with the class struggle of working class and working people of Punjab and the national struggle of the oppressed nationalities means a strong step for the creation of broad anti- imperialist national front against US- imperialism and its reactionary Pakistani rulers.

As is the importance of national question was characterised in the recent plenary session cc of the communist party of Pakistan, that

<<The problems of national rights and provincial autonomy has come to the forefront in democratic struggle and it is encouraging to see that wider circles of the democratic movement are paying attention to it as democratic struggle is inconceivable without raising the demand for the equal rights for all the nationalities and national and ethnic minorities. >> [19]

To be more precisely, and concretely the demand and vigorous struggle and support of the right of nations to self-determination of the oppressed nations in Pakistan, not only an important demand a dynamic element of democracy and anti- imperialist democratic struggle, not only as an inalienable right for dismantling political domination an opening a way to economic emancipation of these oppressed working people, not only a manifestation of the specific form (but major) of the class struggle of the oppressed working people; but it is part and parcel and by product of class struggle an element of National liberation Revolutions, and world revolutionary process.

Therefore, concrete and scientific Leninist approach to the national question and their revolts; practical support and fight for their right of self- determination; for more clearing its anti- imperialist- democratic content; even wider participation of the progressive classes and forces guidance by revolutionary democratic or communist forces for the benefit of working people; and its true politico- ideological

and practical connection with the national- democratic movement in general (in Pakistan) under the banner of revolutionary teaching provide the Sin-que-non for the unity of working class and working people of oppressor and oppressed nations. The alliance would indispensably play the role of main motive lever for National democratic revolution (with its specifics).

Denial, ignoring and limiting the right of nations to self-determination (and revolutionary struggle for it) only to the struggle for provincial or National autonomy, to saying that under socialism it would be solved is nothing that, to service the class enemy the upper classes of oppressor nation their big monopolistic bourgeoisie and feudal collaborators, the capitalism, the US- neo- colonial domination and inter-colonial and semi- colonial set ups in Balochistan, Pushtoonistan and Sindh by neo- colonial bourgeoisie state of reactionary Pakistan.

Which says that,

<<Pro- Pakistani reactionary political parties and some moist political groups took stand against national independence...our party from very outset, actively participated in the national independence movement and the liberation war. >> (Of Bangladesh) [20]

The theory and tactics of communist party of Bangladesh established closer contacts and relations with the working masses of Bangladesh. During the genuine independence war of peoples of Bangladesh, the communist party was with the masses allied with National democratic forces, but after the independence. The party is again with the working masses and anti- imperialist democratic forces, but with more strong roots and everlasting guiding and vanguard influence and which in the process of bitter struggle would turn it into a practical vanguard a guiding and leading party of working class and all working people.

The revolutionary parties and forces, while dealing the national question of subjugated people always take into

account the objective material conditions, the forms and ways of the exploitation of the working people, the forms of politico- economic domination, the level and socio-economic changes, the arising system of contradictions of the society, the political consciousness of the people; the main role of progressive or reactionary classes and social groups, the main direction of the movement; the interests of those of the working masses and ruling and local exploiter classes; the structure function of the state, law political system of society and its links and dependency on world imperialism. In this way, the strategy on national question is Leninist according to Marxist doctrine, but only the thing missing in tactics is revolutionary fight for its realisation.

While adopting such policies, the Leninist methodological preposition be always guide, about taking into account the two historical tendencies of national problem under rising and developing capitalism, which are according to V. I. Lenin,

First: are the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression and the creation of national states.

Second: is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break down of national baniers, the creation of the international unity of capital of economic life in general of politics, science etc.

Tendencies are the universal law of capitalism, the former predominates in the beginning of its development, and the latter characterises the mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society. >> [21]

Conclusion

Using the above Leninist methodological prepositions, it can be seen through the revolutionary experience of the masses, the vigorous activities of progressive nationalist and social groups, that in Balochistan first historical tendency is strong that is,

- Awakening of national life and an anti- imperialist anti- reactionery Pakistan anti- feudal national revolutionary movement, against special type colonialism.
- National awareness, national consciousness psychologically politically is growing and the demand for the right of nation to self- determination acquiring more widen scope from progressive forces for more deeper vigorous revolutionary struggle and action, and this demand being significant demand of democracy becoming part and parcel of class struggle and an dynamic element for defence revolutions around.
- The persistent struggle for decolonization of Balochistan is getting new life and momentum and its dialectical connection with National democratic anti- imperialist struggle in Pakistan, provide and supplement it with new scope and perspectives for weakening of imperialism neo- colonial hold and reactionery Pakistan's special type colonial set up, for the better future of working masses.

The first historical tendency about Balochistan problem is more strong then any other part (accept those parts of Pakistan which are under colonial treatment). Because of the:

- Socio- economic backwardness, multi- structural marginal socio- economic (colonial) relations in Balochistan.
- Perseverance and retaining of pre- bourgeoisie relations. .
- Law of uneven socio- economic development creating uneven political situation.
- Colonial and pre- bourgeoisie production relations are coming in a basic contradiction with the developing (slow) productive forces and in fact these outdated relations are becoming fetter in the way of development of productive forces which is creating an subjective need for the salvation of this basic contradiction and for the development of national productive forces through National liberation Revolution.
- The contradictions in the superstructure between the colonial state administration its politics ideology, culture policy, strategy and activities and the archaic traditional institutional ideas, politics on the one hand and the progressive, revolutionary ideas representing the entire interests of the oppressed working masses and which reflecting the contradictions of the economic basis and the national bourgeoisie ideology representing the national interests as a whole, on the other hand providing as further impetus to anti- imperialist, anti- colonial , anti- feudal national liberation struggle.
- Anti- popular policies of dictatorial rule of Pakistan and continuous aggression over Balochistan, regenerating the militant fighting traditions of masses, but with new lines Programme, orientation, spirit and political

guideline which find its way through national resistance movement.

- Exploitation of Balochistan as a raw material supplier by the foreign imperialistic and Pakistani sub- imperialistic monopolies, exploitation of labour force which is bring national contradiction of the time and which are manifesting itself through the national and social struggle of Balochistan and anti- imperialist struggle in Pakistan.



Balochi Carpet Embroidary

CONCLUSIONS:

All embracing analysis of Historical traditions in Pre-colonial period and their role and impact on statehood and nationalism and on contemporary stage with the analysis of their socio-economic, politico-ideological and socio-psychological and historical roots permits us to make the following conclusions:

From the profound historical research, with deep, comprehensive all faceted analysis of Baloch society, it is concluded, that the evaluation, patterns and laws of socio-economic and politico-ideological development in Baloch society, with its specific features, with the proper dialectics of the general and particular, is based on the materialistic conception of history, as a natural historical law governed process, with strict "historicism"¹⁴⁷. Which once again convincingly and comprehensively, proves the Marxist doctrine of Socio-economic formation and its onward succession, and the Marxist theory of Society. This conclusion could serve, as a scientific answer to all those bourgeoisie sociologists, who consider, Baloch society, as something extraordinary, uncivilised tribal society, without any regularity.

Baloch society, being as a living organism, in state of its constant development and dynamism, (though, its natural development was impeded by reactionary and conservative forces temporarily), with its specifics is, as a general rule, comparable, even same in many oriental societies, even African ones. But Baloch society had and have, its own specific characteristic features, with more, transitory character of the formations, because of the specific correlation of the development of Productive forces, with

¹⁴⁷ As Lenin said, that <<history as a single process which, with all its immense varieties and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws>>. [V.I. Lenin, collected works, vol .21, P.57]

corresponding relations, in a particular concrete period, with a specific.

On the other hand, the feudal relations did not proceed from semi-feudal stage, into mature feudalism, because of the presence of communal patriarchal relation, strong influence of historical traditions. The colonial, semi-colonial Yoke of Britain (till 1947) and despotic Iran, unless, willingly a unwillingly the introduction of elements of capitalist relations (embryonic, only in colonial part) in the dawn of 20th century, rang the bell of Balochistan, complex, contradictory, Multi-structural or better Multi-relational economy with heterogeneous economic basis (colonial, semi-colonial relations) with corresponding political superstructure (Colonial, semi-colonial, traditional archaic and feudalistic).

Historical traditions, with strong socio-psychological militant traits, feeling of non-submission to "foreigners" "patriotism" etc, played an important reverse influencing role on the economic basis and on the creation of tribal alliances, federative governments, on anti-foreigner liberation movement, on the creation of tribal cum-feudal independent states in Balochistan, in multi structural society, but haven't played ultimately decisive role. Because, according to F. Engels.

<<The economic one's are ultimately decisive. But the political one's etc. And indeed even the traditions, which hunt human minds also, play a part, although not a decisive one. In many cases preponderate in determining their form.
>>*¹⁴⁸

*¹⁴⁸ F. Engels, letter to Joseph Baloch 1890 Marx-Engels selected work, vol. 3 P.487 Progress: Publication .1970, Moscow
Baloch, more than 2000 years old, firm primitive tribal structure to nationality, nation began to take shape at the eve of independence, hence a long-standing Historico -cultural traditions more than 800 years statehood.

Historical traditions and anti- foreign liberation movement (composition of spontaneous massive tribal resistance, for preservation of traditional liberation, and conscious movement of upper Baloch tribal crust, for establishing particularistic, traditional institutions).

With their mutual influences, interdependency, being a dialectically contradictory phenomena, played, on the one hand positive, even progressive role, (alongside the decisive economic specific material condition) in the unification of almost all Baloch tribes, masses, territorially, economically, militarily and socio-politico-psychologically, into single independent feudal (oriental type) state in Balochistan, which in its turn was more forward step in the Baloch society's development, in the ethnic formation (feudal national formation), in the strengthening of anti-foreigner liberation movement, in the make up of national feelings, awareness, anti-colonial, semi-colonial national struggle, in anti-colonial ideology etc.

But, on the other hand, the Historical traditions conditioned for the upper tribal echelon,¹⁴⁹ the emerging tribal-cum-feudal class (Khan) for the preservation of archaic defunct traditional institutions, establishing and development of tribal aristocratic, feudal type clerical, conservative particularistic institution (formational, almost complete super-structures,) with the ideology of "feudal nationalism", (which usually slipped towards conservative protective, nationalism, compromising character) "Tribalism", "tribal ethno centralism" "Chieftainship" for strengthening of traditional forms of rule and exploitation of working masses, with new forms and methods under new conditions.

- Traditions (positive) strengthened, developed, even fed energetically, the positive group of phenomenon, in spontaneous tribal resistance, (against foreign coloniser, and local exploiters) like thrust for traditional liberty, militant heroism, non-submission to foreign domination,

¹⁴⁹ Tribal nobility, tribal chiefs, (Sardars, Nawabs.)

tribal or national patriotism against invaders coloniser occupants, spontaneous unity of tribal actions, against national enemy, protest against genocide or exploiters (without knowing social theory etc.) rejection of betrayers etc. even influenced in clearing the way for national feelings, awareness, and anti-colonial National resistance, but, traditions (negative, conservative) strengthened, making more influential, the second group of phenomenon (Archie traditional, defunct, conservative) in spontaneous tribal resistance, like, quick submission to invaders, take habit to genocide and exploitation, acceptance and adaptation of life, under colonial rule, compromising betraying, even "energy serving" character(mostly of tribal chiefs, Mirs, Nawabs, etc) manifestation of tribal narrow-mindedness", prejudice, tribalism, feudal nationalistic attitude, blocked, impeded and weakened the national movement.

This conclusion is methodologically valid instrument, in the hands of revolutionary's, in using traditional soil (in the former case (positive) for sowing revolutionary ideas in practice but under, and over estimation of traditions leads to failure, which must in any case be kept in mind, while dealing with the spontaneous mass movement or traditional belts. Here the task, to its very essence, lies, that to utilise the first group of phenomena, in peoples 'spontaneity' not only for the sake of elimination of second group of (negative, conservative) phenomena, and breaking of socio-psychological atmosphere that, "We can't do any thing against strong enemy" "Ser ghou Singha Madanag-na-beeth"*¹⁵⁰ but for ever deeper sowing revolutionary ideas, in its broader meaning. The fine traditional traits, like "patriotism", "heroism". "Militancy against enemy", "freedom loving" "national feeling", "collectivism" etc. must always be enlightened, and creatively, according to the situation, be substantiated, with revolutionary theory

*¹⁵⁰Balochi proverb, which means, it is impossible to involve "head" in a fight against "stone", that is "we can't do any thing against strong enemy>>. It is the proverb of negative traditions.

towards revolutionary direction. Otherwise, bourgeoisie ideology, orthodox-religious fanaticism, by feeding conservative, defunct archaic traditions, to uproot or at least weaken the former, and to create conditions for suppressing of national and democratic, forces and left forces, specifically.

In all the period of British colonialism in Middle East Asia, Balochistan remained, as a dependent or Semi colonial country, between "IRAN", "AFGHANISTAN" AND "BRITISH INDIA". Her foreign policy was wholly and solely in the hands of "British metropolis", through the so-called friendship subsidiary treaties, having imposed in character and unequal in their status, while internally the nominally independent Balochistan, was ruled by Archaic, tribal-cum-monarchical traditional institutions, since Balochistan independence of 11 August 1947. Though, these traditional institutions were paralysed, partially a sometime completely subordinated by metropolis, in their service.

The colonial, so-called <<British Balochistan>>, was, not only, shifted and forcefully annexed by reactionary, emerging sub-imperialist Pakistan, which is supposed to be returned to the independent Balochistan, but the latter^{*151} was also completely forcefully annexed (in June 1954) after the shameful Pakistani aggression by suppressing peoples resistance.

These recorded, pages of history, turned Balochistan problem, a very important National and colonial question, which have a lasting impacts, over the revolutionary processes and political consciousness of the peoples of Balochistan, which is the solid historical, ideo-political and legal base for National liberation movement in Balochistan, for the realisation of inalienable right of the people for National self-determination (including establishment of independent state) in the entire interests of working people.

*¹⁵¹The latter means, <The independent Balochistan>.

The dismembered parts of Balochistan was either incorporated (in the names so-called boundary commission-1896) to the neighbouring kingdoms or taken as a lease, or contract bases, from Balochistan traditional rulers and their annexation with colonial empire, and establishment of colonial Balochistan (British Balochistan and installation of colonial administration by dismantling of traditional political superstructure and the latter archaic, patriarchal traditional institutions in tribal territories and hemisphere penetrated train washed twisted (with different methods "gold and gun "etc.) in the service of colonial administration, being a lower, subordinated traditional instrument for rule and control over Baloch and Phushtoon tribes. History, legally, politically once again testifies, that,

- The inalienable and national right of self-determination of people in establishing Balochistan, according to the will of the masses.
- The rate of introduction of elements of capitalist relations in British Balochistan sharper than Kalat's and emerging national consciousness, Working class, and national intelligentsia the shift of Centre of National liberation Revolution in Quetta. (The colonial Centre) due to the political maturity, and emerging classes.
- The remnants of British colonial legacy, with new type colonial administrations remained progressive mankind, an example of colonial handing over by imperialist to sub-imperialist Power, thus, a solidarity and support to the struggle for its decolonization is paramount important.
- The nature of the contradictions of that time and their irresolution, under Pakistan colonial with new, surmounting contradictions of the region and Balochistan, which needs resolution, only through anti-imperialist, anti-colonial national liberation revolution, alliance with all progressive, revolutionary or nation democratic, left forces of Pakistan and region.

- Need to expose and destroy, all archaic defunct traditional political institutions, through revolutionary ideas and practice, by utilising, more effectively and skilfully the positive aspects of Historical traditions against former which have been and are traditional social pillars for colonial, semi-colonial rule and now Pakistan (special type) colonial power. The socio-economic, cultural roots of which can be and should be extirpated, only through revolutionary struggle and revolution, not with compromise. Any, compromise, with archaic traditional institution as sooner or latter isolate left and revolutionary democratic forces from the board masses, in the course of struggle, because enemy, being a more wide scope, favourable conditions and power for their more subordination and utilisation as part and parcel of colonial rule in traditional archaic institutional belt with the ideology of tribalism, Chieftainship, combined with Pakistanisational orthodox-Muslim colonial ideology, can utilise them, by giving privileges, preserving pre-bourgeoisie relations, with more skill, energetic, against progressive national democratic and left forces.

But on the other hand this conclusion by no mean roll out, the possibility of arising contradiction between imposed Pakistani type Westernisation and tradition. (In economic basis and super-structure) If contradictions between Pakistani modernisation and tradition (Now, in Balochistan only in one district "Bella" is under modernization colonial type) be develop, it should be matured and should be properly utilised (in space and time) by revolutionary forces, allaying with the traditional oppressed people and tribes, with their effective positive traditional traits, not, in favour of preserving traditional archaic economy, but for the freedom progress and radical changes for the betterment of working tribal people allying national, patriotic forces

People... not, yes, completely not, in favour of Pakistani modernisation (exploitation in the name of modernisation)

but for national and democratic reforms through resolution in final analysis. This is a Leninist tactics, in conditions of Balochistan which can develop spontaneous movement into national liberation, and the latter into social liberation, which goes zigzag, contradictorily, but along the strategic line and this we revolutionary needs to tackle the most difficult tasks, because we must always,

<<Live in the thick of Things; know the mood of people. Know every thing learn to understand the masses, Develop right approach. Win their absolute confidence>>^{*152} and devotion to the great cause only if it makes for improving the economic condition of those whom work>>^{**153}

- The positive utilization of National traditions, combined with the anti-imperialist Nationalism, under the influence of revolutionary social ideas, on the one hand and Negative, conservative archaic, particularistic traditions united with the orthodox Pakistani Islamic Nationalism reactionary colonial and neo-colonialism under the grip of Bourgeoisie ideology, comes into contradictions on the other hand, and the proper utilisation (skilfully) of these contradictions in the course of revolutionary struggle and political life of the people, simultaneously, strengthening of the positive, revolutionary traditions with ever more broader colouring of Marxist ideas (According to the level of consciousness, and Character of society and revolution) for the ever more weakening and elimination of conservative and reactionary traditions, not only open the way for spreading of Party's tentacles among the masses, but at the same time, raises the revolutionary obligation of communist, left and National democratic forces, manifold for arousing and preparation of subjective conditions for Revolution.

^{*152} V.I. Lenin, collected works, and vol: 44, P-497.

^{**153} Ibid " " " vol: 18, P.85

- The influences (wider and deepen) of traditions on the contemporary Baloch society, economic basis and political processes neither be over estimated, nor be under estimated, because of the
- Dependent and semi-colonial compound economy with very weak, most slower, introduction of capitalist relations, or natural development of capitalist relations (extremely embryonic or imperceptible relation) with preservation of primitive-communal or Patriarchal tribal relations and domination of traditional and semi-traditional economy, under British colonialism and semi-colonialism, did not change after political anti-colonial liberation of Balochistan (in 1947-March 1948) and this structure was shifted forcefully, by establishing of Pakistani "neo-colonial power" type colonial, Multi-structural compound*¹⁵⁴ economy and production relations, producing more, complex, heterogeneous and contradictory economic basis and super structure and the preservation of pre-bourgeoisie relations, traditional and semi-traditional Social Structures (Particularly archaic defunct tribal institutions)deliberately, resulted, in detainment, even-regeneration (sometime with new forms and aims) of Historical traditions (both positive and negative) and their influences upon the National and Social liberation struggle Chronologically vivid, even some times galvanised type.
- The colonial part of Balochistan, (British Balochistan (1879-1947) where, embryonic capitalist relations introduced by metropolis, without dismantling of traditional social structure**¹⁵⁵ in countryside accept the political traditional institutions the latter complete dismantled and the elements being incorporated formational structures in countryside resulted in the creation preservation and generation of two set of traditional Phenomena—

*¹⁵⁴Colonial + Pakistani, foreign capitalist structure + Archaic traditional institution + patriarchal tribal structure form the compound structure of economy in Balochistan.

**¹⁵⁵Only in countryside.

- a) The positive progressive traditions impacting National and social liberation struggle, shifting and developing and colonial spontaneous liberation into National liberation, an anti-imperialist anti-feudal tribal direction, because of the creation of young working class, the revised semi-proletariat petit-bourgeoisie, rising bourgeoisie, subordinated integral power part of colonial administration, thus preservation of traditional and national intelligentsia (mostly outside and also inside the country) and the surmounting contradiction of these emerging classes, social groups and traditional economy, against colonial synthesis, metropolis capitalist structure and archaic traditional structures, which came more sharper, with new changes, and new forms under Pakistani colonialism.
- b) The negative, conservative, and reactionary phenomenon, like "feudal-nationalism", "tribalism", "Chieftainship", compromising collaborating, protective and clerical nationalism. Submission easily functionaries of colonial social pillar, because of the colonial policies of UK - and Pakistan, preservation and utilization of archaic institution, legalisation's protection, even green revolution (only in some regions) of property, privileges, social status of tribal aristocracy and tribal-cum-feudal, comprador bourgeoisie and clerical elements, and the latter contradiction with the forces of modernisation, National liberation, thus more alliance with the reactionary Pakistan is felt. Specifically, Pakistan's special policy in favour of traditionalism and limited Westernisation (colonial) brought serious traditional influences;

These dialectically, opposite, interdependent contradictory traditional influences, upon the political super structure (formational by complete colonial, semi-colonial elements and superstructure, alliance with traditional archaic, defiant political structure, and rising, growing dynamic elements of oppressed working peoples superstructure on the other hand) are result of crises at Pakistan internal colonialism,

the westernised modelled exploitation coming into contradiction with patriarchal tribal communal structure, and Pakistanisation (westernisation) with traditional structures as a whole. Thus creating different, mobile set of contradictions, the concrete approach and abd Marxist understanding and utilisation of these not in favour of traditionalism, but revolutionary democratic modernisation, not in favour of colonial exploitative type in westernisation and capitalist orientation, but for national democratic fundamental charges and socialist orientation, through anti-imperialist, anti-colonial National, liberation or democratic Revolution in Balochistan or in Pakistan as a whole.

The distinction between two set of Phenomena the forces of national liberation and traditionalism (and the latter's scientific postpartum and utilisation of its few positive elements, for its breaking skilfully in favour of national liberation forces) are theoretical and political importance in Balochistan revolutionary process, Because:

<< A revival of traditionalist forces would be seen almost everywhere, both under the impact of mounting National liberation movement, and as a consequence of the further penetration of colonialism into previously intact areas and spheres of traditionalism... National and traditionalist streams in liberation movement could intertwine, or act together, (less frequently, as antagonistic contenders)>> *¹⁵⁶

The genesis of political struggle, emergence of political Associations and organisations, were not only the direct result of development of objective, material conditions, colonial and semi-colonial political subjection and need to prepare subjective factor, but because of the;

- Socio-economically backwardness of Baloch society.

*¹⁵⁶ [N.A. Simoniya, <<Destiny of capitalism in the orient>> P.29, Progress rule, Moscow, 1985.

- Multi-structural, colonial, semi-colonial compound economy with dominate traditional relations and economic structures
- Formational, dominate colonial, semi-colonial, traditional ruling institutions, under strong influence of elements of colonial, semi-colonial, UK rule in political super-structure, with existing elements of National and traditional forces of emancipation. It was with a mostly, lasting influence of exogenous (external) factors like
- Impact of Great October socialist revolution, ushering of modern epoch, and spreading of ideas of scientific socialism politico-theoretical activities of third international and CPSU.
- Influence of mounting National liberation struggle in Asia and impact of experience of Party formations specifically, the influence of Nation congress, and reformist nationalist ideas of "Gandism" etc.
- Influence of Political Islamic factor, in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Arab and Indonesia against imperialism, colonialism, which put ever-lasting influences, as a source of inspiration in the course of political life and revolutionary processes in Balochistan (from 1920 onward).
- Two major political tendencies (as a result of external influence) like "Revolutionary democratic" (socialist oriented), and "national-reformists" (capitalist oriented) under the strong grip of the Historical traditions (both positive and negative) into a single stream (National liberation) calls Revolutionary's, that fight against reformist, defunct traditionalism, is possible only, without inventing major forms of struggle to go traditional forms of struggle, for the sake of revolutionary moulding with scientific colouring, under gradual political command, serves combination of past experience with the creative formulation under given conditions -- This is the method which save from mass isolation and a way for spreading of roots among masses. Yes a dynamic politics could arouse masses for Revolution.

The radical polarisation, among the forces of traditional conservative, reformist collaborationist, on one hand, and forces of Progress, revolutionary democratic (Though under the influence of positive traditions) nationalist on the other hand, (after 60's) the character of which reflected the socio-economic changes, assuming of more, revolutionary democratic content, with anti-imperialist, anti-colonial-reactionary and anti-feudal direction, and involvement of more progressive, revolutionary classes and social groups, the more isolation, and exposition of conservative traditionalistic and also reformist nationalistic circles, once again, testifies the dynamism of revolutionary process, the penetration of revolutionary democratic and national democratic (socialist oriented) tendencies, the spread of revolutionary ideas in Balochistan (As a major political stream), under the strong impact of Revolutionary around). Because of the, Multi-structural colonial compound economy, with heterogeneous, complex, contradictory economic basis and superstructure, and the law of uneven socio-economic and political development, spread of anti-working people ideology (Bourgeoisie + colonial + orthodox Islamic) and the activities of class enemy the extremist tendencies in the Balochistan revolutionary processes, like dogmatism, sectarianism revisionism right and left opportunism, national chauvinistic and liberal nationalism be observed. The re-double revolutionary efforts are needed to combat them vigorously and persistently.

Thanks to the modern epoch, the changes in balance of forces in favour of progress, revolutionary upheavals around Balochistan, the growing role of socialist community above all soviet union in curtailment of imperialism's grip, and due to further class differentiation, Quantitative and qualitative changes in the revolutionary, national democratic struggle in Balochistan, the modern National liberation movement is becoming social, manifesting a dynamic, integral form of class struggle, a struggle of exploited, oppressed working people, directed not only against the foreign imperialist and large-scale

Pakistani monopolistic and state monopolistic capital its special type - colonialism but also against local comprador bourgeoisie, by landlords, and tribal aristocracy.

With the specific features - Dialectical organic link, interdependence and interpenetration, between National and social liberation, the revolutionary movement of Balochistan is expanding, vertically and horizontally with the proper combination of national and international talks - thus through this developing process, becoming an integral dynamic part and parcel of anti-imperialist, democratic and National democratic movement in Pakistan, a militant mainstay of revolutionary struggle of oppressed nationalities in Pakistan. A dialectical factor in consolidation of Afghan Saur Revolution, align part of peace movement, (for Asian Security first and for most) and finally, in this evolutionary process (with different stages, difficulties and better struggle) is becoming an effective element of World revolutionary process.

This is the major stream, of today, reflecting the objective reality in oppressed Balochistan, the latter increases the historical role of subjective factor manifold because of the tasks, facing oppressed, colonized people of Balochistan, (nationally and internationally). The vanguard revolutionary national party of Baloch masses, equipped with dynamic theory of revolution, could guide the masses develop the major revolutionary stream, and could achieve through masses the urgent and strategic tasks, by revolution and first and foremost, could fight Dogmatism, Sectarianism, revisionism, opportunism (right, left) and every form of deviations inside the movement. As well as influences of Bourgeoisie colonial ideology and traditionalism. The party which could lead the masses in every stage of development of society and movement, with close, alliance and co-operation (if situation ripe, under one party) not only with national patriotic, democratic and progressive forces of Balochistan, under anti-imperialist, national patriotic front, and also with the National democratic forces of Pakistan and oppressed nationalities in solving of urgent and strategic tasks.

Contemporary Society of Balochistan is a Multi-structural compound and backward society, except, "special type" colonial; Pre-capitalist and Pre-feudal socio-economic relations; elements of capitalist relations of different stages, the small commodity structures are also pre-dominated.

Economically, Balochistan is integrated with Pakistan, only, as a "Economic colonialism, as a main strategic raw-material and energy supplier to large-scale Pakistan's and imperialists industries.

Thus, Balochistan is a "special" type "Colony" of sub-imperialistic Pakistan, and through the latter, an object of exploitation for imperialistic, above all US - imperialistic monopoly capital and Transitional corporations.

According to the present objective reality, the above - mentioned production relations and political forms of domination, are becoming fetter in the development of Productive forces, social division of labour and socialisation of labour; these colonial relations are also an obstacle in the elimination of stereotype defunct traditional economy and feudal relations. These colonial type relations are real barriers in radical transformation and new order of the society.

The continuous occupation and exploitation bringing Balochistan to the death point. Therefore, the oppressed masses of Balochistan are facing the urgent tasks of National and social emancipation and implementation of the right of Baloch nation to self-determination.

(THE END)



Baloch Warriors

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Total: (29)

Table: 2 Notes from the “the country of
Balochistan” by Hughes 1870.

Las Province annual revenues.

Year	Amount	From
------	--------	------

1854		The customs of Sommiani
------	--	-------------------------

1855	6 000 Rupees.	
------	---------------	--

400	“	“	“	Ormara
-----	---	---	---	--------

Land tax from the Bella district

And other parts of the province.

23,000

Total		33,000	[P: 142]
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In 1836...the revenues reached Rs. 35,000 derived from a duty of 3 percent on all imports and exports at sonmiani and a bazar toll of 1 percent, ...the land taxes comprised one-third of the produce from all lands irrigated by the river and one-fifth on those which dependent solely on rain for a water supply. [P: 141]

Trade and manufacture.

" Fire wood, grass, date, leaves, hides, seeds, ghee and wood are sent to Karachi in Sindh from Bella and other places by the coast route on camels, bullocks and donkeys. Horses are also despatched to Karachi for sale by the same route".

" The manufacture are very trifling and are confined to oils cotton- cloth of an exceedingly coarse texture and coarse carpets made at Bella." [P: 139]

- Tribute to Khan.
- Contingent of troops to Kalat = 4500 but, 2700 or 3000
- Ruled by hereditary Jam titled.

Chapter 2

PARAGRAPH II

Appendix: "Currency circulation"

The currency in circulation in Mekran consist of gold coins, mostly Venetian, called putlis in western India, but which are here known as sitaramis by the Hindus and surs by the Balochis. Silver coins such as dollars, rupees and Paulas or four- Anna pieces are also in general use. The Indian Pie, three of which go to a pice, is current, but not the pice.

The weight in force, according to Ross are Kiasses, Krars and mian, but they vary much in different districts. The value of the several coins in circulation is contained in the following table:

32 Pies (or gaz) = 1 Muhammadi (or zur)

6 muhammadi = 1 rupees (or Kildar)

11 $\frac{3}{4}$ muhammadi = 1 rial (or dollar)

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees = 8 Sitarami (or zur)

At Gawader one Kiass weighs Rs. 17, or 3060 grains (Troy)

This is within a small fraction of seven ounces avoirdupois.

This weight differs, however in the following places:

Weights	Gawader	Kej	Punjgoor	Pasni	Chahb- ahar	Mand	Kasr- kand	Dizak
1. Kiass	7 oz	14 oz	3 ½ oz	6 5/12 Oz	7 3/5 Oz	2 4/5oz	2 oz	2 oz
1 Maund (24 Kiasses)	10 ½ ibs	21 ibs	5 ¼ ibs	9 5/8 ibs.	11 ibs.	4 1/5 ibs	3 ½ ibs	3 ½ ibs.

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Appendix

Notes and Comments on the creation of Pakistan

Quotations: From "A history of India part II", written by K. Antonova, G Bongard-Leven G. Kotovskiy: Moscow (Page 242)	My comments: Scientific assessment analyses & synthesis
On 16 th May, 1947, a declaration by the British government under the title "Compromising plan" in which	- British imperialism, in order to hold India, save capital investment continues old Eco. Colonialism, show a

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1) The dominion of India would consist of a union of Provinces and Princely state, possessing the widest possible autonomy. The central government would only remain responsible for matters of defence foreign policy and communications</p> <p>2) The provinces of British India would be united in three zones:
The first, in which Hindus would predominate, would consist of provinces in the north, Centre and south of country
The Second, Zone in the west would embrace province, with a mainly Muslim population the Punjab-Sindh and the North west Frontier province and
The third, Eastern zone would consist of the provinces of Bengal and Assam, where Muslims also constituted the majority of the population. in each zone a zonal committee should be set up.
"British ruling circles were inclined to support Muslim League in its efforts to</p> | <p>sourceful socio-physicological nationalism seed, of conflicts riots among the population maintain notorious policy of divide and "rule" and to dismember. India on the basis of such ideas which are hostile to humanism. quality. justice peace progress and socialism to facilitate preframe the socio-economic political conditions for neo-colonialistic plundering policies, which I was just rising after the</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defeat of Faxim Militarist Japan in W. war II by USSR and allied forces. - People democratic revolution united with peacemaker liberation and savor of humankind from fonist enslavement the USSR emerging—a world socialist Community, the world socialist system a world socialist decision of labour qualifection seems Int. relations. - NLR was successing and getting more momentum impieties by the above condition and growing contradictions- against imperialism, colonialism. - The national and colonial |
|--|--|

dismember the country by setting up the separate State of Pakistan. P. 243

"The Programme of Muslim League did not conflict with the interests of the British imperialists, who being no longer in a position to prolong India's colonial states, were now hatching plans for a political "solution" that would severely weaken the country both economically and militarily and make it easier to prolong India's dependence on her former British rulers".

July 3, 1947 Mountbatten plan ratified by British Parliament August 1947.

1. Two dominions were to be set up in the sub continent, the Indian union and Pakistan.
2. The question as to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal on religious grounds was to be decided by separate votes cast by deputies from those parts of the provinces concerned where there was a prevailing majority of Hindus or Muslims.
3. A referendum was to be held in the North-west

(special type) Question of Balochistan, politically legally and theoretically vividly demonstrate its justifiability that:

- a) Bal Was not part of sub-content (British India) historically.
- b) Bal being a colony and semi-colony of British was even not included in British India in May 1947, declaration latter partition declaration the "Mount Batten plan" which clearly authorised the "Kalat State" to decide about their future out of British plans.
- c) Mention in next page the separate treaty with Balochistan.
 - It widened the gap of compromise between congress and league and prepared ground.
 - For leagues demands.
 - Accepted men of British planes, the cabinet mission and taking part in interim govt. on the basis of Muslim and Hindu electoral college (proposed by Muslim leagues herself). Clearly demonstrate that Muslim league
 - Not only representing the Bourgeoisie to Muslim bureaucratic circles

frontier province and the Silhet district of Assam which were populated mainly by Muslims;

4. The fortune of Sindh was to be decided by vote to be taken in the provincial legislature.

feudal but also became, it became open spokesman implementers (politically+) of British plans providing the so-called Muslim nationalism plan form

- The additional demand of whole Punjab and Bangal by national congress of Muslim held in June 1947, accepting Mount Batten plan give us broad understanding of the following terms

1. The so-called Muslim nationalism banner was just a show but for the fulfilment of evil design of British imperialism and the comprisonic bourgeoisie feudalistic nature of Muslim league.
2. This demand discloses the contradictory stand of Muslim league and also clearly comprehensively elaborates the Muslim chauvinistic monominderness and expansionist policy (which latter confirmed by occupation of Baloch Retaining of Kashmir).
3. This additional demand at the final scene, fully demonstrate that the future aims of subjugation domination and exploitation by exploiting Punjabi big nationalism (Now oppressed nations vividly indicate the arrestment).
4. Balochistan was not the part and parcel of British India. and neither it included in the evil documents of partition.
5. The incorporation of princely State into one of the dominions would be question for their rulers to decide.
6. The constituent assemblies around consist of two assemblies one for each dominion; they would determine the future states of the two.

(Comments for Chapter -I)

MIRO-MEERWARIS CONFEDERATE INDEPENDENT BALOCH STATE

Miro Meerwari's Baloch was the first ruler who after taking power in 3, March 1403, invited Baloch ruler of Mekran, Kharan, Chagi, & Lasbela at Khuzdar on 2, January 1410 in order to form a unified Baloch Rule. The high level meeting of the heads of the states of Makuran, Kharan, Chagi, Lasbela and Turan was presided by the Ameer Miro-Marwani(Head of Turan State) in which the following heads of Baloch States & principalities namely Mir Shah Dad Rind(Makuran), Ameer Muhammad Nosherwani(Kharan), Ameer Behlol Chutta(Lasbela) Ameer Feroz Sunjrani(Chagi) in which Parliament for united Baloch confederative state was announced.

In a meeting a joint declaration of Baloch Parliament (Majlis-e Shura) was released(1410). The main decisions were as follows:

1. Ameer Mer Marwani was elected head of the "Majlis-e-Shura"
2. The Head of the state of Kharan, Makuran, Chagi, Lasbela, was declared to be the permanent member of the Parliament.
3. An army consist of strength of each state and tribes were constituted for the defence of Baloch motherland.
4. Every state will be autonomous in dealing their internal affairs
5. The Majlis-e-Shura will deal with all national & international affairs
6. The Parliament will play the role of enactment
7. Every state will enjoy taxation power
8. Every state is liable to pay expenditure incurred in dealing National affairs
9. The parliament has the power to make amendments in Laws
10. Ammunition production industry will be build
11. In case of foreign aggression their will be joint defense.
12. A friendly relations with neighboring powers will be established.

M E H R - G A R H (7 0 0 - B C) A N C I E N T CIVILIZATION(BALOCHISTAN)

Balochistan have played a role of relations between Central Asian Mesopotamian & indus Civilization

Balochistan is not only rich land in terms of mineral, natural & marine resources But is also rich in ancient civilization .

MEHR-GARH(700-B.C.) Is the great and oldest civilization of the region. The people of this civilization was first human being in the South Asia who learn to domesticate the animals, cultivation and setup their settlements.

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APPENDIX-I

Chapter 2

PARAGRAPH- I

Treaty of 1841.

The treaty concluded between new Khan and the British government on October 1841, Which runs as follows:

<< Where as Mir Nasir Khan son of Mehrab Khan, deceased having tenant his allegiance and submission. The British government and his Majesty Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk recognize him the said Nasir Khan and his descendants, as chief of the principality of Kalati – Nasir on the following terms: -

ARTICLE- I Mir Nasir Khan acknowledge himself and his descendants the vassals of the king of Kabul in like manner as his ancestors were formerly the vassals of his Majesty's ancestors.

ARTICLE-II The tracts of country resumed on the death of Mir Mehrab Khan namely, Kachhi, Mastung and Shal the two first will be restored to Mir Nasir Khan and his descendants, through the kindness of his Majesty Shah Shujah -ul- Mulk.

ARTICLE-III Should it be deemed necessary to station troops, whether belonging to the honourable company¹⁵⁷ or Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, in any part of the territory of Kalat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable.

¹⁵⁷ The notorious, plundering, subjugate, colonising instrumental company "East India Company" of British founded in 1602.

ARTICLE- IV Mir Nasir Khan, his heirs and successors will always be guided by the advice of the British officer residing at his Derbar.

ARTICLE -V The passage of merchants and others into toll Afghanistan from the river Indus, on the one side, and from the seaport of Somiani on the other shall be protected by Nasir Khan as far as practically nor will any aggression be practised on such persons, or any undue executions made, beyond an equitable to be fixed by the British government and Mir Nasir Khan.

ARTICLE- VI Mir Nasir Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors, not to hold any political communication or to enter into any negotiation, with foreign powers without the consent of the British government and of his majesty Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and in all cases to act in subordinate co-operation with the government of British India and of the Shah; but the usual amicable correspondence with neighbours to continue as here to fore.

ARTICLE-VII In case of an attack on Nasir Khan by an open enemy or of any difference arising between him and any foreign power, the British government will afford him assistance or good offices, as it may judge to be necessary or proper for the maintenance of his right.

ARTICLE- VIII Mir Nasir Khan make due provision for the support of Nawaz Khan either by pension to be paid through the British government on condition of that chief residing within the British territory, or by

the grant of estate within Kalat possessions, as may hereafter be decided by the British government.

“Done at Kalat this 6th day of October, A. D. 1841, corresponding with the 30th Shaban, A. H. 1257.

(Signed by) “Nasir Khan”

“AUCKLAND”

Sources: “The country of Balochistan” by Hughes
Page: [212—213]

Treaty between British government and Khan
of Kalat Balochistan: on May 1854.¹⁵⁸

Treaty between the British government and Mir Nasir Khan II. Chief of Kalat, concluded on the part of the British government by Major John Jacob, C. B. in virtue of full powers granted by the most noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, K. T. etc; Governor- General of India and by Nasir Khan chief of Kalat.

“Where as the cause of events has made it expedient that a new agreement should be concluded between the British government and Mir Nasir Khan, chief of Kalat, the following articles have been agreed on between the said government and his highness:

ARTICLE-I The treaty concluded by Major Outran between the British government and Mir Nasir Khan chief of Kalat, on the October 6, 1841, is hereby annulled.

ARTICLE-II There shall be perpetual friendship between the British government and Mir Nasir Khan, chief of Kalat, his heirs and successors.

¹⁵⁸ The country of Balochistan by A.W. Hughes Published London 1877.

ARTICLE-III Mir Nasir Khan binds himself his heir and successors, to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British government in all cases act in subordinate with that government and to enter into no negotiation with other states with out the consent the usual friendly correspondence with neighbours being continued as before.

ARTICLE-IV Should it be deemed necessary to station British troops in any part of the territory of Kalat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by British authorities.

ARTICLE-V Mir Nasir Khan bind himself, his heir and successors to prevent all plundering or other out rage by his subjects within or near British territory, to protect the passage of merchants to and for between the British dominion and Afghanistan, whether by way of Sindh or by the seaport of Somiani, or other seaports of Mekran and to permit no executions to be made beyond an equitable duty to be fixed by the British government and Mir Nasir Khan and the amount to be shown in the schedule annexed to this treaty. ["The country of Balochistan" page...216-217]

ARTICLE-VI To aid Mir Nasir Khan, his heir and successors in the fulfilment of these obligations and on the condition of a faithful performance of them year by year, the British government binds itself to pay to Mir Nasir Khan, his heirs and successors, an annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50, 000) company's rupees.

ARTICLE-VII If during any year the condition above mentioned shall not be faithfully performed by the said Mir Nasir Khan, his heir and successors, then the annual subsidy of 50, 000 company's rupees will not be paid by the British government.

"Done at Mastung this 14th day of May, 1854,

(Signed) "JOHN JACOB MAJOK

Political superintendent and commandant on the Frontier of upper Sindh.

"Schedule shows the amount of duty to be levied on merchandise passing through the dominions of the Khan of Kalat, referred in article V. of this treaty.

"On each camel- load with out respect to value from the northern frontier to the sea, either to Karachi or other port, company's rupees 6.

"On each camel as above from the northern frontier to Shikarpur, company's rupee 5.

"The same duties to be levied on merchandise passing in the contrary direction from the see or from Sindh to the Kalat territory.

(Signed)

"The foregoing articles of treaty having been concluded between the British government and the Khan of Kalat and signed and sealed by Major Jacob, C. B, on the one part and Mir Nasir Khan on the other part at Mastung on the 14th of May, 1851, A. D. corresponding with 16th Shaban, 1270, A. H. a copy of the same will be delivered to his Highness, dully ratified by the governor General in council with two months from this date.

Signed.

"DALHOUSL TE

"J. DORIN

J. LOW

and others.

"Ratified by the most noble the governor general in council at Fort William, this 2nd day of June, 1854.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE

"Secretary of the govt. of India. [Page...217-218]

TREATY OF 1876, BETWEEN KHAN KHUDADAD KHAN AND GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN:

Where as the course of event had made it expedient that the treaty of 1854 between Nasir Khan, Khan of Kalat and Government of Britain should be ratified and renewed with addition to few conditions. In order to consolidate and make more closely the ties and relations of the friendship and peace. On the following additional articles, Governor general Hind, Lord Litton Viceroy as a Government of British on the one hand, and his Highness Mir Khudadad Khan "Khan of Kalat" on the other have been agreed.

ARTICLE – One The treaty of May 14, 1854, which was concluded between govt. of Britain and Mir Nasir Khan has been ratified and renewed.

ARTICLE – Two There would have been stable friendship between govt. of Britain and Mir Khudadad Khan, Khan of Kalat.

ARTICLE- Three Mir Khudadad Khan, Khan of Kalat bind himself, his heir and successors and Sardars in the fulfilment of the obligations on the condition of the faithful performance of the article (three) of the treaty 1854. The govt. of Britain have continued to the respect of the independence of Kalat maintenance of just Khan's power and assistance against the foreign attacks for the defence of her regions considered to be necessary by govt. of Britain to be promised.

ARTICLE Fourth. The above relations of friendship which have been ratified and renewed and further in order to deep and stable relations between the two governments, the govt. of British and "Khan of Kalat" have been agreed that, the representative of British govt. with essential detachment would have be permanently in some where Khan's country or in the Khan's Darbar, and the Khan's representative would be with govt. of India.

ARTICLE Fifth: It has been agreed, that the representative of the British government would collected played a role of compromiser, between the Khan and Sardars with his friendly suggestions, if a broken conflict direct against the peace of the country, in case of failure, the Khan, with the agreement of British government he would have hand over the case, for to him as mediators, and, the decision should be faithfully accepted and realised by Khan.

ARTICLE- Sixth: Since, Khan of Kalat, showed a deceive, for the presence of the one English detachment in his country. So, the British government, according to the article (4th) of the treaty 1854, and on the light of deep friendly relations and contacts, accept above all, accept the request of his highness in condition, that, the army should be planed where, them, the British government, consider to the essential, and would have back with the desire of British government.

ARTICLE SEVENTH: It has been decided, to be

constructed, railway and telegraph lines in the territory of the Khan, which be beneficial for the two governments, on condition, that, the, state or conditions, of such construction, had, already been decided between the British government and Khan of Kalat.

ARTICLE Eight: There would be freedom of trade, on the conditions that the British government would consider being important for its vital interests, with the agreement of Khan of Kalat.

ARTICLE Ninth: To aid, Mir Khudadad Khan, his heir and successors in the fulfilment of the obligations mentioned according to treaty of 1854 and present and on the condition of faithful performance, the British government binds itself to pay to Mir Khudadad Khan, his heir and successors, an annual subsidy of one lakh rupees of ex and present treaty.

ARTICLE Tenth: The British Government bind itself to pay the sum of twenty thousand rupees to Khan for the development of, those trade, transport and communication routs pass through khan's territory on the and Khan should have to spent the money, on condition, that the British governments decides to spent.

SOURCES: Gul Khan Nasir, "History of Balochistan" (In Urdu)

Appendix 3rd P. 554

Pub. Quetta, 1979, Second edition
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The End

BALUCHISTAN

STATEHOOD AND NATIONALISM

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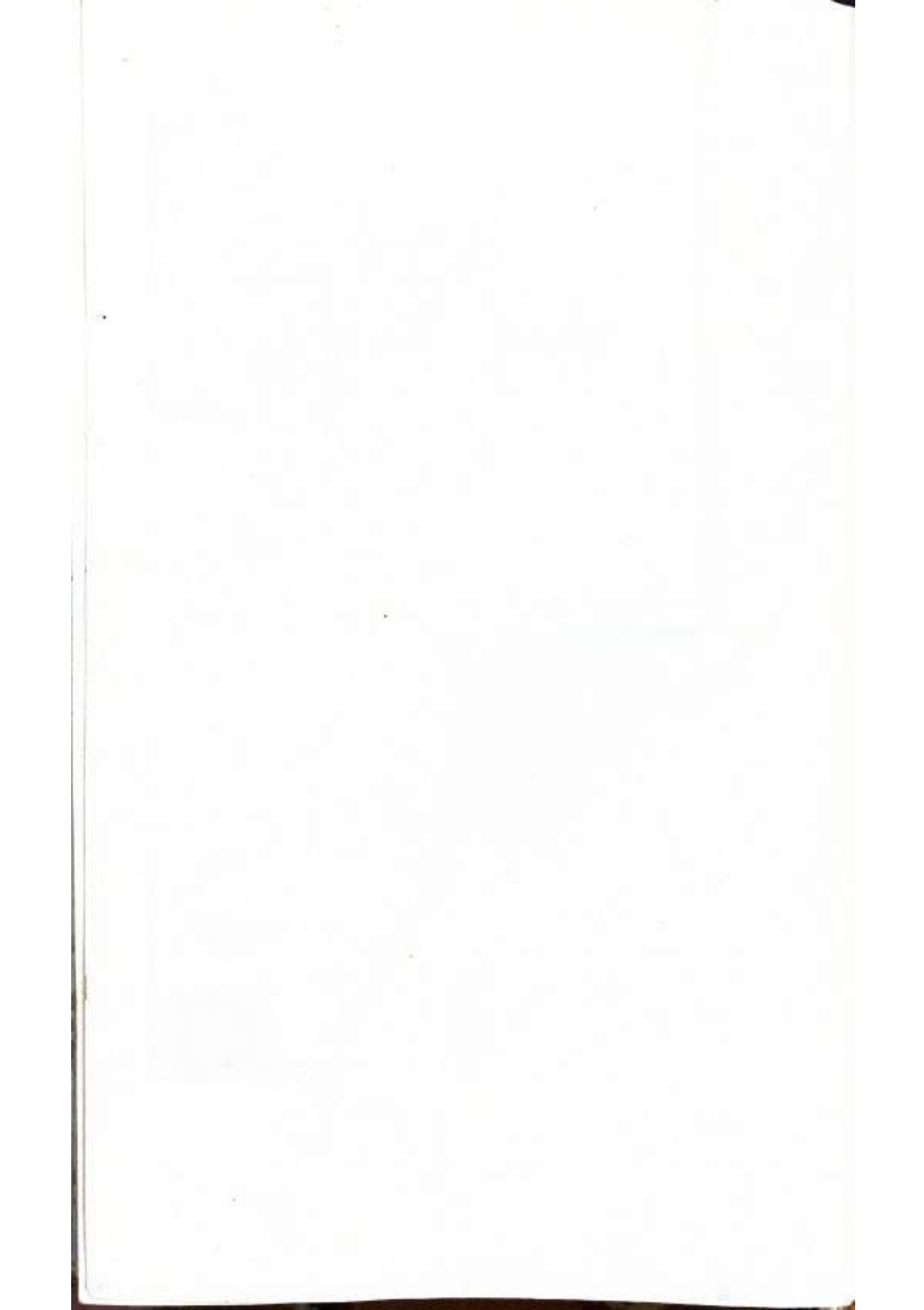
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BALUCHISTAN

STATEHOOD AND NATIONALISM

By
Habib Jalib Perekani
(Advocate)

2nd Edition



The Author has born in 1959 at Quetta. He graduated and got his M.A (I.R) & LLB Degree from University of Balochistan. He is M.Phil in the descipline of philosophy, political economy, International Law and Journalism from Institute of social sciences Moscow. The Author wrote many Articles, Synopses, Booklets, Secretary Reports, & Drafted constitutions. He delivered thesis in National & International Seminars on different issues since 1974. He remained Editor of BSO Organs i.e "Girok", "Sangat" and "Bam" (1978 - 82). Now he is Editor of BNP's organ "Movement".



The Author is practicing Lawyer, Politician, Writer, and Philosopher. He remained Senator. His first Book on "Balochistan" was published in Russian. Now the 2nd Edition of the same Book is published. The Book offers Scientific Analysis of the Evolution of Baloch Society, Traditions, Statehood and National Formation based on Philosophy, Political Economy and Periodization of History. We expect from Readers Criticism and new proposal.

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