TRIBAL POLITICS IN BALOCHISTAN
1947-90

UNDER THE SUPERVISION

OF

DR. S. ADIL HUSSAIN (LATE)

DR. M. AHMED QADRI

By

LT. COL. MOHAMMAD USMAN KHAN(R)

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF KARACHI
KARACHI, PAKISTAN
1997
O mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another.

Part XXVI
Ayau Sourah Alhujrat - AlQuran

Sorah XLIX

1977
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACII</td>
<td>Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABM</td>
<td>Azad Balochistan Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGG</td>
<td>Agent to Governor General</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIML</td>
<td>All India Muslim League</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJKMC</td>
<td>All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>APAL</td>
<td>All Pakistan Awami League</td>
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<tr>
<td>APMAI</td>
<td>All Pakistan Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>APNC</td>
<td>All Pakistan National Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APWA</td>
<td>All Pakistan Women's Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>BDS</td>
<td>Basic Democrats (Members of Basic Democracies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLF</td>
<td>Balochistan Liberation Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>Balochistan National Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>BPC</td>
<td>Basic Principles Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>BPLF</td>
<td>Balochistan People Liberation Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSO</td>
<td>Balochistan Student Organization</td>
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<td>BSU</td>
<td>Balochistan States Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BTI</td>
<td>Board of Ta'mimat-i-Islamiyah</td>
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<tr>
<td>BUF</td>
<td>Balochistan United Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>Constituent Assembly of Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>CII</td>
<td>Council of Islamic Ideology</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIIR</td>
<td>Central Institute of Islamic Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMLA</td>
<td>Chief Martial Law Administrator</td>
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<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Combined Opposition Parties</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPB</td>
<td>Central Parliamentary Board</td>
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<td>CSP</td>
<td>Civil Service of Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAC</td>
<td>Democratic Action Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBDO</td>
<td>Election Bodies (Disqualification)Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATA</td>
<td>Federally Administered Tribal Areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>Federal Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>FSC</td>
<td>Federal Shariat Court</td>
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<tr>
<td>Govt</td>
<td>Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>HBFC</td>
<td>House Building Finance Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>Islami Jamhuri Ittehad</td>
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<td>IJT</td>
<td>Islami Jamiat-i-Taliba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRI</td>
<td>Islamic Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>Jamaat-i-Islami</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>Jamaat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUIP</td>
<td>Jamaat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUP</td>
<td>Jamaat-ul-Ulama-i-Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>KT</td>
<td>Khaksar Tehrik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFO</td>
<td>Legal Framework Order, 1970</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAJ</td>
<td>Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFLO</td>
<td>Muslim Family Law Ordinance, 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJM</td>
<td>Murahidda Islami Mahaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>MJAS</td>
<td>Markazi Jamaat-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat</td>
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<tr>
<td>MJUI</td>
<td>Markazi Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJUIIMP</td>
<td>Markazi Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islam Maghrani Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNAs</td>
<td>Members of National Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>Muhajir Qaumi Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRD</td>
<td>Movement for Restoration of Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSM</td>
<td>Mutahiddah Shariat Mahaz</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Awami Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDF</td>
<td>National Democratic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIP</td>
<td>Nizam-i-Islam Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>Nizam-ul-Ulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>North West Frontier Province</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDM</td>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>Pakistan Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PML</td>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNA</td>
<td>Pakistan National Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PODO</td>
<td>Public Offices (Disqualification) Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pakistan People's Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKNAP</td>
<td>Pakhtunkhawa National Awami Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC</td>
<td>Round Table Conference, 1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>Sind Awami Mahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>Tehrik-i-Istiqlal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNFJ</td>
<td>Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqh-i-Jafriya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UF</td>
<td>United Front</td>
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DEDICATED

To

Dr Syed Mujtaba Razvi (Late)
laid the Foundation of this research paper

and

People of Pakistan Essence of my life.
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PREFACE

I am deeply indebted to Professor Dr Mujtaba Razvi (Late), whose guidance, constant encouragement and keen interest in my work has been a source of inspiration for me. It is truly to say that without his guidance it was not possible to work on this topic Mr. Altaf Hussain Janjua (Late) my uncle Jalal ud Din Qureshi (Late) Mr. Ali Hussain (Late) and my Regimental Officer, course-mate room-mate Captain Azad Farooq (Shaheed) with whom I have been in Balochistan, they are not with us, but I owe them a lot, Allah May bless them: Amen.

I am extremely thankful to Professor Syed Adil Hussain (Late), my Supervisor, the former Chairman of the Department of Political Science, for his help, moral courage and guidance; Professor Nihal Hasan Rizvi, former Chairman of the Department of Political Science, for his help and guidance in the planning and execution of this study. Chair person Professor Tanveer Khalid for his guidance in new scenario, the sad demise of Dr S. Adil Hussain guided me correctly; Dr. M Ahmed Qadri my new Supervisor to get its accomplishment took this uphill task as a challenge, despite his enormous departmental work, at this juncture when I was left as an orphan. I have no words to express my feelings for his kind gesture.

I am deeply grateful to Brig © Sultan Muhammad, S.J., ex Brigade Commander of Khuzdar Brigade; Muhammad Khan Achakzai, Joint Chief Economist, Ministry of Planning and Development Division; Lt. Col. Syed Iqbal Ahmed, TI(M), Ph.D for his dissertation and his book "Balochistan: Its Strategic Importance" remained a source of enormous help: Mr Ayub Bakhsh Awan, former Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, the author of Balochistan Historical and Political Processes, for his guidance on certain points; Director Public Relation Balochistan, Mir Surat Khan Marri; Mr Aziz Bhatti, Nawa-e-Waqat correspondent for Balochistan at Quetta, Press Club; many other members of Press Club Quetta, Brigadier © Ismail Siddiqi and many more at Quetta, Khuzdar, Chaman, Turbat, Sibi and Mach, these people remained a source of help and information about their tribes. I cannot forget their hospitality.
I am highly grateful to the magnanimity of Judge Advocate General of Pakistan Army, Brigadier Muhammad Anis, SI (M), who provided me an opportunity to accomplish this task, without his kindness it was not possible to undertake and present this dissertation.

The following staff of the libraries and the officials of Government and other organizations provided help against many odds, they deserve my word of thanks.

Officers of Chief Minister Secretariat Balochistan, Governor House and Provincial Assembly Balochistan, Librarian of Army Central Library Rawalpindi (Mr Farooqi, Shahnawaz, Gulistan and many others). Mehmudul Hassan Libarary, Karachi University, Parliament House Library Islamabad (Naeem Siddiqi), Senate Library (Mr Naim ul Wakeel), Central Library Bahawalpur, Punjab University Library New Campus Lahore, Peshawar University Library Peshawar. Mr Nasir, Bashir, Saleem and Sajid who typed these papers and did manage to read my handwriting efficiently, for moral support of Muhammad Arif of Services Club Karachi, Colonel Ejaz Ahmed, Major Sohail, Qazi Abdul Naeem and Malik Muzzamil Hussain.

I am highly obliged for prayers of my Mother, Hajira Begum, my father Muhammad Sabir Khan, my elder sister and her family in particular. My niece Saima Khan, my brother Rizwan Khan their prayers are a source of great help. My cousin Rana M. Arshad and his family who served me as my host at Karachi.

Before I conclude, I owe a lot to my wife Shahana, my sons Nauman and Jehanzeb, they suffered long lonely months, while I was in Balochistan or at Karachi in search of material for this research paper.

There should be a new pride, a new hope and a new determination to build up a sense of unification amongst all the tribes to bring to Balochistan a lot of prosperity and make it the backbone of Pakistan.

Yet there remain many problems to be overcome before these aims are achieved. Not least of the dangers which the Government is facing are the continued activities of certain subversive elements, deriving much of their strength from foreign sources, which have been encouraged by their success in amputating East Pakistan into believing that they can carry the dismemberment of Pakistan a stage further, but I have strong conviction that the people of Pakistan and in particular tribes of Balochistan (Balochi, Brahvi, Pathan, Punjabis, Hazara and people of other minorities) will work for its survival, betterment and prosperity and for the betterment of whole of U’mmah.
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this inquiry is to determine the Tribal Politics in Balochistan, as a student of political science striving for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, I was asked by my supervisor of this degree, to write on Tribal Politics in Balochistan from 1947-90 this topic was given to me by the Dr Mujtaba Razvi (Late) in this he consulted my advisor also, with lot of deliberation and many discussions, I was assigned this uphill task, keeping in view my interest in the Balochistan.

There has been some confusion over the correct spelling of the words "Baloch" and "Balochistan" in the past. Different spellings were in use most of which did not convey the correct background and sense of the word. It was, however, that the Government of Balochistan took a decision in this regard and notified the correct spelling as "Baloch" and "Balochistan" respectively. In the light of this notification the whole dissertation has been amended accordingly wherever the word "Baloch" or "Balochistan" was required. (Refer to Appendix I p. 331).

The political background of Balochistan in the light of number of tribes living in this province of Pakistan, their origin, historical background, political affiliation internally as well as externally requires lot of material, due to non availability of such literature, at least to me on this subject made my task difficult and more challenging. It was a topic of unique nature and I did not have at hand any specimen to follow, although I have been to Balochistan during 1973 to 1977 the period on which Chapter VII has been based during 1985 to 1992, but when I was asked to inquire about the "Tribal Politics in Balochistan 1947-90" at this juncture the aim was altogether different. Thus I had to go through out the width and length of Balochistan to observe different political horizons in Baloch, Brahvi and Pakhtoon areas and different developmental aspects and to hold discussions with people, experts in and out of Balochistan. As a consequence, I could be able to identify the area of exploration and research the contents of this dissertation are result of my personal diligence, and guideline of my supervisor, as such nothing has been written on this topic at this level.
This dissertation is divided into ten main topics. Chapter-I belongs to a Chronological Introduction to Balochistan topography, how Gwadar was taken over from Masqat a complete order from Cabinet Secretariat, and details about its infrastructure. Chapter-II Historical background of the tribal system in Balochistan. Chapter-II relates to Post-Independence Pakistan and the evolution of political processes in Balochistan during this time. The countryside of Balochistan, however, is so picturesque and the people inhabiting it so colorful, in their character and traditions, in their physique and dress, in their manners and customs, in the way they go through life generally, and their history is so chequered that no book would be complete unless a reference is made, however brief, to these aspects of the people and the country they inhabit.

A British writer described the Balochistan:
"Essentially a nomad -- good-looking, frank, with well-cut features, black and well-oiled flowing hair and beard, attired in a smock frock that is theoretically white but is never washed save on the rare occasions when he goes to Durbar -- the Balochistan is a general favourite. He is a bit of a buck, and when he finds himself passing into the sere and yellow, dyes his hair. It is not uncommon to find an old gentleman with eyebrows of deep black, and the tip of his beard gradually shading off through purple to red, to the roots of pure white. His wife makes quite a toilet and arranges her hair in many effective plaits, but any connection with soap and water would be voted by either as a mark of the worst effeminacy. He shares with the Pathan many of the vices and virtues peculiar to a wild and semi-civilised people; but in many respects he presents the more agreeable contrast. Both are given to hospitality, both ready to exact 'an eye for an eye, and a life for a life'; but the Baloch prefers to kill his enemy from the front, the Pathan from behind. To both, "Allah is Great and Muhammad is his Prophet", though the Pathan is often a dangerous fanatic, while the Baloch is perfectly willing to have his prayers said for him. He has less of God in his head, and less of the devil in his nature'. There is the story of one who, asked why he did not keep the fast of 'Ramazan', replied that he was excused as his chief was keeping it for him. 'What are you doing?' asked another of a pious Muhammadan saying his evening prayers in the plains. 'Praying
in the fear of God', said the plainsman. 'Come along to my hills', rejoined the Baloch, 'where we do not fear anybody'.

Both have but dim perceptions of the difference between 'meum et tuum' (mine and their), preferring 'the good old rule, the simple plan, that he shall take who has the power, and he shall keep who can'.

The political organisation of both is tribal: but the Pathan is essentially a radical -- every man as good as his neighbour, and better -- and will obey no one but the Jirgah or democratic council, and not always that; while the Baloch is a loyal to the chief. Consequently, the government can deal as safely with a Baloch tumandar as with any other limited monarch". (Across the border by Oliver, pp.23-24).

In trying to describe the evolution of political events and processes in Pakistan, it was necessary to go into some details. This is not without a purpose. Some western political commentators are widely propagating the idea that the Baloch are on the verge of secession from Pakistan. The argument goes something like this. The people of Balochistan, and not the Baloch alone, were reluctant, or at least hesitant, to accede to Pakistan voluntarily at the time of Independence. Pressure, and even force, was used to make them accede against their wishes, after they had gone up in their hideout in the hills in a revolt against the Government of Pakistan. A decade or so later, the premier Baloch State of Kalat was forcibly liquidated and merged into the province of West Pakistan. This time there was again an insurgency and conditions remained disturbed over a large area. Hardly a decade had passed when the same process was repeated, this time even on a larger scale resulted in more bitterness and a hardening of attitudes. The relationship between Pakistan, or more particularly between the Punjabi-dominated Government and the military on the one hand and the people of Balochistan on the other is shown up as one long story of political and economic exploitation and of broken promises. This has reached a stage now when it is impossible for the two to cooperate further. The parting of the ways has come. So goes the argument. I have a different interpretation.
Chapter-II brings us to the middle of this century. Chapter-III starts with the movement of Pakistan that how Magsi tribes and many more, Jogezaí tribes from Northern Balochistán participated in the independence movement and after independence. Quaid’s visits and his address to Sibi traditional drabber, his speech is a beacon for the prosperity of Balochistán, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s favourite province, keeping that in view and to honour the Quaid. I have used golden colours pages, since all his words as said require to be inscribed with gold, the difficult time for Quaid in Balochistán was that when he faced dirty politics of an accession issue over Baloch States Union in this Chapter-IV. I had a long discussion with Ayub Bakhsh Awán former Secretary Ministry of Home Affairs in the Central Government of Pakistan and author of Balochistán Historical and Political Processes, after accession of Baloch States a Baloch State Union was formed is explained in Chapter-V it is discussed in detail the motive of Khan of Kalat and political manipulation at different stages and its dissolution by One Unit scheme.

Chapter-VI covers that how One-Unit scheme was opposed at national level and in particular at Balochistán, the period between 1954 and 1968 till the time General Yahya’s martial law was enforced, many insurgency, operations were carried out during this tumultuous period in Baloch areas, Pathan area remained peaceful. Prominent tribal Sardars Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti, Sardar Atta Ullah Khan Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri were deposed from chieftainship. The Governor of West Pakistan Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh appointed other men in their places who were favourably disposed towards the Government, however, at the time of break up of One-Unit the jubilation was shown by all Balochis in particularly Khan of Kalat.

In Chapter-VII said period is covered, during this particular period author was part of many events in trying to describe the evolution of political events and processes in Pakistan in particular Balochistán, it was necessary to go into some details, like other chapters the contents examined are government documents, semi government documents, archival material and library sources. A large number of persons associated with the affairs of Balochistán, politicians and Sardars, let alone government officials both retired and serving were consulted author have visited and served at Harnai, Sibi, Dahdar, Sunni all along Bolan Pass road as well as railway line, Khojak Pass at Shela Bagh, Chaman, border
town Mand, Turiat, Khuzdar, Kohlu, Mewond, Zhob, Sambaza, Qamar-ud-Din Karez, during these insurgency operation we were ordered to look after the local population as it is mentioned in one of military intelligence report about Balochistan.

Past political trends in Balochistan in the light of Chapter-VII, since, the Balochistan society is feudal/tribal in nature, the word of the Sardar is considered to be final in all matters of decision making. The British and later the Pakistan government ruled this province through the Sardars. The Sardars were won over and official policies were carried out in consultation with them. Since the Sardar was the immediate agent of the government who received official funds and dealt in day to day affairs the government could not make any direct contact with the people. All the credit or development or favour went to the advantage of the Sardar. The pace of development was very slow in these areas so the government decided to weed out this indirect system of rule. Lack of communication, illiteracy and poverty were the basic obstacles in the way of the government.

The people government of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto chalked out an extensive five years plan for socio-economic development in the area wise largest province of the country. The Baloch Sardars reacted having different reasons for opposing the development, plan, as explained in Chapter-VII resolution of conflict through force the period covered in this chapter I remained in Balochistan and served in the Quetta and different other places in Balochistan.

1. The society was backward, and construction of metalled roads in the tribal areas was considered a planned move to ruin the privacy of the families living in the interior. Khair Bakhsh Marri an idealist Sardar believed the outside society was corrupt and by making inroads they would also corrupt the innocent and plain minded tribesmen.

2. The progressive programme of Peoples government was to construct roads and schools to bring awakening and political consciousness among people. The Sardars believed that education and enlightenment would naturally
develop resentment amongst the masses against their Sardar and hence they would lose control over their own people and thus a decline in their status.

3. A number of Sardars were followers of Marxist ideology and hence opposed the democratic system of government. They talked in terms of Great Balochistan i.e the Iranian part of Balochistan be included to form one big and autonomous Baloch province. In view of Pakistan’s relations with Iran the government opposed all such ideas.

4. The National Awami Party of Khan Abdul Wali Khan having communist inclinations formed natural choice of such Sardars. They along with Pakhtoons of Balochistan were staunch supporters of NAP. The NAP was already an eye sore for the government as it was fanning nationalists feelings in NWFP.

5. When the Baloch Sardars opposed the development programmes and the nationalist elements raised hue and cry for great Balochistan. The Pakistan government planned a crack down to check their dangerous motives. The nationalist Baloch Sardars along with Khan Abdul Wali Khan were declared traitors. The NAP was banned. Army was moved in to the troubled areas to counter insurgency. There were casualties on both sides. Most of the Sardars were arrested. When the tribesmen found it difficult to resist the Military might, many gave up, the rest fled to Afghanistan. The than Pro-Russian Afghan government gave them shelter and provided them base to propagate their anti-Pakistan activities. The Indo-Russia-Afghanistan axis gave moral and economic support to such dissidents to weaken Pakistan.

During 14 years absence of the nationalist Sardars from Balochistan politics, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti and Jamalis have gained a better foothold in provincial politics. The Jamalis since the independence of Pakistan had been staunch supporters of Muslim League and later did support Z.A. Bhutto’s progressive programme in Balochistan minus the military action. So the Jamalis support of official policy was no secret. In Chapter-IX when
Zia martial law authorities observed the atrocities inflicted upon Baloch took all these problems as a challenge during his interview Gen Zia told Selig Harrison that there is no disturbance in whole Balochistan. I want prosperity in Balochistan. Nawab Akbar Bugti who had always sided the radical Baloch Sardars lost his trust when he accepted Balochistan's governorship during Bhutto regime. Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Attaullah Mengal accused him of stabbing them in the back. The Nawab they believed had accepted a bribe while they were rotting in jails and had betrayed the Baloch cause.

The change in world politics has left Russia ineffective and weak, the Mujahideen government has been installed in Afghanistan. The worst to be affected by these changes are those dissidents who talked of Marxist ideology in Pakistan. The Afghan mujahideen who are highly obliged by 12 years of Pakistani hospitality, immediately after taking control of Kabul, warned all anti-Pakistan elements to leave Afghan soil as their safety could not be guaranteed any more. Important among those who returned home are Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri, Attaullah Mengal and Sher Mohammad Marri popularly known as General Sheroff. Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri was brought back on request of Jamali government with the consent of Islamabad.

Baloch, Brahvi, Pakhtoons and function of political parties have been discussed in Chapter-VIII the political process without political parties in Balochistan. The nationalist politics has taken root in Balochistan where the gulf between Baloch and Pakhtoons is widening every day. The rising socio-economic problems have developed an awakening for their rights amongst both the communities. At the time of insurgency in Balochistan, the Pathan, never sided with the Baloch but rather preferred to stay away. The Baloch boast of having struggled for provincial autonomy and suffering hardships, for championing for the peoples rights. The Nationalist Pakhtoons of Balochistan separated themselves from ANP after they felt betrayed by Khan Abdul Wali Khan who did not talk for Pakhtoon rights in Balochistan during one unit crisis it explained that how One-Unit was opposed in Chapter-VI.

In Chapter-VIII as already stated, the province of Balochistan consists of a large number of tribes belonging to different ethnic groups. The communities that form the major
chunk of population are either Baloch or Pakhtoon. There is lot of awareness among both the communities for a major share in all provincial matters. The competition for domination in all the spheres of life have become a major cause of clash and discontent between the two. All major tribes their area of influence clans and sub-clans has been discussed and with a view to understand that how well set they are, their participation in the political parties with a view to trace back their political affiliations with local and national parties.

It is all that for which this gigantic task was undertaken, in its accomplishment lot of water has flown under the bridges but many a things have changed in Balochistan as pointed out by Sardar Daud Khan of Kalat that now new nationalist people have come up he pointed out towards BNM Hayee groups as they are commoners but they have done miraculous political measures, due to which during 1988 election when Ghaus Bux Bizenjo lost his seat he was unable to sustain this shock and died.

Conclusion is based on the political realities and measures requires for betterment of Balochistan will make this region to prosper in future.
CHAPTER 1

CHRONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO BALOCHISTAN

Balochnistan\(^1\) is the largest of all the four provinces of Pakistan, the total area is 137,307 square miles (3,47,188 Square Kilometers). It has coastline of 471 miles, and a border of 1,243 miles-723 miles with Afghanistan and 520 miles with Iran.\(^2\) In the east are Pakistan provinces of Sindh, Punjab and a part of North West Frontier Province (NWFP).\(^3\) In the south it's extended sea-boarder running along the Seistan region of Iran and ends up at the mouth of Persian Gulf. Balochnistan has a commanding position vis-à-vis the Straits of Hormuz,\(^4\) an entrance from Indian Ocean to the Central Asia, approach from Central Asia in the Indian Ocean, one of the choke points of the Indian Ocean and the world.\(^5\) The latter part of 1958 marked an important development in the territory of Pakistan. Pakistan had been negotiating with the Sultan of Muscat for the return of Gwadar territory on the Mekran coast since partition. An agreement was finally reached and arrangements were finalised for the transfer of the territory to the Government of Pakistan on 8 September, 1958 with a senior civil servant, Agha Abdul Hamid, then serving as Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister\(^6\) and Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, representing the Government. Gwadar port and its territory on the Mekran coast was part of Muscat, during 1958 Pakistan Navy was ordered to take over the territory and it became the part of Pakistan.\(^7\) See Appendix II to Chapter I, page 332 Prime Minister and Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, representing the Government.

The Pakistan Navy was assigned the important task of planning and over-seeing the transfer. The entire operation was conducted under the personal command of Admiral Choudri. The Operation Order No. DN/1100 dated 5 Sept, 1958 gives an
indication of the detailed planning which went into the satisfactory accomplishment of the transfer, see appendix II to Chapter I, page 334.

The location of Balochistan makes it a sensitive part of Pakistan. Any politico-military development in Afghanistan, Iran and the Gulf Region affects the security of Balochistan. Strategically, it is in the ‘Warm Water’ belt – a region of historic interest for the Super powers in general and the erstwhile Soviet Union in particular.

Being geographically and ethnically close to the West Central Asia, Balochistan has inherited the trait and character of this strategic area. Islamic influence reached Balochistan in the earliest period of Islamic History, hence the people of Balochistan have inherited the qualities of Arabs as well as Iranians.

Since the British domination of Balochistan, fragmentation started. For this purpose the foreign masters exploited and encouraged tribal politics and Balochistan became a victim of divisive tendencies.

At the time of the creation of Pakistan, Balochistan was mainly divided into two parts (i) British Balochistan comprising Quetta, Pishin, Zhob and Loralai (ii) the native Balochistan constituting Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Lasbela. The accession of the Balochistan states to Pakistan particularly Kala, came in a difficult manner Tribal politics was given great encouragement for the separatist tendencies.

Its juxtaposition border in the north west links Seistan (Iran) and Helmund (Afghanistan) with Chagai (Pakistan), overlooking the Mashad-Zahedan-Chabanar Highway the north east, the inland constructions like the Khojak and Bolan passes (opposite Kandhar).

Balochistan’s political boundaries widely vary to its physical frontiers. Physically, it encompasses a large chunk of Iran, Afghanistan and parts of Sindh,
Punjab and NWFP of Pakistan. The encyclopaedia of Islam describes Balochistan: "It includes the whole country over which the Baloch race is spread without regard to political boundaries".¹⁴ NWFP and Pakistani Balochistan. In view of its relief, or physical features, the Greek historian Herodotus had divided Balochistan into three distinct parts which by and large, confirm to the description given by Encyclopaedia of Islam.¹⁵ They were:

- Aracosia comprising Kandhar and Quetta Region.
- Drangiana¹⁶, including Helmund, Seistan and Chagai
- Gedrosia comprising (Pakistani and Iranian) Mekran Coast

The Quetta, Pishin and Sarawan the area is bounded on the north and north-west. By Afghan territory; on the east by Zhob,¹⁷ Sibi and Kachi districts, on the south by Jhalawani and on the southwest by the Kharan and Chagai districts.

The oval-shaped area has a maximum length of 96 km from north to south and the maximum breadth of 129 km from east to west.

The general character of the area is mountainous consisting of a series of ranges¹⁸, running roughly north-northeast and south-southwest and enclosing long, narrow valleys, sometimes of considerable extent, which lie more or less at an elevation of 1500 meters above the sea level. At the Northern end of the Quetta-Pishin districts the great plateau of Toba drains northward to the Kadiani river; whereas the drainage of the rest of the district is carried off to the southwest by the Pishin Lora, and it is along the main stream/tributaries of this river that the valleys lie. All the valleys exhibit almost similar features and consist of flat plains of alluvial soil in the centre, varying in breadth from four to twenty km with a pebbly rising on mountains either side to the surrounding mountains¹⁹. The hill ranges are fairly uniform in character, consisting of long central ridges, from which frequent spurs descend, which are separated from one another by innumerable gorges and torrent beds²⁰. Hills vary in height from 1524 to
3566.2 meters. In the Toba, the hills situated are find uplands, the largest of those being Farakhi and Tabina. In the east of the Sarawan, the principal valleys are Gurgina, Kardagap, Mungachar, Chappar, and Kalat. In the north we have the large valley of Mastung, with its two branches; the Khard and Shiri nan southwards. Then there is the valley of Kahak with Dalai, running northwards into the valley of the Aghbarg in the Quetta Tehsil. Lastly, to the east, we have the two valleys of the Dasht known as the Bela Dasht and Gwand. The valleys on the west are long and of level surface, but not so broad as the central valleys, which possess considerable tracts of good cultivable soil. The valleys on the east are usually hilly in by hills and consist of small cultivated tracts of terraced fields, such as the Nimargh valley. There are also large tracts, some time cultivated, situated on the tops of mountains such as the plateau of the Sarum, Tahliyan and Pusulak in the Harboi Hills, the Dasturi, south-east of Inslinji and the Ali Dasht Plateau, east of Kardagap.

The Zhob district inhabited mostly by Kakars is situated in the north-eastern corner of Balochistan between latitudes 30° 32' and 32° 4' north, and longitudes 67° 27' east. Its maximum length from east to west is about 240 km and its average width is about 126 km.

In the north, the district is bound by Afghanistan and a portion of Southern Waziristan, in the west by the Quetta-Pishin districts, in the south by the Loralai district and in the east by the Suleman Range. The actual limits of the northern boundary commence from the north-east corner at the Zao Pass, the boundary follows the crest of the hills to the west towards the Kichina nala. It then turns due north, follows the crest of the hills between the Kichibina and Kashmir nala till it reaches Ziarat (point 7232). From here it runs west to the Zhob river, crossing the latter and then proceeds in a northwest direction to Tobi Khulla on the Gomal. From here the Gomal is the boundary as far as Domandi. At Domandi, the Zhob boundary meets the Durand Line between Afghanistan and Pakistan forms the rest of the northern boundary of Zhob as far as Kajir on the Kandanai river.
The Loralai district forms the northern and the Sibi district the southern portion of the area. This area is bound in the north by the Zhob district, in the west by Quetta-Pishin, Bolan and Sarawan in the south by Sind, and in the east by the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab.

Excepting Sibi and Nasirabad Tehsils, which consist of perfectly level plain, the Sibi-Loralai area is all mountainous country rising in a series of terraces from the lower hills of the Sulaiman range in the east, and from the Chagai in the South, the lower high land areas close to the Arabian sea receive their share of rain mainly in summer.

The northern and central parts of the area consist of a series of long but narrow valleys, tending east and west, hemmed in by rugged mountains, varying in elevation from about 914.4 to 3352.8 meters.

Besides aridity and temperature, the climate of Balochistan is noted for strong winds. These are the north westerlies blowing down unhindered by lofty mountains, such as the Himalayas or the Hindukush, from across the vast expanse of Siberia. In Sistan in Iran and Chagai in Pakistan, these winds are both constant and strong. The natives call these winds “Gorich” or “bad-i-Sad-o-Bist-Roz”, for once begun they last for no less than 120 days.

In the east, the ranges turn gradually northwards and merge into the hills of the Sulaiman range, which run almost due north and south. In the northwest, these stretch to the watershed of the central Brahui range, the highest hills in Balochistan, namely, Zarghun and Khalifat at an altitude of 2566 meters. Here they change direction to the north and become less regular, the Harnai valley appearing to drive wedge into the country which disturbs the regular trend of the hills. These hills especially Ziarat and Chotari boast of much fine scenery clad in thick juniper forest.
The principal ranges in the central portion of the area are; the Damanghar, north of Loralai, Kru, Gadabar Dabber, Dungan, Gutar (about 1828.8 meters), Bambor (1490.4 meters) and Zen (1105 meters) in Bugti area. \(^{43}\)

The main watersheds controlling the drainage of the area are; Zarghun \(^{44}\) on the border between the Quetta-Pishin/Sibi \(^{45}\) districts from which the drainage goes to the Nari River in the Harnai valley and the high country running southeast by the Dilkhuna and Sembhar passes from Spiraragha and Khalifat which divides the drainage between the Loralai, Anambar and Baghao rivers on the one hand and the Harnai valley on the other. \(^{46}\)

At Babar Kach the Beji River flows into the Nari River which has already received the drainage of the south side of the Khalifat watershed and that of the east of the Zarghun watershed. \(^{47}\)

The Nari River continues through gorges into the Sind plain, west of Sibi where it is joined by the Talli (or Chakar) River, the Lahri and the Lahri and the Chattar River which flow from the watershed near the eastern boundary of the area.

In the eastern portion of the area where the hills run north and south, the rivers run from west to east. The most important of these are the Vihoa, the Sangbar and the Kaka rivers which all have perennial water and flow across the Dera Ghazi Khan district into the Indus. A good metalled highway exists linking the Central Asia and Afghanistan with the Makran Coast at the port of Chabahar. Similarly, in the east in Balochistan a parallel route exists from Kandhar through Quetta, Bela to Karachi. It has been the most obvious and historical approach. It is fairly well developed in terms of telecommunication systems, roads and railways. \(^{49}\)
In Balochistan the British built a railroad\textsuperscript{50} through a difficult mountainous terrain, at places gaining a height of 6,000 feet above the sea level. It is one of the highest railroads in the world.

The laying of the railway line in Balochistan has its own history\textsuperscript{51}. During the first Afghan War in 1839, when the British advanced from Sukkur (Sind) to Kandhar, the losses in terms of men, animals and baggage on the way were very high. Thousands of men and animals perished\textsuperscript{52}.

The railway line from Quetta junction was further extended on the border town of Chaman through the Khojak Pass\textsuperscript{53}. The Khojak railway tunnel is a masterpiece of engineering. It was constructed at a height of 6,398 feet above sea level in Khawaja Amran Range. It was considered to be the longest tunnel in South Asia, having a length of 12,870 feet or 2.4375 miles. The railway line enters the Khojak tunnel is preceded by a single span railway bridge which is 150 feet long and 234 feet high\textsuperscript{54}. The railway terminus is Chaman on the Afghanistan border which also serves as the railhead for Kandhar. The local traffic on this line used to be very thin. Over the years this railway has served Afghanistan in transit trade\textsuperscript{55} for transporting fruit and other goods to India by way of Lahore and to other foreign countries through the port city of Karachi in Pakistan. The railway line through Khojak Pass served as the backbone of Afghanistan economy\textsuperscript{56} until Soviet intervention in 1979.

Amir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan had vehemently resented the construction of this strategic tunnel by the British. He said, cutting a tunnel through the Khojak hill they (British were pushing the railway line into my country just like a knife into my vitals. His remarks highlight the importance of this railway tunnel as it gives added strength to the Khojak Pass and facilitates quick transportation of forces to convenient place opposite Kandhar.
The highlands comprise the mountains of Chagai, Mekran, Kharan and the Pab and Kirthar ranges to the south. The mountains have an average elevation of 1981 meters and the valleys are about 80 meters above sea-level.\textsuperscript{17}

The plains of Southern Balochistan include the peculiar triangular strips of Kachhi and Las Bela and the valley of the Dasht river, the deserts are situated in the north-west corner and consist of open level plains covered with black gravel or broad expanses of deep sandhills, which sometimes assume the proportion of formidable sand mountains.\textsuperscript{18}

Chagai consists chiefly of a vast level plain of alluvial soil, interspersed with tracts of sand and intersected by a low range of stony hills known as the Bilau range which runs east and west from Nushki\textsuperscript{19} to Dalbandin. Small detached hills of black limestone, which arise abruptly from the plain are also to be seen in many parts. All along north of this plain, stretches the wide desert called Registan, a vast sea of billows of Sand rising above 61 meters which is slowly but surely advancing year by year and burying the flat alluvial plains to the south and the east. On the level plains shrubs of all sorts grow.\textsuperscript{20}

Between the Registan or "country of sand" and the plain, the sandhills are thickly sprinkled with bushes and vegetation which afford good pasturage for numerous flocks of sheep and herds of camels. The portion of the plain which stretches to the south-west along the course of the Lora as far as hera Hamu and which is known as the Dak is a deep light loam and is naturally very fertile.\textsuperscript{21} The country to the west of Chagai is a veritable wasteland and consists of sandy deserts and stony or gravelly plains bordered by ranges of barren limestone and shale mountains and containing hills of calcanie origin. Sandy deserts lie to the north and south of what may be considered as an isthmus of hills connecting the Chagai range with the Kacha Koh mountains.\textsuperscript{22} It is across this isthmus that the main Siestan Trade Route runs. The whole isthmus consists of black stones, in some parts lying loosely on the surface of the soil and in other so level and
closely packed that one might almost think that a steam roller had been worked over them. The desert on both sides consists of rolling sandhills, and in the distance on either side may be seen the white surface so the Gaud-e-Zirreh on the north and the Hamun-i-Mashke \(^63\) on the south. The hills to the north and west contain numerous torrents of permanent water. Between Chah Sandan and Mashki Chah are to be seen the curious moving sandhills formed alike in the shape of a crescent, the horns being to the south and the toe to the north. They vary a good deal in height, the top of the largest one being about 18 meters above the plain and sloping down gradually to the horns \(^46\), where they mingle with the sand. Desert and sand are characteristics of the area to prevent movement to Chagai and Nushki by different routes. Wells are fairly numerous though at long distances apart and several hundred families with their flocks and herds are sometimes dependent on a single well \(^65\).

In Balochistan, the main water-bearing areas, supporting sizeable population centres, are along the Quetta-Jacobabad-Hyderabad-Karachi or Quetta-Kalat-Khuzdar-Bela-Karachi alignments. In order to overcome the pressing problem of water in Balochistan, the Government of Pakistan has taken a number of measures with the technical and financial assistance of some foreign countries under the United Nations Development Projects. Such projects include extensive surveying to locate sub-soil water for tube-wells and construction of Pat Feeder and Kirthar canals. In addition, some dams and weirs across water channels at a number of places have also been constructed \(^66\).

South of the Chagai District, this area became center of attraction during CENTO economic aid and technical assistance to Pakistan \(^67\). The CENTO/RCD Microwave link from Karachi to Ankara passed through low range of mountains lies in the territory of Kharan, in the same area tele link is also linked with Quetta, the hub of rail, road and air communication in the Kharan \(^68\). The distinction of Balochistan is that during 1863 it was linked with Europe telegraphically the first ever link with South
Asia, the line was laid down from Karachi to Europe through Pasni and Gwadar. An other link was made through Quetta to Bedbat Qila on the Iran Border.

Geography of Balochistan presents major problems in having an exhaustive communication network. For the most part Balochistan is bleak, barren and mountainous, interested here and there by wise valleys the British content by connecting Afghanistan and Iran by Road. It was in the interest of British to make Balochistan economically independent.

The prophetic words of Quaid-e-Azam area most appropriate description of the mineral wealth that lies buried in the bosom of Balochistan. Geological survey department of India in 1880 carried out survey and for this purpose laid railway line during 1885, many minerals were actually discovered, unfortunately sufficient efforts were not made, however some efforts are made to discover this wealth. The minerals development has assumed greater importance in this connection how neighboring countries have exploited their mineral resources will be of great use.

Against all the constraints, Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation and Resource Development Corporation have functioned in the Balochistan these discoveries are made in the area Kharan, Makran, Marri, Bugti Muslim Bah, at Harrai and Shahrag and at Mach during British time but it was too less.

The main areas in which Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation have shown successful discoveries in the Chagai and Muslim Bagh for Magnesium, Chromite, for Chromite in Muslim Bagh district of Zhob the approximately it is of 3 million tons, many foreign countries are conducting oil drilling in various parts including some coastal areas of Makran, Sibi, Kalat, Khuzdar and tribal territories of Marri Bugti area, geological survey in area with modern technology have opened new areas for mineral exploitation. The richness of Balochistan in minerals resources for metallic and non-metallic minerals is evident that there are thirty one
type of minerals are available in Balochistan, during 1953, the discovery of natural gas at Sui, the reservoir are for about 18 trillion cubic feet, it is not only used for burning purposes it is used for chemical and fertilizer production at Multan, Punjab.

A great discovery of a copper belt at Saindak in 1962 near Taftan closer to Iran and Afghanistan has opened a new era in the mineral discoveries the same project is still in great disorder.

The natural gas at Sui and at Pirkoh, other minerals at different places like Chromite Gypsum Marble, Manganese and coal should have caused an uplift in the economy of Balochistan, but irony of fate is, that due to its earning there are political turmoil amongst local tribe, during such turmoil the main threats are for the installation of Sui and Pirkoh, new sources of Oil along coast line raises additional security problems, Saindak deposits, are one of the largest in the world, but we yet to make an headway for production of copper.

The erstwhile Russian intervention in Afghanistan has accentuated the security problems of mineral rich Balochistan. Due to political turmoil in the area mining and mineral related industries have not made significant headway.
NOTES


3. Ibid.


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. This particular paragraph was discussed by author with Dr Mujtaba Razi (Late) and added according to his kind directions.

10. Ibid.

11. Briefed in Ch IV with complete detail in the same dissertation.


17. The Sulaiman Range runs north-south from the Eastern limit of Upper Highland. At about 29°N latitudes it takes a westward swing to Bolan Pass, then it turns in the north south direction under the name of Central Brahui and Kirthar Ranges towards the Arabian Sea. From the eastern Sulaiman Ranges near Bolan Pass, a number of ridges traverse the Khanate of Kalat in a loop shape towards the south-west (During 1973 to 1977, author was employed there). In Iran the take an upward swing in north-west direction reaching to an elevation of Volvano Kohi Taftan, 13,500 feet. The chain of these ridges from Hindukush to Taftan makes a configuration of a locket. See Spate, Op.Cit., pp.482.


20. In early 19th century Helmund-Nushki route was operative. Now it has fallen in disuse except by transborder raiders and smugglers and Afghan refugees. See G.P. Tates *The Frontiers of Balochistan*, (Lahore: East and West Publishing Company, 1976), pp.3-4. Author has served in this area during 1975-76.

21. For centuries the land of Kalat has been the homeland of Baloch and their peers Brahuis. See Britannica Op.Cit., p.61 also see Islam Op.Cit., p.627.

22. The British were the first to make Quetta, -- formerly Shal -- the Capital of Balochistan on February 21, 1877. It lies at a height of 5500 feet above the sea level and has possibly been inhabited for 5,000 years. Balochistan information


29. Author stayed in this area for more than two years 1985 to 1988.


32. Personal experience of this area.


34. The approaches through the desert are difficult. For instance in the north, the area between Quetta and Kuh-i-Malik Siah is a vast span of Dasht-i-Margo Registan unsuitable for military operations. There is not a track of any significant value in this entire area, except one shingle road which runs across the border from Girishk (Afghanistan) to Chagai (Pakistan). Similarly, on the western border, the area is again desolate between Mirjawa and Gwattar, except the Mirjawa-Kuhak shingle road linking it with Panjgur. The other is in the south Iranshahr-Pishin (border town) or Cha Bahar-Pishin linking with Mand and Turbat. These approaches through the desert are hardly of any value. Obstacles, (including minefields) can be developed on them to spare troops for defense of the main Khandhar-Quetta approach.


37. Quetta and other town in Balochistan have their own thermal stations for the generation of power. Lately Balochistan has been connected with the National Power Grid by WAPDA. The Power sector got the highest priority during 1984-85. For details see White Paper Budge 1984-85 (Government of Balochistan Finance Department, 1984-85 Op.Cit.).


Besides man, the nature too under its own laws, has many time changed the physical character of Balochistan.

Mekran was linked with the civilisation of Harappa, Mohenjodaro as well as mesopotamia. The trade existed between Rasel-Khema in the Gulf and Mohenjodaro Tha Jang (Urdu daily of Karachi), June 22, 1986.

Islam *Op.cit.*, in those days Multan was the province with its boundaries up to Debal. Multan was conquered by Arabs in 1005 A.D. by ousting Karmation rulers. Holdich, Gates of India, *Op.cit.*, p. 293


40. The Kej valleys are about 8 to 10 miles in width. These valleys through the ages have made Mekran an avenue for invaders to approach India from the West. Holdich, Gates of India *Op.cit.*, pp. 290-292.


The Khyber route was: Kandhar, Kabul; Jalalabad, Peshawar, Lahore and Delhi. The other northern route was from Kandhar to Pishin through Khawja Amran Pass and then to Multan. See George Macmunn, *The Romance of the Indian Frontiers* (Quetta: Nisa Traders, 1978) Map given opposite page 78.


49. At present the transit trade is through the Oxus river or by road or air, to the ex-Soviet Union and East Europe. Dupree, *Op. Cit.*, pp.545-552.


52. See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, April 10-17, 1948, p. 5714.


56. See Gazetteer, *Op.Cit.*, p. 311. This small guage railway is no more in working in this area due to bad maintenance (author own experience).


66. There are more then 11 Fields in Balochistan, where PIA service is available. Sheni Humayun, “New Maritime Organization: Exploring the Riches of the Sea,” *Pakistan & Gulf Economist*, August 30-Sept. 5, 1986.


75. British were really panic about Tsarist Russia design in the region and therefore they did not like to exacerbate it by developing Balochistan’s natural resources particularly mineral resources.


82. Notwithstanding that the Geological Survey of Pakistan is located in Quetta, the capital city of Balochistan.


87. The Pir Koh is located about 70 miles or 85 km north of Sui. The known reserve is 1.352 trillion cubic feet.


93. Syed Iqbal Balochnistan: Its Strategic Importance pp. 16-17.

94. Ibid.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN BALOCHISTAN

Balochistan the land of beauty and unsophisticated charms, is, and will always remain, an inseparable link in the chain of time and space, connecting historical ancience with modern concept of socio-political survival. Its green valleys with a natural majesty of their own; its snow capped mountains with a luring beauty of scenic wilderness untamed and the desolate charms of its barren deserts will always remain a mystery.¹

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan, total area of this province is 347190 square Kilometers, it has coast line of 758 Kilometers, it has a boarder of 2001 Kilometers, 1164 Kilo meters with Afghanistan and 837 Kilometers with Iran²

The location of Balochistan makes it a sensitive part of Pakistan. Any politico-military development in Afghanistan, Iran and Gulf Region affects the security of Balochistan. Strategically, it is in the ‘Warm Water’ belt - a region of historic interest for Supper powers in general and the erstwhile Soviet Union in particular.³

Being geographically and ethnically close to West Central Asia, Balochistan has inherited the trait and character of this strategic area. Islamic
History, hence the people of Balochistan have inherited the qualities of Arabs as well as Iranians. They are warlike very chivalrous towards women-folk, kind to guest and very sensitive to promises honourably made, they have their peculiar characteristics.

At the time of the creation of Pakistan, Balochistan was mainly divided into two parts (i) British Balochistan comprising Quetta, Pishin, Zhob, and Loralai (ii) the native Balochistan constituting Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Lasbela. The accession of the Balochistan states to Pakistan, particularly Kalat, came in a difficult manner. Tribal politics was given great encouragement for the separatist tendencies.

The government of Pakistan made an administrative arrangement for the four states of Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Lasbela as Balochistan States Union, and the other part still remained under the direct control of an agent. On October 14, 1955 the whole of Balochistan became a part of 'one unit' - West Pakistan. This arrangement remained till the abolition of 'one unit' by General Yahya Khan.

Since 1968, Balochistan is a province like other provinces of Pakistan. In the whole process of constitutional development of Balochistan, tribal politics has dominated, weather it was so-called insurgency or the election of 1990.

Under the foreign yoke of the British rule, Balochistan was divided into several parts, the people became politically degenerated and economically backward. Their political development was blocked due to the impact of oppressive systems external and internal to such an extent that they have
become masters of self-devaluation and have acquired an acute sense of insecurity and deprivation.\(^7\)

Tribe\(^9\), tribe is a group of families who have a feeling of comity through occupying a common territory and following similar customs. Tribe is derived from the Latin tribes, meaning "one third" which originally referred to one of the three peoples who were united to found Rome. The Romans later applied tribes to the 35 peoples who, according to tradition, became a part of Rome before 241 B.C. and still later, to segments of the Gallic or Germanic peoples whom they conquered. The Roman and Germanic tribe comprised a group of part-lineally related families who had an identifying name, occupied a common territory, and followed a common leadership.\(^1\)

More recently, tribe has been applied to any people having a common territory and customs who are not part of a state society. The term may refer to a group of primitive people, among Australian aborigines, the tribe has been defined as a territorial group of hordes (families who camp and migrate together) who visit one another, intermarry, and meet together for major religious ceremonies, and who retain a common dialect and customs through these associations.\(^2\) The Australian aborigines themselves have no notion of the concept of tribe. They simply regard as strangers people who have different dialects and customs. Tribe also is applied to segments of much more advanced and numerous peoples. The Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan who are village-dwelling cultivators and hoarders, are divided into tribes that number up to 100,000 persons. Sometimes there is a tribal chief, more often not, but each group has a territory, a name, a dialect, and a feeling of kinship. The Hazaras,
like several peoples in Iran are referred to as tribal because they follow their own customary law apart from that of the state society in which they live.\textsuperscript{13}

Tribe and tribal are convenient terms for indicating that a people still follows custom rather than state law. The early Germans described by Comelius Tacitus in the 1st century A.D. were tribal; in the 13th century, when the English had lost their tribal way of life, Welsh were still partly tribal and Scots retained tribal customs much longer. In the Middle East there has been a millennia-old distinction between tribes and settled people who are under state government. In North America most of the people were tribal before European colonization. Only a few, like the Navajos, have been able to retain tribal identity within the modern state\textsuperscript{14}, as Jirga System is still existing in the Balochistan and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) as a supreme law execution is quick with speedy trials. Tribes in Balochistan cherish their customs, norms, old tradition and they implement over these with lot of pride as compared to settled area within Balochistan province and areas within its boundaries like, Quetta, Karachi, Hyderabad, settled area which are under control of local government before 1947 as well as after independence.

Balochs have been living in and ruling Balochistan for over thousand years. But it is very strange that not much is known about their tribal origin.\textsuperscript{15} According to some of the historians they are probably one of the oldest tribes in history of the world.\textsuperscript{16} The people of this tribe were nomadic moving from place to place in search of food and pastures. The tract of land which eventually became their abode, came to be known as Balochistan, the land of Baloch.\textsuperscript{17} Compared with two other tribes Brahuis and Pathans - who were already living in this area the Baloch are new-comers to Balochistan.\textsuperscript{18}
The origin of Balochs has not precisely been established. Sardar Muhammad Khan calls it "an insoluble riddle of history." G.P. Ther maintains that "because of lack of historical evidence, the question cannot be finally disposed off now." The source material relating to their history is scanty and lacks depth and authenticity. A variety of explanations advanced about the origin of the Baloch are based on archaeological, historical and anthropological evidence. Most popular among the Baloch themselves is Semitic connection, linking them with civilization of western Asia in the second millennium B.C. It says that the Baloch were a Semitic race and lived in Syria. Gradually they moved eastward from Aleppo, Syria, to Kirman, Iran, until they found themselves in Balochistan.

Another view suggests that they were Aryans from Asia Minor. For centuries they lived in northern Iran and in the eleventh century migrated to Mekran, Balochistan. The third explanation suggests that they are of Arab extraction and migrated in the seventh century to Mekran and Turan, a little before the Muslim conquest of Balochistan. The fourth one links them with Dravadian race of Indian origin.

Major single source of Baloch history is ballads. Most of them originated during Chakarian Era (1479-1524 AD), particularly during 30-years War (1490-1520 AD) between Mir Chakar Rind and Mir Gwaharam Lashari in Sivi (present Sibi) and Kachhi area of Balochistan. The migration of Rind-Dodal Baloch to the Punjab and their internecine wars are main subject matter of these ballads. Baloch classical poetry, dealing mostly with subjects of war and peace and love and hatred, was the product of 16th Century.
Baloch ballads are as popular among all the eighteen major Baloch tribes\textsuperscript{30} as Homer's Iliad and Ulysses were among the Romans. Their "Daptar Shaar", (Chronicle of Genealogies) is in verse form. The ballads focus upon the origin of the Baloch people, their culture, bravery and chivalry.\textsuperscript{31} These ballads have been sung with great reverence, credence and pride to this day.\textsuperscript{32} This form of poetry has been passed on from father to son and so on to grandson.\textsuperscript{33} A ballad translated by M.L. Dames says:

"We are followers of Ali, firm in faith and honour through the grace of the Holy Prophet, Lord of the Earth. We are the offspring of Amir Hamza, victory rests with God's shrine. We arise from Halab and engage in battle with Yazid in Karbala and Bampur, and we march to the towns of Seistan."\textsuperscript{34}

The ballad suggests that the Baloch were Shia Muslims, who migrated from Halab (Allepo), Syria, to Bampur in Seistan, Iran\textsuperscript{35} (and subsequently to Makram and other parts of Pakistani Balochistan).

Many Western historians argue that one cannot reconstruct history on myths and legends.\textsuperscript{36} However, the names of several places and persons mentioned in the ballad are real enough and that imparts to the legend of migration a touch of authenticity. Nevertheless, there are gaps to be filled with names, places and events and dates too have to be corrected and cross checked. For instance, the ballad says that the Baloch moved to Kirman (Seistan) after the epic battle at Karbala, 61 A.H.,\textsuperscript{37} but according to historical evidence the
Baloch were already in Kirman in 23 A.H/645 A.D. Thus evidently there is an irreconcilable gap of about four decades. Moreover, this ballad fails to help fill a gap of about 400 years in Baloch history, the period between Nausherwan (the Sassanian King in 3rd century AD) and the advent of Arabs in Iran and Balochistan in 7th century AD.

It will also be noted that in the Shahnama of Firdusi, Balochis are mentioned as soldiers in Sassani King Kaikhusro's army (558 B.C -- 530 B.C.). Likewise, Firdausi mentions Balochis serving in the forces of Nausherwan (531 AD-578 AD). This gap of one thousand years remains unaccounted for as far as Baloch are concerned. The ballad also does not state why, and when, the Baloch moved from Syria to Iraq. According to Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, Baloch moved from Allepo in Syria to Iraq about 4 A.D.

Sardar Muhammad Khan Baloch, a Blaoh leader, politician and writer, has strong faith in the ballad and believes that the Allepo story is based on facts. He is greatly impressed by Sir. H. Rawlinson who was the first to find a link between Baloch and Semitic races. Sir Rawlinson had taken his clues from Bible and writings of M.L. Dames.

Sardar Muhammad Khan theorizes that term Baloch is the corrupted form of Belus, a title of Babylonian or Kaldian Kings. Nimrod, the son of Kush or Cush or Kooth was also called, Nimrud the belus. The followers of Nimrod were known as Belusis. Among the Arabs Belusis were pronounced Balos. Thus the word Baloch has come from Belusis or Balos. Interestingly enough Pathans call the Baloch as Balos. Moreover, elements of a Baloch tribe identified as Kush are found in Sukkur (Sind), Bahawalpur (Punjab) and adjoining districts of Balochistan.
A few historians are of the view that the Baloch belong to the Dravadian stock. Sir Denys Bray who holds this view, perceived that language spoken by the Brahmuis is similar to Dravadian language.50 Dr. D. Bellow also considered the Baloch of Indian origin and a "clan of Indian Rajputs". Still other scholars thought that the Baloch and Brahuis had no linkage to the Dravadian group.51

Pakistani writers particularly the Baloch themselves - such as Justice Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijranji Marri Baloch, Gul Khan Naseer, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan and Sardar Muhammad Khan - strongly repudiate the idea that the Baloch and Brahuis belong to the Dravadian stock.52

Yet another group of writers advocates the view that the Baloch are of Arab origin. Among these writers was the late Mir Ahmad Yar Khan of Kalat. He considered himself and of his tribe of Arab stock. He postulated in his autobiography, "Balochis are of Arabian origin for they were the ancient followers of Prophet Abraham". He reinforces his argument by saying that the Balochis have the same characteristics as the Arabs: they are brave, adventurous and revengeful.53 Sir Thomas Holdich also holds the view that the Balochis have a marked racial affinity with the Arabs.54

Nevertheless, the mere fact that the Baloch are generally nomadic, hospitable, brave, warlike and co-religionists of the Arabs is no sufficient proof that they are Arabs. These characteristics - bravery, hospitality etc. - are also to be found among other Islamic people of Central Asia as well, the Turks, Afghans and Iranians among them. They have been under the influence of Arabs for about 2,000 years and must have a mixture of Arab blood in their veins. According to Setig Harrison, desire on the part of certain personages to
link the Baloch with Arab may in part have been motivated by ego, love of Islam or political considerations.\textsuperscript{55}

Balochistan may be said to be inherited chiefly by the Baloch tribe, the most numerous in the country, and this name was given to the tract they occupy by the great Persian monarch, Nadir Shah, who, as St. John remarks, after driving the Afghan invaders from Persia, made himself master in his turn of the whole country west of the Indus, and placed a native chief over the new province, formed out of the districts bounded on the north and south by the Halmaund valley and the sea, and stretching from Karman on the west to Sindh on the east. This newly-formed province he called Balochistan, or, the country of the Baloch, from the name of the most widely spread and numerous, though not the dominant, tribe. According to Masson, who, it must be admitted, had more ample opportunities of obtaining correct information on this subject than any other European, the Balochistan are divided into three great classes, viz., (1) the Brahuis; (2) the Rind; and (3) the Lumris (or Numris); but this must be taken more in the sense of inhabitants of Balochistan than as divisions of a tribe, since the Brahuis are of a different race and language and call the true Balochis “Nharuis,” in contradistinction to themselves as “Brahuis.” These, again, resolve themselves into numerous subdivisions.\textsuperscript{56}

The origin of the word “Baloch” is evidently involved in some obscurity, and has given rise to many different interpretations.\textsuperscript{57} Professor Rawlinson supposes it to be derived from Belus, king of Babylon, the Nimrod of Holy Writ, and that from “Kush,” the father of Nimrod, comes the name of the Kalati eastern district, “Kachh.”\textsuperscript{58} Pottinger believes the Balochis to be of Turkoman lineage, and this from a similarity in their institutions, habits, religion \textsuperscript{59}— in
short, in everything but their language, for which latter anomaly, however, he has an explanation to offer. But be this as it may, the very tribe themselves ascribe their origin to the earliest Muhammadan invaders of Persia, and are extremely desirous of being supposed to be of Arab extraction. They reject with scorn all idea of being of the same stock as the Afghan. They may possibly be of Iranian descent, and the affinity of their language, the Balochki, to the Persian, bears out this supposition; but the proper derivation of the word “Baloch” still remains an open question.

The original settlement of the Baloch tribe in the country is thus referred to by Pottinger: “Ninety-two years after the epoch of the Hijri (A.D. 677), the Kalifahs of Baghdad, incited by the combined motives of zeal for the Muhammadan faith and desire to avenge the insult that had been offered to their dignity by the idolaters of Sindh, despatched an army against that kingdom by the same route that the Macedonian hero had selected on his return to Babylon nearly a thousand years before. This force is expressly stated to have kept close to the sea-shore, that it might be certain of a supply of water, which is always procurable by digging a foot or two deep on the sandy beach; it consequently knew nothing of the inland regions, nor was any attempt made, so far as can be learnt, during the administration of the Khalifahs of the houses of Ummia and Abbas, to explore them. When Muhammad, the successor of Subaktaji, the first Sultan of the Ghaznavide dynasty, turned his arms towards India, he subjugated the whole of the level district west of the Indus to the very foot of the Brahvi mountains. His son Musauid extended these conquests still more westerly into Makran; he adhered, however, to his father’s plan of not ascending the lofty ranges, and all subsequent invaders of Sindh seem to have
been guided by their example. The former was so well ascertained at an early date that the compiler of the Chachh-Nama states that those infidels who would not conform to the doctrine of the Kuran were driven to the mountains, there to perish by famine and cold. Wilds thus spoken of, it is presumed, were void of people, and from this epoch will hereafter be fixed the first regular settlements to the provinces of Ishalawan and Sarawan, or at least their most elevated districts. We now arrive at a period when some indistinct memory of the historical events of Balochistan begins to be orally preserved.

Bruce states that, according to their own traditions, the Balochistan believe that their country was formerly Aleppo, that they are descended from Mir Hamra, son of Abdul Mahtab, who lived in the time of Hazrat Inam Husain (Hijri 61), about A.D. 646. The seem to have left Arabia owing to internal strife and contention, and to have gone in the direction of Persia, arriving in the hill country of Kerman, in Persia. Thence they came into Makran, where they appear to have been, during their long sojourn in Makran, under one Amir, or head; and, prior to their leaving that province for Kalat and Khorasan, their chief was Jalal Khan, who had four sons and one daughter, named respectively – Rind, Hot, Lashari, Korai, and Massamat Jatoi. From Rind was descended Mir Chakar Khan, and from Lashari, Mir Raman Khan; and, at the time of their appearance in Kalat and Kachhi (about A.D. 1540) they were in two sections, Rind and Lashari (so-called after the sons of Jalal Khan), and under the leadership of Mir Chakar and Mir Raman. The Hot and Korai also became known as distinctive tribes, and from the daughter, Massamat Jatoi, is said to have sprung the Jatoi tribe. After their settlement in Kalat and Kachhi, quarrels appear to have arisen between the Rinds and
Lasharis, resulting ultimately in the defeat of the latter, who fled towards Sindh, where they subsequently settled. The Rinds were in the first instance unsuccessful in their encounters with the Lasharis, but, obtaining the assistance of the King of Persia, they were enabled in the end to conquer their adversaries. After this, Mir Chakar and his Rinds are said to have received a grant of land in the Bari Doab, in the Panjab, from Humayun Shah, the Mogul Emperor of Hindustan, to whom he had rendered assistance at a time when that monarch was an exile, and seeking to recover his lost throne. From this period the tribe seems to have become divided, and to have spread throughout Kalat, Sindh, and the Derajat frontier, driving out the inhabitants where they were able, and taking possession of their lands.

The Brahis, who, as a race, are very numerous in Balochistan, Pottinger considers to be a nation of Tartar mountaineers, who settled at a very early period in the southern parts of Asia, where they led an ambulatory life in Khels, or societies, headed and governed by their own chiefs and laws for many centuries, till at length they became incorporated and attained their present footing at Kalat and throughout Balochistan generally.

Masson supposes that the word “Brahui” is a corruption of Na-roh-I, meaning, literally, of the waste; and that race entered Balochistan originally from the west. The Nharuis, mentioned by Pottinger as one of the three principle tribes into which the Balochis are divided, would appear to inhabit the district west of the Kharn desert. The meaning of the word “Nharui” being not a hill man, i.e., a dweller in the plains, they may be considered to hold the same place with reference to the Brahuis that “lowlanders” do to “highlanders”. These Nharuis have the character of being the most savage and
preternatural class throughout Balochistan, and in appearance and physique are said to be a tall, handsome, and active race. The Brahuiks believe that they are the aborigines of the country. Their language, which is known as Brahuiki, is, strange to say, altogether void of affinity to that of the Balochis—it is, in fact, a dravidian tongue, while the Balochi is as decidedly Indo-Germanic, and this difference in language is presumed by some writers to prove the fact of the Brahuiks being an older inhabitant of the country than the Balochi.

Besides those mentioned, there is another of the principal divisions of the Balochi which requires especial notice, though reference has already been made to it in the previously quoted extract from Bruce. This is the Rind tribe, who have a tradition that they originally came from Aleppo, but Masson remarks that they may in all probability have found their way into Kachh Gandava from the eastward. The word "Rind" means "brave man," and the tribe are mostly found in Kachh Gandava, and the hills north-east of Sarawan, as also in portions of Kalati Makran. Their language is the Jatki, and they themselves are broken up into numerous sub-divisions (about forty-four branches), but as a tribe they are considered highly respectable, though noted for their marauding propensities. In person they resemble the Nharuis, but have darker features. The Maghzis are another Baloch tribe, distinct according to Pottinger, but merely an offshoot from the Rinds according to Masson. The reside at Jhal at the foot of the western hills in Kachh Gandava, but are now few in number; at one time they were able, it is said, to muster a force of two thousand men. The Lurris (or Numris) of Las are pretty numerous, and are said to claim a close affinity with the Balfat (or Burfat) tribe. They are believed to be descendants of the ancient Sammah and Sunna Rajputs, whose chiefs
formerly ruled in Sindh. In appearance the Lumri is neither robust nor good-looking and is both physically and morally inferior to the tribes inhabiting the provinces north of Las. The Jokias are a branch of the Lumris. The Afghan inhabitants of Balochistan are few in number, and are chiefly found in the Shal district and at Kalat,\textsuperscript{110} at which latter place they are known as Babis, or Ababis, their business there being trade. These Babis are considered to be a wealthy people, and in person are stout, well-made men, with good features. The Jats are numerous in Kachh Gandava, where they form the principal portion of the agricultural population. The are presumed to be the descendants of the ancient Getae, who once people those tracts of country situate east and west of the river Indus. The sub-divisions of this tribe are numerous, and their language, which is known as the Jatki, is closely allied to Sindhi and Panjabi.\textsuperscript{111} The only other Muhammadan race requiring notice are the Delwars, not on account of their number, which is small and unimportant, but because they are, as Pottinger says, distinct from all other natives of Balochistan in both manners and appearance. They are found only in and about Kalat, so far as the country of Balochistan is concerned. They are believed, however, to be of the same stock as the Tajiks of Afghanistan and Turkistan, both classes being somewhat undersized, with blunt features and high cheek-bones. They are agricultural in habit, and, as their name imports, dwellers in dehs, or villages, and not nomadic, like the greater number of the Baloch tribes. Their language is a fairly pure Persian, and in religion they are Sunni Muhammadans.\textsuperscript{112}

The Hindu portion of the population of Balochistan is small, and found only in the large towns and sea-ports, where, as merchants or bankers, they carry on the greater part of the trade and commerce of the country, such as it is.
Their numbers are said to be greater in Kalat than elsewhere, and Pottinger mentions that in his time (A.D. 1810) they were principally mercantile speculators from the cities of Multan and Shikarpur, who were, however, as in Sindh, by no means strict in their observance of the Brahmanical laws, since they ate every kind of flesh-meat except beef, though killed by a Musalman, drank water out of leathern bags, and wore caps made of Bokhara skins. Hindus are to be found at the ports of Sonmiani and Gwadar, on the Las and Makran coast, but rarely, except at Kalat, in the towns of the interior.\textsuperscript{113}

James W. Spain claimed that the "Sandeman System" was peaceful penetration of the Baloch Home land.\textsuperscript{114} The British, he said, were impelled by the noble sentiments and sympathy. Their system was "humane,\textsuperscript{115} sympathetic and civilizing".\textsuperscript{116} It was in the eyes of British, where as Baloch and Pathan tribes were attacked and molested in a "Civilized manner". They gave them subsides, authority, and concession to cultivate agents among the tribes.\textsuperscript{117}

Sandeman being himself a highlander did manage to win the Herats and minds of Baloch\textsuperscript{118} chiefs, he worked hard to "know" the tribes it was an essential first step towards winning their confidence and commanding them, with this he found it cheaper to control, the tribes directly. He found that the Sardars needed authority and the means guns, money, horses-to hold that authority. The British had these means.

In the bargain the Sandeman encouraged the Sardars to raise their Lashkars or levies. There armed men were paid from British treasury and were controlled by District Officers. Yet, they were regarded as tribal servants, the levies were tribal para military force.\textsuperscript{119}
The tribal chiefs, namely, Mirs, Jams and Khans were given stipends. They had the authority to free-wheel and manage local affairs according to the centuries old customs and traditions still in vogue, albeit without hurting the British interest. Originally, the Sardars who played a pivotal role in the tribal Oligarchy were sort of elected rather then selected from amongst the tribes. The British tempered with the system and started hand picking them, in this way the British modified the Sardari System of Balochistan.

Sandeman used the Jirga system, to begin with the Jirgas were chosen on pure merit. Its members were expected to be honest, honourable and brave, however it was not an independent body like the Old Jirga. It must also be conceded that the British patronized Jirga system helped in running the administration of the province at very low cost. In their dealing with simple minded tribesmen, the British employed two Hindus. One of these was a clerk named Hittu Ram and the other a Gupta Ram. They played a great part in enforcing Sandeman’s policies. The British elevated them in status to great height. Hittu Ram became “Rai Bahudur” and Gupta Ram a “Diwan”

Sandeman never hesitated from using brute physical force where-ever he thought it was required, all the British settlements and administrative units in Balochistan head a standby regular force to back up.

Sandeman, the administrator, used coercion, taxation and temptation to advance his policies. He pitted one tribe against another, and finally securing the arbitrators authority for himself, resolved feuds of his own making.

The much publicised material development of the province under the British is not supported by substance. The construction of roads, railway
and construction of cantonments etc was for their military and administration staff, mostly brought from other parts of India. The Baloch and Pathan tribes were never allowed to settle down in the plains they always wanted that these should remain nomadic.

According to the British point of view the Sandeman System of “peaceful penetration” was a success. The kingpin of the system was the “Sardars and Tummandar” who had traditionally enjoyed a great deal of influence with the common flock. A well equipped British army stationed in carefully spaced cantonment provided creditability to imperial preponderance of power in the area.

It is note worthy that all the Baloch and Pattans never Submitted to British. The Baloch and Pathan are brave fighters with a high sense of honour.

The hundred years of British rule could perhaps be called a “Black Period in the history of Balochistan more then 90% Muslims were denied of all sort of prosperity, above all there was no law in the country the British Political Agents were free to apply any one, or all, of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, the Tribal Customary Law, the Muslim Law (Shariat) and sections of the Indian Penal Code even a times all these were ignored. The British continued to formulate laws and regulations from time to time to keep their hold on the population.

The routes of prosperity, during 18th century peter of Russia was keen to have an access to Indian Ocean the trade routes were operative during the 9th century. The first route was by way of Merv, Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar to Delhi. Peter desired to find a shorte route, which possibly avoided
the Pamir plateau, Hindu-Kush heights and the Khyber Pass. Probably for this reason he had asked his envoy in Persia to carry out reconnaissance of the ancient routes followed by Alexander the Great. Clearly enough he was keen to have more information on Balochistan, especially the main arteries running along the Makran coast via Panjgur/Turbat, Bela or Kala to Indus or through Zahedan, Nushki, to Indus, or Mashad-Herat, Kandahar, Pishin to Indus.

The Persian route from St. Petersburg, the Russia’s capital city, besides shorter had the added advantage of having access to the Indian Ocean. The Persian route would also have facilitated trade with the Far East through the ports of Gwadar, Bandar Abbas; to Strit of Hormuz, Basra and onward to Europe. Presumably, these overwhelming, commercial and strategic advantages were in Peter’s mind when he ordered reconnaissance of Iran-Balochistan trading and military routes.¹⁴¹

It will be of interest to know that the British had designed the administration of this area from a political angle. All efforts were made to keep the tribal system alive and this aim was achieved by giving stipends, privileges, pensions and grants to tribal chiefs and making them directly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in their respective areas of influence.

This was the state of affairs in Balochistan when Pakistan came into being in 1974. The administrative structure remained the same up to 1955 when this region was merged into one integrated Province, the former Province of West Pakistan. No significant development, however, took place between the period 1955 and 1970 in spite of the fact that the region had received special attention in both the second and Third five-year development Plans.
The absence of private investment also prevented sustained economic growth because the internal sociopolitical conditions within Balochistan did not permit free exercise of choice by private enterprise from other areas. Consequently no large "lead growth" and "springs of growth" were created both in the public and private sectors to have a competition-oriented development effort in the vicinity of their location.

Balochistan was given the status of the full-fledged Province after the dissolution of the single integrated Province of West Pakistan (the One Unit, as it was ten called) in 1970. The initial period was devoted to the establishment of proper administrative machinery followed by efforts aimed at bringing the people of Balochistan into the socioeconomic mainstream of the country. The pace of desired development, however, could not be accelerated.
NOTES


5. Search lights on Baloches and Balochistan By Justice Marri p.13.

6. Ibid pvii.


8. Ibid p.4.


10. The Social Science Encyclopedia Edited by Adam Kupper and Jessica Kappar p.869.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.


19. The ex-ruler of Kalat Mir Ahmed Yar Khan says "the authorities on the subject have not been able to state anything authentic about the exact origin of the bluches" and Ahmed Abdullah writes: The name, origin and history of Brahis and Balochistan are as much shrouded in mystery and


22. About the origin and history of Balochs brief reference is made by Greek, Persian and then a little more in detail by Arab historians and geographers. The source material mostly available relates to 16th century in the form of popular Baloch war Ballads. The recorded history is of recent origin with the details of 150 years only. See Selig Harrison, *Op.Cit.*, p.11.


The armed men of different Baloch tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF SUBTRIBE</th>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>IN WHAT DISTRICT</th>
<th>NO. OF ARMED MEN</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bangulzai</td>
<td>Mastung</td>
<td>At Gnazg</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Ghazghi</td>
<td>S A</td>
<td>Dashr-i-Bidaulat and Merv</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Presumed to have come originally from Kurdistan; have numerous subdivisions. Said to have been formerly slaves of the Rinds, but enfranchised by the famous Mis Chakar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kurd</td>
<td>R A</td>
<td>Mangchar</td>
<td>1500</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Langhau</td>
<td>W A</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Lari</td>
<td>Mastung</td>
<td>1500</td>
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<td>6. Mahmudshahi</td>
<td>Mastung</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
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<td>7. Raisani</td>
<td>Mastung and Shal</td>
<td>1500</td>
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<td>8. Rakshani</td>
<td>Nuski</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Rodani</td>
<td>Ashi Khan and Rudan</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>A branch of Sirperra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Samalari</td>
<td>Hills of west of Khanak</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Say their forefathers came from Shirwan near the Caspian sea. Literal meaning of Sirperra: “Cutters of heads.” Ancestors supposed to have been the Sarapran mentioned by Pilny.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Shelt Hussaini</td>
<td>Gurghina</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
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<td>12. Shirwani</td>
<td>200</td>
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<td>13. Sirperra</td>
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<td>14. Sunari</td>
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<td>15. Zigar Minghal</td>
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<td>16. Kallu</td>
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<td>17. Kuchik</td>
<td>Dasht Guran</td>
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<td>18. Pugh</td>
<td>Nushki</td>
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<td>19. Mandarari</td>
<td>Lup</td>
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<td>20. Puzh</td>
<td>Kirta</td>
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<td>Kajuri</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rodbar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johan</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These tribes are found in the northeastern hills of Sarawan known as the Kirta by...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Subgroup</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bughits</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>Hills east of Lehri at Sing</td>
<td>Are of the Rind tribe, and have strong predatory properties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunbiks</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Saloh and Teriki Lehri</td>
<td>Rind tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homarari</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Lehri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakranis</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Tamba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jallui</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Lehri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamali</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Sanni</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bashari</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rojan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maghzis</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>Gajan 2000</td>
<td>Had but four families. Are Rinds, and are noted for lawlessness. Settled in Makran about the 17th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marris (Do da Marris)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utanzai</td>
<td>KACHH GANDAVA</td>
<td>At Jhal Eastern hills Suran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citechki</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>Panjgur and Kej Malan and Batt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujar</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Jau</td>
<td>Is the most numerous in Makran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallada</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Kohwan</td>
<td>Claim affinity with the Rind tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homarari</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>Central Makran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Kalamat and Pansi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaudai</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Kolwah and Dashi Mushki</td>
<td>Kharan is the headquarters of this tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmansani</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mushki, Jau and Kolwah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurwari</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Panjgur and Kolwah</td>
<td>Are supposed to be descendants of the ancient Saece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirshirvani</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Kolwah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodahi</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>Greshar, in Mushki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


93. Ibid p.47.
94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.


101. Ibid.


105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.


111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
117. Sandeman has mostly dealt with Baloch, Brahvis and Marries of Marri-Bugti Kalat, Zhob (name of Fort Sandeman was changed to Zhob during Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto during 1974), Quetta and Kachhi areas he died in “Balochistan” An inscription on his grave stone reads, “He died, as he lived, in the discharge of his duties, see also Tucker *Op. Cit.*, p. 5.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. The Jirga system in Balochistan either conducted by Baloch or Pathan consist of noble, honest and brave people, enjoy good reputation amongst their tribes, they have the reputation of administering real justice., unlike British they use to nominate jirgas people according to
their own choice, thus bringing an anomaly according to their requirements. See Dupree, *Op. Cit.*, p. 278.


125. Hittu Ram was from a bumble Hindu family of Rajanpur.

126. Gupta Rai a Hindu who was appointed by Mr. Sandeman, he was elevated to the stature of a "Diwan" See Syed Iqbal, *Op. Cit.*, p. 100.


129. Ibid. p. 22.


131. These roads were constructed by British for their strategic movements, not a single road in the area is being constructed for the local population living in the Balochistan. Roads required for the movements of British troops and for their administrative staff.

132. An unfortunate affair is that Railway line which was constructed by British, we have failed to maintain the same, many routes are uprooted by the Railway authorities, due to lack of maintenance.

133. Cantonment are constructed at all strategic points, like Quetta, Chaman, Zhob, Sibi.

135. Ibid. p. 29.


139. Census of 1931, Balochistan the population of Muslim man’s was in majority throughout Balochistan, they were 90%.


141. These routes can bring lot of prosperity to the Pakistan, it is opening for the Muslim Central Asian States like Uzbekistan, Azerbijan, Turkamanistan, Kazkistan, these routes will provide an access to these Islamic States as well as an opening to the Eastern Europe also. See Syed Iqbal *Op. Cit.*, p.73.
CHAPTER III

TRIBAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Movement was not regional and territorial, it was national and total. It was as much in Balochistan as in any other part of the Indian subcontinent. In fact, it was throbbing like the heart of the Muslim nation in every nook and corner of the vast land mass that was undivided India then. It was in this larger context that the people of Balochistan did not lag behind in the struggle for freedom and the movement for achieving Pakistan. They were, no doubt, an inseparable part of the Muslims of India in their historic struggle against the British Government and Hindu Congress for an independent Pakistan. In actual fact they spear-headed the movement for a separate Muslim State. Let us, therefore, examine the historic events in Balochistan of the pre-partition period which established the fact that the people of Balochistan were in the forefront of the Pakistan Movement.

Dr. Iqbal surveyed the political scene and said, "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. It was as early as 1927, when for the first time, the father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, emphasised upon the provincial status for Balochistan like other Provinces of India in the 14 points formulated by the All India Muslim League. Since then Muslim League on its own presented this contention in every significant meeting. On the instructions of the Quaid-i-Azam, this issue was also raised in the then Indian parliament by Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang in the year 1936. These efforts, however, could not succeed as the opponents were adamant. It may be mentioned here that it was the time when Muslim League was not established in Balochistan; on the contrary Congress was represented by various sections of political parties."
The years between 1930 and 1947 were taken up mainly be a complicated and bitter discussion on this issue between the three parties concerned. The second World War intervened, at the end of which independence came to the Indian subcontinent, but it also resulted in partition of the country between India and Pakistan. The struggle on behalf of the Muslims was fought by the Muslim League, while the nationalist Muslims continued to oppose it.¹

However, the pioneer of Pakistan Movement in Balochistan was Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Aziz Magsi. He was greatly influenced by the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Doctor Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. He was responsible for organising First All India Baloch Conference at Jacobabad from 27th to 29th December, 1932, introducing Islamic political ideas in Balochistan. In this Conference, many resolutions were passed with the following objectives:-

1. To make the economic, educational and political conditions of the inhabitants of Balochistan better.
2. To enforce regular and equal constitutional reforms in Balochistan.
3. To abolish Lab and Valwar customs.
4. To make female education popular. Same rights be given to females as conferred on them by Shariat with regard to marriage, divorce and inheritance of property.
5. To close down brothels in Balochistan.
6. To prohibit and limit the sale of alcoholic drinks.
7. To publish the customary law in a book form and appoint committees to collect and edit the same in the light of Muhammadan Law. The members of these committees be such as to include people who are well versed in Shariat.
8. To accelerate the decision of pending cases in courts.
9. To open recruitment once again to the inhabitants of Balochistan in the Baloch regiments.
10. To provide services for bona fide natives in proportion to their population.
11. Scholarships be given to the sons of the poor and not to the sons of Sardars and others.⁶
Yousaf Aziz Magsi published a pamphlet titled, "Balochistan Kee Awaz" (Voice of Balochistan) which was sent to the British Parliament at London. The pioneering efforts of Nawabzada Yousuf Ali Khan Aziz Magsi, Pakistan Movement was launched in an organized and methodical way by Qazi Issa whose services for this cause are unforgettable. In fact, the Quaid-i-Azam had chosen Qazi Issa for organizing Pakistan Movement in Balochistan. He gained tremendous strength from the unqualified and whole-hearted support of Allama Abdul Ali Akhundzada of Khanozai, Pishin. The ever first public meeting presided over by Qazi Issa was held on 10th and 11th June, 1939 at Quetta. In September, 1939, the meeting of All India Muslim League Council was held at Delhi. Qazi Muhammad Issa, Arbab Karam Khan, Malik Abdullah Khan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan Achaekzai and others attended the meeting. The Balochistan Provincial League was permitted to be affiliated to the All India Muslim League at this meeting. While addressing the council, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "It gives me great pleasure to recommend the affiliation of Balochistan Muslim League. About six months ago, I had commissioned Qazi Issa to do the work. He has performed a great miracle in such a short time and has spread an effective network of the organisation in that province."

In the historical annual session of the All India Muslim League in Lahore from 22nd to 24th March, 1940 the Muslim League Volunteer Corps of Balochistan held a unique position, on account of the fact that it was the first corps salute the Quaid-i-Azam at the Lahore Railway Station. In this connection, some names worth mentioning were those of Malik Jan Muhammad Kansi, the Salare Ala and Mir Rahim Bukhsh Barfi, the Salar of this organization. According to Choudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the Volunteer Corps of Balochistan was the best in the entire undivided India.

Another link of the chain of events was the renewal of the pledge to completely identify themselves with the Pakistan Movement by the tribal elders who met at the residence of their host Sirdar Muhammad Usman Khan Jogezi at Kila Sajullah in District Zhob.
In July, 1940, the Provincial Muslim League held its first annual session in Quetta which was presided over by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the then General Secretary of All India Muslim League. In this session, once again the resolution for the introduction of reforms in the Province was passed. Liaquat Ali Khan, in the course of his presidential address mentioned: "Your province, on account of its geographical situation, holds a unique position. The people of the province are the Gate-Keeper of India and for that reason at least, it for nothing else, God has made them men of fine physique and martial temperament. He further added: "I demand from the Government the introduction of the same reforms in the province as were introduced long ago in other Indian provinces. Every arrangement should be made to comply with the educational demand of the province and also in the services the Musalmans should be given their share according to the ratio of their numerical strength in the province."

In 1943 the Quaid-i-Azam came to Balochistan for the first time. He was given unprecedented welcome with traditional hospitality at the railway stations of Jhapat, Belpat and Sibi, on his way to Quetta, by huge crowds of people together with their leaders. The Quaid-i-Azam thanked them for their hospitality and urged them to acquire education in order to ameliorate their lot, particularly their economic and social condition. He advised them to have an association for the purpose, for without an association their voice would remain weak. He laid great emphasis on mutual unity and organization. The people listened to the Quaid with rapt attention and acted on his advice which ultimately resulted in achieving Pakistan.

The father of the nation again visited Balochistan on 14th September, 1945, and remained there for five weeks. He had made a deep and lasting impression on the people of Balochistan. When the Quaid asked the people to arm him with silver bullets for fighting the struggle for freedom, a philanthropist in Quetta, who remained anonymous, presented the League with two silver bars weighing 5,000 tolas (one and a half maund, approximately).

Balochistan affairs had always been high in the Quaid's mind; for he raised his powerful voice on many occasions in the Indian Legislative Assembly in favour of provincial status for
Balochistan to bring it at par with other provinces in the undivided India. The Quaid criticised bitterly the devastating British policies in Balochistan and suppressing the Pathan and Baloch masses of the region. He demanded representation of Balochistan in the Indian Legislative Assembly.\footnote{13}

On the eve of independence and emergence of Pakistan as a sovereign Muslim state, the members of Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipal Committee were nominated as electoral college. The Muslim League nominated Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi as its candidate while the Congress nominee was the President of its Balochistan branch. The Congress used all their wiles and guiles to win this prestigious seat. The foremost of its tactics was to invest its imposing name and the huge amount of money it had at its disposal, but all in vain. The members of Shahi Jirga long before the date of polling, drew up a joint document expressing their support for the Muslim League candidate, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi. The proposal met with success due to constant endeavour of Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali, Jahangir Shah and Nasim Hijazi. This document bearing signatures of 40 members submitted by the members who met in deputation the Agent to the Governor-General. Consequently, the Congress nominee could get hardly ten votes out of 65 (Shahi Jirga 53: Municipal Committee 12).\footnote{14}

Notwithstanding the heavy odds, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi, Member of the Constituent Assembly, and great Baloch leader, Mir Jafar Khan Jamali, Member Legislative Assembly (Sind), jointly issued a statement announcing that Sirdars of Balochistan after due consideration had decided that the salvation and protection of the people of Balochistan directly lay in joining an independent Pakistan wherein they would be free in the internal affairs of their Province. Further, they would get chances to march forward on the road to progress and prosperity along with their Muslim brothers of other neighbouring provinces. They would be free to take economic and political decisions on their own. Moreover, Islamic laws will be introduced in Balochistan.\footnote{15}

The historic procession led by Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi started from the Balochistan Muslim League Zonal Office. This procession had psychological impact on account
of large number of people in it and sentimental appeal as they were raising full throated slogans. The procession was so well organised and compact that it became a turning point in the politics of the Province. The dreams of the enemies were shattered. At that time, most of the members of the "Shahi Jirga" were present in Quetta. They had seen the mammoth crowds. They were highly impressed by the emotions and feelings of the people of Balochistan. As a result, their hearts throbbed in unison with the slogan of "Pakistan Zindabad."  

Mir Jaffar Khan Jarnali returned to Quetta on 27th June. The Pakistan Movement had fairly gained momentum in the Province. The prominent Sirdars of Balochistan were rejecting the most attractive offers of the Congress Party; with the result that all the Sirdars except five decided to cast their votes in favour of Pakistan. But on that very night, Agent to Governor-General informed the Sirdars that referendum would not be held on 29th June. Only the statement of Lord Mountbatten of 3rd June will be read out in the meeting and the Sirdars would be asked to cast their votes on 30th June.  

All the patriotic Sirdars had been prepared mentally to face the situation. At that stage, Sirdar Doda Khan Mari said that the Pathan and Baloch Sirdars would compete on having the first to support Pakistan at the time of Referendum. Everyone now became anxious for the decisive moment. All the Sirdars, who were the members of Shahi Jirga, assembled in the town hall of Quetta at 10.00 a.m. on 29th June. The gentlemen of the news media were also allowed to cover the proceedings of this historic event. The Congress Party was not much worried about this session because they had finalized their planning and programme to sabotage the processing of referendum to be held on 30th June according to the scheduled time. Huge crowds had assembled outside the town hall. The Muslim Students Federation of Balochistan set up their tents on the one side of the town hall. Exactly at 10.00 a.m. A.G.G. Mr. Jaffery Prior, arrived in the town hall. According to the programme, he read out the statement of Lord Mountbatten.

It was at this stage that Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogeza laid up and with great confidence and with power address Mr. Jaffery Prior: "We have read this statement earlier. We do not want more time to take a final decision in this matter because the members of the Shahi
Jirga have decided to support Pakistan and declare solemnly that our representative will sit in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Therefore, those Sirdars who do not agree to our proposal are at liberty and allowed to go outside."

Then Sirdar Doda Khan Mari made a forceful speech in favour of Pakistan after which the people started raising slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad." Only a few Sirdas were standing and they asked the A.G.G. "Is it an issue between Balochistan and Kalat?" Mr. Jaffery replied in Urdu: "This is purely an issue between Hindustan and Pakistan. This is not concerned with Kalat at all". Hearing this they all said at once. We had pledged to support the Khan of Kalat, but this is an issue between Pakistan and Hindustan, so we cast our vote in favour of Pakistan."

Mr. Jaffery Prior, Agent to Governor-General, smiled and said in Urdu: "Well, I will send a telegram to the Viceroy informing him that Shahi Jirga's votes have gone in favour of Pakistan."

At this announcement, the town hall, Quetta was the scene of emotional outbursts, thunderous clappings and slogans raised by thousands of people inside and outside the hall. They raised full throated slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad."

Sirdar Abdul Rab Nishtar and Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khoroo visited Quetta on 29th June. But before their arrival, the people of Balochistan had already announced their historic decision to join Pakistan.

That was the beginning and not the end of the Pakistan Movement in Balochistan, because it is a continuous and ceaseless stream of thought and deed which flows through the heart and mind of the teeming millions who constitute the Muslim Nation, be it in Balochistan or anywhere else in Pakistan. The Pakistan Movement in Balochistan, or for that matter in any other part of the country, transcends the artificial barriers and emerges as a symbol of national cohesion and integrity.  

As a corollary to the Round Table Conference at Delhi, another agreement between Kalat and Pakistan was signed on 4th August, 1947. The points agreed upon were broadcast on 11th
August, 1947, thus Kalat State virtually became part and parcel of Pakistan even ten days before it came into existence, whereas other Indian States were still undecided.21

A few weeks after the agreement, the Agent to the Governor-General informed the rulers of Kharan and Lasbela that the control of their regions had been transferred to the Kalat State, hence they were under the direct sphere of influence of Kalat. Copies of this Memorandum were sent to me separately.22

And finally dawned the historic day of 14th August, 1947, and with it Pakistan at last merged on the map of the world. To the masses who breathed the air on the dawn of this morning and particularly to the Muslims in what was now the new State of Pakistan, it was a day of jubilant freedom; but to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah it was a solemn moment of fulfillment of a sacred mission. The land, like a mother having suffered the throes of a birth, lay bleeding.23

The Kalat Government made a formal declaration of its independence on 15th August, 1947, soon after the end of the British supremacy, and one day after Pakistan's coming into being on the map of the Subcontinent.

Thus, in the days that followed this previous achievement of a homeland for Indian Muslims, there lay a stupendous task before the nation, particularly before the Quaid and the new generation of political leaders. The Quaid-e-Azam, therefore, continued to be the focus of the entire nation, now adjectivated as the 'Pakistani Nation' with a new flag of their own, and a fresh mission of consolidation and national integration on all fronts.

So, conscious of what lay before him, the Quaid-e-Azam got down to the task without delay, and set about squaring up matters that demanded immediate attention in the light of the Pakistan Plan under which India was divided into two independent and sovereign dominions. This naturally entailed the manner of the position of States and their choice of remaining independent or joining any of the two dominions.24
At the time of emergence of Pakistan it was of paramount importance to make a cohesion amongst all the nations living in Pakistan it was realised by the founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in which he always kept this thing in his mind that all the princely states which had promised to join the Pakistan, should join Pakistan, keeping in view, at Sibi Durbar Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 11 February 1948 delivered an elaborate speech which shows all the ingredients of patriotism, and line of action.

The full text of Quaid-i-Azam's address to Sibi Durbar on February 14, 1948, is reproduced below: 

"Mr. Mundas, Members of Shahi Jirga, Sardars of Balochistan and other Leaders and Representatives of the people of Balochistan.

It is indeed a matter of genuine pleasure for me to be present here amongst you in the first Shahi Durbar of Balochistan held under the authority of our new Muslims State of Pakistan. As you all know, my personal connection with Balochistan extends over a long period. I can now look back with satisfaction to the days when the people of this Province fought shoulder to shoulder with me in our struggle for freedom. You have contributed in no smaller measure than your brethren of other Provinces of Pakistan towards the achievement of our goal.

The history of political reforms for Balochistan is connected with the history of the struggle of the Mussalmans for freedom. There are many of you who will recall the number of occasions when I took up the cause of the people of Balochistan both inside the Indian Legislature and outside; and, now that I have the honour to be the first Governor-General of our great country Pakistan, it is natural that the question of reforms and securing for the people of Balochistan an adequate say in the administration and governance of their Province, should be constantly in my mind. If in this direction my wishes have not so far been realised, it is due to the circumstances over which I had little or no control."
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"Gentlemen: It is just six months since we have achieved our Independence. During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. We have had to face calamities the parallel of which is not known in the history of the world. But we have not remained idle. We are still struggling to complete the task in the face of difficulties which we had no way of anticipating when the partition of India was agreed upon. We have yet to secure our due and rightful share from the sister dominion of India. The attention of my Government, therefore, was kept riveted to other dangerous problems of more immediate and urgent importance. You will, therefore, forgive me if I was not able to attend to the affairs of Balochistan as speedily as I would have wished. Let me assure you, however, that I have not for one moment allowed the affairs of Balochistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other Provinces as far they could be brought about as practical propositions.

"Gentlemen: The relations of the old Government of India with Balochistan before the partition are well-known to you. It is not for me to remind you how that Government which was a subordinate branch of the foreign administration, had kept Balochistan divided in several parts, each with a different name and status, yet all bound together in shackles of backwardness. The administration handed over to us was on the one hand, quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress, and on the other, impatient of criticism and oblivious to the necessity of political reforms of any sort. Consequently, the people of the Province remained in a static position educationally, socially, economically and politically. Nay, I would go so far as to say that the people had to content themselves for a long time with a state of political and administrative stagnation. And yet, all this may sound paradoxical in the face of the fact that so far as the tribal areas of Balochistan were concerned the Governor-General exercised his executive functions in his discretion, and in regard to the areas which used to be known as British Balochistan and leased territories, he governed to such an extent as he thought fit, through a Chief Commissioner appointed by him in his discretion. "Then came the fruit of our national efforts in the form of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, whereby the British
Government acknowledged the supreme authority of the people of this Subcontinent and they were obliged to transfer full powers to them. With the passing of this Act, the treaties and agreements which were in force between the British Government and the States and tribes, all lapsed. The obligations of British Government and all powers, rights, authority, or jurisdiction exercisable in relation to the tribal areas also disappeared. In other words, the tribal people were free to come to such arrangements with Pakistan as the successor authority of British Government, as may be agreed upon. Side by side with this, the Chief Commissioner’s Province of British Balochistan was made a part of the territories of Pakistan as laid down by the Indian Independence Act, and the Province of Balochistan accepted the position and decided to send their elected representatives to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. It was in this state of freedom when of their own free choice, the people of Tribal Areas gave their verdict, through the referendum held in this Province in the summer of last year when they decided to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. No sooner did this happen, than I, as Governor-General of Pakistan felt it my duty to assure the people of Balochistan on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, that all agreements and allowances would continue until such time as they could be modified after consultation with them.

"The departure of British authority had left several gaps in the juridical and administrative machinery of Balochistan. These were filled by making temporary legal and administrative arrangements. The relations of the Government of Pakistan with the Tribes were re-affirmed on the basis of the referendum until they could be consulted again. All this was arranged under powers vested in me as Governor-General of Pakistan deriving authority from the unmistakable will of the people of Balochistan expressed through the Shahi jirga. Orders were declaring that all laws that were in force in the administered areas, tribal areas including the areas of Marri and Bugti, Turmans and Baloch areas adjoining the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab (which are not included in Balochistan), would continue to be in force and all subsides and allowances hitherto paid would continue to be enjoyed by them. I had to make these arrangements provisionally because the administration of the country had to go on. This did not mean that I wanted to perpetuate the state of affairs prevailing under the British Government. The final constitution, as you all know, will be framed by the Constituent Assembly in
consultation with the representatives of all these areas. Nor did I forget in the meantime while making these temporary arrangements, my earnest desire to associate the people of Balochistan with their own administration as far as possible. In fact it was in the fulfillment of this desire that I decided to attend your first Durbar so that I may get the opportunity of meeting you and exchanging views with you in order to ascertain the ideas which you may have formed about the future form of Government for your Province.

"The Constituent Assembly may take sometime to accomplish its task of framing the final constitution of our State. It is a stupendous task and it may take 18 months or two years before it can come into full operation. And so I wanted something to be done without delay for the period between now and the time when the new constitution would finally emerge and be inaugurated; something which would enable the people to share the responsibilities of their Government and give them a voice in its administration. After very careful consideration, I have decided to make a small but all the same an important move immediately to enable the people to associate themselves with the government of their Province. I hope that this will bring the citizens of Pakistan living in Balochistan closer to the Governor-General and the head of your administration. I had to think hard. There were legal and constitutional difficulties in the way of setting up a representative form of Government. But there was no time to waste. I did not want to wait for the requisite legal and statutory provisions to be enacted in their full form. All that will naturally come in time.

For the present, however, I have come to the conclusion that our immediate object can best be achieved by making the governance and administration of Balochistan more directly the concern of the Governor-General himself acting in close collaboration with the acknowledged representatives of the people. For this purpose I have decided to constitute a Governor-General Advisory Council, a body which will enable the people to play their full part in the administration and governance of their Province, and which will enable me as Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of Balochistan to make the problems of the people of this great Province may own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitution of Pakistan I may here draw your attention that as a matter of fact the present

As regards the Chief Commissioner's Province, the adaptation which are in operation in the present Constitution, lay down:

i) That it shall be administered by the Governor-General acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him in his discretion.

ii) The executive authority of the Federation extends to British Balochistan but notwithstanding anything in this Act, no Act of the Federal Legislature shall apply to British Balochistan unless the Governor-General in his discretion by public notification so directs, and the Governor-General in giving such a direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to the Province or to any specified part thereof, have affect subject of such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit.

iii) The Governor-General may in his discretion make regulations for the peace and good government of British Balochistan, and any regulations so make may repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the time being applicable to the Province and, when promulgated by the Governor-General shall have the same force and effect as an Act of the Federal Legislature which applies to the Province.

The member of the Advisory Council will of course be nominated but let me assure you gentlemen, that it will not be a nominal body. It will have the power to advise the Governor-General on any matter which in its opinion is connected with the good for the Province. Similarly, the Governor-General will refer any matter which may come before him through the
Chief Commissioner for the opinion and advice of the Council. The Budget of the Province for instance, will be checked and scrutinized first by the Advisory Council in all its details and it will be free to submit its recommendations to the Governor-General.

From what I have stated, you will see that I am only trying to make a beginning in giving the people of Balochistan their due share in the administration and I am affording to them the opportunities to play full part in the shaping of their future administration and advancing the welfare of the people generally. For instance, all plans for the future political, economic, social and educational development of the Province will be prepared and submitted through the advisory Council and it will be for the Governor-General to see that these plans are implemented with consultation and advice of the Council.

Thus Gentlemen, in some ways you will be better off than the other Provinces of Pakistan. Here you will have in fact, a Governor-General’s Province and you will become my special responsibility and care and let me assure you that in the sphere of the activities of the council the Governor-General will adopt such measures as may be necessary in consultation with his Advisory Council from time to time.

The notification which is to issue on this subject will set out the functions and the scope of the Advisory Council as well as its compositions. It will contain people’s representatives of the administered Areas which used to be known as British Balochistan and the Leased Areas. It will include representatives of the Tribal Areas. It will also reflect the considered opinion of the members of the Shahi Jiga and the Municipality of Quetta.

In the creation of this Council, as you will observe, special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived as far as possible from the people. At the same time the setting up of the Advisory Council will not in any way detract from the status of these areas, nor from the freedom of the inhabitants of these areas to mould their future constitution and to form the administration in accordance with their own customs and traditions. The setting up of the
Council will in no way affect that measure of independence which is already enjoyed by the people of the tribal areas nor can it change the present status of the leased areas.

On the other hand, this new measure is intended to bring about a harmony of ideas between the Government and the people in the various areas of Balochistan and to make the Government machinery efficient and responsive to the people, it will impose upon the administration of Balochistan the responsibility of marching in step with the wishes of its people and afford the people opportunities for sharing henceforth, which their Government cares and the responsibilities of the administration.

I may point out that Balochistan is a deficit Province already to the extent of one crore and a half and Pakistan will have to bear a further financial burden to help the people as indicated above but I am hopeful that Pakistan will not hesitate to bear it for the sake of the progress and welfare of the people of Balochistan.

In proposing this scheme, I have had one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Holy Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him). Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that "our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations".

I wish you my brethren of Balochistan, goodspeed and all success in the opening of this new era. May your future be as bright as I have always prayed for and wished it to be. May you all prosper.

"PAKISTAN ZINDABAD"

At the end of this Durbar he met all the Sardars and they paid homage to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to join hand with him for the prosperity of newly borne state but
unfortunately few Sardars were against this idea that they may not become a minority by joining Pakistan it will be further elaborated in the preceding chapter that how they tried to manipulate by their tribal force to dismantle the idea of Pakistan a time they tried to get support from their foreign masters and thus created an atmosphere in which enemies of Pakistan made use of these people and they fell prey to their ambitions but it was the basic strong foundation laid by the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his companions.

The Quaid knew that the old British system of governance, originally introduced in Balochistan by the soldier-administrator Sir Robert Sandeman during the 19th century would not answer the needs of changed conditions, especially when it became a part of a democratic Islamic State. He said, "It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy, on the basis of truly Islamic ideas and principles."

He believed in democracy and Islam. He said, "our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussion and consultation." He was for introducing self-rule in Balochistan which, he hoped, would open up new vistas of socio-political as well as economic progress for its people. He believed that economic prosperity, social advancement and effective defence could not be achieved without the active support and cooperation of the people. He wanted the diverse and often wrangling, ethnic and lingual groups, the Baloch, Pashtoon and Brahuis, to forge unity among their ranks and identify themselves with the emerging state of Pakistan. He could understand reasons for traditional Baloch hostility to British Rule. He was for demolishing the ramshackle administrative divisions of Balochistan and reconstructing in its place a single integrated system of self-rule. As against the British colonial policy of "Divide and rule" he urged: "Unite and rule yourselves". He knew that a united, prosperous and self-assured Balochistan would help Pakistan become strong in all respects including national defence. He wished to make Balochistan the bastion of Pakistan's strategic defence and certainly not a backyard. On one occasion he said:
Believe me, you will not only make Balochistan great... I know there are great potentialities in Balochistan... but you will also make a contribution to the whole of Pakistan and thus your State will not remain the fifth largest State in population only, but it will become one of the mightiest State of the world.10

The Quaid-e-Azam did not live long enough to be able to carry out all the reforms he had visualised for Balochistan or introduced in that province a full-fledged representative government. He died on September 11, 1948.

The Quaid-e-Azam was succeeded by East Bengal Chief Minister, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Governor General. In the new dispensation of power and primacy really passed on to the more energetic Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. the Quaid, during the last months of his life - very sick and bed-ridden in Quetta, and Ziarat, in Balochistan. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan looked after the affairs of the state. In him most independent observers saw a worthy successor to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The Time remarked: "The death of the Great Leader, less than thirteen months after his creation of Pakistan, was not so shattering a blow as had been feared. There was a Joshua to succeed Moses".11 The reference no doubt was to Liaquat Ali Khan.

Liaquat Ali Khan too had a long association with Balochistan and he knew its problems.

In the meantime Afghan government's pernicious propaganda against Pakistan had assumed great proportions. And the clever old Khan of Kalat - his own dreams of independence having been shattered - was itching for an opportunity to hit back. Liaquat Ali handled the problems of Balochistan with considerable dexterity. In substance, he continued to follow the Quaid's policy guidelines. At the next annual Sibi Durbar (1949) he declared that the Central government intended to, "...bring Balochistan and the four States to the same level of administration as the rest of Pakistan".12

A physical invasion took place on 30th September 1950 whatsoever their objectives were, but it provided an opportunity to create disturbances inside Balochistan, however, on October 5,
ly were driven out by Pakistan Army which was supported by Pakistan Air Force. On October 7, 1950, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan said in the Parliament that "having utterly failed to suborn the loyalty of our tribesmen, they have started organizing raids into our territory by Afghan tribesmen and elements of the Afghan Army."

Thereafter Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan devoted more time and attention to implementation of a number of educational, agricultural and industrial schemes. He also tried to find interim solutions to the constitutional problems of Balochistan until such time as the Constitution of Pakistan was ready. Of course, progress with regard to constitution making in Karachi was very slow.

By the fall of 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan had appointed a "Reform Committee on Balochistan" with the mandate to recommend constitutional and administrative changes in the existing set-up of the province with due regard to political, social and economic conditions prevailing therein.

About a month after the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on November 17, 1951, the committee presented its report to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. It is recommended the formation of a Governor's province in Balochistan without disturbing the existing institution of the Sardari System. The princely states of Balochistan were also to be given due protection. The Governor of Balochistan was to be entrusted with special powers for "the protection of the rights of any Balochistan State and the rights and dignities of the ruler there of."

The report was comprehensive and deserved serious consideration. Unfortunately, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan did not live long enough to see the report.

About five months after the submission of report on April 12, 1951, the Central government through an administrative measure, and contrary to the recommendations of the report, decided on fusion of Balochistan's four states, Kalat, Khawan, Makran and Las Bela. Subsequently the state signed a supplementary instrument of accession integrating their territories into a single State Union, or a federation, with a common executive, judiciary and
The State Ministry announced: "The Instrument is being made in contemplation of the union of Balochistan states, and that after the formation of the instrument may be amended by or on behalf of, the council of Ruler of the said union." Chapter V of this assertion provides detail activities of Khan of Kalat.

Obviously, President Ayub Khan could not remain silent. The leaders and the followers were arrested from every nook and corner of Balochistan, as was done previously in 1958. About 10 Baloch leaders were taken in custody from Quetta, Karachi and other places. They were argued in the courts for "rebellion", and were put in jails at Quetta, Machh, Bolan, Sind and the ujab.

Despite the fact that the Government machinery was in full swing continuously for four years to crush the Baloches, and cow them down once for all, the Baloches remained un-daunted, and refused to relent. The Government, therefore, had to give in when they saw the futility of other harassment and hostility. Hence there came a change in their attitude, he (Khan of Kalat) as released from the jail after four years of confinement on 6th November, 1962. All his previous titles were restored, including his position as the Khan-e-Azam of Kalat; and thereafter forts were made to come to some understanding with the people.

Whatever version the Khan gave, the official version was that the Khan had been specifically sent for and told that the Constitution had no provision for the revival of Independent states and that the territories of the States of Balochistan had been merged into Pakistan and not to the integrated province of West Pakistan alone. Soon, in November, a Central Minister was dispatched to Kalat to talk to the Khan. In the meantime, the dismemberment of the One Unit as held in abeyance until the next General Elections.

The people of Balochistan did not lag behind in the general struggle of the Muslims of India against the British Government and Hindu Congress for an independent Pakistan. In fact they spearheaded the movement for a separate Muslim State. A glance over the events in Balochistan of the pre-partition period will convince everyone that Baloches never shrank from
sacrificing their lives in armed opposition to the British machinations against the creation of Pakistan.  

The Khan of Kalat as the head of Balochistan States took risks by extending moral and material support to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who visited Quetta several times. No less is the share of tribal elders and representatives, who as members of Shahi Jirga, with only one exception, voted for joining Pakistan in 1947. Thus, Hindu intrigues and British manipulations had a shattering blow at the hands of the people of Balochistan. In fact, at one stage, when the Quaid-e-Azam nearly lost hope of achieving his cherished ideal of an independent Muslim State of Pakistan, he decided with the willing consent of the people of Balochistan to make this area a strategic base for an armed struggle against the British, and wage a guerilla war against them. What greater sacrifice could the Muslims of Pakistan and India except from the people of Balochistan?

Precisely for these reasons, glowing tributes were paid to the people of Balochistan by Quaid-e-Azam and other Muslim leaders on various occasions in their numerous pre-partition public speeches.

Most unfortunately, however, things were not to be as they should have been; and after 20 years of independence, our Governments instead of mitigating grievances, persistently drummed into the ears of the people of this province their theme song of so-called 'backwardness' of Baloches. They were deprived of equality in law, opportunities for jobs in Government service, and participation in other economic and educational spheres.

It is not understandable how the Baloches were being branded as 'backward people' for over 20 years since partition when the fact is that the Quaid-e-Azam himself had thought them fit for provincial autonomy, and had even demanded it from the British as far back as 1937. If the founder of the nation could regard Balochistan as being capable of manning its own administration over quarter of a century ago, one fails to appreciate the humour when it is said that it is "backward" today.
Between 1947 and 1955, when other provinces of West Pakistan enjoyed provincial autonomy, this region was retained as before under the rule of the Centre, except for a brief period when a first step was taken towards fulfillment of Quaid-e-Azam's wishes for autonomy in Balochistan by appointing an Advisory Council; but this Council instead became a springboard for bureaucratic adventures and unscrupulous business enterprisers. Laws worse than that, once enacted by the British Government were promulgated, having no parallel in the history of the Subcontinent. Political activity had gradually became a taboo in Balochistan. Political workers and leaders were thrown into jails on the most trifling pretexts. Most of the 'elected representatives' managed to steer themselves into the Assemblies with the help of the votaries of bureaucracy; and these, too, in most cases, were not Baloch tribesmen. They represented nobody except themselves and a few business magnates. Assembly records for 1948 to 1965 prove that no interest was taken by these so-called 'representatives' in redressing the grievances of the people of the region they were supposed to serve. Obtaining big Permits, Licenses and personal privileges on the plea of fighting the 'backwardness' of the people was their main concern.52

During 1955 and 1958 while Pakistan passed through great disorder the whole Balochistan either Pakhtoon Balochistan Balochi remained peaceful, however the Khan of Kalat maintained friendly with Iskander Mirza.53

Khan of Kalat remained busy with his personal motives to gain power whereas the other people in the Balochistan were unconcerned completely indifferent. A national government was needed.44 (31 Oct, 1954 Dawn Party Politics in Pakistan by KK Aziz p-26). Sardar Bahadur was the Chief Commissioner of Balochistan54 (Ibid). General Muhammad Ayub Khan enforced martial Law on the order of President Iskander Mirza.56

About sixteen million Baloches inhabit a vast and contiguous tract of land in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. This region is extremely rich in mineral wealth and agricultural potentialities. Apart from the province of Balochistan in Pakistan, which is mainly populated by Baloches, about one-fourth of Sind, and one-fifth of the Punjab is populated by the Baloches,
where they have settled down since centuries as soldiers of fortune, Zamindars and herdsmen. It is therefore logical and natural that the Baloches have high stakes in the integrity, preservation and progress of Pakistan. It would be sheer ignorance of elementary knowledge of history and psychic character of Baloch mind for any body to think that they would benefit from, or look forward to, any kind of assistance from beyond the borders of Pakistan.

The Baloches have undeniably played no less (if not more) part in the establishment of democratic - Pakistan. As such, they have no less rights than others in all matters; nor are they less patriotic than their next neighbour. Besides this, no particular community, group of people, or region can legitimately claim to be the sole custodian of Islam or Pakistan. Such an attitude (if there be) deserves to be condemned outright by every right-thinking citizen, because history tells us that such tendencies did us no good in the past. On the contrary, it would breed disunity and tarted among the people.

It must be remembered that the vast province of Balochistan with all its contrasts of climate and geography has also the fortune to be a part of the region that once nursed the glorious ancient civilizations of Moenjodaro and Harappa.
NOTES

1. It is interesting to note that foreign media exploited separatist tendencies amongst Baloch tribes and other negative attitude towards Pakistan, and lasting association with tribes of Balochistan, either from Pakhtoon area or Baloch area., author did not come across a single person, who has ever shown an indifferent attitude towards Pakistan, they are extremely loyal to Pakistan, their loyalties, patriotism is beyond any doubt, those mentioned with an indifferent attitude could be counted on finger tips, as propogated by foreign media.

2. Quddus The Tribal Balochistan. p.119.
4. Quddus The Tribal Balochistan. p.119.
7. Yousif Aziz Magsi belongs to Magsi Tribes, lives in Sibi and Jhal Magsi area, he died on 31st May 1935. He was the pioneer as far as Pakistan movement in Balochistan.
8. Allama Abdul Ali Akhundzada a well known figure of his area belonged to Kakar tribe of Zhob Vally.
10. Ibid.


17. Ibid p. 125.


19. Ibid.


22. Ibid p.149.

23. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan p. 150, 151.


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Due to lack of democratic institution in Balochistan, the area was ruled by the British with force.


31. The Times (London), October 17, 1951.


34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Had the first Constitution of Pakistan been made before Balochistan amalgamation with One Unit, its status would have been raised long ago. The first constitution would have guaranteed the desired provincial status to Balochistan.
38. Khan Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated at Rawalpindi while addressing a public meeting in Company Bagh (now Liaquat Bagh) on 16 October 1951.
39. Constitutional Assembly of Pakistan (Legislative), Debates, November 17, 1951, pp. 23,46.
41. Constitution Assembly of Pakistan (Legislative), Debates, November 17, 1951, p.38.
43. State of Kalat acceded to Pakistan on 27 March 1948 and accepted by the Government of Pakistan on the 31st March 1948. The States of Makran, Las Bela and Kharan had requested for accession on 17th March 1948 and were accepted by the Government of Pakistan on the same date. Whereas Supplementary Instruments of Accession were executed by the said Rulers on the 11th April 1952 and accepted by the Government of Pakistan on the 11th April 1952. The BSU was known as the Council of Rulers under the Article 111 of the said Covenant and referred as the Council on April 22, 1952. The President of the Council, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan signed the Instrument of Accession on November 3, 1952. The ruler of Las Bela, Mir Ghuliam Qadir Khan, Mir Muhammad Habibullah Khan of Kharan and Bai Khan of Makran had authorised the ruler of Kalat, the President, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan to sign it. See Instrument of Accession and Schedules of Federating States, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, 1954, pp.110-112. According to Article IV the Legislative Assembly was to be composed of 28 persons to be elected on the basis of adult franchise with one member for every 20 thousand
population; 12 Sardars to be nominated by the Council of Rulers as follows; Kalat-8, Makran-2, Las Bela-1, Kharan-1. The Kalat Sardars were to be nominated from a panel of 24 Sardars and each group of 8 Sardars was to hold office for one year.


5. In this particular chapter aim is to highlight the attitude of tribes towards Pakistan, whereas Balochistan States Union is explained in length in the preceeding chapter that is chapter V.

6. Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmad Yar Khan pp.191. This part of the story is too for-fetched to stand the test of the credibility (A.B. Awan Op.Cit., p.225).

7. It was wishes of one man to consolidate his power and become head of state of state where seat of the Sardars always looked towards Pakistan Central Government.


10. Searchlight on Balochistan Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri pp.263, he was interviewed on 3 Jan 1997 at 12-B 3rd Central Lane, Defence Housing Society, Karachi.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.


5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

ACCESSION ISSUE OF BALOCH STATES

At the time of Independence, Balochistan comprised the following areas:

1. Kalat, including Mekran, which was jointly administered by a representative of the Khan and an Assistant Political Agent.
2. Kharan.
3. Las Bela.

Kalat: The largest (30,931 sq. miles) and the most populous (341,420) district of Balochistan is also the most heterogeneous. It is the only district in which the Brauhis are the largest single lingual group: 39.4%. The principle Brauhi tribe is Mengal, led by the dismissed Chief Minister Attaullah Mengal. The Balochi Zehri tribe, led by the Muslim League leader Nabi Bukhs Zehri, is the largest tribe in the district. the Bizenjo tribe, led by the dismissed Governor Ghaus Bkhsh Bizenjo (late), is the third largest tribe. Sardar Ghaus Bkhsh Raisani (late), a former Governor and a central minister, controlled a small tribe near the Bolan pass.

Doda Khan Zarakzai, a leading antagonist of the NAP, presides over a coalition of tribes in the Jhalawan area. The Balochi element comprises 31.8% of the population. A quarter of the population (24.7%) is Sindhi-speaking, living mainly in the Kachhi area which was formerly a part of Sindh. The famous Pat Feeder fertile lands are located in this area where Ayub Khan forced out the indigenous population and settled military and civil bureaucrats from Punjab.

The extent of urbanization in Kalat is 7.7% and the rate of literacy is 3.9%.

As in Quetta district, herdsmanship is very limited: 8.3%. Official statistics classify 48.4% of the cultivators as tenants and 7.8% as agricultural labourers.
**Mekran**: It is the most Baloch of all Balochistan districts: 93.6%. The predominant dialect is Mekrani, as opposed to Sulemani spoken in the northern regions. There has been great deal of Brauhi incursion in the district: 5.2%.

The rate of literacy is 3.5% and the level of urbanization - defined loosely - is 17.1%. A large proportion of the coastal population is engaged in fishing, especially in Gwadar, Pasni, Ormara and Jiwani which account for more than 75% of the district’s urban population. In the interior of the district there is both herding and farming. 18.6% of the district’s Agric. L. F. is in herding. 15.8% of the cultivators are classified as tenants and 41.4% as labourers. Palm dates and products made out of palm leaves provide sustenance to a good many Mekranis. The total population in 1961 was 146,990.12

**Kharan**:13 With Chagai14 this district shares the distinction of being the most sparsely populated district in Pakistan. 14.9% of its 42,483 inhabitants live in towns, and 4.1% are literate.

79% of the cropped land is under wheat. 45% of the cultivators are tenants and 10.7% are agricultural labourers. 13.2% of the Agric. L.F. is pastoral.

In terms of the concentration of Balochis, Kharan comes next to Mekran: 78.2% Brahuis account for almost the entire remaining population: 21.2%.15

**Las Bela**: Lingually Las Bela belongs to Sindh. 66.6% of its population speaks the Lasi dialect of the Sindhi language. Its former ruler, Jamalulam Qadir (late)16, was also a Lasi. He was elected to the Balochistan Assembly on the ticket of the Muslim League. 23.7% of the population is Balochi-speaking, mainly Mekranis who engage in fishing at Sonmiani and other places. Brahuis, who constitute 7.9% were placed in prominent positions by the erstwhile Bengal government in order to facilitate smuggling. But it resulted in inter-tribal strife in the district, providing a pretext to the Central Government to intervene.
Contrary to the propaganda of the Balochi nationalists, Las Bela, with its Sindhi majority, is the most backward district in Balochistan. In 1961 only 3.5% of its 90,826 people were "urbanized" and only 3.4% were literate. There are only a couple of schools in the district. There is no arrangement for learning Sindhi in the district a facility most Sindhis enjoy in Sindh.

There is diversity of minor crops grown in the district, the chief among them being oil seeds (17% area), 23.3% of the cultivators are tenants and 11.8% agricultural labourers, 20.1% of the Agric. L.F. consists of herdsmen.\(^{17}\)

The areas comprised of Kalat, Mekran, Kharan, how these States acceded to Pakistan, imbroglio of this particular events which takes us into the plebenthine of accession issue of Kalat and Balochistan States into Pakistan in the light of political process.

The referendum in British Balochistan was fixed for the 29th of June and the Electoral College was to be the members of the Shahi Jirghah minus members from the Balochistan States plus the non-official elected members of the Quetta Municipal Committee, a total of 43 plus 12 persons. The Khan made a determined but abortive attempt to get members from the leased areas deleted from the voting list.\(^{18}\) The programme for determining the future of British Balochistan. There was a different procedure laid down for the Balochistan States. The Khan of Kalat was already known to be treading the risky path of independence. If Balochistan voted against Pakistan, so might the Fronteer Province a week later, for which there was much wishful thinking. Kalat would then inevitably strike out for independence and all this put together would mean there would be no Pakistan. Stakes were, therefore, high and time short. Four names must be mentioned here, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi was the scion of the ancient Pathan rulers of Balochistan. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali who at one time, owned a vast landed estate under canal irrigation and who was one of those blind believers in the Quaid-e-Azam and in Pakistan who sacrificed much and took nothing in return. Nasim Hijazi was a well-known author, historian and journalist, whose historical novels, at one time, were the craze of the reading public in Pakistan. Nasim simply happened to be in Quetta at the time, editing a local newspaper.
M. Masud, formerly of the prestigious Indian Civil Service, was the Deputy Commissioner of Nawab Shah in the adjoining province of Sind and had come to Quetta.\textsuperscript{19}

The Muslim League’s leadership had to stay in Delhi to take stock of the ever-changing political horizon, and as a result, Balochistan was denied that touch of political advice from outside which might have galvanised it. The situation in the province might be described as follows:

Some hostility had been generated against Qazi Isa, who was heading the Muslim League.

Some Sardars of the Shahi Jirgha had been impressed by the Congress propaganda.

Some were under the influence of the Khan of Kalat,\textsuperscript{25} who was thinking of his own independence, and as such feared future hostility from Pakistan but none from India.

Some Sardars still believed that the British were not really quitting and that all this activity was futile.

Three of the members of the Quetta Municipality were Hindus and were bound to vote for India.

Just at this time, Masud turned up in Quetta and established contacts with Jaffar Khan, Nasim Hijazi, Nawab Jogezi and his son, Haji Jahangir Shah, who was at that time a civil servant in the Balochistan administration. Masud did not like the look of things but his meetings produced two impressions. The first was that he had been deputed by the Quaid-e-Azam to streamline things in Balochistan and the second, that he was the future Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan. Neither claim had an iota of truth in it but Masud did not contradict them. Instead of proceeding to Ziarat, Masud stayed on in Quetta. During the next few days, he established telephonic contact with a number of Muslim League leaders outside Balochistan,
including the Quaid-e-Azam himself, informed them about the situation and established his credentials.21

The Congress camp was no less busy. It was dominated by Abdus Samad Achakzai and animated by Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo of the Kalat National Party. Their line of argument was that:22 Pakistan would be poor in resources and would not be in a position to support a deficit province like Balochistan. In case Balochistan decided to go with India, it had a fair prospect of getting its independence in due course.23 The Congress camp organised deputations to cater for different interests. For example, with the Pathan Sardars, the deputation took the line that the Khan of Kalat had such friendly relations with the Quaid-e-Azam that he was sure to be appointed as the Governor and no Pathan would be safe under the Baloch Khan. With the Baloch they took a different line. The next Governor was going to be Qazi Isa, under whom no Baloch would be safe. And so on. But the most damaging line was that Achakzai had either brought or was likely to bring a sum of Rs.18 crore (180 million).24 This must have been an attractive bait for some Jahangir Shah claims that he heard a British officer say that they would like to see Balochistan independent so that they could protect their imperial interests. In this atmosphere of conflicting approaches, the Muslim League Camp went back to the technique they had already used in the election to the Constituent Assembly under the Cabinet Mission Plan. They decided to get the voting Sardars to commit themselves, publicly, to standing by Pakistan. The Congress was not going to let this go through.25 At the Town hall, Quetta, on the 21st June, both sides turned up in force. After a few speeches pandemonium prevailed. When Jaffar Khan announced that Nawab Jogezai would read out the joint declaration of the assembled Sardars, so much noise and disturbance was created by the sympathisers of the Congress led by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo that nobody could hear him and he gave up. The meeting broke up in pandemonium.26

The Congress immediately capitalise on this by a whispering campaign that Jogezai had deliberately not read the declaration as he was not really with the League.27 Next day there was a meeting of the Local Association of Quetta, of which Nawab Jogezai was the President, but it was dominated by the Congress. In this meeting, Jogezai duly read out a pro-Pakistan resolution but was vehemently opposed by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, his Kalat National Party, the Anjaman-
e-Watan and the Jamiat-ul-Ulma. Later the same day, a vote of no-confidence was passed against Nawab Jogezai. Another meeting of the same association on the 23rd also failed to arrive at any decision. So this attempt of the League was also abortive. They now decided to ask the Quaid-e-Azam to issue a statement exhorting the Sardars to vote for Pakistan. 28

The 24th was the Khan of Kalat’s day. He invited all the Baloch voting Sardars to Kalat for lunch and succeeded in persuading them to stand for an independent Balochistan, or, at least, this is the impression which was created. Jogezai was advised to strike out for an independent Pashtunistan, in that case. Since Jaffar Khan had also gone to Kalat, it was given out that he had deserted the Muslim League cause. Jaffar Khan returned from Kalat at midnight and was immediately contacted by Masud and Nasim Hijazi. Some other Sardars joined them and it was decided that a joint statement of Nawab Jogezai and Jaffar Khan in support of Pakistan should be issued. This was ready and signed by the early hours of the morning. It was the morning of the 25th. Jaffar Khan Jamali had to go to Karachi urgently to attend the session of the Sind Assembly, of which he was a member. The joint statement of Jogezai and Jamali had not yet appeared when an official handout of the Information Department of the Government of Balochistan appeared. The impression created in this was that Balochistan was a deficit province and that the Central Government would have to spend crores of rupees annually to make it viable. This created further confusion and had to be countered. Zahid Hussain, an eminent economist of Pakistan and later the Governor of its State Bank, also happened to be in Quetta, Masud suggested that Zahid Hussain should be asked to address members of the Shahi Jirgah on the economy of Pakistan. A meeting was, therefore, arranged at the residence of Nawab Jogezai and was addressed by both Masud and Zahid Hussain. This created a good effect. That day a message of the Quaid-e-Azam for the people of Balochistan also appeared in the newspaper and on the 26th the joint statement of Jogezai and Jamali appeared. 29

On the 27th, Qazi Isa was due to return to Quetta from Delhi that day and it had been arranged that he would be taken in procession through the main streets of Quetta. This would have further infuriated the Baloch members of the Shahi Jirgah. The procession was all ready but Qazi Isa did not arrive and the workers of the Muslim League arranged that the same crowd was used to take Nawab Jogezai in a procession. 30 Thousands of people of the city joined in. An
impression was given that the consensus had gone in favour of Jogeizai, in other words, in favour of Pakistan. Jogeizai himself felt his own importance and must have realized that if he stood up for Pakistan, he was winning the hearts of the people. That night Jaffar Khan Jamali returned from Karachi and went straight back to his canvassing. The Quaid-e-Azam at Delhi sent his blessings and good wishes for the Sardars. On the 28th, news was brought from the Residency that voting would not take place on the 29th but a day later. On the 29th, the AGG would merely read out to the assembly the Declaration of the Viceroy of the 3rd of June. In this new development, the supporters of the League saw a catch. Tables could be turned in a day and a night. A new strategy was evolved, which was that on the 29th, as soon as the AGG had finished reading the Declaration, Nawab Jogeizai should stand up and announce that they already knew this Declaration and that there was no need to repeat it to them. They had agreed to vote for Pakistan and this fact should be taken cognizance of there and then.

The 29th of June, 1947, was an exciting day. Since the early morning, thousands of people had collected outside the town Hall. The supporters of India were not unduly worried because they were under the impression that the actual voting would take place the next day. Inside the Hall, besides the voters, the Press was also present. The AGG, the Honourable Sir Geoffrey Prior, read out the Viceroy's Declaration about the Referendum in Balochistan. He said that West Punjab and Sind had already given their vote in favour of Pakistan. He said he knew that the members of the Shahi Jirgah had been discussing the financial position of Balochistan; he had decided to give them one more day to discuss this and, therefore, the voting would take place the next day. But if they wanted to decide the issue the same day, they should inform him by 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Sardar Doda Khan Marri in favour of Pakistan. For a few more minutes there was a great noise in favour of Pakistan, but four Sardars asked, "Is this matter between Kalat and Pakistan". The AGG replied, "No, this is between Pakistan and India only. Kalat has nothing to do with it". On this, all the four Sardars said, "We promised the Khan of Kalat that we would side with him but this is between Pakistan and India only. We, therefore, give our vote to Pakistan". There were shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad" inside the hall. Nasim Hijazi rushed out and shouted
"Pakistan Zindabad". Outside, thousands of people carrying Pakistan flags were shouting slogans in favour of Pakistan. It was a moving sight. The only persons absent from the voting were the five members of the Quetta Municipality and three of the Shahi Jirgah. At 10.30 a.m., the AGG sent the following brief telegram to Foreign, Delhi:

"Shahi Jirgah met today with elected members of Quetta Municipality. Three members of Shahi Jirgah and five out of ten members of the Municipality absented themselves. Those present voted unanimously, without debate, for Pakistan."

There was uncertainty about the pattern of voting and the result remained unpredictable right up to the end but there was no official interference or coercion. What were the factors which contributed towards this uncertainty?

1. First and foremost was the fact that the Sardars wanted guarantees that there would be no interference with their existing privileges and the Sardari System, which the Quaid-e-Azam categorically declined, in a telephone message. All he said was, "Give them my regards. Tell them to have faith in me and not to play into the hands of the enemy". On the other hand, Achakzai and the Congress were promising them the moon.

2. The Congress wanted a weak Pakistan, or no Pakistan at all, and for this purposes were prepared to pay money and were making tall promises.

3. The Khan of Kalat, whose fief-holder many of the voting Sardars were and, therefore, under his influence, was striking out for an independent Balochistan, or at least an independent Kalat. The Khan was being helped by the powerful Kalat State National Party headed by Bizenjo, which was taking an active part not only in the canvassing but also in the agitation.

A few of the remaining British Officials were indulging in some loud, wishful thinking and dropping an occasional hint about an independent Balochistan. If it was not actually
misunderstood, and taken out of context, it could only mean that some of them might be thinking in terms of a base for Imperial interests. Put the above facts against the background of the Electoral College itself; a few hand-picked men, brought to the city from their wilderness and subjected to conflicting doses of facts and fiction, figures about procedures and economic development, penal laws and democratic procedures and taxes and subsidies. And their mentor, the Mullah, was telling them that he cared neither for country nor for king but for the Laws of God, as interpreted by him alone. In bunches, these voters were herded from bungalow to bungalow and given doses of the above medicine, by friend and foe alike. All this must have totally confused them. Outside, in the streets of Quetta, if not the entire population, at least a great bulk of it, talked of nothing but Pakistan. In such an atmosphere, if the result hung in the balance till the very last minute, it was understandable.\textsuperscript{37}

In reverting to the affairs of Kalat, it might be mentioned that the Treaty of 1876 had left the Khan very much weakened. From that day onwards, the Agent to the Governor General took the place of the Khan, for all practical purposes, as the Head of the Baloch Confederation, and his mandate commanded more respect and obedience than that of the Khan. In March, 1893, the sitting Khan, Mir Khudadad Khan, was arrested and detained. This is how Mir Ahmad Yar Khan explains it:

"Mutual tribal jealousies and quarrels (between the Khan and his Sardars) eventually led to the need for arbitration. the Sardars, therefore, decided that in case of disputes or differences of opinion arising between them, Sir Robert Sandeman the Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan, be empowered to act as arbitrator. Nothing suited them (the British) better than this opportunity. And eventually it was this grip on Balochistan through Kalat that grew tighter and tighter, till at last they entrenched themselves firmly in this strategic province, when, in 1893, they arrested Mir Khudadad Khan in Quetta.\textsuperscript{38}

Mir Ahmad Yar, who, during the long period of adversity of his father and grandfather, had most certainly been without a formal schooling but had been wisely provided with a respectable means of livelihood, and, incidentally, with some military and administrative
training, by taking a commissioned post with one of the local militias, the Zhob Militia. In his own biography, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan describes his ambitions of governance as follows:

1. Replacing gradually and amicably the ancient and antiquated way of life with a modern outlook.

2. Making the British Government understand his viewpoints, and securing their cooperation in a programme.

3. Purging the British-influenced elements in the ranks of Baloch Tribal Chiefs, and aligning them faithfully with the policies of the administration.

4. Securing the cooperation of the younger educated generation engaged in politics, and prevailing upon them to participate in the reform programmes sponsored by the Kalat Government, forging unity of thought and action among the tribal Sardars and the younger set with progressive ideas.

5. Introducing necessary religious reforms on the guidelines set by the acknowledged Ulema (religious scholars) of Deoband (a recognised Islamic Centre of learning in India) and

6. Unifying the attitudes of the enlightened class of anti-British and Congress-minded Ulema and the conservatives, thus bringing them round to participate in his plans of reconstruction which the Government of Kalat would embark upon. The Khan goes on to claim, in the same book, that his ultimate aim was to introduce into the State a democratic system of government with a Parliament.

The three centuries rule of the Khans (Ahmad Zia) is a sad story of tribal revolts, warfare and intrigues which the Khans had to contend with. The result was that an efficient administrative machinery could not be established, nor could any social and political progress be planned and carried out. It is unfortunate, yet true, that the Khanate of Kalat, which owed its
birth to tribal concepts of governance, met its death in tribal feuds without creating any mentionable socio-political consciousness among the subjects.  

But soon after he took over, the Khan was hit from an unexpected direction. The sovereign power, the British Government passed the Government of India Act, 1935, for the ultimate transfer of power to India. In one of the Schedules attached to this Act of Parliament, there is a Table which has a number of divisions which enumerate the seats allotted for the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. Kalat is mentioned in this as an Indian State and is allotted two seats in the proposed Council of State and one in the Federal Assembly. That, obviously, cut across the Khan’s hopes of staking a claim for an independent status for his state if and when the question of India’s independence came up. The Khan immediately took note of this and made a suitable representation to the Government of India. Although replies to the points raised by him were received from time to time, the Government of India Act, 1935, was never fully implemented. However, in terms of the document mentioned below, the Khan was officially informed, in very clear terms,

"4. That Kalat is, in law, an Indian state admits of no dispute. The position in this respect is governed by the definition of Indian State in Sub-Section (1) of Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935...any territory, not being part of India, is an Indian State if His Majesty recognises it as being such a state and the inclusion of Kalat in the Table of seats allocated to Indian States, (Part II of First Schedule of Government of India Act, 1935) is one of the many considerations which leave no room for doubt that His Majesty does so recognise Kalat.

"5. In view of what is stated above, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government, to authorise the Resident in Balochistan to take any early opportunity of informing His Highness the Khan orally that the Crown Representative, after careful consideration of the whole matter, had finally to reaffirm that the status of the Khan is that of other Indian Princes of equal rank. It is also proposed to authorise the Resident to repeat the decision in writing should His Highness so desire". Earlier, on 30th July, 1940, the External Affairs Department of the Government of
India had conveyed a ruling to the Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan, for the information of the Khan of Kalat, that "Las Bela and Khanan were to be treated as separate States".  

Undeterred by these official rulings, however, the Khan called on the Political Agent at Kalat, sometime in March, 1946, and "expressed his dislike of joining any scheme for a Federal Government of India and said he wished to sever all political connections with a self-governing Government of India".  

A few days later he went a step further and said to the AGG:

"If British Government determines to retain hold in Balochistan, he was willing to put the whole of his state at their disposal. He said Nehru had told him that the British Government could not retain Balochistan. Nehru, therefore, begged him (the Khan) not to come to an understanding with the British (so that they do not get a foothold in Balochistan)".  

On the 3rd April, 1946, the Khan sent the following telegram to Lord Pethick Lawrence, Head of the British Cabinet Mission:

"to draw your kind attention to the future of my state and its areas which have been temporarily detached from it for administrative expediencies. As India's neighbour, historically, politically and economically, Kalat has always enjoyed the status of a sovereign and independent state. In neither of these respects has it ever been part of India. Even in a hundred years of relationship with the British Government, both India and Kalat have not prejudiced this position and Kalat has persistently preserved this status. It is, therefore, my bounded duty to request and impress upon you that should the future of Kalat and its other areas be, in any way, receiving your attention, no decision may kindly be made without consulting me on the subject". The Khan had seen the Political Agent, Hickim-Botham, on 9th May and repeated what he said to him in a letter dated the 26th May to the AGG, in which he said,

"that he knew, liked and profoundly distrusted Jinnah... while changes of historic importance are taking place. Balochistan should also feel the urge... to make her voice heard. Our choice is already made. We are determined to remain with the British Government... the first thing I will do is to request for renewal of this Treaty (existing Treaty when terminated)...and will put the whole of my state under the protection of the British Government."
I will also request that the territories which are held by the British Government on lease from the state be restored.46 (D.O.No.310-S/46 dated 3rd June from the AGG to Foreign)."

In the same letter, the Khan mentioned an alternative also which was:

"to put the whole of Balochistan, including my state, under a constitutional Monarch who should...recognise British Protectorate and suzerainty and enter into a treaty of alliance with the British Government".

In plain language, what the Khan was offering the British Government through the AGG was:

1. That when sovereignty lapsed, Kalat would request the British Government to renew the old treaty which had just terminated.
2. The Khan would put the whole of his state under the protection of the British Government.

Alternatively,
3. The Khan would place the whole of Balochistan, including the state of Kalat, under a constitutional monarch (himself, presumably),
4. who would then go under a British Protectorate and
5. sign a treaty of alliance with the British Government, seeking British protection from foreign aggression and British capital and technicians for economic development and placing the whole of his coastline for British naval and commercial use.

Secretary, External Affairs Department of the Government of India, sent a reply to the AGG on the 21st June in his Secret D.O.No.494-R/46, which says,

"We know...that the present Khan has, from the time of his accession, sought to take the line that his state and indeed the whole of Balochistan, is no part of India. Nevertheless it has been our consistent policy to impress upon the Khan that Kalat state cannot be treated as some Central Asian Khanate or Amirate...that the province forms an integral part of India. There can be little prospect of His Majesty's Government responding to a suggestion for direct negotiations with the Khan on behalf of Kalat as a unit in isolation". The Khan was accordingly informed.
The next stage came when the Cabinet Mission arrived in 1946, immediately after the end of the War. On May 22, 1946, the Cabinet Mission published a Memorandum, States' Treaties and Paramountcy, which came to be known as "The Memorandum of 12th May, 1946". This memorandum laid down that when an independent Government or Governments came into being in India, His Majesty's Government would cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy; all the rights surrendered by the states to the paramount power would return to them. Political arrangements between the states on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other would thus be brought to an end.47

In 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived and advised the states, primarily in their own interest, to raise the standard of administration in their areas, to keep in touch with public opinion through public institutions and, at the proper time, to make their contribution to the framing of a new constitution for India. This advice could not have fallen on deaf ears. In the treatment of their subjects as regards political rights or representative institutions, the states, with perhaps only a few exceptions, were lagging far behind the adjoining areas of British India. The Cabinet Mission further stated that,

"Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. We are assured that the states are ready and willing to cooperate in the new development of India. The precise form which their cooperation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the states".48

By the end of 1946, the pace was getting faster and more and more exciting. After a century of firm rule, it looked as if the British were about to go, and quickly. Independence was coming to the whole of the Indian subcontinent. What was to happen to the 500-odd princely states and the independent or semi-independent tribal areas? The Legharis were a powerful Baloch tribe, living pre-dominantly in the settled district of Dera Ghazi Khan in the Punjab. They had a hand in tribal territory also, however small, but their Sardar, Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari, was powerful man, living in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, and taking a full part in the political and social life of the province. If smaller areas were grouping together and striking
out for independence, why not the tribal Leghari's? Their neighbours on the border of Dera Ghazi were the Bugtis and next to the Bugtis, the Marris, both almost entirely tribal, and over and above the Bugtis and the Marris, the Khan of Kalat claimed a nebulous overlordship. So it seemed that it might be a good idea to get the four together for an independent regional grouping. One could not be sure whose idea it was, Jamal Khan's or the Khan's, but the two went up to the Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan about the end of November, 1946, and presented him with a typed petition, the text of which is reproduced below:

"We, the Tamindars of the tribal areas of Marri and Bugti, feel that due consideration was not given to our regions in the constitution of India. We wish to present our views in favour of our tribal system to the British as well as the political leaders of India. We earnestly desire that our tribal region, which is beyond the limits of British India, may, under a grouping system, be separated from the areas of the Punjab, and be linked with the Kalat state, in a federation. Our independence should be intact. We also unanimously nominate Nawab Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan Leghari and the Prime Minister of Kalat as our representatives in all the meetings and conferences and assemblies called in connection with the Indian constitution, especially referring to the constitution meant for the tribal areas.

(signed): Sardar Bahadur Duda Khan; Sardar Tamindar, Marri; Nawabzada Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan; Sardar Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan Leghari. 27th November 1946."

The idea was that the tribal Baloch should present a united front to obtain better terms. In the words of Jamal Khan, "The Baloch tribes in the tribal territory under the Punjab Government should be allowed to effect a union with their fellow Balochis (80,000)."

This, in fact, might genuinely have been what the simple Jamal Khan thought. For the not-so-simple Khan, it might have been another way of getting the Marris and Bugtis into his fold and enlarging his Khanate. But Jamal Khan got involved further. On the 10th May, 1947, he called on the Governor, Punjab and proposed: "There should be a federation consisting of
Kalat and its feudatories, Balochistan and the tribal areas of Dera Ghazi Khan. It is unnecessary to link up these tribal areas with the district of Dera Ghazi Khan.

And he went even a step further by inquiring "if such a federation were formed, His Majesty's Government would be ready to enter into an agreement or treaty with it for economic assistance, including the establishment of a port, the development of mineral resources and agricultural development". The Governor was non-committal.

In the month of June the referendum in Balochistan had taken place. The Bugti Sardar was a member of the Shahi Jirgha and voted but, on 22nd July, together with 12 of his muqaddams, he sent another petition to the AGG to the effect that:

"he as a member of the Shahi Jirga had voted for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly but claimed independence for the Bugtis and asked that the British Government should ensure that, on independence, the Bugti tribe should be free to negotiate, if they so desire, fresh and honourable treaties with the successor Government".

There was another more balanced petition from the Marri Sardar and 20 muqaddams asking for a continuation of the existing form of administration, together with their privileges and allowances.

While things were crystallising in one definite direction, Kalat produced yet another surprise. About the end of March, a printed poster, in the name of the Private Secretary to the Kalat Darbar, appeared. It said that:

1. When Kalat became independent and the leased areas (like Quetta) reverted to it, no changes would be brought about in the administration.
2. The Khan would merely be a constitutional ruler and would rule according to the Shariat or the Islamic Law.
3. An advisory board would be constituted to settle local versus non-local questions.
4. The Government of Kalat would negotiate treaties of friendship with all neighbouring Muslim States, including Pakistan.
5. Kalat State is in complete sympathy with the principles of the Muslim League and is prepared to render every sacrifice to establish Pakistan.

In other words, this was a clear expression of intent that Kalat was going to opt for independence. The statement went on to say that the Khan of Kalat and the Quaid-e-Azam saw eye-to-eye and that these plans had the Quaid's blessings, thus making him a party to it. When the statement came to the notice of the Muslim League, the first thing which Qazi Isa did was to call a public meeting in Quetta in which he announced that the Muslim League had no knowledge of any such plan and that the Quaid-e-Azam was no party to any such deal. Next day he left for Delhi, ostensibly to seek a clarification from the High Command. Khan was now trying to exploit these early contacts. However, except for the above-mentioned reaction from Qazi Isa, nothing else seems to have come out of the Muslim League leadership officially. In May, two pro-Congress newspapers of Quetta reproduced an article from a Bombay newspaper to the effect that the Khan of Kalat and the British had come to an understanding that in return for military bases in Kalat, the British would support Kalat in its stand for independence.

At about this time, (June or July) the Khan submitted two memoranda to the Government of India, viz, (a) The future of Kalat state. Claims in respect of Las Bela and Kharan, claims in respect of the Marri and Bugti tribes. (b) Retrocession of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad.

The plea was that:
1. Kalat is an independent and sovereign state
2. Its Indian connection was due purely to its connection with British India.
3. Kalat would never agree to its inclusion, in any form, in the Indian Union and
4. With the termination of its existing Treaty, Kalat would revert to its pre-Treaty position of complete independence.
The Partition Plan of the 3rd of June made a specific reference to the states and said that the policy towards the Indian states contained in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12th, 1946, would remain unchanged. The operative part of this memorandum reads as follows:

"All the rights surrendered by the states to the Paramount Power will return to the states. Political arrangements between the states on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled by the states either entering into a Federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or, failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them".

To give legal sanctity to this policy, provision was made later, in the Indian Independence Act, 1947, for the termination of all treaties and agreements between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, as of August 15, 1947. Agreements, however, relating to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, and other like matters were to continue in force till they were denounced either by the Ruler of the Indian State or by the Dominion Government concerned, or were superseded by subsequent agreements.

The Viceroy met the States Negotiating Committee on the 3rd. Five rulers, eight Dewans and two advisors of the Chamber, Sir Sultan Alumad and D.K. Sen, besides the Secretary of the Negotiating Committee, Mir Maqbul Mahmud, were present. Sir Sultan Ahmad is the aforementioned lawyer who had been engaged by the Khan of Kalat to advise him. Mountbatten said that the Indian States had been independent states in their treaty relations with the British and, as such, they would assume their independent status on the lapse of paramountcy and were "absolutely free to choose" to join one Constituent Assembly or the other, or make some other arrangement.12

On June 13, the Viceroy discussed the question of the States with the Indian leaders: Nehru, Patel and Kripalani on behalf of the Congress; Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Nishtar on behalf of the League; and Baldev Singh; Sir Conrad Corfield, the Political Advisor, was also present. On the question whether states could become independent, there was a difference of opinion.
Nehru was of the opinion that the states should not be given the option to become sovereign and independent and gave his reasons for it. Jinnah took a purely legalistic view. He contended that there should be no compulsion and that they should be free to decide for themselves, but that it would be in the mutual interest of the states and the Dominion Governments to make the necessary adjustments. It was agreed that there should be another meeting between the leaders of India and Pakistan and the representative of the Indian States. The Congress passed a resolution the very next day to the effect that lapse of paramountcy did not entitle the states to opt for independence. Gandhi made a public statement that the declarations of independence by Indian Princes "were tantamount to a declaration of war against the free millions of India". But Jinnah declared in a statement on the 18th "that constitutionally and legally, the states would be independent sovereign states on the termination of paramountcy and would be free to adopt any course they liked".

A statement was issued on behalf of the States Department on the 5th July appealing to the rulers to accede to either Pakistan or India in the three areas mentioned above. In the meantime two drafts were prepared, one for an Instrument of Accession for defence, external affairs and communications, and the other for a Standstill Agreement for existing arrangements for customs, currency, etc. These were the standard agreements for all states. the intention was to present both these agreements together to each state, which was to be asked to enter into a Standstill Agreement and then to sign the Instrument of Accession, but it was to be made clear that there would be no Standstill Agreement without the Instrument of Accession. This was now the middle of July and there was hardly one more month to go before Independence.

Mountbatten did India a signal service by contriving the accession of states to India and laying at rest for ever the fear of a possible Balkanization of India. Ch. Muhammad Ali describes it thus:

"In the new and tumultuous world of democratic politics and cataclysmic change, the Princes felt lost and bewildered. They looked to the Viceroy for guidance and protection. To the
traditional loyalty the Princes owed to the representative of the British Crown was added the reverence due to a scion of Royalty. The Congress leaders turned these sentiments to their own advantage by entrusting Mountbatten with the task of bringing the states into the fold of the Union of India. Mountbatten spoke to the Princes as one who was keenly solicitous of their welfare, and who could perceive, with a superior wisdom, where their true interests lay. He dazzled them with the glitter of Royalty and charmed them with the magic of his personality. By ceaseless persuasion and remorseless pressure, by friendly advice and viceregal admonition, he led them to accept what was the sure end of their power. For accession in defence, external affairs, and communications placed the Rulers at the mercy of the Congress Government...Perhaps the Princes were doomed to extinction anyhow, but that they should have been coaxed and driven to the slaughter house by the shepherd they trusted most is what adds poignancy to the scene.\(^{93}\)

On July 25, Mountbatten addressed the Chamber of Princes in his capacity as the Crown Representative. He was "in full uniform with an array of orders and decorations calculated to astonish even these practitioners in princely pomp. He used every weapon in his armoury of persuasion. He emphasised that though the Rulers were technically at liberty to link with either of the dominions, there were certain 'geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. Out of some 565 States the vast majority are irrevocably linked up geographically with the Dominion of India. In the case of Pakistan, the States, although important, are not so numerous, and Mr. Jinnah, the future Governor General of Pakistan, is prepared to negotiate the case of each State separately and individually'.

'My scheme', concluded Lord Mountbatten, 'leaves you with all the practical independence you can possibly use and makes you free of all those subjects which you cannot possibly manage on your own. You cannot run away from the Union Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible'.\(^{94}\)

On July 28, Mountbatten gave a reception for the Princes which, according to Menon, "was in the nature of a last-minute canvassing of voters near the polling booths. Those of the
Rulers who had not yet signified their intention of acceding were taken by the A.D.C.s, one by one, for a friendly talk with Lord Mountbatten. When he had finished with them, he passed them on to me in the full view of the company and I, in my turn, conducted them across the room, to Sardar (Patel). This had a good psychological effect on the Rulers who were present'. (Integration of India States, by Menon page 109.)

It will now be clear that there was a wide difference between the points of view of the Congress and of the Muslim League over the right of the Indian States to declare themselves independent. The Congress was prepared to use every means of pressure and coercion to secure the accession of the states. The Muslim League adhered strictly to legal and constitutional methods. By August 15, all the five hundred-odd Hindu-majority states had acceded to India except Hyderabad and Junagarh. One Muslim-majority state, Kapurthala, had also acceded to India and the accession of other Muslim-majority states was still undecided. Not one solitary state had, however, acceded to Pakistan by August 15. The ten states which were contiguous to West Pakistan, were ruled by Muslim Princes and had a Muslim majority in the population, were: Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Kalat, Las Bela, Kharan and Mekran, and the four frontier states of Dir, Swat, Amb and Chitral.

In terms of resources and population, Bahawalpur was the biggest of these. Its population, was 83% Muslim. Its agriculture depended on the Sutlej Valley Canal Project, which was essentially an extension of the irrigation system of West Punjab. The economic and communication systems of Bahawalpur and Punjab were intimately linked. The North Western Railway, which linked the Punjab and the Frontier Provinces with Sind and the port of Karachi, passed for a considerable portion of its length through Bahawalpur. It was quite obvious that the only choice before this state was to accede to Pakistan but it did not. There was considerable hesitation and delay. The reason was that its Ruler and his Chief Minister, Nawab Gurnani, desired "to maintain a quasi-independent existence and a strong bargaining position".

On the 15th August the Ruler adopted a title which signified an independent status.
"But events were moving too fast for these dilatory tactics. In the second half of August 1947, the Punjab disturbances overflowed to Bahawalpur and although the state authorities took vigorous action to protect the non-Muslim minority, a fairly complete evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from more than half the state had taken place by the end of September. On October 3, Bahawalpur acceded to Pakistan."

The frontier states also acceded to Pakistan during the next few months, which left the four Balochistan states of Kalat, Kharan, Mekran and Las Bela.

In Balochistan, the politics of a particular tribal area are the politics of Kalat; public opinion was only secondary. The local Sardars held vast estates from the Khan as Imam or Siff and, as such, were more or less under his influence. When the British arrived, they found the Khan as a de jure head of the tribes rather than as a de facto ruler of a state. They defined him as the Head of a Confederacy with the Confederates exercising full or partial independence and the Khan customary overlordship. The Marris and the Bugtis were independent of him. Kharan had been separated and made a feudatory state under the nominal suzerainty of the Khan. Las Bela was independent. Mekran had its own Ruler, who gave a share of the revenue to the Khan and the Khan put up a Naib at Turbat to collect this. The Gichki Sardar (of Mekran) was there by virtue of conquest and not of holding a Siff like the other Sardars. The Ruler, therefore, sat in the Khan's Durbar as a guest, and not with the other Sardars.

It has already been mentioned that the Khan had engaged some eminent lawyers to go through his case. The Khan's contention, at this stage, was that:

1. Kalat was not an Indian State and, as such, was outside the orbit of the Cabinet Mission's Plan for the integration of Indian States.
2. At any rate, Kalat would attain independent and sovereign status after the 14th of August, 1947.
3. All regions which had gone under the control of the British in consequence of some treaty, would return to Kalat on the lapse of sovereignty.

4. Other Baloch regions, like Kharan, Las Bela and the Marri and Bugti areas were part of Kalat State and should revert to it after the departure of the British. 59

This point of view was put before the Cabinet Mission by the Khan in the form of a memorandum. 56 Sometime ahead of the schedule of the Mission for meeting the rulers of Indian States, I consulted the Quaid-e-Azam on the legal aspects of the issues that could now arise in respect of my state. The Quaid-e-Azam needless to say, knew how to arrange matters diplomatically. He said he would host a tea-party in my honour, and invite the members of the Cabinet Mission and other political leaders to it. Accordingly, a tea-party was arranged at the Quaid's residence. Never before had the Quaid thrown such a grand party. Some 500 dignitaries attended the Reception, including the Cabinet Mission members. As intended, I took this opportunity to explain my case fully to the members, giving an elaborate historical background of my state. They all gave an attentive ear to me; and it was decided that I should have my case prepared by legal experts, and that the Quaid-e-Azam, being the advisor to the state, would present the same officially to the British Government. In due course of time this was done and a memorandum was duly presented to the Viceroy.

"Simultaneously, at about the same time, a memorandum signed by Sardar Bahadur Doda Khan, Sardar Tamindar, Marri, Nawabzada Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti and Sardar Sir Muhammad Janial Khan Leghari was sent to the British Government, desiring 'that our tribal region, which is beyond the limits of British India, may, under a grouping system, be separated from the areas of the Punjab, and linked with the Kalat State, in a federation. Our independence should be intact'. 60

Three things may be noted here. First, the guest of honour was the Khan of Kalat and amongst the 500 guests were the members of the British Cabinet Mission. Second, the Khan
was able, during this party, to explain his own somewhat odd case to the Mission. And third, the Khan describes the Quaid-e-Azam as the legal advisor of Kalat.

If these memoranda or representations had, in fact, been submitted, as claimed by the Khan, and did reach the destination they were meant for, they certainly elicited little response. Not daunted, the Khan submitted two more memoranda to the Viceroy, either directly or through his Wazir-e-Azam, but to these also there appears to have been no positive response. The Khan's active interest against the accession of British Balochistan to Pakistan, before and during the referendum of June, 1947 has already been shown.

In this context, it would be necessary to have a deeper look at the Quaid's thinking on the subject of the legal and constitutional status of Indian States on the lapse of paramountcy on the 14th of August, 1947. The Quaid-e-Azam recorded the following note on the 18th July, 1947:

"Had discussions today with the Viceroy. His Private Secretary and Akhtar Hussain were present."

The Muslim League is of the opinion that after the lapse of paramountcy, states become fully sovereign, and according to the 3rd of June Plan, free to join or not to join any of the two dominions. If any state offers to join Pakistan, the Muslim League will welcome it but will examine each case on its merits because conditions differ from state to state. If a state does not want to join Pakistan but offers to enter into an agreement with the Pakistan Government for dealing with any subjects of concern, the Pakistan Government would be glad to examine such an offer. The Muslim League does not wish to coerce any state and concedes that states become fully sovereign on the 15th August. I am not in a position to say what the feelings of the Pakistan Government would be towards a state which should have, on account of its geographical position, join it but elects to join India.

On the eve of Independence and Partition of India, the position of the state of Kalat was as follows:
The Treaty of 1839 showed Kalat as owing allegiance to the Saddozai Rulers of Afghanistan. Treaty of 1876 put Kalat under the British in Defence, External Affairs and Communications as also in Internal Affairs, because it recognised the rights and privileges of the Sardars and made the British Resident the final arbitrator of disputes. A British Political Agent was installed at Kalat who took cognizance of disputes if one of the parties happened to be a British subject. There was also an Assistant Political Agent at Makran who was the Adjutant of a local militia called The Mekran Levies Corps. The Wazire-e-Azam was a British service officer appointed by the British. All appeals lay with the Resident. There was no army, only the Body Guards (later called The State Forces), with a strength of 500 and only 400 rifles between them. There were 300 police, mainly unarmed, but some with country-made rifles. Security for the Khan's person and for the State was provided by the British.

To the various points raised repeatedly and persistently by the Khan, the stand, first of the Government of India, and later of the Government of Pakistan, was clear and categorical.

1. The Government did not accept the Khan's claim to overlordship over the Marri and the Bugti tribes. This was pointedly rejected because since 1876, the Khan had never exercised any sovereignty over these Sardars.

2. "Due to long usage alone, the Khan's claim to suzerainty over Las Bela and Kharan was accepted but after accession to Pakistan it would be for that Government to decide whether they continued to accept that usage. Olaf Caroe had stated as long ago as 1939 that "this (Kharan's) allegiance to Kalat has always been nominal and something of a gesture arranged by Sandeman. It is important, if only to prevent him from swinging towards Iran and Afghanistan, to satisfy the Chief's amour propre within legitimate limits".

3. The Khan's claims regarding retrocession of leased areas was governed by the general principles enunciated in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May 1946, and in Clause 7 (l) (b) of the draft Independence Bill. This was the strictly legal position. But the matter went
beyond these narrow limits. One consideration was whether, in the event of physical transfer, the Khan would agree to pay back the enormous cost of the properties and other capital assets. Another was whether the Khan would be able to accept the defence and financial responsibilities. The leases were in perpetuity anyway. The "Memorandum on Indian States" clearly recognised both Las Bela and Kharan as separate Indian States.  

On the 12th (15th) of August, 1947, the Khan issued a Firman, or Royal Charter, declaring the State independent. Constitutionally, this Firman had no legal authority and was treated as such by the Government of Pakistan. The Firman enjoined upon all State employees to take an oath of allegiance to him on the Qur'an. It was pointed out to him that officers lent to the State from the Government of Pakistan could not and would not do that, which very much annoyed him, and a senior official from Pakistan, Sardar Muhammad Alam, the Revenue Minister, had to leave. Fell, a British officer of the I.C.S., who had resigned from service in India, was brought in as the Foreign Minister. Shahzada Abdul Karim, the Khan's Younger brother, was sent to Turbat as the Hakim-e-Aala or Governor. The Khan appointed a junior official of the state as his Wazir-e-Durbar or Court minister.

The Khan made the 12th (or 15th Inside Baluchistan it is 15th August 1947 by Mir p. 151) of August a day of celebration. He himself addressed the Congregation in the Mosque and made three points, viz,

1. That he desired to liberate his Government from all external influences;
2. that he wanted to establish the Law of the Shariat; and
3. that he wanted to unite the Baloch nation;

He thanked God that his first desire had been fulfilled. He would now do his best to fulfill the other two. Then he went on to announce the establishment of two Legislatures; the Upper House or Diwan-e-Khas and the Lower House, the Diwan-e-Aam. strength of the Lower House was fixed at 52.

All the seats in the Diwan-e-Khas were reserved for the members of the Sardari Jirgah, who were hereditary and numbered 36. As the Sardars represented the tribes, no more
representation was given to the tribes in the Diwan-e-Aam. The Electoral College consisted of the Motabars or 'respectables'. The elections were held hurriedly soon afterwards on a restricted franchise and 39 of the seats in the Diwan-e-Aam were won by the Kalat State National Party of Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo.

In spite of the clear stand of the Government of Pakistan on the issue of unilateral Declaration of Independence by Kalat, the Khan persisted in his wild dream. Between the middle of August, when he issued the Firman of independence and the 15th of September, the Khan's effort was to get a Treaty of Friendship signed with Government of Pakistan. But this was resolutely rejected and the Khan informed accordingly. In the second week of October, the Khan came over to Karachi, accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Fell, and saw the Quaid-e-Azam. Incidentally, Fell was the first and last Foreign Minister of Kalat. In private conversation, he spoke of the justification of Kalat becoming independent. During his visit with the Khan to Karachi, Fell bluntly asked if he could retain his job if he brought about the accession of Kalat to Pakistan. The Quaid made it abundantly clear that he would accept nothing short of accession, on the same lines as other states, and was not prepared to discuss anything else. Fell ultimately came round and felt pretty certain that the Khan would make a declaration during Quaid's projected visit to Balochistan.67

Abdus Samad Khan was also in touch with the Khan at this time and it was widely believed that he was making promises on behalf of India. About the beginning of November, the Prime Minister of Kalat wrote to say that the Khan had gone back on his intention of accession.68

In this fluid state of affairs, the Khan decided to call up his two House, met at Dadar, the winter headquarters of the Khan of Kalat, on the 12th December, 1947. opening speech was delivered by the Khan. It was a balanced and a sober speech, part of a well-planned drama. The Khan first prayed for the Dar ul Awan and then for Pakistan. He said there were some differences between the Baloch nation and the Government of Pakistan. He advised the Baloch nation not to be emotional or hasty because the Quaid-e-Azam was trying to find a proper
solution. He mentioned the signing of the Standstill Agreement and said that soon negotiations would start at Karachi about Defence, Foreign Relations and Communication.\textsuperscript{69}

The fieriest speech was delivered by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo on the 14th December. He said that Balochistan had never been a part of India. Before the creation of Pakistan, the Khan had helped the Muslim League. "Now see what Pakistan is doing to us. Why should we be asked to join Pakistan merely because we are Muslim? For that matter, Iran and Afghanistan must also join Pakistan. If Sind and the Punjab have joined Pakistan, we are different. Under no circumstances would we join Pakistan and sign the death warrant of 1-1/2 crore (ten and a half million) Baloch of Asia. We have unlimited resources and if we are forced, we will fight back to preserve our independence". Many others spoke in a similar strain but they were mostly members of the Kalat State National Party or members of the Jamiat Ul Ulema-e-Hind, both pro-Congress nationalist Muslim parties.\textsuperscript{70}

The Dar ul Umra met two weeks later, on the 3rd of January. The Jam of Las Bela and the Nawab of Kharan were absent. The Prime Minister, Nawabzada Muhammad Aslam Khan, explained to the House that the Khan had decided that he alone would not decide an important issue like that of accession to Pakistan and desired his Sardars to give their opinion. Fourteen Sardars spoke, some strongly, some not so strongly, but all against accession to Pakistan. Most said they would accept a Treaty of Friendship. Nawab Asadullah Khan Raisani said he would accept whatever the Khan decided.\textsuperscript{71} Both the Houses voted against accession and in favour of a Treaty of Friendship. The Prime Minister, Aslam, brought the news to Karachi and amongst others had an interview with the Quaid also, to whom he reported the affairs of Kalat. The Quaid gave him lengthy arguments as to why the best thing for Kalat would be to accede to Pakistan. Aslam reported this to the Khan who was momentarily convinced but changed his mind soon afterwards. It was decided to call up the two Houses again at the end of February. On 7th February, the Wazir-e-Azam of Kalat sent a telegram to Foreign Karachi that, "God-willing, efforts coming successful and all will be well Insha Allah, during Quaid's forthcoming visit".\textsuperscript{72} This was also the time for the Annual Sibi Durbar. Sibi is not very far from Dadar, where the Houses were meeting and where the Khan was camping for the cold weather. The Quaid-e-Azam's advisors persuaded him to go to Sibi and he was given to understand that
during his stay there, the Khan would announce his formal accession to Pakistan. The Quaid arrived on the 11th of February and the Khan and Aslam called on him in the afternoon. The Khan gave his solemn word to the Quaid that he would accede to Pakistan but that it was necessary for him to go through the formality of consulting his two Houses. As soon as the Khan came out of the meeting, he changed his mind. On the 12th all the Sardars were taken to meet the Quaid. They were tremendously impressed and solemnly promised the Quaid that they would all vote for Pakistan. The Khan soon heard about this meeting and sent for the Sardars. He told them they were not without friends: India had promised to send them Rs. five crores (fifty million rupees), transport vehicles, arms and ammunition. Afghanistan was prepared to fight for their independence. The Sardars did not defy the Khan openly but there were some heated discussions and angry words and the meeting ended in bitterness.

In his speech before the Sibi Durbar the Quaid gave a resume of his efforts to obtain reforms for Balochistan. He said Pakistan was confronted with innumerable difficulties from its very inception. They had not visualised these even in their wildest dreams. All these required top priority attention but in spite of that Balochistan was never out of their minds. According to the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Balochistan had now acceded to Pakistan and had decided to send its representative to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The Governor General gave an assurance that all Treaties and Allowances would stay as before unless changed by the mutual consent of the parties.

All Laws would also stay as they were, for the time being, in the administered areas, the tribal areas, including the Marri and Bugti areas and areas adjoining the Dera Ghazi Khan district. Similarly, all allowances would continue as before till the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed new laws. It would take the Constituent Assembly some time to do all this and, in the meantime, steps had to be taken to take the people forward.

He then announced the formation of a Governor General's Advisory Council. It would be a nominated body but it would have the right to examine and advise on the Budget. In future, all matters connected with the political, economic, social or educational affairs of the province
would come up to the Governor General through this Council. He said that this was the beginning he had made in giving constitutional rights to the people of Balochistan. Representation on this Council would be from the former British Balochistan and the leased areas, including the tribal areas. The opinion of the members of the Shahi Jirgah and elected members of the Quetta Municipality would be included. Balochistan was in deficit to the tune of 1-1/2 crores. Pakistan would, henceforth, bear the whole of this burden. This was according to the principles of Islamic justice and of the Holy Prophet.

The Quaid did not say a word about Kalat.

The next day, the 13th, there was a Garden Party at the Residency. The Khan deliberately absented himself and took to his bed. He was also absent from the banquet that night and there was no accession. On the 15th, The Quaid returned to Karachi, a very disappointed man. That day Aslam put in his resignation. He disclosed later that he had nothing but utter contempt for the double faced of the Khan.78

The Quaid-e-Azam has asked me to thank Your Highness. He was glad to learn that you were much better and he has noted that you will now give your final answer definitely before the end of the month.

There was no reply from the Khan.79

The members of the two Houses assembled at Dadar on the 21st. The Khan decided that there was no hurry to call the meetings; the members should have ample time to discuss the matter informally between themselves. The National Party took the hint and started calling public meetings, harangued them and said things against Pakistan. The Diwan-e-Aam met on the 25th. The Khan spoke in Balochi and care was taken not to make any translations. The Prime Minister gave a long speech and explained the pros and cons. It was customary for the Prime Minister's speech to be debated after this. Instead, an already prepared and written Resolution was handed over to the Prime Minister for a Treaty of Friendship. This Resolution was handed over by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, who made a brief speech. He said that they had all come to the categorical decision that under no circumstances would they accept any Instrument of Accession from the Government of Pakistan. He was followed by two Maulvis of the Jamiat
Ul Ulema-e-Hind, Maulvi Azr Muhammad and Maulvi Muhammad Umar, who made more or less similar speeches.

The Dar Ul Umra was due to meet formally on the afternoon of the 27th. The Khan sent for all the Sardars in the morning. There were heated disagreements which ended with the House asking for three more months to consider the matter further.

The Khan had a long meeting with his Prime Minister on the 28th and expressed his helplessness in the face of what his Sardars were saying. The Khan wanted Aslam to go to Karachi and to convey this mood of the Sardars to the Pakistan authorities. Aslam said that he was not quite sure that this was what the Sardars really wanted. Fell, the Foreign Minister, was at this time in London, partly on private business and partly to speak on behalf of the Khan. The Prime Minister went to Karachi and was of the opinion that the Khan did not want to accede to Pakistan, but was merely biding his time and wanted to whip up public opinion against Pakistan.99

The Khan wrote a letter to the Quaid on the 2nd March, presumably informing him about the decisions of the two Houses and received a curt reply from Ikrarullah, the Foreign Secretary, to the effect that
"the matter has been hanging fire for too long. As early as the second week of October, 1947, when His Highness was staying with the Quaid-e-Azam, he promised to send a final decision after a month or two. Many months have passed but nothing definite has come out so far. So far the Quaid-e-Azam has been negotiating himself but in view of the passage of time and the indecisive result, it has now been decided it would be best to terminate his personal negotiations with Your Highness and hand over the matter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs".91

By now, the three Rulers of Kharan, Mekran and Las Bela had moved to Karachi and were, presumably, in touch with Pakistan officials. Two of them had already asked for separate accession. The Nawab of Kharan called n the Quaid-e-Azam on the 4th. He again reminded the Quaid on the 9th but was advised to be patient. Ultimately, on the 17th, all the three states
formally applied for accession, which was accepted. This was announced on Radio Pakistan the next day.\footnote{42}

The first thing the Khan did was to send a telegram of protest to the Government of Pakistan and asked them that this "should be publicly denied (as it was contrary to the Standstill Agreement". Surprisingly, the telegram was repeated to the High Commissioner for the U.K. in Pakistan. The Khan then sent for Nawab Bai Khan, the Ruler of Mekran who refused to comply and referred the Khan to the Government of Pakistan. The Khan's sister was married to the Ruler of Mekran and was, at that time, at Kalat. The Khan sent her to Karachi to fetch her husband. This also did not work. Neither Kharan nor Las Bela had any official representation from Kalat, but in Mekran, the Khan's brother, Abdul Karim, was posted as the Hakim-e-Aala, primarily for the purpose of collecting the Khan's share of revenue. On the 23rd, Fell replaced Nawabzada Aslam as the Wazir-e-Aala. In the meantime, Abdul Karim announced a son of Nawab Bai Khan as the new Ruler "because his father was out of his mind". Simultaneously, he took signatures from a number of local Motabars in support of the new Ruler and sent all the documents to Kalat. In addition, he collected 5,000 tons of petrol at Pasni to withdraw them to Kalat. He also issued orders for all the road transport to return to Kalat. The rations of the Mekran Levies were carried by public transport on a contract basis. Without petrol and without transport, the Levies would have starved wherever they were. This was the time the Agent to the Governor General at Quetta took notice of things and he ordered the Khan to withdraw his brother at once to Kalat. By now, the Khan needed the support of his Sardars and he sent for them for the 25th but none turned up.\footnote{43}

This looked serious. At Pasni and Jiwani the Government of Pakistan had valuable installations, such as airstrips and postal and radio installations. On 26th, the Prime Minister called up the three Service Chiefs and it was decided to send one platoon of troops, by air, to Jiwani for the protection of the airport, another platoon to Turbat and a Company, by sea, to Pasni to take over the port and radio installations. The Agent to the Governor General at Quetta and the Khan were both informed. On the previous day, the Khan had given a statement that if Pakistan did not do justice to him, he would seek it from others. Ironically, it was India which came to the Khan's rescue. On the 27th, on the 9 p.m. news bulletin, All-India Radio announced
that the Khan had, two months earlier, approached the Government of India for accession but that the request had been turned down. On hearing the news, the Khan wrote a letter there and then to the Quaid announcing his desire to accede to Pakistan and Fell delivered the letter to Colonel Shah who was at Quetta. All this happened before any troops had moved out to the destinations earmarked for them. The last paragraph of this letter says,

"Confirm to you clearly that I agree to accession to Pakistan. But at the same time I hope you will consider all claims and rights of Kalat which I have frequently presented to you. I am trusting in your good intentions and sense of fairness to preserve the ancient state of Kalat in the same way as you have brought Pakistan into existence".84 Soon afterwards, the Khan asked for permission to go abroad but this was not given. On the 29th May, he made yet another attempt to get out of this commitment and the Quaid wrote to him in the following words, on the 5th June, "Neither the Pakistan Government nor I are prepared to discuss the decisions that have already been taken. They stand as they are, and I do not wish you to remain under any impression or hope that any of those questions can in any way be open to any discussion, whatsoever".85

The tumultuous events of 1947-48 in Balochistan; the accession of British Balochistan and of the state of Kalat to Pakistan and the desertion of Shahzada Abdul Karim can now be summed up in a few words. Public opinion in Balochistan, or at least in cities such as Quetta and the smaller towns, was overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan. There was some local opposition to Qazi Isa, who was heading the Pro-Pakistan Muslim League at the time, which produced some hesitation amongst the voters. The anti-Pakistan forces were comprised of the Hindu Congress, as everywhere else in India, and those Muslim political parties which were directly or indirectly linked with it, such as the Anjaman-e-Watan of Abdus Samad Achakzai, the National Party of Bizenjo and the Maulvis of the Jamiat-e-Ulema. It was a straightforward fight and the Pakistan lobby won hands down, in spite of some considerable wire-pulling by the Khan of Kalat.86
NOTES

1. The accession of the Balochistan States to Pakistan, particularly Kalat, came in a difficult manner tribal politics was given great encouragement for the separatist tendencies.

2. A.B. Awan. p.213.

3. Dr Feroz Ahmed Focus on Balochistan and Pashtoon Question p.4

4. Ibid.

5. These tribes are living in area Wadh, Distt Khuzdar, it is one of the most influential tribe in the Balochistan, first Chief Minister of Balochistan was from this tribe, whose C.M.,ship dismissed by the Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto, due to which insurgency operation were carried out.

6. Zehri tribes live in area Chaghi and Kharan, they own the marble areas in the Kharan Distt. Mr Nabi Bakhsh Zehri is know as king of marble.

7. Bizinjo tribe lives in area Turbat and Panjgur, it is the last National Assembly Constituency No. 207. Mr Ghaus Bakhsh Bizinjo (Late) was the second elected Governor of Balochistan, whose Governorship was dismissed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan Z.A. Bhutto (Late).

8. Raisani tribe, is known as Baloch tribe whereas actually they are Pathan, they live near Bolan Pass (author had an opportunity to serve in this area during insurgency operation during 1976-1977) these tribes are sub clan of Spin Tarin, See Notes on the Tribes of Afghan Descent in Balochistan. The Balochistan Intelligence Bureau Quetta 1937, p.32.

9. This Balochi population in this area lives in Kalat and Mastung area. The Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmed Yar Khan who has been ruling the area since 1666, belongs to Ahmed Zai See Mir Ahmed Yar Khan Inside Balochistan p.76.

10. Dr Feroz Ahmed Focus on Balochistan and Pashtoon Question p.8.

11. Gwader is a seaport and is going importance due to new and shortest approach from Afghanistan, the area was acquired by Pakistan is explained in Chapter-I of the same dissertation along with its appendix the operation order as issued by the Higher command.
12. The Mekrani population has increased considerably due to new developments in the area, many airports have been constructed for easy transportation, (author have stayed in this area for more than fifteen days during 1987, and had a short visit during 1992). Mand is a border town near Iran border, Mekran coast line is of 471 miles See Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, Khan of Kalat p.4.

13. Khuran is the biggest Distt as for its area is concern but on other hand it is sparsely populated, it is on the Iran border, following tribe live n this area. Nusherwani, Siah Pad Kohi i.e (Mountains) Siah Pad Maidani i.e of Plains Halazai, Monoja, Temoki, Mirashim Yalanza, Washokis, Jangali, Sejwari, Mohammad Hassani (Fateh Muhamnud Hasni MNA during 1988 to 1993 PPPs) Hotkani, Sasoli, Totazai, Kambrani, Tendai, are Balochi tribes living in this Distt. See Khuda Bukhsh Marri a searchlight on Balochistan p.361.

14. Chagai Distt has the distinction of having biggest marble area its marble is known as the best in the world. (Author stayed in this area for more than three month during 1975-76 at Gulangoor, Chagai, Shaikh Wasil, Kirdgab and Punjpa during insurgency operation to provide protection to the line of communication rail and road, no disturbance or law and order situation was observed).

15. Dr Feroz Ahmed p.5.

16. Jam Ghulam Qadir was elected as provincial Assembly Member during 1970s election he was appointed as Chief Minister of Balochistan by Z.A. Bhutto (Late). Author had an opportunity to be his conducting officer during 1974.

17. Dr Feroz Ahmed p.5.


19. Azmat Bakhsh Awan was interviewed on 5th September 1996 at 14 Margala Road Islamabad where he gave an account of his information about all these events, an old man with an age of eighty years or plus but with an excellent memory, he expressed these events eloquently.

20. The statement given by Khan of Kalat regarding accession issue that princely states will be independent states on this the Sardars were motivated See Inside Balochistan by Khan of Kalat p.145.
21. Shoukat Ali Shah Ajrabi Apnay Dais Main p.213 attitude of Khan of Kalat was not favourable towards Pakistan in his biography he has tried to advocate his case that he had been contributing a lot for movement of Pakistan.

22. These Baloch leaders felt pray to the Congress propaganda, See also Khuda Bakhsh Marri a Searchlight on Baloch and Balochistan p.263.

23. Under such circumstances, when Baloch and Pathan were having different attitude towards Pakistan in particular accession issue of States Union was becoming more complicated most of the Baloch leaders like Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijarrani Baloch, to whom author interviewed at Karachi on 2 January 1997 to know about his point of view he mentioned and gave reference of his book as quoted ante note 22 ref.

24. Amongst Pathan faction Mr Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, from Qila Abdullah, Distt Pishin opposed against Pakistan even he was bribed or offered for an handsome amount to distribute amongst Pathan of Balochistan. An eminent journalist of Nawa-e-Waqat stationed at Quetta was interviewed Mr Aziz Bhatti narrated the events on 13 September 1997.

25. Balochistan Main Tehreek-e-Pakistan (Urdu) by Naseem Hajazi.

26. Ibid.

27. Syed Abdul Qaddus The Tribal Balochistan p.126.

28. Ibid. See also A.B. Awan p.184.


30. All these processions were organised and controlled by Nasim Hajazi, a great Novelist on Islamic History, See Abdul Qaddus p.127-128. A.B. Awan p.184-186 and Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri a Searchlight on Baloch and Balochistan p.264.


32. Syed Abdul Qaddus p.127.


35. A.B. Awan p.186.

37. Ibid.
39. Author has served in Zhob Militia on different appointments, as such Khan of Kalat has left no memorable events in the Zhob Militia, author served in this oldest Militia from July 1985 to Dec 1987 and with an association till date.
40. Syed Iqbal Ahmed Balochistan Its Strategic Importance p.140.
41. Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri A Searchlight on Baloch and Balochistan p.248.
42. External Affairs Department, Government of India, letter No. F.733-F/41, dated 31, 12, 1941. (Courtesy of Mr A.B. Awan).
44. Cypher Telegram No. 2211 dated the 28th March 1946, from the AGG, Balochistan to External Affairs Delhi.
45. Cypher Telegram No. 2349 dated the 2nd April 1946, from the AGG Foreign Delhi.
46. DO No. 310-S/46 dated 3rd April 1946 from the AGG Foreign.
47. A.B. Awan p.192. See also Integration of States by Memon p.6.
49. Mir Ahmed Yar Khan Inside Balochistan p.143-144.
51. Dr Inam-ul-Haq Kausar.
52. A.B. Awan p.196-197. See also Time only to Look Forward, Lord Mountbatten, pp.39,42.
55. Integration of India States by Memon p.109.
57. The Emergence of Pakistan, by Ch Mohammad Ali p.237, see also Op.Cit., p.201.
58. Fief, it is bounty given to the Sardar from the head of that States (as Khan of Kalat) whose he controls all the revenue and keeps it as his pocket money.
60. Ibid pp.141-142.
63. Note of Page 203.

According to Khan of Kalat first he met Quaid-e-Azam on 1936 when he came back from Haj there he requested Muhammad Ali Jinnah as his Advocate for Kalat State.
66. A.B. Awan p.204.

69. Khan of Kalat and his family divided on the accession issue they wanted to join with Iran and Afghanistan, then they decided to join with India, their aim was that Balochistan only that of Kalat, Mekran and Khakan should be a independent state. See also Syed Iqbal Ahmed Op.Cit., p.119.
70. A.B. Awan p.206.
71. The Pakistan timely political move enable the three peripheral Baloch States Kharan Mekran and Las Bela to join separate accession to Pakistan.
72. See Appendix XXIII, the letter written by Quaid-e-Azam to Khan of Kalat on 2nd Feb 1948 to join Pakistan.
73. Quaid-e-Azam had a firm belief that Khan of Kalat wi'll accede to Pakistan as Khan of Kalat always paid homage to Quaid.
74. Khan of Kalat changed his mind because he had a promise from India and Mr Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was playing a major role in this. Syed Iqbal Ahmed p.119.
75. Ibid p.119.
76. See Chapter III of the same dissertation, complete text of Quaid-e-Azam speech is given.
77. Ibid.
78. On 13th Feb Khan deliberately absented from the occasions to avoid any interaction with the Quaid-e-Azam, A.B. Awan Op.Cit., p.208.
79. See Appendix XXIII.

80. A.B. Awan p.209. See also Syed Iqbal Ahmed Op.Cit., p.120.

81. Ibid p.1210.

82. Syed Iqbal Ahmed p.119.

83. Contrary to the same Khan expresses his view that he did all this in the best interest of Pakistan. Inside Balochistan p.162.

84. A.B. Awan p.211.

85. Ibid.

86. An interview with Mr Ayub Bakhsh Awan, 14 September 1996 at 14 Margalla Road Islamabad:

An Honours graduate in Science from the Punjab University (Government College, Lahore, 1934), the author joined the former Indian Police. He served in the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province in pre-partition India. After Independence, he held senior administrative posts in the N.W.F.P. and later in the integrated province of West Pakistan. For about a decade before retirement from service in 1969, he served in the Central Government of Pakistan as Director of Intelligence and as Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs. He has travelled widely in Balochistan and speaks two of its language, Pushto and Saraiki.
CHAPTER-V

BALOCH STATES UNION

From the very beginning, the Khan looked upon the formation of the Balochistan States Union as an opportunity for him personally to improve his prospects as the future leader of the combined Baloch bloc. He, therefore, started working on the Baloch Sardars, including the Marri and the Bugti Sardars, to persuade them to apply to the Government of Pakistan for inclusion in the Union. He went about it in such a blatant way that the matter came to the notice of the AGG, who protested to the Government that the Khan was creating the impression that it was the Government of Pakistan which wanted him to emerge as the leader of the Baloch bloc.

In the meantime, efforts were made to produce a Constitution for the Union. An interim Constitution provided, besides other things, for a Legislative Assembly of 28 elected and 12 nominated members. As soon as this was known, the old National Party of Kalat, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo's party, started laying their plans to fight these elections. In July, 1953, the Wazire-Azam said in a Press Conference at Quetta that:

"Reforms will be introduced and elections to the first legislative Assembly will be held in December or, at the latest, by February, 1954".

The Union's passage through its existence was brief and undistinguished. Its treasury was empty and it mustered hardly enough to pay for its services. The Council of Ministers hardly ever held a meeting. The result was that in less than two years of precarious existence, on the 16th February, 1954, a number of Baloch Sardars petitioned the Government of Pakistan to merge the Union into the rest of Balochistan. It would be difficult to judge now whether this petition was spontaneous or inspired, but, if inspired then the whole facade of the Balochistan States Union was a trap to lure the Khan before he was dispatched into the eternal
oblivion of the One-Unit. On the 16th June, an announcement to this effect was made at Quetta in the presence of Sardars, Motabbars and members of the Quetta Municipality. But something much more than this was in the offing. The Khan reacted violently. He said this was a betrayal and would ignite the whole of the Baloch nation. He asked for the re-establishment of the Balochistan States Union. He asked for the return to him of his leased areas and for the setting up of a committee to consult the Baloch and the Pashtun Sardars as to whether they would like to come into the by now defunct Union. Eventually, the Government agreed to accord the status of "special areas" to this region.

But more exciting things were happening on a different plane. The Constitution-making process of the Government of Pakistan itself was having a rough passage. The Indian Independence Act, 1947, provided that until such time as Pakistan produced its own Constitution, the Government of India Act, 1935, would remain the constitutional law of the land. A constituent Assembly of 69 members was, therefore, elected by the existing provincial legislatures. We have already seen how the representative of Balochistan was elected. Ten more seats were allotted as time went by and one of these seats went to a representative from the Balochistan states. So, the Assembly came to consist of 79 members and combined the functions of law-making and constitution-making.

The partition of India had left Pakistan split into two parts, a thousand miles apart. Because of differences in language, topography and general outlook on life and its problems, constitution-making was a difficult task. In a year and a half, the Constituent Assembly was able to define only the aims and objects of the future constitution in an Objective Resolution. In another year and a half, the report of the Basic Principles Committee was presented. There was general dissatisfaction with the Report, particularly in East Bengal, where an impression was taking root that their majority was being reduced to a minority. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, was assassinated which necessitated far-reaching changes in the Cabinet.

The Basic Principle Committee presented another Report in December, 1952. Even this was found unacceptable. One of the difficulties was the distribution of seats between East and
West Pakistan on a formula of parity. The Punjab felt that a constitutional majority would always stay with East Pakistan as they would be able to win over members from some of the smaller provinces. There was a political stalemate. Another compromise formula was evolved but, before it could be finalised, there were elections in East Pakistan in 1954, in which the ruling party, the Muslim League, suffered a crushing defeat. While the public at large was getting impatient with the performance of the Constituent Assembly, two unexpected things happened one after the other.

On September 20th, 1954, the Constituent Assembly repealed an Act which had been used to disqualify Ministers and other politicians from holding public office if they committed certain specified irregularities. This was the Public Representative Officers Disqualification Act, 1949, (PRODA) and it was repealed without the knowledge of the Governor General. The next day, an amendment was made in the Government of India Act curtailing the powers of the Governor General to dismiss the Cabinet. This again was done behind the back of the Governor General. This amendment was carried and published in the Gazette of Pakistan the same day. It was clear that the Constituent Assembly had decided to have a confrontation with the Governor General. On 24th October, the Governor General declared an emergency and dissolved the Assembly.

A new Constituent Assembly of 80 members, distributed equally between East and West Pakistan, was elected, but the Muslim League lost its over-all majority. Ch. Muhammad Ali was elected as the new Prime Minister and Iskandar Mirza remained the Governor General. The first act of the new Government was to pass a bill of October 3, 1955 for the integration of the provinces and other areas in West Pakistan into one unit. This was called the Establishment of West Pakistan Act and it came into force from 14th October, 1955.

We have already seen how on the 16th June 1954, an announcement was made merging the Balochistan States Union into Balochistan. A formal agreement to this effect was signed on the 1st January, 1955, but on the eve of signing this the Khan asked for his Privy Purse to be doubled. The Agreement reads: (Appendix VI p.340)
"His Highness the Khan of Kalat cedes to the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan his sovereignty and all his rights, authority and powers as President of the Council of Rulers of the Union, together with all his territories, including territories known as 'leased areas' and having been authorised to that end by members of the Council of Rulers, their sovereignty and all their rights, authority and powers as such rulers together with all their territories".33

Through an extraordinary Gazette Notification dated 5th October, 1955, the Balochistan States Union was terminated with effect from 14th October, 1955 and included in the province of West Pakistan.34

This Gazette Notification brought to an end one phase of the struggle of the Khan of Kalat. He was not alone in this struggle but he certainly was not accompanied by many. His colleagues, the rulers of the other three states, were not with him. Most of his own sardars were not with him. The premier sardar of Kalat, Nawab Sir Asad Ullah Khan Raisani, was not only opposed to him but bitterly and openly criticised him. Taking Balochistan as a whole, he got little out of even the Marris and the Bugtis and none of the Baloch tribes on the borders of Sind or Dera Ghazi Khan or those inhabiting the slopes of the Sulaiman Mountains, or the Shiranis, or any of the Pathan tribes of Zhob did anything to come to his help. After all he was fighting for his own state or for a greater Baloch Bloc, the glories of which he was not going to share with anybody else. So, his was really a long fight except for Bizenjo's35 National Party or Abdus Samad Achakzai36 or a few Maulvis37 who had their own reasons for opposing Pakistan.

During all these years some well-wisher might have referred him to that meeting on the 3rd of June, 1947, which Mountbatten held in Delhi with the States Negotiating Committee when he uttered a word of caution,38

"that in coming to their decision (about exceeding to either of the two dominions) the representatives of the states should cast their minds forward ten years and consider what the situation in the country and the world as a whole was likely to be at that time".39
Leave aside what happened otherwise in India, somebody might have pointed out to him the fate of the 550 odd states in Indian Union, of what had happened to Hyderabad and to Bhopal and to hundreds of others, big or small. The thought of carving out a new kingdom of his own "25,000 sq miles of which were floating on oil", was but only a dream of the Khan alone.  

The merger into the One Unit of West Pakistan brought the Khan one small relief; his Privy Purse went up from Rs, 5,25,000 p.a. The Privy Purses of the other three Rulers also went up. But throughout the year 1955, the Khan remained un reconciled. He undertook extensive tours of his State, addressed public and private meetings, otherwise contacted a large number of people and bitterly criticised the government. Besides the Khan, Bizenjo's National Party also remained equally unhappy and critical.

In the new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, two seats had been allotted to Balochistan. For one of these seats, for which the Electoral College was the same Shabi Jirgah and the elected members of the Quetta Municipality, the name proposed by the ruling party was, surprisingly, that of Dr, Khan Sahib who belonged to the NWFP and had nothing to do with Balochistan. On the 21st June, 1955, Dr Khan Sahib was duly elected. This provided the critics of the government with another stick to beat it with. The second seat was for the Council of Rulers and the Electoral College was limited to the four Rulers themselves. As in the past, the Khan remained behind the scenes and although he permitted some propaganda to be generated in his favour he himself did not stand for this seat and permitted Nawab Bai Khan of Mekran to be elected instead.

But one of the interesting things which happened during this year was the release from gaol of the Khan's brother, Shahzada Abdul Karim, and his companion, Muhammad Hussain Unna. When, in 1948, Abdul Karim was sent to gaol for ten years for so-called insurgency against the Government, he had built himself a reputation as a fire-brand. In the Haripur gaol, the other occupants, at least during a part of his stay there, were some Red Shirts from the Frontier Province, including their leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Under their influence, Abdul Karim toned down considerably and come out of gaol at the end of June a polished and sober
politician. Along with his companion, Muhammad Hussain Unqa, he met a number of Baloch political workers in Karachi and laid the foundation of a new political party which he named "Ustaman Gall" or "The Peoples Party". The one significant difference was that, in its manifesto, in place of the phrase regarding the struggle for independence from the British, one about the establishment of a Baloch province on linguistic and cultural lines was substituted. In fact, what it really demanded was the creation of a new Baloch province, presumably on the existing boundaries, with Kalat as the fountainhead of power. In the Pushto-speaking areas, there already existed the Wror Pashtun of Abdus Samad Achakzai, with a similar aim of separation, and with the emergence of the Ustaman Gall among the Baloch, the two complemented each other and worked for the same objectives.

Through the creation of a new Baloch political party, the Khan was hoping to get all the Baloch together on to one platform. These hopes, however, came to nothing. The party made no headway in Mekran, Kharan and Las Bela and the Marris and the Bugtis continued to look more towards their own Sardars rather than to any political party headed by other Baloch. Within the four walls of the Kalat Palace itself, inter-family strife over the equitable distribution of family assets had raised its ugly head, forcing the Khan back against the wall and causing some damage to the political strength of his brother's Ustaman Gall.

At this time, with the so-called nationalist political parties already installed in different parts of Pakistan, the need was felt to bring them together onto one platform.

The Khan remained abroad between July and November, 1955, and on return found his State merged into the new province of West Pakistan. The new Constituent Assembly under Prime Minister Chaudhry Muhammad Ali had pledged themselves to give the country a new Constitution by the end of February, 1956. Elections from Balochistan for the provincial assembly of West Pakistan were now held. From the Quetta Municipality and the adjoining area of the cantonment, two powerful candidates, Akbar Bugti and Qazi Isa, were defeated, the latter getting not a single vote. Sibi returned the powerful Marri Sardar, Khair Bakhsh Marri, and Kalat, Mahbub Ali Khan Magsi, Ghaus Bakhsh Raiani and Atta Ullah Mengal. The Jam of Las Bela was returned unopposed. The remarkable feature of this election was the defeat
of all the three candidates put up by the Ustaman Gall, including Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, in spite of the fact that they were supported, among others, by the Hindus and the mullahs. The Khan once again remained abroad between February and July, 1956 but on return went back into his anti One-Unit stance.

While opposition to the One Unit from the Khan, the Ustaman Gall and the Wror Pashtun continued, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan went ahead with the making of the Constitution. The main hurdle, so far, had been the distribution of seats between the majority area of East Bengal and the minority areas of West Pakistan. Once a political settlement was arrived at in the integration of all the provinces of West Pakistan into One Unit, the rest was easy and the shape of the future Constitution was clear. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali had already made a solemn promise to the nation that the Constitution would be ready by the end of February, 1956. It received the assent of the Governor General on the 23rd of March, 1956.\(^{57}\)

On the 1st of March 1957, Hashim Gazdar, a prominent Muslim Leaguer from Karachi, had given notice of a Resolution in the West Pakistan Assembly that the One Unit should be dissolved and replaced by a Sub Federation of four or more Units. This came as no great surprise. The One Unit administration had already proved it was unwieldy and it became chaotic.\(^{58}\)

There were many among the politicians themselves who felt dissatisfied with the One-Unit and therefore, Gazdar was not alone when he filed his Resolution.\(^{59}\)

Long before Gazdar's notice of dissolution, the Ustaman Gall in Balochistan was already propagating\(^{60}\) that the One-Unit would shortly break up into Zonal Federations.\(^{61}\) At about this time, Khair Bakhsh Marri was dislodged from his membership of the Provincial Assembly.\(^{62}\) But the notice of the Resolution set into motion a flood of political activity.\(^{63}\) The Muslim League Party's main objective at the time was the defeat of the Republican Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib.\(^{64}\) This they could do only if they had an understanding with the other opposition party, the N.A.P.\(^{65}\) But the N.A.P's main political plan was opposition to the One Unit.\(^{66}\) The Muslim League, therefore, had to adopt an anti One-Unit stance,\(^{67}\) in spite of the fact that it was the Muslim League of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali\(^{68}\) in the Constituent Assembly which had steered
the integration of the West Pakistan Bill in October 1955 and a few months later put through the new Constitution,\textsuperscript{49} of which the Unit was an integral part. It was an irony of fate which was now forcing this political party to take part in the stifling of its own child. So the League was really on the horns of a dilemma,\textsuperscript{76} half the members saying this and the other half saying that. In the meantime, the Resolution was formally moved on the 17th March.\textsuperscript{71} The Assembly was now standing on the threshold of the Budget Session and Dr. Khan found he could not get the Budget through in this atmosphere of uncertainty. So, they hurriedly went into an alliance with the N.A.P.\textsuperscript{71} But apparently even this was not enough and soon afterwards the President dissolved the Assembly\textsuperscript{73} and imposed the President's Rule.\textsuperscript{74} That took care of the Budget but not of the Resolution of Dissolution.\textsuperscript{75}

The break-up of the One-Unit meant reversion to the status quo and that meant the restoration either the Balochistan States Union or at least Kalat itself.\textsuperscript{76} So once again the Khan moved. He contacted everybody: Raisani,\textsuperscript{77} Magsi,\textsuperscript{78} Mengal,\textsuperscript{79} Isa\textsuperscript{80} and Rulers of his States.\textsuperscript{81} He was in touch with the Baloch everywhere, even in Karachi to agitate for a Baloch State under him.\textsuperscript{12}

In the middle of June 1957,\textsuperscript{83} the Khan sent a long representation\textsuperscript{84} to Prime Minister Suhrawardy.\textsuperscript{85} The burden of his argument was that Balochistan was a backward,\textsuperscript{86} poverty-stricken area and that the communist ideology was taking root there.\textsuperscript{87} He implored to be given an opportunity to set things right by uniting the Baloch.\textsuperscript{88} In Balochistan itself, he redoubled his efforts for the restoration of his State,\textsuperscript{89} in fact, for the creation of a separate homeland for the Baloch.\textsuperscript{90} His activities were now openly hostile and subversive and he had certainly opened up his purse strings.\textsuperscript{91} He probably hoped that he would be able to blackmail the Pakistan Government into accepting his demands, but he was, simultaneously, getting ready to back them up with the force of arms.

At this time, there came the Dissolution Resolution. The Khan arranged a vociferous student demonstration in Mastung.\textsuperscript{92} Soon afterwards he arranged a great gathering of Sardars in Kalat.\textsuperscript{93} Many turned up with imposing retinues, Nauroz Khan Zarakzai with about 350,\textsuperscript{94} mostly armed with firearms but some also with hatchets. The intention was two-fold; one to
impress upon the Government of Pakistan that the demand for the restoration of the State was the combined demand of the Baloch Sardars and not of the Khan alone\textsuperscript{95} and two, that its non-acceptance would result in disturbances. This was the time to ask the Baloch to unite and to strike out for his Independent Kingdom:\textsuperscript{96}

The Government of Pakistan was holding its hand so far but it was time to take notice.\textsuperscript{97} So the Khan was sent for. In Karachi, he was put up with the President for a fortnight but on return he redoubled his activities.\textsuperscript{98} He told his Sardars that the President had given him an assurance that his State would be returned to him.\textsuperscript{99} A more detailed description of the Khan's way with the President will be mentioned later,\textsuperscript{100} some people say that the idea was suggested to him by Iskandar Mirza. If this version is accepted, the disgruntled Khan readily swallowed the bait.

Whatever version the Khan gave,\textsuperscript{101} the official version was that the Khan had been specifically sent for and told that the Constitution had no provision for the revival of Independent States and that the territories of the States of Balochistan\textsuperscript{102} had been merged into Pakistan and not into the integrated province of West Pakistan alone.\textsuperscript{103} Soon, in November, a Central Minister\textsuperscript{104} was dispatched to Kalat to talk to the Khan.\textsuperscript{105} In the meantime, the dismemberment of the One Unit was held in abeyance until the next General Elections.

The year came to a close with a well-publicised, well attended N.A.P. Convention in Balochistan,\textsuperscript{106} which was attended by Abdul Ghaffar Khan,\textsuperscript{107} Bhashani, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Shahzada Abdul Karim and the former Major Ishaq of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case fame, who had by now blossomed into a leader of landless tenants. Once again it was the same old theme of dismemberment of the One Unit. Abdul Ghaffar Khan threw in his Pashtunistan also, for the Baloch and the Pathan put together.\textsuperscript{108}

The Government now decided to tell the Khan to go abroad for a change and,\textsuperscript{109} accepting this advice, he remained away between April 1958 and August.\textsuperscript{110} While he was away, Dr. Khan Sahib was assassinated in May\textsuperscript{111} and, in the seat of the National Assembly thus
vacated, Akbar Bugti was nominated by the Republican Party as their candidate and was duly elected.\(^{113}\)

Immediately on return from abroad, the first thing the Khan did was to call-up a Press Conference,\(^{114}\) in which he stated that the had consulted prominent lawyers\(^{115}\) abroad about the legal aspects of the restoration of his State.\(^{116}\) He now intended to hold consultations with the Government of Pakistan and, if he failed to get a satisfactory response, he would seek redress in a court of law.\(^{117}\)

In a reception for the workers of the Baloch Academy at Quetta on the 26th August, he strongly pleaded for the disintegration of the One Unit and the redemarcation of new provinces on linguistic lines. Some of his Sardars criticised the men in power in Pakistan and reminded them of what had recently happened in Iraq. Nothing, they said, could be imposed on the people without their will. He held another big meeting at Mastung and repeated what he had already said. The Khan was now spending lavishly and resorting to persuasion and threats.

By the beginning of September, the anti-State activities of the Khan were so blatant that it was decided that he should be asked to come and see the President\(^{118}\) and the Prime Minister,\(^{119}\) who would tell him to live outside the State. It was also decided to reduce his Privy Purse. The Khan refused to come to Karachi and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogeza and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali\(^{120}\) were sent to talk to him. This was about the end of September, 1958,\(^{121}\) and at last it was decided to detain him.\(^{122}\) It is clear that the Government of Pakistan was fully aware of the anti-State activities of the Khan of Kalat and he was repeatedly given suitable warnings.\(^{123}\) Both the Prime Minister and the President were fully in the picture.\(^{124}\) The Chief Minister of West Pakistan had also been consulted and the final Order of Detention was signed by the President, General Iskandar Mirza. General Ayub Khan, who was at that time the Commander-in-Chief of the Army.\(^{125}\) Before imposition of Martial Law (October 1958), during this period, Iskandar Mirza contacted Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, Khan of Kalat,\(^{126}\) and asked him to start a movement for the restoration of his State. He (Iskandar Mirza) also advised that this movement should be against the Central Government.\(^{127}\) He assured the Khan he would favour the Balochis.\(^{128}\) The Khan was put under arrest.\(^{129}\)
The Khan of Kalat States in his biography that the drama of my arrest was staged simply because President Iskandar Mirza wanted to put the country under Martial Law in order to keep himself in power by avoiding the General Election. Hence, Balochistan was chosen as the starting point of the nefarious action which was designed to be applied to the whole of Pakistan later.\(^{99}\)

During my stay with Iskandar Mirza (October 1957) as his personal guest,\(^{101}\) his real intentions were revealed to me. Iskandar Mirza was nervous because of the popular agitation directed against him\(^{102}\) by Miss Fatema Jinnah, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, and particularly Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, who had addressed the members of the Senate in the US for more than one hundred minutes in a marvelous speech which completely bewitched the Americans. Suhrawardy was very popular and Miss Fatema Jinnah was held in great esteem and respect. With her on their side, the leaders could easily carry a victory against Iskandar Mirza in the elections. He wanted me to stand by him, and demanded from me Rs, 50 lacs to contest the elections, the amount being the bribe in lieu of his assurance given to me to withdraw Kalat from One Unit on the ground of popular agitation against it. He even suggested to me that I bring pressure upon the rulers of Bahawalpur and Khairpur also to pay him Rs, 40 lacs and Rs, 10 lacs respectively for getting their states exempted.\(^{103}\)

The Khan goes on, in the book, to involve the Nawab of Bhopal, from India, in some unholy scheme of Iskandar Mirza but the Khan warned him to come out of it. This part of the story is too far-fetched to stand the test of credibility.\(^{104}\) But what the Khan is really trying to say is that Iskandar Mirza asked him for money and the creation of a law-and-order situation in Kalat, in return for which he would return Kalat to him if he remained as President under martial law.\(^{105}\)

"Having given both sides of the picture to the reader, I think it would be only fair if I give my own opinion. I think the Khan's story is totally unacceptable".\(^{106}\) It was now announced that general elections had been postponed till February 1959.
During the night of the 5th October, 1958, the Deputy Commissioner, Kalat, accompanied by the Police and the army, left Mastung for Kalat to effect the arrest of the Khan under the orders of the Central Government. The Khan was flown out to Lahore and detained in a bungalow in the most exclusive locality of Gulbarg.

In the circumstances, it is clearly necessary that all agreements entered into by the Pakistan Government with the Rulers of existing or extinct Principalities should be carefully revised and submitted to Parliament for its sanction. Where such an agreement tends to maintain the fiction of some sort of an autonomous status for any of these States, or otherwise accords undemocratic privileges to a Ruler, the agreement should be suitably amended. And if the Rulers harbour any illusions about their position, they should be compelled to accept the fact that Pakistan is a sovereign State, and that its unfettered sovereignty, which vests in the people, is exercised by Parliament; that this body has the right to make any arrangement it considers convenient for a particular part of Pakistan's territories; and that no petty Prince will be allowed to produce a parchment given to his ancestors by some British freebooter in support of some claim that seeks to hinder Pakistan's march towards complete democracy.
NOTES

1. The proposal was under study by the Government of Pakistan and it was first time reported by the Daily Dawn, March 21, 1952. The Union of Balochistan States Covenant signed by the rulers of four Balochistan States, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, Kalat; Nawab Bai Khan, Makran; Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, Jam of Las Bela; Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani for Nawab Muhammad Habibullah Khan, Kharan signed on April 11, 1952. On behalf of the Government of Pakistan it was confirmed and signed by Colonel Abdur Rahim Khan, Secretary to Government of Pakistan in the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions. See Union of Balochistan States Covenant, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, pp.103-109.

State of Kalat acceded to Pakistan on 27 March 1948 and accepted by the Government of Pakistan on the 31st March 1948. The States of Makran, Las Bela and Kharan had requested for accession on 17th March 1948 and were accepted by the Government of Pakistan on the same date. Whereas Supplementary Instruments of Accession were executed by the said Rulers on the 11th April 1952 and accepted by the Government of Pakistan on the 11th April 1952. The BSU was known as the Council of Rulers under the Article 111 of the said Covenant and referred as the Council on April 22, 1952. The President of the Council, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan signed the Instrument of Accession on November 3, 1952. The ruler of Las Bela, Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, Mir Muhammad Habibullah Khan of Kharan and Bai Khan of Makran had authorised the ruler of Kalat, the President, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan to sign it. See Instrument of Accession and Schedules of Federating States, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, 1954, pp.110-112. According to Article IV the Legislative Assembly was to be composed of 28 persons to be elected on the basis of adult franchise with one member for every 20 thousand population; 12 Sardars to be nominated by the Council of Rulers as follows; Kalat-8, Makran-2, Las Bela-1, Kharan-1. The Kalat Sardars were to be nominated from a panel of 24 Sardars and each group of 8 Sardars was to hold office for one year. Ibid, pp.104. See also Syed Iqbal pp.162-163. See also AB Awan Op.Cit., p-214.
2. Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmed Yar Khan Ruler of Kalat. He was born on 1904, succeeded to the Khanate September 1933 Inside Balochistan Mir Ahmed Yar Khan p.110.

3. The formation of Balochistan States Union and its merger with Pakistan, and an extraordinary political turmoil in the tribal politics of Balochistan was a foundation stone as laid down by the selfish motive of few as explained by A.B. Awan during an interview at Islamabad on 14 September 1996, it was further augmented by Justice Marri during an interview at Karachi on 2 Jan 1997.

4. Baloch bloc, the Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmed Yar Khan was over ambitious to form a Baloch block in which he did manage to form a Union with the help of his near relatives as well as ruler of his neighbouring states.

5. Other Baloch Sardars Raisani, Laghari, Magsi, Khan of Kalat tried that Pushtoon areas Malik should also join the Union.

6. The Sardar of Marri areas had respect for the Khan but as such they did not join to be form of the Union.

7. Bugtis, Akbar Khan Bugti a Baloch stalwart kept himself reserved for the same proposal and did not show any wretched action to participate Khan of Kalat’s suggestion.

8. As per Khan-a-Kalat statement in his biography, he wanted that he should emerge as leader of Balochistan Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmed Yar Khan 172.

9. Acting Governor General as such rest of the Balochistan was governed under the governor General orders which was know as Administrated by the British Balochistan rules, whereas the Union formed by the Khan of Kalat BSU was independently controlled by the BSU, Khan of Kalat being the Khan-e-Azam the head of States and the head of the Union. Wilcon Op.Cit., p.151, see also Syed Iqbal Ahmed p.151, Feroz Ahmed Op.Cit., p. 458.

10. The Khan was becoming furious, when he observed that his people on whom he relied are getting out of control he gave an indication that he will be able to move the people of Balochistan to agitate on this point.


12. As no Constitution was made an out line as given by the Khan of Kalat Inside Balochistan Syed Iqbal p.163.
13. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo was from area Naul, he formed a party know as National Party of Kalat, to agitate the people to move them against Govt of Pakistan, A.B. Awan p.217.
15. A.B. Awan p.216.
20. Ibid.
24. The Military & Politics in Pakistan by Hasan Askari Rizvi p.49.
25. Ibid.

During five years life of the PRODA, 7 cases were referred to the tribunal. Four political leaders were convicted. They were: M. A. Khuhro (Sindh), Kazi Fazalullah (Sindh), Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan (Sindh), and Hamid ul Haq Chaudhry (East-Pakistan); Mr Ghulam Ali Talpur (Sindh). The tribunal made adverse remarks but did not declare him guilty and Mian Muntaz Khan Daultana (Punjab); proceeding against him could not be completed.
32. Appendix to Ch V page.
35. Mr Ghaus Bux Bizenjo was against this merger and he opposed it by organizing few procession in Mustung area these processions were addressed by Khan of Kalat.

36. Abdu Samad Khan Achakzai, known as Red Shirt leader, from NAP, (National Awami Party) also opposed this merger his area of influence is Pishin, Gulistan, Chaman and area Kuchlag, a Pathan leader, whose later on become member of National Assembly Mehmood Khan Achakzai during 1990, prove to this he was member Provincial Assembly, Party Politics in Pakistan K.K. Aziz p.46.

37. These Maulvis belongs to Zhob area, their area of influence is Dera Ismail Khan, Jamiat Ulma-I-Islam Maulana Mufti Mehmood (Late) was their head. Ibid p.46.


39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Appendix to Ch V p.

42. Ibid.


44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.


47. Ibid.


49. The Peoples Party was formed by the Muhammad Hussain Unqa, with the help of Ghaus Bux Bizenjo the nucleus was provided by the old National Party, moral and material support come from Khan of Kalat, this party played a significant role in the internal politics of Balochistan.

50. Khan of Kalat wanted that he should emerge as head of State, and should be honoured as Khan-e-Balochs, as he has mentioned, Inside Balochistan that it was a desire of Government of Pakistan (Mr Iskandar Mirza) Mir Ahmad Yar Khan p.171.

51. Abdul Samad Khan, the NAP (National Awami Party) leader, he opposed the idea of Pakistan, has show vehement resistance and joined hand with the separatists from the existence of Pakistan. Party Politics in Pakistan by K.K. Aziz p.137.
52. A.B. Awan p.219.
53. Ibid.
54. The new Constitution which came into force on 23 Mar 56, due to snap snap in the Prime Minister Choudhari Muhammad Ali resigned on 8th September 1956.
55. The Sardar of Bughti tribes.
56. The pioneer of Muslim League, who worked tirelessly during Pakistan movement.
57. Party Politics in Pakistan by K.K. Aziz p.34.
58. Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmad Yar p.167.
59. Ibid. See also Balochistan Shakhsiat kay Ainey Main by Aziz Mohammad Bughti p.140.
60. Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmad Yar Khan p.168.
61. Balochistan was integrated as one of the 11 Divisions of One Unit and was centrally administered from the distant provincial Headquarters located at Lahore, Punjab.
63. Pakistan Political Study by Keith Callard p.155.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
70. Ibid p.66.
72. Ibid 1 October 1955.
75. Ibid.
76. Dr Feroz Ahmed Focus on Balochistan and Pashtoon Question pp. 6-7.
77. Raisani, the head of their tribe was ex Chief Minister Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, this tribe generally live in area Dadar, Sanni area near Sibi at the end of Bolan Pass. They are the
Pathan their descendants are from "Tarins" they are further divided into Tor Tarin and Spin Tarin, Raisani are from later one. The Balochistan intelligence Bureau 1937, p.32.

78. Magsi are Baloch, they live in area Sibi Jhalawan Division, their area is extremely furtile, Magsi tribe has contributed a lot during Pakistan movement and this tribe has participated in politics of Balochistan vis a vis that of Pakistan.

79. Mengal, their area of influence is Distt Khuzdar political centre is Wadh, Atta Ullah Khan Mengal ex Chief Minister during Z.A. Bhutto regime, now his son Akhtar Mengal is the Chief Minister of Balochistan province.

80. Isa Khan, the pioneer of Pakistan movement in Balochistan remained active, Khan of Kalat wanted that he should also participate being a noble figure in the province to support him to move against "One Unit" for his rulership.

81. Khan of Mekran, Khan of Kharan, Jam of Lasbela, Khan of Kalat wanted, that if nothing atleast he should be able to restore his state.

82. Karachi being capital of Pakistan, Khan approached all those from whom he could get some morale support to restore his States Union, he felt that it is only possible if he can move against One Unit.

83. A.B. Awan p.222 and see also Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmed Yar Khan p.168.

84. Aim of this was press upon the Government of Pakistan that Balochistan State Union should be restored.

85. At that particular juncture the Government of Pakistan was passing through great termoil, Khan was trying to make use of this. Mazhar Ali Khan Pakistan the First Twelve Years p.160.

86. This statement is opposed by Justice Mir Khuda Buxhsh Marri Searchlight on Baloch and Balochistan p.ix.

87. A.B. Awan p.222.


89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Pakistan The First Twelve Years by Mazhar Ali Khan pp.360-361.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Lt Col Syed Iqbal, Balochistan and its Strategical Importance p.167.
101. Ibid.
102. Pakistan the First Twelve Years by Mazhar Ali Khan p.361.
103. First Constitution of Pakistan, Federation and the Provinces, Part VI, Chapter I, Paragraph 106 to 110.
105. Ibid.
107. Political stability was still elusive and crises were order of the day, Khan of Kalat took the advantage of the same and was trying to make use of these turmoil by creating such chaotic ibid.
110. On his return the Khan of Kalat took the advantage of tumultuous situation and geared of his activities for restoration of his State.
111. Dr. Khan Sahib was Chief Minister of West Pakistan a Republican Party member. A.B. Awan p.223.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. Khan of Kalat met Lord Macnair in London a leading lawyer, according to Lord Macnair, Kalat absorption in the One Unit was not legal. Inside Balochistan by Khan of Kalat p.179.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
118. Khan of Kalat states that he was directed by President of Pakistan Iskandar Mirza, to create disturbances as it is further explained in the preceding paragraph of this Chapter. Tribal Sardars refused to listen the Commissioner, however on his (Khan's of Kalat) interference they did obey with reservations. Inside Balochistan Khan of Kalat p.180.
119. Firoz Khan Noon was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, a well seasoned bureaucrat, remained Prime Minister from 16 December, 1957 to 7 October, 1958.
120. Central Government used all their efforts to resolve the issues with the Khan of Kalat, but he was showing an indifferent attitude towards their latitude. The Military 1947-86 and Politics in Pakistan by Hasan Askari Rizvi, p.72, also see Party Politics in Pakistan by K.K. Aziz p.46.
121. Ibid.
122. Pakistan the First Twelve Years by Mazhar Ali Khan p.360.
123. According to Selig Harrison, that relatives of Khan of Kalat were approaching Afghan Government to support Baloch rebellion, Selig Harrison Under the Afghan Shadow pp.27-28.
124. Tumultuous situation in Balochistan was observed by the Government in particular after the refusal of Khan of Kalat, to see the President and Prime Minister A.B. Awan p.224.
125. President of Pakistan Iskandar Mirza signed the orders as the head of State and General Ayub Khan signed it as Army Chief, to pass direct orders of the President of Pakistan for the execution of executive order of President.
130. During his (Khan of Kalat) stay at Karachi 7th to 29th October 1957, Iskandar Mirza the President of Pakistan took him in confidence that he should create law and order situation in the Balochistan, on which Khan of Kalat acted upon and created such
situations which culminated on his arrest. Inside Balochistan by Mir Ahmed Yar Khan p.173.

131. Although Khan of Kalat was aware of the fact even then he took the advantage of this for restoration of his State.

132. In the first week of October the Muslim League threatened to launch a civil disobedience movement, Dawn 5th October 1958, at that time asking for cessation from Pakistan the Khan should have supported the government whereas his attitude was other way round.


135. Ibid.

136. Ibid.


138. A captain Grade III appointment from a local Brigade HQ of Quetta Garrison was deputed the task to arrest the Khan of Kalat who along with other civil administration persons went to arrest Khan of Kalat, (Captain Iqbal now retired Brigadier Iqbal served in GHQ as Judge Advocate General) was interviewed at Attock Fort at 14 September 1996.

139. A.B. Awan p.225.

140. Pakistan the First Twelve Years by Mazhar Ali Khan p.361-62.
CHAPTER VI

TRIBAL POLITICS AND ONE UNIT

The first piece of work taken in hand by the second Constituent Assembly was the "One Unit" Bill, and its passage in the house was marked by some astonishing inconsistencies and shifts in the views of certain politicians. Sardar Abdur Rashid, the Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, had moved a resolution in the provincial legislature on 26 November, 1954, welcoming the "One Unit" scheme and heartily commending it to the house. One of his Minister, Mian Jaffar Shah, had agreed with him and had declared that if it had come a couple of years earlier the country could have been saved many political crises. Later Rashid changed his mind and his Ministry had to be dismissed to make way for another more amenable to Central dictation. Mian Jaffar Shah now opposed the Bill in the Constituent Assembly saying that its exponents had "hatched a dangerous conspiracy". Rashid has warmly supported the idea of merger in November 1954 in the Frontier Legislative Assembly when the house was discussing the resolution in favour of it, and again in March 1955 in his speech winding up the provincial budget debate. But in the Constituent Assembly, in September, he strongly condemned the scheme and its makers, warning the later that "by imposing One Unit, they were playing with fire". Likewise, Firoz Khan Noon, who was first so enamoured of the proposal as to claim its fatherhood, changed his mind and his Ministry in the Punjab went the way of Rashid's. Qazi Fazlullah opposed the scheme in November 1954 and supported it in December of the same year. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi approved of the proposal in February 1955, and condemned it in May 1957.

Among the major parties, the Muslim League alone was in favour of "One Unit". The Awami League was opposed to it, and so was the United Front. Among the minor parties, the Congress had "no objection to it"; but Gantantri Dal demanded a referendum to ascertain the
will of the people of the western zone. 11 Most of the Independents, like Rashid and Noon, were critical of the scheme. Many small groups in West Pakistan, which were later to merge into the Pakistan National Awami Party, adversely reacted to the plan, and in fact formed an Anti One Unit Convention, which was organized and supported by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pir of Manki, Sardar Samad Khan Achakzai, Sheikh Abdul Majid and G.M. Syed. 12

But the most glaring example of a volte face on this issue was that of Suhrawardy, the Awami League chief. He was a Minister in the National Government formed by Muhammad Ali Bogra after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in October 1954, and he was presumably in favour of the Government's policy on "One Unit". He held the portfolio of Law, and all the Orders and Ordinances purporting to arm the Governor General with power to set up the new province must have been drafted and issued by his Ministry. Further, the scheme of merging the western areas into one unit had originally been suggested by two of his colleagues in December 1952. In February 1955 he had strongly welcomed the proposal. 13 Nevertheless, when the Constituent Assembly met in August 1955 to debate the "One Unit" Bill, the Awami League bitterly attacked it and made every attempt to obstruct its passage. 14 From an ardent supporter and advocate of the plan, Suhrawardy now turned out to be its most uncompromising opponent. 15 His party members made long drawn out and mostly irrelevant speeches punctuated with ungainly invective. Though they maintained that their opposition to the measure was in detail rather than in principle, and though Suhrawardy had left the Central Cabinet a little earlier, yet this exhibition of political fickleness was far from edifying.

After the passage of the West Pakistan Establishment Act in October 1955, 16 the Constituent Assembly finally turned to the task of constitution making. During November and December the house was repeatedly adjourned because the coalition was unable to resolve its differences. The different groups resorted to various tactics to exert pressure in respect of their constitutional demands. The Pakistan National Congress and the United Progressive Party threatened to leave the coalition if a joint electorate was not conceded; the Nizam-i-Islam was ready to walk out if it was conceded. Differences of opinion on fundamental issues became so
wide and serious that the Prime Minister, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, had to warn all parties that if no agreement was forthcoming he would report to the nation the failure of his mission of constitution-making. This firm stand, taken in the third week of December 1955, worked miracles, and the Government was able to present to the Constituent Assembly with a draft Bill on 9 January, 1956.\textsuperscript{17}

The Awami League assailed the draft with gusto. It condemned the proposals outright and demanded that the entire scheme be scrapped. Its chief objection was that the document did not conform to the party's 21-point manifesto, which conferred only three powers on the Centre, viz, defence, currency and foreign affairs, not including foreign trade. It refused to see the absurdity of this contention: if the Centre was to have only these three subjects how was it to be financed? Perhaps the party might have given the ridiculous answer: the provinces will finance the Centre annually.\textsuperscript{18} Moreover, separation of foreign trade from foreign affairs was naive proposal, betraying ignorance of elementary economic and political knowledge.\textsuperscript{18} Undaunted by such anomalies in the programme, the Awami League persisted in its opposition, and on 15 January, 1956, Maulana Bhashani told a meeting in Dacca that if the Centre did not comply with their demands "East Pakistan would have to think in terms of secession" - a sentiment as reprehensible as Fazlul Haq's statements of April and May 1954. Another Awami League leader, Abu Mansur Atunad, found nothing in common between East and West Pakistan except religion and the fact that both had attained independence at the same time. He even spoke of the two wings as "two countries" and "two peoples", and was not prepared to compromise on the 21-point programme even if he were convinced that "Pakistan with a Centre with only three subjects would not become a stable State.\textsuperscript{19}

The final debate took place on 29 February, 1956. Suhrawardy appealed to the Government to call a round table conference to discuss the contentious issues. When this suggestion turned down his party left the chamber.\textsuperscript{19}
When the Federal Government was passing through this turmoil on other end provincial unrestness was also prevailing in particular the states, like Balochistan State Union, State of Bahawalpur.

Since the death of the Quaid-e-Azam in 1948 and the tragic assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in October, 1951. Governments came and Governments went; but Pakistan still remained without a workable Constitution. A game of political hide-and-seek was being played by one party after another. It was indeed a painful thing to see Pakistan—the dreamland of Muslims—being made an arena for political wrestlers who stepped in to exhibit their political acrobatics only to be outdone by one another. The meaningless experiment, called One Unit in 1955, was one such performance which, however, was duly discarded later. 21

On the consolidation scheme the Basic Principles Committee (BPC) and the Muslim League concluded; "it is understood that they have recommended Balochistan as a Governor's province with the Balochistan States Union merged". All the same the position remained that the Balochistan States Union was merged with the Chief Commissioner's province and this not meet with the wishes of the Khan of Kalat many tribal Sardars, and large section of the Balochistan people. 22

General Iskandar Mirza, the President of Pakistan, being an expert on tribal affairs, had the requisite experience of presiding over the department of tribal affairs for several years with great success. Khan of Kalat, so I sincerely advised the Sardars and the elders to keep complete peace and an atmosphere of harmony among the tribes, and that they should extend full cooperation to the Government in all matters a meeting between the tribal Sardars and the President of Pakistan, General Iskandar Mirza was required to be arranged. 21

The Baloch tribes were getting more and more restless. The President of Pakistan received thousands of letters of protest against the administration of the States under One Unit Government. These letters of protest carried a threat that if the decision was not revoked, the
Baloch people would not hesitate to take up arms against the Government. A meeting between the Baloch Sardars and President Iskandar Mirza was arranged on 8th October, 1957, in which forty-four tribal Sardars participated. The following points were discuss. 24

1. No change in the ancient tribal customs be made against the will of Baloch tribes.

2. In appreciation of the selfless services and sacrifices of the people of Balochistan for the cause of Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan should be considerate and generous in allowing the people to be governed by their tribal customs.

3. As the Khan-e-Azam is fully aware of the ancient tribal way of life, it is requested that his advice and guidance should be sought if any change is found necessary. The changes must be gradual and not abrupt.

4. The amount sanctioned for the development and welfare of the tribal areas must be spent in consultation with the people, as in the past. The amount so far spent had gone waste.

5. The Government of Pakistan had promised to spend an amount of Rs. 80 million on development projects of the Baloch States Union; but according to our estimate and survey, the amount spent on the projects was not more than Rs. 10 million. We would, therefore, request you to kindly investigate the matter and bring the culprits to book for cheating the Government on this account. 25

Through an extraordinary Gazette Notification dated 5th October 1955, the Balochistan State Union was terminated with effect from 14th October, 1955 and included in the province of West Pakistan, 26 whereas the Rulers of Kalat, Makran, Las Bela and Kharan entered into the covenant for the formation of the Union on the 11th day of April, 1952. 27
The merger into the One Unit of West Pakistan brought the Khan one small relief; his Privy Purse went up from Rs. 5,25,000 to 6,50,000 p.a. The Privy Purses of the other three Rulers also went up. But throughout the year 1955, the Khan remained unreconciled. He undertook extensive tours of his State, addressed public and private meetings, otherwise contacted a large number of people and bitterly criticised the government. Besides the Khan, Bizenjo's National Party also remained equally unhappy and critical.  

The year 1957 was now drawing close to its end; and yet the administration and political situation in the country was as fluid as it ever was. Kalat and Quetta, which were part and parcel of the State, were now two different Divisions. This vivisection of West Pakistan, particularly the further dissecting of Kalat, was a painful operation for the Balochs to bear. This was certainly not what the Balochs had expected for all the sacrifices they had made towards the creating of Pakistan on the ideological basis of Islam, which seeks to foster unity and not its disfigurement.  

It was in this contextual background that a representative body of tribal Sardars and other acknowledged dignitaries of Kalat State called on 17th December, 1957, and submitted a Memorandum drawing attention to the following salient points, reproduced in original.

(i) That the tribal Sardars and the dignitaries of Balochistan, while expressing their full faith and confidence in the Government of Pakistan, had assured the Government of their sincere cooperation in all matters. They had been loyal and sincere to the Government of Pakistan since the day of its birth, rather ten years before (1937 to 1947) the conception of Pakistan took a concrete shape.

(ii) That they had voluntarily shown the desire of merger on 4th August, 1947, by signing a document, and handed over all the Baloch territories to Pakistan prior to the creation of Pakistan. In appreciation of these sacrifices and services, the Government of Pakistan was requested not to make any alterations or bring about
any changes in their local traditional customs, as these were part and parcel of their tribal way of life.

(iii) That the boundaries of the Baloch territory were spread over thousands of miles touching the borders of Afghanistan, Iran and the Persian Gulf on one side; and on the other, a belt of over 300 miles spreading over the coast of the Arabian Sea. The Baloch tribes are keeping a strict and vigilant watch on these borders against activities detrimental to the interests of Pakistan.

(iv) They hold that the experience of the One Unit type of Government was dangerous for the ancient tribal customs and way of life; and as such, they were unable to accept the same. It must be withdrawn.

(v) They demanded that the Balochs should be treated at par with the tribal people of the North-West Frontier, where the tribal customs and traditions are not touched; and adequate arrangements be made to safeguard their cultural values which they love more than their life.

(vi) During the final merger talks of Kalat with Pakistan in 1948, they had expressed doubts that after the merger of Kalat their local customs would not be safe, and as such, they had then requested the Quaid-e-Azam and the Khan-e-Azam, Kalat, to sign a joint written guarantee in this respect. Unfortunately, however, the request was not considered then. They earnestly beseeched me now to see that their demands were accepted, thereby preserving their tribal culture and traditional way of life.31

Muhammad Hussain Unqua, he met a number of Baloch political workers in Karachi and laid the foundation of a new political party which he named "Ustaman Gall" or "The Peoples Party". The nucleus was provided by the old Kalat National Party of Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, a
glimpse of which we have already had. Bizenjo stepped down from the Presidentship and handed it over to Abdul Karim. There are strong indications to suggest that the moral and material support of the party came from the Khan of Kalat. At any rate, this party has played a significant role in the internal politics of Balochistan. The one significant difference was that, in its manifesto, in place of the phrase regarding the struggle for independence from the British, one about the establishment of a Baloch province on linguistic and cultural lines was substituted. In fact, what it really demanded was the creation of a new Baloch province, presumably on the existing boundaries, with Kalat as the fountainhead of power.\textsuperscript{32}

The Khan remained abroad between July and November 1955, and on return found his State merged into the new province of West Pakistan. The new Constituent Assembly under Prime Minister Chaudhry Muhammad Ali had pledged themselves to give the country a new Constitution by the end of February, 1956. Elections from Balochistan for the provincial assembly of West Pakistan were now held. From the Quetta Municipality and the adjoining area of the cantonment, two powerful candidates, Akbar Bugti and Qazi Isa, were defeated, the latter getting not a single vote. Sibi returned the powerful Marri Sardar, Khair Bakhsh Marri, and Kalat, Mahbub Ali Khan Magsi, Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani and Atta Ullah Mengal. The Jam Las Bela was returned unopposed. The remarkable feature of this election was the defeat of all the three candidates put up by the Ustaman Gall, including Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, in spite of the fact that they were supported, among others, by the Hindus and the mullahs. The Khan once again remained abroad between February and July, 1956 but on return went back into his anti-One Unit stance. While opposition to the One Unit from the Khan, the Ustaman Gall and the Wror Pashtun continued.\textsuperscript{33} There were many among the politicians themselves who felt dissatisfied with the One-Unit and, therefore, Gazdar was not alone when he filed his Resolution.\textsuperscript{34}

Ultimately, the dialogue culminated in a consensus of transforming the West Wing into one solid administrative and legislative unit that would give it voting parity with the East wing at the Centre.\textsuperscript{35}
On November 22, 1954, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, the Prime Minister of Pakistan finally proposed in the Assembly for integration of four West Wing provinces, namely, the Panjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan, six Princely States including Kalat, Kharan, Las Bela, Makran, Khairpur and Buhawalpur, less northern states of Dir, Bajur, Swat, Amb and Baltistan, and special tribal areas into a single administrative unit. Thus came into vogue the terms West Pakistan and East Pakistan. The one unit scheme was generally welcomed by the Provincial Assemblies.

On November 23, 1954, the Khan of Kalat who was the life-time Chairman of the BSU, expressed his support for the merger scheme. It was actually announced by the Government on January 3, 1955. The suspended announcement of the Khan's support spawned speculations that this approval was not freely given. It was said that the Khan was ordered to come to Karachi in December and discuss the plan with the Minister for States and Frontier Regions. On his arrival in the Ministry at Karachi, he was asked to sign the Instrument of Accession. The Khan complied with the instruction, before leaving the room. The instrument annullned all previous agreements between the Centre and the State. The Khan got a handsome allowance. But, as could be discerned from his future action, he was not reconciled.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, the Prime Minister of Pakistan while dwelling on the supposed efficacy of One Unit in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, compared it with the Union of England and Scotland. He said that in 1707 Scotland had surrendered its (independent) nationality to "strengthen Scotland itself". He emphasised that here in Pakistan today we felt the need for the same unity and solidarity. He said the country needed an efficient administration. In part, the integration of West Pakistani provinces was motivated by a desire to allow East Bengal to acquire a dominating role for itself in Pakistani politics. Otherwise the establishment of One Unit disturbed the existing time honoured administrative arrangements for safeguarding the rights and privileges of the Tribal territories and Special Areas. Nor was feudalism or the Sardari System annulled in West Pakistan province. Only the princely states and provinces were merged to form a larger entity, West Pakistan.
On September 30, 1955, about a year after securing the support of the provinces and princely states, including Kalat, these territories were formally merged together. On October 14, 1955, Amir Muhammad Khan was proclaimed as Governor of West Pakistan. Balochistan was soon forgotten and the nation got deeply involved in the war-game of "parity and disparity" between the two emerging provinces of East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

The Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had thus to its credit the framing of the First Constitution of Pakistan and also the establishment of One Unit of dubious value. The First Constitution of Pakistan was presented to Pakistani nation on March 23, 1956. It provided for a federal West Minister type parliamentary government guaranteeing a fair degree of autonomy to the provinces. The provinces were given executive authority over "Special Areas" and "Exclusive Areas". A degree of control over such areas was vested in the Central Government, but the former Balochistan States were not mentioned as "Special Areas". Since there were not any "Special Areas" in Balochistan the Centre correspondingly could not exercise control on them.

With the integration of Balochistan and Balochistan States with other provinces of West Pakistan as now provided by the Constitution itself, the feeling of neglect or deprivation in Balochistan grew deeper and acute. Indeed, "One Unit" was very unpopular in Balochistan and stood for alien (Ghair Mulki) control over the destinies of its people, who themselves were otherwise divided into numerous social, linguistic, economic and political groups, some organized and others not yet organized.

A meeting was arranged amongst tribal Sardar and between President Iskandar Mirza and he promised to take action keeping in view the legal provision in the constitution. The points are as follows: -
(1) That he would consult legal authorities and get their legal opinion on the question of exemption of Kalat State from One Unit and its regaining the original position it held before it. A survey of how the One Unit system of West Pakistan would affect the administration of Kalat and the tribal way of life would also be carried out. In addition to this, if the majority of the Baloch population expressed their desire against absorption in One Unit, the matter would be considered sympathetically.

(2) The services of an expert of international fame in legal matters would be obtained to examine the legal aspects of re-instating the status quo of the defunct Kalat State.

(3) The tribal Sardars should provide sufficient proof to the Government of Pakistan regarding their claim that majority of the people wanted separation from One Unit.

(4) As for their ancient tribal customs and traditions, which are regarded as sacred by the Balochs, the President asked the Sardars to submit to him a detailed list of the same through the Khan-e-Azam in order to enable him to study these in the light of the laws of the country and see how far these could be acquiesced.

(5) The sufferings, services and the sacrifices which the Balochs and their Khan-e-Azam had to face for the cause of establishment of Pakistan was acknowledged publicly on Government basis; and the Balochs were instructed to keep an atmosphere of peace and harmony in Balochistan, and struggle hard for the development and progress of Pakistan.57

In these circumstances President Major General Iskandar Mirza58 proclaimed Martial Law on October 7 1958.59
The President had several reasons to act; in order to save the country chaos, and to assume power by a decree. He executed it in a subtle manner. It will be seen that on September 23, 1958 there had occurred a "ghastly incident" in the East Pakistan Assembly.60 It was also alleged that the Khan of Kalat and his kinsmen were mustering force to secede from Pakistan.61 Indeed, the Khan had acceded to Pakistan under the stress of circumstances and not entirely willingly.62 Now, when Pakistan was in real trouble, he thought, a show of force would do the trick and get him independence. Some people say that the idea was suggested to him by Iskandar Mirza.63 If this version is accepted, the disgruntled Khan readily swallowed the bait.64 He did it independently, or on the instigation of India, Afghanistan or Iskandar Mirza himself, the position remains that the Khan of Kalat repudiated Kalat's accession to Pakistan and appealed to the tribesmen to rise in arms.65 Even so Iskandar Mirza invited the Khan to come to Karachi and explain the situation to him.66 He refused to go to Karachi.67 Instead, he desecrated the national flag of Pakistan and hoisted his own ancestral standard on the palace in Kalat.68 The press immediately carried the news of Khan's revolt.69

It was stated that the Interior Minister, Nawab Akbar Bugti, had offered his good offices to the President to fetch the Khan to Karachi and avert a dangerous situation. But Bugti was not allowed to leave the Capital.70 Two days later, on October 6, 1958 the Pakistan Army arrested the Khan on charges of treason.71

According to official sources Khan's palace was cordoned off by troops early in the morning on the day of arrest.72 An accompanying civil officer summoned the Khan to surrender. The Khan refused to come out, instead, he invited the Deputy Commissioner (D.C.) for parleys in his palace.73 Thus he tried to lure the Deputy Commissioner into an ambush.74 As the Deputy Commissioner (alongwith his escort) came within range he was fired upon by palace guards led by the Khan's son, Prince Mohiuddin. Three persons were wounded.71 In retaliation a tank fired a volley of shots on the palace wall and the Khan was forced to surrender.76 He, alongwith his son Mohiuddin, was arrested and flown to Lahore.77 While the Khan was being whisked away, a
crowd collected outside the palace. It refused to disperse. In due course, the troops opened fire killing three and wounding two others. It is believed that no less than 50 of the Khan’s retainers and some 300 other activists were arrested in Kalat and other towns. It was stated that the Khan had stored large quantity of weapons and food to provide for a large private army.

On the same day, October 6, President Iskandar Mirza issued an order, whereby he divested Mir Ahmed Yar Khan of Kalat of all distinctions, privileges and immunities, including his privy purse of Rs. 6,00,000 a year. His eldest son, Prince Daud Jan, who was back home from school in Britain, was formally nominated his successor.

On the day following the arrest of Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, Martial Law was imposed not only in Balochistan but in the entire country. The President abrogated the first Constitution of Pakistan, banned all political parties, dissolved the assemblies, dismissed the provincial and central government, and appointed General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army as Chief Martial Law Administrator, CMLA.

It might be said that Major General Iskandar Mirza was constitutionally competent to act as he did in the precarious set of circumstances. Apparently, he was performing a duty to his country and also had the backing of the powerful Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Muhammad Ayub Khan. But, Iskandar Mirza was both clever and ambitious. These personal attributes had been sharpened by experience in the British Political Service. He thought of depriving Ayub of the “reality of power”, by appointing him Prime Minister. The C-in-C saw through the game and tables were turned on Iskandar Mirza who was forced to resign. Ayub Khan abolished the office of the Prime Minister and he himself became President of Pakistan.

Iskandar Mirza spent the rest of his life in London.

The Martial Law of 1958 ushered Pakistan in a new era. Peace returned to all parts of it. Nevertheless, there were reports that the new order was opposed in some remote and isolated pockets in Kalat.
It was clear that the arrest of Mir Ahmed Yar Khan had not helped to appease the Baloch who over the centuries had cultivated a particularistic outlook and had not liked the proceedings since August 15, 1947. They were a proud people and they loved and obeyed their Sardars more than the Pathans did. And, the Khan was the "Sardar of Sardars", - Khan-e-Azam. The insult he had to put up with was regarded by many Baloch as humiliation of all of them. How could they like the presence of an outlandish Punjabi-Pathan Army in their midst? The Army ordered the tribesmen not to carry arms without licence. They refused to comply with this order. The Army construed this as an affront and brought in armoured vehicles and artillery in key places as a show of force and authority. The Army blocked some mountain passes to check recalcitrant elements in Jhalawan from neighbouring Sarwan. Some skirmishes were reported between the troops and the tribesmen. Naoroz Khan, ninety years old Chief of the Zehri tribe assembled a Lashkar of some 500 men in the mountains of Jhalawan and demanded:

Unconditional release of the Khan-e-Azam; return of confiscated arms, and annulment of One Unit. He threatened that rejection of these demands would result in recourse to use of violent force. The Government paid no heed to his demands.

On October 10, 1958, four days after the Khan's arrest the army located a Lashkar near Wad, about 40 miles south of Khuzdar inflicted heavy losses on it. Nevertheless, the power of the rebels could not be broken. In fact they continued to hit whenever an opportunity lent itself to them.

The spirit of insurgency grew and a number of guerrilla bands joined Naoroz Khan in the hills. Soon it spread all over Jhalawan district and the army got deeply involved in counter-insurgency measures. On some occasions air strafing, too, had to be undertaken. the insurgency lasted for about a year.

In 1960, the Government launched a full-fledged military operation inflicting heavy casualties on the guerrillas. Even then no end to hostilities was in sight. Later, the
representatives of both the sides met in order to discuss the terms of cessation of hostilities. During or after the meeting it is stated, Naoroj Khan and some of his sons and followers, were detained. It was claimed, they had been promised safety and amnesty,\textsuperscript{96} and that their detention was a case of breach of trust and truce.\textsuperscript{97} Subsequently, 163 persons were tried by a Special Military Court setup in Mach Jail near Quetta.\textsuperscript{98} Naoroj Khan Zairakzai, his son Batay Khan and five other members of his family were awarded capital punishment.\textsuperscript{99} In July 1960, the rebels were executed in Sukkur Jail but not Nawab Naoroj Khan. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in view of his old age. He died four years later in Kohlu Prison. Many young Baloch called him a martyr.\textsuperscript{100} He had fought and risked his life for Mir Ahmed Yar Khan of Kalat.\textsuperscript{101}

On proclamation of Martial Law, the President had said in his broadcast to the nation: "you do not raise the prestige of the country by desecrating the national flag".\textsuperscript{102} He further said; some of our politicians have lately been talking of bloody revolution. Yet another type of adventurers thought it fit to go to foreign countries and attempt direct alignment with them. That amounts to high treason".\textsuperscript{103} Here obviously, he was referring to the Khan of Kalat and the left wing National Awami Party (NAP).\textsuperscript{104}

Also in Balochistan, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai,\textsuperscript{105} a leading member of the NAP and protagonist of an independent "Pashtoonistan"\textsuperscript{106} was up against the government. He had demanded a Pathan province on the basis of language by breaking Balochistan into Baloch and Pathan majority areas.\textsuperscript{107} Achakzai, like Ghaffar Khan, had previously been a member of the Indian National Congress and was appropriately called "Balochi Gandhi".\textsuperscript{108} He was arrested along with some other NAP leaders.\textsuperscript{109} The activities of NAP\textsuperscript{110} and other progressive Baloch political activists had been viewed by the Government as "dangerous".\textsuperscript{111} The government of Pakistan was apprehensive of Russian aims in the region. It was noted that the Soviets had renounced the Tsarist claims arising out of the Eastern Question,\textsuperscript{112} but in practice they were pursuing, them vigorously. Soviet advances and consolidation of power in the five Muslim
Republics of Central Asia, and its uncensuring pressure on its southern flank on Afghanistan and beyond, manifested the vivacity of the Soviet Eastern Question.\textsuperscript{113}

President Mirza was apprehensive of growing Soviet influence in the region and NAP leaders' leanings towards communism. He once said that politicians "try their best to create bad blood and misunderstandings between us and countries like the USSR, the United Arab Republic, and the People's Republic of China".\textsuperscript{114} The activities of some Baloch politicians were suspect.\textsuperscript{115} With the weakening of Muslim League's influence after the untimely demise of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Balochistan had become all the more vulnerable to dialectical Marxism - Leninism.

Simultaneously, political situation in the neighbouring Persian Gulf was changing rapidly. In mid 1957, the British Protectorate of Muscat and Oman witnessed an armed rebellion against the Sultan. The revolt was led in the central part of the mountainous territory of Nizwah by the Sultan's brother Talib.\textsuperscript{116} The rebellion was quelled by British forces on the request of the Sultan who invoked an old treaty.\textsuperscript{117} Talib fled to Egypt by way of Saudi Arabia. It was reported that the Saudis had supported the rebels with weapons lately delivered to them by the USA.\textsuperscript{118} The British alleged that some US oil companies wanted to oust the British from the oil rich Protectorate,\textsuperscript{119} but John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State denied US involvement in the rebellion, on August 6, 1957.\textsuperscript{120}

Until September 1958, Oman had exercised legal and actual suzerainty over the port of Gwadar.\textsuperscript{121} Gwadar was an alien enclave in Pakistan, on the Makran coast. It had an area of approximately 300 square miles. Some people thought that if the supposedly US supported coup had succeeded in Oman, the US government would probably have sought to build a military base in Gwadar. The United States has been trying to acquire certain rights to utilize Gwadar port facilities in lieu of military and economic assistance.\textsuperscript{122} It is conjectured that the United States has, from time to time, needed base facilities in Pakistan to counter the communist threat in the region in pursuance of its global policy based on the "Truman Doctrine",\textsuperscript{123} followed by
the "Eisenhower Doctrine". To begin with, it seemed, the relationship between Pakistan and the USA was not particularly very happy, especially in view of a degree of cooling off of friendship between the USA and Britain. At one stage Malik Feroz Khan Noon, the Prime Minister of Pakistan criticised the US "for lack of sympathy and understanding". The US Presidential candidate Senator John F. Kennedy in his election campaign speech went as far as saying without reservation; "We want India". There is no doubt that India would have provided the best leverage to the US to circumvent China. At that time, China somehow bothered the United States more than, even its more powerful rival, the USSR.

Pakistan's geographical location was important, though, apart from its north-western craggy land and massive desolate Balochistan to retard Soviets move towards the Arabian Sea, some of its territory provided vantage sites for electronic surveillance over the Soviet Union "core" areas. Badabare, near Peshawar suited the Americans to peep electronically through the Hindu-Kush and monitor activities of the Soviet satellite launching and missile testing sites at Tyuratam. The port of Gwadar promised multifarious possibilities. Its strategic location in the Arabian Sea could facilitate electronic surveillance.

Indeed Gwadar in Balochistan and Herat in Afghanistan lie diametrically opposite to each other within the limits of Mackinder's Rimland. They have been pivotal in the "Great Game", or in the Central Asian Question. In the power tussle of the two super powers there cannot be any tangible outcome without reference to these vital points in the region. They serve as two tiers of the Eastern Dyke of the "Northern tier" formed by the British and later supported by the US to stop communist Russia's advance in the region. What is Herat to land based military powers of Eurasia, Gwadar is to the maritime powers, in the Indian Oceans. In their own times, Herat was important to the Greeks, Sakas, Mongols, Persians, Russians, Germans, and the British. Likewise, Gwadar was important to the Greeks, Arabs, Portuguese and the British. Today both are important to the Soviet Union and the USA, the two chief contenders in the "Great Game" which has truly been revived. Gwadar's proximity to the Gulf and South Asia, its access to the Middle East and Central Asia, lends it a unique geo-strategic
importance. The port of Bandar Abbas located laterally opposite to Gwadar in Iranian Balochistan is somewhat comparable. Had it been occupied by the USA that would have created political implications not only for Pakistan but also for other states, including the Soviet Union. It was therefore necessary for Pakistan to seek to remove this foreign enclave from its Makran coast. On September 6, 1958, Pakistan through the good offices of the British Government, with which Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon had long and intimate relations, purchased the port of Gwadar for a price that seemed high at that time. Later developments showed that it was an act of statesmanship.

In the Zahedan sector of Pakistan-Iran border, Iran had been pressing for demarcation of boundary. On February 10, 1959 the boundary was demarcated and the question which had the potentialities of developing into a dispute was amicably resolved. As a result, about 300 square miles of territory was found to be on the wrong side of the border and ceded to Iran.

In the late fifties the Soviets were on the upswing in the Middle East and South Asia. During 1957 the Soviets established a base for International Communism in Syria. In January 1958, Syria and Egypt coalesced to form the United Arab Republic, (UAR). From here Soviet influence travelled to Saudi Arabia and Yemen. There, thus was a pinkish 'Southern Tier' to balance the 'Northern tier' made up by pro-west Baghdad Pact countries. The Americans and the Russians were in fierce competition.

The year 1958 proved to be very turbulent for the Middle East. On July 14, 1958, after the insurrection in Oman, a coup d'etat in Iraq brought a tragic end to the Hashimite royal family. As sequel to the coup, Iraq defected from the Baghdad Pact and became "non-aligned". But it could not retain its neutrality. Soon the Communist Party of Iraq infiltrated various government departments.

Iraqi withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact was a setback to the military alliance, but the other three regional powers, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan regrouped in the shape of the Central
Treaty Organisation (CENTO) with US participation in its Military Committee but not as a full member.\textsuperscript{137}

Increased Soviet influence in the Middle East was of great consequence with reference to Balochistan. Baghdad became a centre of Baloch secessionists' operations in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{138} Suddenly, the threat of subversion in the region, particularly in Balochistan, had become serious.\textsuperscript{139}

Among the CENTO member countries, Balochistan assumed great importance as it linked Pakistan with Iran. In a way the location of Balochistan enhanced the importance of Pakistan in the CENTO military alliance against the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{140}

Pakistan was conscious of developments in and around Balochistan. The revolt in Oman, the coup in Iraq, Soviet influence in Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Yemen had caused great anxiety to the Pakistan Government particularly about the vulnerable province of Balochistan. Balochistan had always been important in Moscow's Central Asian Policy.\textsuperscript{141} It had made inroads into the province and found fertile ground for achievement of its strategic goals. Baloch "Progressive" elements, mostly students and the educated middle class - often sons of feudal chiefs - were more susceptible to communism than other classes of people in Balochistan.\textsuperscript{142}

Likewise growing Soviet influence in the northern highland Afghanistan was of special concern to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{143} The politics of Pakistan, more so of the provinces of NWFP and Balochistan, could not remain uninfluenced by what happened in Afghanistan. In Kabul Premier Muhammad Daoud,\textsuperscript{144} a cousin of King Zahir Shah was a leading protagonist of Pakhtoonistan and up against Pakistan. He demanded self-determination for the Pashtoons and Baloch. Despite his royal family origin, it seemed, he had the support of some Soviet-backed "radical" groups. In 1955 both President Marshal N.A. Bulganin and Premier N.S. Khrushchev endorsed the Afghan stand on Pakhtoonistan.\textsuperscript{145} It could be argued that the Soviet and Afghan interests coincided in seeking an outlet to the Indian Ocean, through Balochistan. And on this side of the fence in
Pakistan, Abdul Wali Khan of NWFP and Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai of Balochistan were agitating for Pakhtoonistan. The Baloch Sardars too were demanding autonomy.

Sultan Ibrahim Khan, maternal uncle of the Khan of Kalat and Prince Karim solicited support from Premier Daoud of Afghanistan to equip a large Baloch army of 80,000 fighters. Sultan Ibrahim, like Daoud, was a Muhammadzai. In 1948 he had opposed accession of Kalat to Pakistan. In late 50’s he probably thought that the situation was ripe to make a bid for autonomous Baloch homeland with the active support of Premier Daoud.

By June 1962, President Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan ended the Martial Law and gave a new constitution to Pakistan. He reconciled with the view probably at the exhortation of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto that it would be expedient, even if not legally correct, to release the Khan of Kalat from house arrest in Hazara district. The Khan returned to Kalat and his people, once again. But things had changed a great deal during the intervening years. The Pakistan Army was there in strength in the interior of Balochistan, not only in the cantonments. Many Baloch leaders like Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Sardar Ataullah Khan Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri were serving different terms of imprisonment for having supported Nawab Naoroz Khan’s rebellion. Some of them were released and booked again on other charges. They eventually engaged themselves in organising and supporting guerrilla activities against the government of Pakistan. Among them was Sher Muhammad Marri, a towering, hulk of a man, who already had undergone a total of fourteen years imprisonment for "seditions activities". He claimed to be a Marxist. His nickname was Sherov. On release from imprisonment he organised a powerful guerrilla force. He had two "commands", the Northern and the Southern. The Northern Command of Marri-Bugti area was under his personal supervision. Here he was assisted by Mir Hazar Ramkhan who was incharge of recruitment and training. The Southern Command in Jhalawan district was headed by Ali Muhammad Mengal. The Southern Command was further sub-divided into Northern and Southern Sectors. The Northern Sector comprising Kalat and Mastung districts was under the command of Laung Khan. The Southern Sector covered Khuzdar and Wad. It was under the direct command of
Ali Muhammad Mengal. Each of the two Headquarters were manned by a command force of 400 persons. They could also call hundreds of reservists on short notice.

It was believed that by July 1963, Sher Muhammad had established 22 base camps in Marri-Bugti and Mengal areas. He avoided pitched battles and resorted to harassment of the Army in the classical guerrilla warfare fashion. He laid ambushes on army convoys, army engineers engaged in road construction and army signals depots on telephone maintenance. The army hit back with force to subdue the "Ferraris", outlaws. Sher Muhammad was a rich man and owned several large almond orchards. He was not a proletarian even though he claimed to fight for their cause. A Western writer has stated that during anti-insurgency operations the army destroyed his orchards. This, however, is denied by the army.

At the beginning of 1968, the Army, under the command of Major General Tika Khan, GOC 8th Division, struck the "Ferraris". Sher Muhammad Marri put up a stiff resistance. Meanwhile, the government took some administrative measures to break the power of the Sardars, and the sons and relatives of the Sardars who, in its view, were behind the apparently populist insurgency. Prominent tribal Sardars, Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti, Sardar Ataullah Khan Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri were deposed from chieftainships.

Thus, Martial Law was once again imposed at 7.15 P.M. the same evening; and once again the nation witnessed Jawans and army personnel in battle dress, patrolling the streets and corners as the sole keepers of law and order in the country.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Yahya Khan, who was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator, assumed Presidentship on March, 31. At this first press conference since assuming office, he gave an assurance that elections to the Constituent Assembly would be held on the basis of direct adult franchise. Another outstanding step taken by him was the dissolution of the One Unit structure in West Pakistan, and revival of the four former provinces of the Punjab, Sind, Balochistan and the North-West Frontier. Under the Order, Bahawalpur
went to the Punjab; Karachi to Sind; and Lasbela to Balochistan, each province being under a military Governor.

In December 1971 the War with India ended with the loss of East Pakistan. On December 20, General Yahya stepped down after handing over the reins of the government to Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.
NOTES

1. Both the statements of Mian Jaffar Shah are set out in The Times of Karachi, 25 August 1955.


7. His broadcast on 3 February as Sind Minister of Information and Revenue, text in Pakistan Standard, 4 February 1955.


12. This Convention had its first meeting in Karachi on 9 October, 1955. For text of resolutions passed in this Session see Dawn, 10 October 1955.

13. His address at Pad Idan on 6 February, text in The Times of Karachi, 7 February, 1955.

14. However, the All Pakistan Jinnah Awami League supported the scheme. See the statement issued on 16 September, 1955, by two members of the party's Working Committee, Khwaja Abdul Rahim and Raja Hasan Akhtar, The Times of Karachi, 17 September 1955.

15. See his speeches of 10 and 21 September in the Constituent Assembly, full texts in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates and in Dawn of 11 and 22 September, 1955, respectively.

16. Final voting was 43 to 13, Dawn, 1 October, 1955.
17. "Resistance Day" demonstrations, a strike, "hartal", even talks of secession marked the reception of the draft of the draft of the second Constituent Assembly in East Pakistan", G.W. Choudhri, op. cit, p. 145.

18. In the words of an East Pakistani this demand was "fantastic" (G.W. Choudhri, "The Constitution of Pakistan", Pacific Affairs, September 1956, p. 246), and "the new agitation for more autonomy was nothing but the disguised attempt of irresponsible elements to bring chaos and disintegration to the country. It may be of some interest to point out that the Communists and the Hindu communalists who opposed the creation of Pakistan were most vocal in championing the cause of provincial autonomy", (G.W.Choudhri, "The East Pakistan Political Scene, 1955-1957", Pacific Affairs, December 1957, p.319).


20. See Round Table, March, 1956.


22. Dawn September 16, 1954, also see Balochistan its Strategic Importance Syed Iqbal Ahmed Lt Col, op.cit, p.152.


26. Balochistan States Union Merger Agreement was signed on First January 1955. Appendix to Chapter IV. Appendix No.


33. Ibid p.220.
34. Ibid p. 221.
35. The proposed One Unit comprised 10 Divisions and 50 Districts Keesling's Contemporary Archives, January 1-5, 1950. Also see Wilcox, Op. Cit, p.188. Eventually there were 11 Divisions. Both Kalat and Khairpur were made divisional headquarters. Wilcox, Op. Cit, p.189.
38. On November 25, the NWFP Assembly unanimously supported it Shahi Jirga of Balochistan gave its popular verdict on November 29; Punjab Assembly supported majority vote on November 30; while Sindh Assembly endorsed it on December 11, 1954.
40. Balochistan States Union Merger Agreement was signed between Ghulam Muhammad Governor General of Pakistan and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, President of the Council of Rulers on First January 1955. It was also signed by the Rulers of Makran Khan; Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan of Las Bela, Mir Muhammad Habibullah of Kharan and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan as Ruler of Kalat. The first article of the agreement annulled all the previous agreements. See Appendix.
41. Balochistan States Union Merger Agreement, Article 11.
43. Ibid.
44. Qazi Muhammad Musa brother of Qazi Muhammad Isa, opposed the merger. See Dawn August 4, 1955.

45. The fear that the power could slip into the hands of more numerous Bengalis who were 54% of the total population of Pakistan. Punjabis were apprehensive that Bengalis could off set the balance at the Centre by allying smaller provinces of West Pakistan.


47. Ibid.


49. Inam-ur-Rehman, Op. Cit, p.86. also see Dawn October 14, 1955. Their political boundaries were obliterated from the map to form one solid bloc of West Pakistan. With the emergence of One Unit the political history of the former provinces was also buried for a decade.

50. Balochistan was integrated as one of the 11 Divisions of One Unit and was centrally administered from the distant provincial headquarters located at Lahore, Punjab. This caused unnecessary inconvenience to poor people of other provinces particularly of the remote Balochistan to visit in official connection the provincial secretariat, judiciary or any other provincial departments at Lahore. On the other hand the bureaucracy seated at Lahore had little knowledge about the peculiar problems of distant Balochistan.

51. The Pakistan Times, April 26, 1955.

52. The First Constitution of Pakistan was made after eight and half years of Independence. Under the new constitution of Pakistan on March 5, 1956, Major General Iskandar Mirza was installed as the First President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

53. See the First Constitution of Pakistan, Federation and the Provinces, Part VI, Chapter I paragraphs 106 through 110.


58. An Honorary Major General, Iskandar Mirza was a graduate from British Military Academy Sandhurst. He had served in the British Indian army as a regular officer upto the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Later, as a member of the British Political Service Lt. Colonel Iskandar Mirza acted as Political Agent, Khyber and Deputy Commissioner Peshawar. In Pakistan he was made Secretary of the Ministry of Defence and later Governor of East Pakistan, as well as, Minister of Interior States and Frontier Regions. In 1955 he replaced Mr. Ghulam Muhammad as Governor General. In 1956, under the new constitution, he became the first President of Pakistan. In 1958 he was deposed by General Ayub Khan and went to England to live in exile. Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development (Karachi: Dawson Westview, 1980), p.162 also see Pakistan Observer (Dacca) November 14, 1969.


60. It may be noted that on the morning of September 20, 1958, the Speaker had sent a telegram to the President stating that he had been threatened with personal violence and that on previous evening one of his relations was assaulted. Feldman, Op.Cit., p.29. also see Iramid Yusuf, Pakistan in Search of Democracy: 1947-77 (Lahore: Afrasia Publication, 1980), p.52, also see Ziring, Op.Cit., p.162.

61. According to Selig Harrison "the Central government charged that Abdul Karim and an uncle of the Khan had been secretly negotiating with Afghanistan for support of full-scale Baloch rebellion and had assembled a force of 80,000 tribesmen. However, the only evidence put forward to substantiate these charges was the fact that the Khan's Afghan wife had gone to Kabul for a holiday". Selig Harrison, Op.Cit., pp.27-28. Morning News, October 4, 1958. Also see Ziring, Op.Cit., p.162. The Khan's wife, the niece of Begum Syed Jamal Uddin Afghani and relation of the royal family of Afghanistan had visited Kabul. As regards Sultan Ibrahim it is not known whether he went on his own or was directed by the Khan.

64. Ziring, Op.Cit., p.162. also see Outlook, Ibid.
73. Ibid.
76. Morning News, October 9, 1958.
77. He was later placed under house arrest in Hazara district, north-west of Rawalpindi-Islamabad. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Oct. 25-Nov. 1, 1958, p.16461. also see Morning News, October 9, 1958.
80. It was reported that the armoury contained thousands of rifles, other arms of various types and stores of ammunition. Keesing's Contemporary Archives., Oct. 25-Nov. 1, 1958, p.16461.
81. Ibid.


87. The tampering with Jirga System and merger of BSU and Balochistan Commissioner's Province into One Unit created disaffection among the Baloch who demanded provincial status for Balochistan. The Jirga members and other "Motabirs", or "notables" who had initially remained aloof from politics, later supported the activists of "Anjuman-e-Tahaffuz-o-Haqq Muki Bashindgan", Balochistan. Prince Abdul Karim after his release from the prison organised "Ustaman Gall" Party and started an intensive campaign for restoration of Kalat State. Many of those who could not join Karim's party supported Majlis-e-Tahaffuz-o-Haqq-e-Qabail, Kalat of the Khan-e-Azam. At the same time, "Wror Pashtun", started its own campaign for the establishment of Pushtoonistan. Later these two parties, "Wror" and "Gul" merged to form an adjunct of NAP, to secure political support at all Pakistan level. they stepped up the campaign for the demerger of Balochistan from One Unit and restoration of Kalat State, under the patronage of Khan-e-Azam.


89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Selig Harrison says that Naoroj had hastily assembled about 750 to 1000 men, Selig Harrison, Op.Cit., p.28. While Karl Von Vorys gives the unbelievable number of 30,000. Vorys, Op.Cit., p.145. This is an exaggerated number beyond any imagination. It is not possible to collect the tribes from the remote areas of Balochistan where communications are poor. The tribes had no means to communicate except through a horse rider messenger and had no arrangements to move the lashkar except on animals like donkey camels and horses. Modern transport was inconceivable. According to government source the number was not more than 590. The total population of the Zehri
tribe in Jhalawan in 1951 was 3875. While the total population of Zehri in Balochistan was 39,100. How can 30,000 can be mobilised? Census Report 1951. The population in 1958 could be judged from these figures, also see Syed Iqbal Ahmed, Lt Col. Balochistan its Strategic Important, Op.Cit, p.190.

92. He delivered an ultimatum to District Commissioner Kalat and made three demands as given in the main text. Vorys, Op.Cit.,p.145.


94. It was a regular battle between the Army and Naoroz Khan’s Lashkar. Ibid.

95. The operation lasted for about six months. Ibid.

96. He was arrested on May 15, 1959. Ibid.

97. Ibid.


104. The top four leaders of the NAP were: Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, the President, from East Pakistan, Khan Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai from Balochistan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from NWFP and G.M. Syed from Sindh. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Oct. 25-Nov. 1, 1958, p.16459.


106. Some time Pukhtoonistan has been described as a state stretching from "Jhelum to the Oxus" or "Margalla Hills to Oxus" or NWFP was renamed as Pukhtoonistan and some
times NWFP and Balochistan formed Pukhtoonistan. See the Pakistan Times, October 20, 1974.

107. Achakzai had aimed at creating a separate province of the Pushto speaking people. It was based on linguistic to be known as Pushtoonistan. According to Ghaffar Khan and his son Wali Khan the Pukhtoonistan would include the tribal areas on the Pakistan side of the Durand Line, Mianwali district, the Chhachh area of Campbellpur District and the whole of NWFP. See Aziz, Op.Cit., p.137. also see Keesing Contemporary Archives, Oct. 25-Nov.1, 1958, p.16459.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. The NAP President was Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, a Pro-Peking left winger had lately visited the Peoples Republic of China, the Soviet Union and its client state the united Arab Republic of Syria and Egypt of President Nasir. See Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, Oct. 25-Nov. 1, 1958, p.16457. Bhashani was not a Maulana in its truest sense. this title is usually conferred to religious scholars in the polity of Muslim India. He had no formal education. He was called Maulana by his followers out of sheer respect and to elevate him socially. Politically, he was a peasant leader from East Pakistan now Bangladesh and had large following for his socialist ideas and political programme.

111. Ibid.


113. The Soviet Union has always great interest in its southern flank formed by Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. She has been constantly trying to make inroads in these states, particularly in Afghanistan with an eye on Balochistan. See also Syed Iqbal Ahmed, Lt Col. Balochistan its Strategic Important, Op.Cit, p.
115. Ibid., p.16459.
118. Kessings contemporary drives p.15710.
119. Ibid., pp.15710-15711.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., September 15-22, 1958, p.16378.
122. Lawrence Lifschultz, "From U-Z to the P-3, the US-Pakistan Strategic Relationship" The Muslim, October 30, 1986.
124. The Suez Canal crisis and Arab Israel War-1956, gave rise to "Eisenhower Doctrine" signed on January 5, 1957. It pledged US support for the independence and integrity of the Middle Eastern States as a vital American interest. American armed support was promised to resist armed aggression "from any country controlled by international communism". J.A.S. Grenville, The Major International Treaties 1914-1973 (London: Methuen and Co. ltd., 1974), p.317. On July 25, 1969, President Nixon enunciated 'Nixon Doctrine' in a press conference in Guam. It said that countries threatened by communist aggression must take the primary responsibility for their own defence. This does not mean that US forces have no military role' what it does mean is that threatened countries have to be willing to bear the primary burden of supplying the manpower. Richard Nixon, The Real War (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978), pp-394-395.
125. National Assembly of Pakistan (Foreign Policy), Debates, March 1958.


128. Tyuratam is a rocket launching site. From here Sputnik-1 was launched on October 4, 1957. NATO's Sixteen Nations, November, 1984, p. 42.


131. On February 6, 1958, the Pakistan Cabinet signed the agreement. The implementation was delayed until October, the military government came into power. Razvi, Op. Cit., p. 207. It was completed in a record time. See Pakistan Survey Department Note on Boundary Demarcation, March 11, 1969, Office of the Survey-General of Pakistan.


134. Baghdad Pact, a Western-sponsored mutual defence treaty was signed on February 24, 1955 between Iraq and Turkey. The same year Iran, Pakistan and Britain also joined it. Cole, Op. Cit., pp. 119-121. Also see Dwight D. Eisenhower, The White House Years, 1956-61 (London: Heinemann, 1965), pp. 26 and n. 5.

135. On July 14, 1958, the day Iraqi revolution broke out, a meeting of the Heads of States of Muslim members of the Baghdad Pact was scheduled to be held. King Faisal II, who was to attend, was assassinated in the small hours of that morning. Iskandar Mirza of Pakistan, Muhammad Reza Pahlevi of Iran and President Bayar of Turkey had assembled at the Istanbul airport to receive the King of Iraq. They did not know that a revolution was in progress and the King was killed. Anyhow they held the meeting from July 14-17 without the King. See Keesing's Contemporary Archives, August 9-16, 1958. p. 16340.

137. The Baghdad Pact headquarter was shifted from Baghdad to Ankara on October 17, 1958 and later renamed as Central Treaty Organisation, CENTO. See The Dawn, October 25, 1958.

138. The two secessionist leaders Juma Khan, from Pakistan and Mir Abdi Khan Sardarzai from Iran worked for Azad Balochistan Movement, ABM. Juma Khan a resident of Turbat and a graduate from Karachi University, was a former employee of Radio Pakistan Karachi. He had started his career in Radio as senior Balochi translator. In November 1958 he went to Iran. He absconded to Iraq in 1960 and assumed the role of a mentor for Baloch nationalists residing in Pakistan. Perhaps he had the tacit support of the Syrian Government. In 1961 he shifted to Dubai. There he became a theater manager and set up under-ground ABM. He established links with the exiled Iranian Baloch leaders like Mir Abdi Khan Sardarzai. In 1964, Juma visited Russia. He re-visited India in 1965. The Egyptian Government also supported the ABM. Their support was perhaps under the Soviet Unions influence. As regards India, it was based on old long drawn out hostility between Pakistan and India. The rationale of Iraqi’s interest in ABM primarily was to incite the Iranian Baloch and foment trouble in Seistan Iran to off-set Kurdish trouble on her north-eastern border. But the Baloch in Pakistan were more active than their peers in Iran. It was but natural that Iraqi interest grew equally well in Pakistani Balochistan. Selig Harrison, Op.Cit., pp.105-108.


140. On July 25, 1958 the Pakistan Government promulgated Preventive Detention Ordinance in Balochistan and other provinces to deal with dangerous situation which was developed following the coup in the principal Baghdad Pact country Iraq. Ibid., Oct. 25-Nov. 1, 1958, p.16460.

141. Nixon, ‘The Real War’, Op.Cit.,p.90, Soviets were active the World over, that included Venezuela in South America; Burma, in South-East Asia; Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Rumania, East Germany, Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia
and Latvia in Europe. Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen in the Middle East, Afghanistan and Pakistan in South Asia.

142. On 24 July 1954 the Communist Party was banned in Balochistan and in other provinces of Pakistan. After the ban most of the communist moved to Karachi and started their underground activities. Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, August 21-28, 1954, p.13748.

143. Ibid., August 10-17, 1957, p.15708.

144. In 1973 Lt. Gen. Muhammad Daoud came to power by ousting King Zahir Shah with the assistance of young officers of the armed forces. Five years later on April 28, 1978 he was killed in the coup brought about by Noor Muhammad Tarakai.


146. In 1955 Sultan Ibrahim had absconded to Afghanistan and returned to Pakistan in 1958. He was tried under the law and booked for three years. The Khan had sent him with documents to Afghanistan with the treaties and sanads given to him and his predecessors by the British Government, but he was given a rebuff by Afghanistan. The Morning News, October 4, 1958 also see Selig Harrison Op.Cit., pp.27-28.

147. In December 1960, Sultan Ibrahim, his son Abdul Zahir and Muhammad Hanif, a Baloch radio announcer from Radio Pakistan Quetta absconded to Afghanistan. They met with a jeep accident near Kandahar. Sultan was killed, the other two, his son and radio announcer were injured. On their return to Pakistan they were tried under Martial Law and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The accompanying of radio announcer to Kandahar suggests that Sultan Ibrahim presumably wanted to set up an Azad Baloch Radio Station in Afghanistan. According to Selig Harrison the Government of Pakistan had charged Prince Karim and Sultan Ibrahim with secret negotiations with Afghanistan who had assembled a force of 80,000 tribesmen for full scale rebellion. Selig Harrison Op.Cit., pp.27-28, also see Ahmed Yar Op.Cit., p.180. It is true that they contacted the Afghan Government but the figure of 80,000 rebels is incorrect. there is no
such record available. Secondly, it was not possible for Baloch to assemble such a large force with primitive communication and transportation of animals like horses, camels and donkeys for transportation. They did not have the means to arrange for food and fodder for such a large force. Thirdly the thin Balochi population is not capable of mustering such a large body of able men to fight unless they include the old men and children from remote Baloch areas.

148. On November 6, 1962, the Khan was released. He returned to Kalat which was then a district of One Unit. See Wilcox, Op.Cit., p.207 and Ziring, Op.Cit., p.163.


150. Ibid.

151. Sher Muhammad was once dubbed by Bhutto as 'General Sherov'. He was then popularly known among his comrades as 'General Sherov'. He was born in 1917, in Marri-Bugti area. Sher Muhammad did not get any formal education but he is well versed in Baloch literature and cultural. He has written a number of articles in Balochi on literature and cultural themes. In 1962, he read a paper on Balochistan Language and literature in the Language Conference convened by Dr. Muhammad Baqir in Lahore. He is a linguist and fluent in English, Urdu, Balochi, Pashtu and Saraiki. In 1939, he started his political career with the organisation of Mazioom Party in Balochistan. Later in 1943, he joined the Anjuman-e-Watan, and became an associate of Bizenjo, Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri. In 1954 he founded Dema Rawok Olus that is Progressive People's Party. In 1955, on the formation of One Unit he worked against it. He used to claim that he had raised the guerrilla force to liberate parts of Balochistan. The Pakistan Times described him "a believer in violent revolution through armed struggle". He is a socialist. In the sixties he received active help from communist countries particularly those in East Europe. See Outlook, Vol.I. No.49. March 10, 1973. p.5 also see Selig Harrison, Op.Cit., pp.29. and Pakistan Times, February 28, 1973. See Syed Iqbal Ahmed, Lt Col. Balochistan its Strategic Important, Op.Cit, p.196-197.


153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.
155. Ibid.
156. Ibid.
158. Ibid.
159. Sher Muhammad says that he and his comrades had learnt the tactics from the guerrilla struggles of Mao Tse Tung of China, Ernesto Che Guevara of Cuba, Ho Chi Minh Land Vo Nguyen Giap of Vietnam, and from the Algerian struggle. But they tried to evolve a Baloch synthesis perhaps something like Algerians who were not communist but they used their terrorising tactics successfully from the experiences of Viet Nam in Indo-China. See Selig Harrison, Op.Cit., p.30 also see Alastair Buchan, Problems of Modern Strategy (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), pp.200 and 205.
161. The word 'Ferrari' means a person who revolts against the law of the land. In other words a person or group of persons with grievances which could not be resolved through discussion and he or they revolt against the law in force. Ferraris are held in esteem among the Baloch and their deeds become the subject of folk lores. They are endearing as chivalrous.
164. Ibid.
CHAPTER VII

RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT THROUGH FORCE 1972-1977

On the 20th of December 1971, in less than three hours of setting foot on the soil of Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had himself sworn in as the President of Pakistan. As he came out of the President's house, after the swearing-in ceremony, he was wearing three hats simultaneously; one of the Chief Martial Law Administrator, one of the President and another one of the Head of the armed forces of Pakistan, a combination more formidable than that which had fallen to the lot of Iskandar Mirza, more than a decade earlier. Bhutto must have been in a hurry, as a Cabinet was sworn in four days later.

From the way things were taking shape, and if it was true that history had, in fact, taken its irreversible step to cut down Pakistan, in defeat, to half its original size, then it was the prerogative of the majority party in the Legislature of what was left of Pakistan to form its Government, both at the Centre as well as in the two provinces where it was in a clear majority. That would leave the remaining two provinces, i.e NWFP and Balochistan.

Let us have another look at the election results. In the NWFP, the strongest party was Wali Khan's NAP, with 13 seats in a House of 40, followed closely by Qayum Khan's Muslim League with ten seats. Then came Mufti Mahmud's JUI with four. As none held an absolute majority, there would have to be a Coalition government. From time immoral, Wali Khan and Qayum Khan had been inveterate political enemies and the question of their coming together just did not arise. As luck would have it, just at the same time, Bhutto considered Wali Khan as his most dangerous political enemy and worthy to be "fixed up" at the earliest opportunity. The trump card, therefore, passed on to Mufti Mahmud. He could go into a profitable coalition either with Wali Khan or with Qayum Khan. In Balochistan, the situation was similar.
Bhutto appointed his own party men as governors in the Punjab and Sind, Ghulam Mustafa Khar taking over in the Punjab on the 23rd December and Mumtaz Bhutto taking over in Sind on the 24th. Hayat Mohd Sherpao, another partyman, took over in the NWFP on the 25th. But in Balochistan, Ghous Bakhsh Raisani, who had been returned on an independent ticket, was appointed Governor on the 29th. the triumvirate, Bizenjo, Mengal and Marri, raised a storm. If men from the party in majority were selected from the Punjab and from Sind, why was a departure being made in the case of Balochistan and the NWFP? The appointment, they claimed, should be made at least in consultation with them. But the most vociferous of them, Akbar Bugti, was not even a member of the NAP, nor an MNA. He arranged a violent demonstration in Quetta which created quite a sensation. Not content with this, he sent word to Mengal and Marri to raid Government House to prevent the swearing-in ceremony of Raisani from taking place. Luckily, better councils prevailed and the plan was allowed to fizzle out. But Bugti built up his first grievance against the triumvirate.

In the meantime, much political wrangling went on underground to give some shape to a Coalition. The new Governor would have liked to keep Mengal out of the Chief Ministership and, therefore, some quiet campaigning went on with the Independents. Soon, in February, 1972, an election to one women's seat in the Provincial Assembly was to take place. The NAP selected Miss Fazila Alliani and the Opposition Miss Waliya Begum, a daughter of the veteran Abdus Samad Achakzai. Bugti already had two Independent votes, in Ahmad Nawaz, his brother, and in Mir Chakar Dombki, his son-in-law. He now wanted the women's seat also and, therefore, desired that the NAP should withdraw their support from their own nominee and transfer it to his. The NAP refused to oblige. So, Bugti ordered his brother and son-in-law out of Quetta so that they could not take part in the voting. Another voter of the NAP, Shams ud Din, was already out of the country, the voting strength thereby came to be equally balanced. The NAP, however, won through pure good luck by one solitary vote. Bugti built this up as one more grievance against the NAP, whom, he claimed, he had helped so much in the elections.

The NAP was by now pushing its claims and the time was ripe for some decision about calling the Legislatures and about who would form the Provincial governments, particularly in
the NWFP and in Balochistan. the one man who was doing the necessary running about was Bizenjo. so, on the 6th of March, 1972, a meeting between Bhutto and his aides, Wali Khan and his aides and Mufti Mahmud was called in Rawalpindi and a twelve-point accord\textsuperscript{25} was drawn up. The important provisions were the calling of a brief session of the National Assembly, the passing of an Interim Constitution,\textsuperscript{16} a vote of confidence in the Government, the acceptance of the NAP-JUI Coalition in the NWFP and in Balochistan as the majority party, the convening of the Provincial Assemblies and the appointment of Provincial Governors by the Central Government in consultation with the provinces.\textsuperscript{37} This was an important break-through; it also carried the germ of all the future trouble in Balochistan.\textsuperscript{28}

In March, Bhutto went, with a big entourage, on a State Visit to Russia. One of the persons in the entourage was Akbar Bugti,\textsuperscript{29} who did not return with the party but went on to London, visiting other countries and returning to Pakistan many months later. By the end of April, Bhutto was ready to concede the two provincial Governments and the two posts of Governors to the NAP-JUI and the two selected were Arbab Sikandar for the NWFP and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo for Balochistan. Bizenjo took over on the 29th April, and two days later Atta Ullah Mengal was sworn in as the provincial Chief Minister.\textsuperscript{30} Mufti Mahmud took over as the Chief Minister in the NWFP. Both Governors were made to give certain written undertakings, as though they were being mistrusted from the very beginning.\textsuperscript{31}

Akbar Bugti was nursing his two grievances when he went to Moscow. What he heard there must have given him further food for thought.\textsuperscript{32}

Akbar Bugti left the Pakistani delegation at Moscow and went to London, Baghdad and Afghanistan. In the last two places, he reportedly met people who were talking of the Baloch as a separate nation. In May, he was in Milan, where his son joined him. In the meantime, his brother, Ahmad Nawaz, had accepted a Ministership\textsuperscript{33} in the Balochistan provincial Government\textsuperscript{34} and had formally joined the NAP without getting his elder brother’s consent. Saleem, the son, was sent back to ask Ahmad Nawaz to resign at once. But Ahmad Nawaz refused. And Akbar Bugti built up his third grievance against the NAP.
The new NAP Government was not doing well. It was time to do something out of the ordinary to rehabilitate its prestige and a whipping boy was found in the form of the outsiders in Government employ, people who themselves, or their forefathers before them, had come to Balochistan from other provinces, particularly the Punjabi, in search of petty jobs for which local qualified talent was not readily available. Equipped with some education and some expertise, they were carrying the burdens of petty officialdom in the province. It was decided to transfer them out of the province. With the locals, it was a popular move as it would open up new avenues of employment for them.

At this stage, quite unexpectedly, the NAP leadership was hit from another quarter - London, of all places in the world. Akbar Bugti was still there.

A meeting between Sh. Mujib ur Rahman and Akbar Bugti, Mahmud Haroon, Qazi Faiz Muhammad, Hamid Sarfaraz and Yusuf Haroon, later, another meeting between Sh. Mujib ur Rahman and Malik Ghulam Jilani, took place in Geneva.

In August, 1972, Sh. Mujib ur Rahman had gone to London, reportedly for medical treatment. A number of Opposition leaders from Pakistan also happened to be there at the same time. Akbar Bugti, as already mentioned, went to London, and other countries, after he left the Presidential Party at Moscow. Malik Ghulam Jilani had gone there on the 26th July for medical treatment. He was a frequent visitor to London anyway. Qazi Faiz Muhammad, an Awami Leaguer from Hyderabad, went there on the 6th August for about a week. Wali Khan, who had, in the first instance, gone to Kabul on the 24th August to see his father, went over to London a week later for medical treatment of his eyes. He had been doing this for years. Nabi Bakhsh Zehri, a prominent member of Qayum Khan’s Muslim League from Balochistan, went there on the 25th August and returned on the 7th September. Ata Ullah Mengal went there for a medical check-up and Ahmad Nawaz Bugti accompanied him. Hamid Sarfaraz, an old Awami Leaguer, had already been in London for more than a year. Only some of the above were reported to have met Sh. Mujib ur Rahman.
It was in the beginning of September that the National Press Trust newspapers and Government-controlled media reported a conspiracy in London which was given the name of "The London Plan". The allegation was that the Opposition leaders had collected in London specially to have consultations first between themselves and then with Sh. Mujib ur Rahman, in order to plan the disintegration of Pakistan by splitting it up into several autonomous states. The Government suggested that this was treason against Pakistan, although there was no concrete proof, yet the fact was that all important Opposition leaders representing all the provinces of Pakistan were in London.

On the 12th September 1972, The Guardian of London carried a Karachi despatch which stated that Bhutto had summoned Bizenjo to Rawalpindi for talks on this conspiracy. Bizenjo denied the charges of conspiracy and stated that it was all a pack of lies and the creation of a frustrated mind.

It is clear that the "London Plan" had been concocted merely to provide an excuse for maligning the Opposition, particularly in the NWFP and in Balochistan, and to pave the way for the break-up of the ministries in these two provinces. When Sh. Mujib ur Rahman was contacted by The Times of London, before flying back to Bangladesh, he stated the news was absolutely baseless. An adjournment motion was tabled by Sher Baz Mazarai, an independent MNA, in the National Assembly on the campaign launched by the Government-controlled media against the Opposition regarding the London Plan and the Minister of Information Kausar Niazi, promised cancellation of all such programmes. Speaking at the annual dinner of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry on 15th September, Bhutto said that he:

"did not know of any London Plan nor did he give importance to the assembling of certain individuals in London".

Two powerful politicians of Balochistan are the Zehri brothers, Qadir Bakhsh and Nabi Bakhsh, both old Muslim Leaguers and now in the Qayum faction of the League. Nabi Bakhsh is closely related to Akbar Bugti by marriage. A close associate of the Zehri brothers was the late Doda Khan Zarakzai, an influential Sardar. All three belonged to the Opposition. the Zehri
brothers have vast mining interests in Balochistan.\^{18} Under the new NAP Government their interests came under a threat. Because of this and also because of opposition politics, Doda Khan now set up a parallel administration in his tribal area in Jhalawan.\^{49} He started levying taxes, issuing warrants of arrest and deciding cases.

One day, there was some trouble and the Government revenue official tried to assert his authority through the Major commanding the Militia.\^{50} The Major, however, refused to oblige, which meant, in plainer language, that officials of the Central government were reluctant to come to the aid of official of the Provincial government.\^{51}

Governor Bizenjo had declared publicly on\^{52} that all Punjabi government servants would be returned to their own province by December and that it would not create any vacuum. However, factually, a vacuum\^{53} had already been created. 1,300 policemen of the Balochistan Police Reserve had already gone out of action as they were waiting to go back and were no longer functional. So, the real Government was finding it difficult to deal with Doda Khan's government and the Central government was not coming to the rescue. Achakzai\^{54} was openly saying that they were being backed by the Central government, by which he meant the Federal Ministry of the Interior, which was now under Abdul Qayum Khan.\^{55}

In early December, Akbar Bugti returned from London and went straight to Rawalpindi to see Bhutto. One of the first utterances of Bugti was that Governor Bizenjo was smuggling arms into Balochistan.\^{56}

Just at the time when the NAP Government needed all the goodwill in the world, in order to consolidate their position in the province, it was overtaken by yet another calamity. There were widespread disturbances in the Pat Feeder area.\^{57}

But on the 28th November, 1972,\^{58} a few armed local Baloch and Marri tribesmen attacked the Punjabi settlers in the Temple Dera area of Pat Feeder, killing five persons and wounding many more. They also removed cattle and standing crops and kidnapped some
women. In less than a week many more villages had been ransacked and the settlers evacuated in mass. These particular Punjabi settlers had purchased 7,000 acres of irrigated land from a local Baloch landholder in 1961 and had spent much labour and money in developing it. After the disturbances, they left for the Punjab and took delegations to various authorities. The settlement of title to land in the area had already become such a complicated affair.

The Federal Government, seeing its policy being thwarted here, took serious notice of the incidents and issued orders to the provincial Government to set things right at once. Khair Bakhsh Marri was sent there by the Provincial Government to clear the area and simultaneously the Federal Government sent some Civil Armed Forces on its own behalf. The NAP Government naturally felt slighted over this interference by the Federal Government in a matter which lay entirely in the domain of the Provincial Government. Resentment was adding up; confrontation looked inevitable.

December was a lean month for the provincial Government. The 1500-odd policemen who were earmarked for return to the Punjab were getting restive and were actively agitating. Chief Minister Mengal was advised to address them in a meeting in the middle of December to give them assurance that if they did not go back to their province, they would be looked after in Balochistan, as hitherto, but he was badly heckled and came out somewhat shaken. The Sibi police had also rioted.

The writing on the wall was clear. Amongst the politicians who were running the province at the time, the only man of experience was Bizenjo. He saw the noose tightening round the neck of the NAP and tried to escape it by various diplomatic means. The province was now getting denuded of trained personnel. A large number of policemen were leaving. Clerks in the Secretariat, typists, hospital staff, revenue officials and schoolmasters were all packing their bags. Politicians in the Opposition, such as Doda Khan, were a thorn in the side of the Administration. there was active connivance from Qayum Khan. Akbar Bugti had returned after a long sojourn abroad, including fraternizing visits to Iraq and Afghanistan; still carrying
his grievances against the NAP.\textsuperscript{66} 1973 was going to be an uneasy new year for the National Awami Party of Pakistan \textsuperscript{67}

Akbar Bugti returned from London on the 10th December 1972 to an enthusiastic reception\textsuperscript{68} and at once launched himself into a tirade against the NAP Government through press conferences, friends and sympathisers. He described Bizenjo as "a self-seeker and a conspirator".\textsuperscript{69} He said his first condition for a rapprochement with the Government was that his brother, Ahmad Nawaz, should resign from the Ministership and the NAP. Ahmad Nawaz, however, held fast.\textsuperscript{70}

Besides criticising the NAP as a whole, he specifically laid a charge against Bizenjo that he was smuggling large quantities of firearms into the province on behalf of the Russians. When asked to explain what he meant by the words "Greater Balochistan",\textsuperscript{71} he explained he only wanted the inclusion of the Baloch areas of the Punjab\textsuperscript{72} into Balochistan.\textsuperscript{73} That would, of course, be nothing more than the solitary district of Dera Ghazi Khan. He claimed that the Russians did not give more than a few years to Pakistan. They would then get Afghanistan, Balochistan and the NWFP into one Afghan Soviet Socialist Republic.\textsuperscript{74} He claimed he had gone over to Kabul to warn the people but found strong sympathy there for the Russian point of view. But before Russia made an advance, the shah of Iran would like to integrate Pakistani Balochistan\textsuperscript{75} with his own land and he would be helped in that by the USA.\textsuperscript{76} There was no ambiguity about what Bugti was trying to convey to his friends. His main target was Bizenjo,\textsuperscript{77} whom he repeatedly charged with receiving foreign aid. Bizenjo made some half-hearted attempts to ward off these attacks and once or twice Mengal also claimed that Bugti was playing this game for the benefit of Bhutto.\textsuperscript{78}

In the middle of this, disturbances started on a big scale in Las Bela\textsuperscript{79} and Bugti went to meet Bhutto at Lahore.\textsuperscript{80} On return, he undertook an extensive "meet-the-people"\textsuperscript{81} tour of Sibi and Kachhi,\textsuperscript{82} ending up at Jacobabad. Besides repeating, more or less, what he had been saying so far, he also admitted the existence of the "London Plan". In addition, he said, for the first time, that since 1963 there had existed in Balochistan an organisation called "The Baloch Tanzeem".\textsuperscript{83} This was a secret organisation under Mengal and Bizenjo which was working for
Greater Balochistan and he, Akbar Bugti, knew all its secrets because he had been working as its Treasurer.\(^4\)

On 11th of February, 1973,\(^5\) carried a statement from the Government of Pakistan to the effect that a party of Government officials,\(^6\) accompanied by a Director General of the Foreign Office,\(^7\) had entered the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad and discovered a large consignment of Russian arms and ammunition.\(^8\) Later, more consignments were recovered from the airport. All crates bore markings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Baghdad, declaring the contents as "diplomatic". The consignments contained more than three hundred sub-machine guns and a thousand hand-grenades with thousands of rounds of ammunition. Responsibility was fixed on an attache of the Embassy by the name of Nasir al Saoodi who had already left the country on the 1st of February.\(^9\)

On February 10, a large quantity of arms and ammunition was recovered from the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad.\(^10\) They, were of Soviet origin. The cache included .303 sub-machine guns with 921 magazines and ammunition of different weapons. There were 26,000 rounds of 7.62 mm, 10,000 rounds of .303 ammunition and 30,000 rounds of ammunition loaded in 7.62 mm filled magazines.\(^11\) In addition it had 40 incendiary hand-grenades, wireless sets and other guerrilla equipment.\(^12\)

This armament was not brought into Pakistan in one consignment only but in many, over a period of time, and was flown into Karachi in Iraqi Airways aircraft from where under the supervision of Saoodi, it was flown by PIA to Islamabad and taken to the Chancery.\(^13\)

Saoodi’s contact in Karachi was Midhat Muaffiq, an Iraqi student known to be living beyond his means and in a separate residence keeping an Iraqi girl whom he claimed to be his wife. Muaffiq was the President of the Iraqi Students' Union and distributed subversive literature in Arabic directed predominantly against Iran, among the Arab student community. One of the few Pakistan friends Muaffiq had made was Zafar Zehri,\(^14\) a son of Nabi Bakhsh Zehri. Another companion of Muaffiq was an Iranian student by the name of Faramurz Abbasi. Faramurz acquired an Iraqi passport in the name of Abid Ali Qasim and he and Muaffiq came
together to Islamabad on the 28th January to meet Saoodi and returned to Karachi the next day with him. Two days later Saoodi left for Beirut and is reported to have been executed in Iraq in July. Six days after Saoodi’s departure from Karachi, both Muaffiq and Faramurz also left for Beirut, Muaffiq leaving his Iraqi wife and two small daughters behind whom he never came back to claim. The Ambassador was declared persona non-greta and left Islamabad two days after the recovery of the arms.\textsuperscript{95}

The media built up the story that the Russian arms were meant for the NAP, who were going to stage an insurrection in the country. However, there was not an iota of evidence to prove this and the allegation never went beyond the stage of mere speculation.\textsuperscript{96} It was reported that a truckload of Russian arms had been captured by the Iranian authorities in Zahidan and it was to discourage this traffic that the Shah of Iran paid a visit to Pakistan in January.\textsuperscript{97} The other theory, therefore, was that these arms were supposed to go to Iranian Balochistan,\textsuperscript{98} either to be used against the Shah or in support of a “Greater Balochistan Movement”.\textsuperscript{99} No matter how much the then Government of Pakistan tried to attach this to the NAP as a subversive movement,\textsuperscript{100} it never stuck.\textsuperscript{101}

Another possibility is that the arms were meant not for the Iranian Baloch but for the Pakistani Baloch, working not against the Government but for the Government. Under the benevolent eye of no less a person than the Minister of the Interior himself, Abdul Qayum Khan, and his banditry, the Federal Security Force,\textsuperscript{102} Doda Khan Zarakzai had already revolted against the provincial Government. He had set up a token parallel Government,\textsuperscript{103} at least in the more inaccessible hilly areas of Balochistan,\textsuperscript{104} and equipped it with sophisticated weapons. Doda Khan was a friend of Nabi Bakhsh Zehri, whose own son was in touch with the trained Iraqi agent mentioned above.\textsuperscript{105}

Of course, diplomats of a foreign Government would not involve themselves in an operation of this magnitude without their Government having a direct interest. Iraq, at this time, might be interested against Iran. After all did not SAVAK,\textsuperscript{106} the security service of Iran, encourage and abet insurgency amongst the Kurds against Iraq?\textsuperscript{107} Why should not Iraq then do
exactly the same among the Irani Baloch? Iraq would look upon the Iranian Baloch as natural allies. Juma Baloch, the well-known Pakistan protagonist of the Greater Balochistan Movement, had taken refuge in Baghdad in 1969 and was being subsidised by the Iraqi Government. This was at a time when Iraq had close ties with the Soviet Union and it was Soviet military equipment which Iraq started giving to the Irani Baloch.

At about this time, a very remarkable Iranian comes to mind. This was General Teymour Bakhtiar Bakhtiari. He was a son of a leading nobleman of the Bakhtiari tribe and a cousin of Queen Sorayya and was educated in the best French schools and later in their military academy, Saint Cyr. He rose quickly in his military career and with his tanks played a prominent role in putting down Mossadegh’s mobs. This was the time when the Shah decided to create his Security and Information Organisation, SAVAK or Sazman-e-ittelat wa Amniyatt-e-Kishwar. The Shah chose Bakhtiar to head it. Guided and advised both by the CIA as well as by the SHIN BET, the legendary Israeli Service, SAVAK soon built for itself an unenviable reputation for cold-blooded ruthlessness. Bakhtiar’s ambition was soon outpacing him and he managed to get his hand into the fabulous riches of the Pahlavi Foundation, which was known to be the preserve of the Royal Family only. He built himself a multi-million dollar mansion on the road to Shimran, the summer suburbs of Tehran.

This was the time when the Shah decided to look into the affairs of those of his officials with “too many millions in Swiss bank accounts”. He sent for Bakhtiar and sacked him. It was timely because Bakhtiar was, by now, well on the way to the fabulous Peacock Throne. But Bakhtiar was not the type who die easily. He merely went across to his villa in Switzerland to lay his plans. The first one misfired in 1967. It was a simple one. The shah was on a visit to West Berlin when a dissident Iranian student tried to blow him up with a radio-controlled car filled with high explosives. This was the time when I happened to meet Bakhtiar at the Geneva airport and he took me to dinner. I knew him well enough as also his French-speaking, pipesmoking, piano-playing successor, General Hassan Pakarwan who was amongst the first victims of the Iranian Revolution. Bakhtiar was handsome man and carried himself regally, even in adversity. Our meeting was as brief as the dinner lasted but he did mention the inevitability of
fate. Bakhtiar must have thought he should now move nearer to Iran; the Shah had, in the meantime, confiscated all his wealth in Iran and sentenced him to death in absentia. When Bakhtiar reached Beirut, he heard about some extradition proceedings against him. Having full faith in his powerful connections, he thought it expedient to go into gaol temporarily till the extradition proceedings wore themselves out. So he got into a car and ran over the nearest policeman he saw on duty. Gaol brought him temporary respite, then he moved into Baghdad.

With his vast knowledge of the Kurds and Irani Balochistan, Bakhtiar started organising insurgency there with Iraqi money and Russian arms. then SAVAK and his own fate caught up with him. One day in August, 1970, on a flight which had just taken off from Tehran, two men got up from their seats and, brandishing pistols, forced the pilot to take the aircraft to Baghdad. Once there, they asked to be taken to General Teymour Bakhtiar Bakhtiar. the General recognised them as two old colleagues from SAVAK. A few days later the three decided to go out hunting together and of course the most well-fed bustards are near the Iranian border. There one of the hunters put a bullet through Bakhtiar's back and he died two days later. The two SAVAK hunters conveniently crossed over into Iran.

This was two and half years before Pakistani officials in Islamabad captured Russian sub-machine guns from the Iraqi Embassy and the Press put them into the debit account of The National Awami Party of Pakistan. In fact the path had been lit by Bakhtiar for the benefit of the Irani Baloch.

The NAP Ministry in Balochistan suffered from four inherent weaknesses. First, it did not possess a strong political base. Elections had been fought primarily on tribal loyalties and the programme was more emotional than socio-economic.112

Second, the leaders of the party lacked administrative experience and were unable to keep the younger elements under control. The administration was weak. It was further weakened by the administratively unwise and untimely decision to get rid of all outsiders in the services. The centre, of course, has the constitutional authority to intervene in Balochistan. Possible
political repercussions should point to the contrary. On its part, the provincial government should have the sense to realise that democracy does not mean the literal imposition of the will of the consensus. Even the opponents have a right to a place in the sun. But, probably feudal minds however steeped in political classic, cannot reach beyond the narrow circle of tribal and regional dynamics. This is the bane of the political leadership in Pakistan today.\textsuperscript{113}

Third, Bhutto was determined to get the NAP off his back, under any circumstances, because of Wali. An alternative group of politicians, particularly Qayum Khan's Muslim League, was straining at the leash to take its place.\textsuperscript{114}

Fourth, it had got on the wrong side of an erstwhile supporter, the Bugti Chief, perhaps quite unnecessarily. Nawab Bugti has chosen this moment to open his casket of secrets a little more. Now he levels the direct charge of secession. Not questioning his devotion to the country, the issue may still be raised if patriotism must necessarily be taken to be a one-sided spin of the coin? Must personal demands and tribal vanity be satisfied before the country can be saved? The fact of the matter is that Nawab Akbar Bugti himself, as well as the stalwarts of the NAP, have all taken more than a sip at the ideological sount of sub-nationalism and it is used as a lever of pressure against the national fabric of the body politic itself.\textsuperscript{115}

So from the very beginning the odds were against it but by the time it had been in power a few months, it was hit, unexpectedly, by adversity. By November, the Law and Order situation was warming up.\textsuperscript{116} The old Mengal outlaw, Ali Muhammad, had shifted his loyalties from his own tribal chief to Doda Khan Zarakzai.\textsuperscript{117} These armed gangs now threatened to disrupt the RCD Highway.\textsuperscript{118} Petty incidents went on piling up. In the Chaghi marble mines area, there was a minor clash between the men of Nabi Bakhsh Zehri and those of Gohar Khan Zarakzai,\textsuperscript{119} who was being groomed by Ata Ullah to rival the powerful Zehri brothers.\textsuperscript{120} In the middle of all this, as mentioned, the formidable Akbar Bugti himself returned from abroad.\textsuperscript{121} The storm was surely gathering. As already stated, the other claimant for the ministerial chair was Qayum Khan's Muslim League,\textsuperscript{122} whose local representatives were the Jam of Las Bela, Ghulam Qadir,\textsuperscript{123} and Nabi Bakhsh Zehri. Zehri could count on Akbar Bugti's help, being so closely
related to him. Qayum Khan himself, at this time, held the Law and Order portfolio at the Centre. If they all got together to generate some heat, it would be easy to carry it out. This is what happened.

About the end of January, 1973, the district authorities sent in reports of strikes in gaols and lock-ups and other minor incidents of defiance of authority. There was nothing very alarming about them but when reports came in of anti-NAP processions and meetings instigated by Jam Ghulam Qadir, Nabi Bakhsh Zhari and Doda Khan Zarakzai from Karachi, the Provincial Government issued orders of arrest against the Jam, his son, Muhammad Yusuf, and Aman Ullah Gichki. A clumsy attempt was made to arrest Nabi Bakhsh at Karachi but it was foiled and Nabi Bakhsh took out a writ against an attempt to kidnap him. Both the Jam and Doda successfully evaded arrest but Muhammad Yusuf and Aman Ullah openly proceeded towards Bela from Karachi and were arrested at the Hab Chauki. the whole thing had been engineered. It made news.

In dealing with what it claimed to be lawless acts, did not use the police and the normal law enforcing agencies against the Jamote tribesmen of Las Bela. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and the tribal chiefs allied to him called up their own private fighting forces armed with weapons taken from police and other official stores along with sophisticated weapons smuggled in from abroad reign of terror was instituted throughout Las Bela; many of the inhabitants who had voted against NAP in the elections fled to the hills, while the tribal lashkars occupied the plains, in order to starve the refugees into submission.

As a political leader, Mr. Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto's chief concern in Balochistan was to strengthen his political Party, the PPP which was a minority party in the provincial legislature. He knew the power of the Sardars and their partiality for Bizenjo - Mengal combination. His opponents alleged that he pitched Sardars against Sardars and tribes against tribes. He also exploited some economic issues such as "Shishak", the tax levied by the Sardars. During 1970 election campaign, the NAP leaders had promised the abolition of the "Shishak" and included it in their manifesto. The NAP-JUI coalition Government went back on their words and allowed forcible collection of "Shishak".
Mr Bhutto also allegedly contrived the Las Bela incident to further embarrass the Bizenjo Government. According to Ataullah Mengal, the Chief Minister of Balochistan, the trouble started with the cutting of telephone wires by "miscreants". He deployed the levies to stop them. He also sent a thousand strong lashkar to reinforce the levies. But the central government had a different version.

On February 6, 1973 the Home Minister Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, said that federal government troops had been sent to Balochistan to prevent a clash between the lashkar of "Bizenjo-Mengal" and some tribes and residents of Las Bela district. Governor Bizenjo and Chief Minister Ataullah demanded the withdrawal of the army from Las Bela district.

Mr. Bhutto's Cabinet decided to act. The defence forces, under orders from the Federal Government, were sent to Las Bela. The Chief Minister protested vehemently, alleging that the army had been moved in only for the purpose of disarming "volunteers" whom he described as consisting of thousands of men from various tribes who had responded to his call to rally round the Balochistan Government. He admitted that the "volunteers" came in fact from the Mengal, Bizenjo and nine other tribes. His protests were backed up by Mr. Wali Khan, who described the despatch of armed forces into the Las Bela area as "naked interference in the internal affairs of Balochistan". This claim was belied by the fact that within twenty-four hours of its entering Balochistan on February 9th, 1973, the army was warmly welcomed and found itself in full control of the situation. The Pakistan Air Force dropped food to the people hiding in the hills and large quantities of supplies were sent to relieve the distress in the affected areas. As pointed out by the Federal Interior Minister, the attitude of the National Awami Party leaders of Balochistan seemed hardly reasonable, for instead of using the regular police force to control the situation in Las Bela, they had sent in their private tribal armies.

No Federal Government, of course, could tolerate tactics of this kind in a constituent province. Governor Bizenjo's threat to resist intervention in Balochistan by the Federal Government - whose constitutional agent he was - and the defiant and non-cooperative attitude
of the Government of the North West Frontier Province, led to the dismissal of both NAP Governors on 15th February 1973. They were replaced by men on whose cooperation the Federal Government could rely, an essential precaution in view of the arms cache in the Iraqi Embassy and other evidence of foreign intrigue in both Provinces.

With the change in administration in the Balochistan many extremely serious malpractices on the part of the former governments came to light. The new Chief Minister of Balochistan, Jam Mir Abdul Qadir of Las Bela, disclosed on 16th August 1973 details of the way in which large quantities of arms and ammunition had been removed from government stores for distribution to notorious trouble-makers. He appointed a panel of senior administrative officers and technical experts to investigate the allegations of corruption.

As a result of these investigations Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal and Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri were arrested on 16th August 1973 on numerous charges of corruption, malpractice, and seditious activity.

Bugti went to Lahore where, on the 11th February 1973, under the auspices of some nebulous Anjuman e Ittehad e Pakistan, he addressed a mammoth public meeting outside Mochi Gate, the traditional testing ground for all sensational political bombshells. Psychologically, the ground had been well prepared. That very morning all the newspapers in the country had carried the sensational news of the recovery of arms from the Iraqi Embassy, so Bugti had arrived in Lahore at a time when his prophesies had come out true. For more than two hours he harangued an emotionally charged crowd, almost entirely on the anti-Pakistan activities of the NAP.

The happenings in Las Bela should not be viewed in isolation. The situation has been deliberately created to have a trial of strength with Bhutto. The Central government is within its rights to send troops to Las Bela. His allegations about the distribution of firearms had been established. He said he had been trying to invite the attention of the people to the distribution of arms by the NAP for the last several weeks. After 1958, he had come closer to
his NAP friends to secure dismemberment of One Unit, without becoming a member. In fact, he had become a member of a secret Baloch organisation whose aim was to seek autonomy... Some of the members, including Wali Khan, Bizenjo and Mengal, had thought of launching an armed struggle by securing foreign help... The Central government would be failing in its duty if it did not frustrate their plans.156

After scoring a great emotional and political victory at Mochi Gate, Bugti went to Islamabad, where he stayed for the next three days. On the 15th, he was sworn in as the Governor of Balochistan,157 both Bizenjo and Mengal having been dismissed. Later in the day, he flew to Quetta and took over. At the airport, he expressed regrets about the "bungleings" of his "former friends", but said nothing about how, at last, he had avenged himself.158

The dismissal of the NAP Ministry in Balochistan was due to a number of contributory causes, Bugti's own contribution to it being no small one. He had taken over the burden of Governorship at a difficult time. The NAP had a sizable number of elected representatives in the Provincial Legislature; in fact, a majority. Balochistan's voice in the National Assembly was predominantly NAP's and none of the members was in gaol, as yet. The dismissed NAP was, therefore, going to fight.159

Bugti, admittedly, came with a towering personality, a popularity amongst the people of Balochistan unequalled by any other tribal Sardar and some political weight. What he lacked was administrative experience.160 There was, therefore, going to be some rough sailing.161

Bugti made a good start, however, the first thing he did was to disband Mengal's tribal lashkar, the Dehi Muhaafiz, and to arrest some of its members, who had gone underground with Government arms and ammunition. Seeing the writing on the wall, the more vociferous and turbulent among Mengal's supporters either went underground or absconded. Small and vexatious incidents in the lanes of Quetta stopped and so did major incidents outside, at least for the time being. Bugti got the full backing of the Central Government and developmental funds
started pouring in. He made his first policy statements before the national press at Karachi on the 20th February. The points he made were that:

1. The NAP Government had left an empty treasury.
2. At present the administration in Las Bela was completely in the hands of the Army.
3. It was 'quite possible' to form a provincial government without the NAP.
4. There were "various guerrilla organisations operating in various parts under foreign experts and men from other parts of Pakistan".163


Some of the other important points which Bugti made before the Press during the first three months of his tenure were:

1. The Marri tribesmen had been receiving guerrilla training now for many years and, during the NAP government, the import of arms for them had greatly increased.
2. Mengal's brother, Mehr Ullah, was leading the dissidents in Jhalawan.
3. Bizenjo, the previous Governor, had drawn Rs. 50,000 from the public exchequer after he had ceased to be the Governor.
4. The NAP had lost the confidence of the people of Balochistan.
5. Under the new Constitution, the people of Balochistan felt that they had been given equal representation and were being treated as equal partners.164

About the outgoing NAP, Bugti's first important statement was made a month after taking over. He said:

"The National Awami Party is in league with one of the most ultra-right parties (Jamaat e Islami, which he described as the Jan Sangh of Pakistan). It never reconciled to the concept of Pakistan. And it still continues in its efforts to break it up into pieces. A group of the vested interests in the NAP have organised bands of urban and rural guerrillas... was planning to secede the province... when they were taken by surprise. The NAP have enough funds, which they stole..."
from the public exchequer and received from foreign masters. Their guerrillas... have enough arms.

I am wholeheartedly supporting Mr. Bhutto".165

In another statement on the 14th May, he stated:

"(that they were) in league with and were receiving support in the form of money and material from foreign powers to undo Pakistan.

When he was in London, Wali Khan had sent Rtd. Gen. Jilani... to him to tell him that Pakistan was "no more" and by only a slight effort it would "stand dissolved" and "broken up" and that the interests of Pathans and Balochis could only be safeguarded in a Confederation between Afghanistan, Pakhtunistan and Balochistan. It was felt that Pakhtunistan and Afghanistan by themselves would not make much of an impact as they are "land-locked". Therefore, it was essential that Balochistan should form a part of this Confederation, which, he was assured, would have the "overwhelming support" and "blessings" of certain foreign powers.166 (The Sun, 15th May, 1973)

The Government had been installed in the province under Jam Ghulam Qadir.167

In the meantime, the Army had moved into the Marri and Jhalawan areas,168 primarily for welfare work and to open up the country. Just at the time when Governor Bugti looked well entrenched and formidable, there was a serious incident at a place called Tandoori, on the Sibi Harnai Railway Line, on the 8th of May, 1973.169 A party of Dir Scouts (from the NWFP) moving along the track for Railway protection duty was ambushed and eight were killed or maimed. One light machine gun, one stengun and five rifles, with quantities of ammunition, were taken away. The area already disturbed was in Jhalawan,170 surrounding the Mengal tribes abode. The lashkars retreating from the Bela encounters were indulging sporadic acts of sniping and wire-cutting. An important Marri recalcitrant, Shér Muhammad Marri,171 was arrested. This set into motion a chain reaction. The Army and the CAF were spreading out into these areas and
there were frequent clashes. The two areas predominantly concerned were the Mengal and Marri areas. And all this at a time when the Bugti Governor sat in the seat of power. The important hostiles in the field was Mehr Ullah, brother of Ata Ullah Mengal. A son of Bizenjo also went into action.\textsuperscript{172}

In the middle of March, Mengal openly declared that Bhutto was in his 'grip' and would be 'crushed' if he did not desist from his 'undemocratic' actions and that Larkana was not very far off and was within hitting range of the Baloch tribes. The NAP-JUI coalition still held on to their precarious majority of one in a House of 21, with Ahmad Nawaz holding fast.\textsuperscript{173}

By the end of April, the situation had further deteriorated. The RCD Highway was mostly out of commission or useable only under armed escorted convoys. There was a blockade of the Marri area which resulted in scarcity of food grains. Besides Sher Muhammad Marri, three other supporters of Khair Bakhsh had been arrested. Important leaders of the NAP-JUI did a hurried tour and Bizenjo demanded restoration of their Ministry. It was at this stage that the Tandoori episode took place.\textsuperscript{174}

Balochistan, ruled in feudal style by powerful Sardars, possesses large tracts of relatively inaccessible country.\textsuperscript{175} Balochistan has always presented its own peculiar problems, and the tribal system, with all its feudal characteristics, has been reinforced by lack of communications. The Federal Government has been obliged to send in the army, as we have seen, in aid of the civil power; and roads have been constructed by military engineers to open up hitherto inaccessible areas. This does not suit the Sardars, whose influence would be threatened by the onset of civilisation. Mr. Bhutto has been criticised for not settling the problems of Balochistan as successfully as he has settled problems in other spheres: but the fact is that Balochistan is part of Pakistan, and the Balochis are Pakistan nationals. the struggle to contain and modify feudal interests, powerfully entrenched, cannot be conducted ruthlessly; it is a gradual process.\textsuperscript{176} Balochistan by unprecedented generous financial support and to apply to them, as conditions might by degrees allow, the social and economic reforms from which the other Provinces were benefiting. Inevitably, friction developed, especially as the dissident elements found support
from outside. Afghanistan, gave help to the Pakhtoonistan movement; Iraq, in pursuit of the ruling Party's quarrel with the Shah over territorial claims in the Persian Gulf area, fostered the notion of a Greater (and independent) Balochistan, which would embrace also Iran's considerable Balochi population.\textsuperscript{177} But the Government's reforms were specifically directed at the princely states, the Tribal Areas and the special privileges of the tribal chiefs in Balochistan.\textsuperscript{178}

The notorious Shishak system under which the tribal chiefs, or sardars as they are known in Balochistan, received from their tenants a sort of if in addition to their share of the crop, whether the land on which the crop was grown was theirs or not, was abolished. Most members, of the Balochistan Government in NAP-JUI coalition were tribal chiefs. They could not prevent the law from going into the statute book, but relying on their feudal authority, tried with varying degrees of success to exact Shishak as a private tax while at the same time rallying their forces to hobble the progressive Government at the Centre which was threatening their privileges with its socio-economic reforms. Some of them took special exception to the Federal Government's road-building programme. They and those who opposed the repeal of the Frontier Crimes Regulations were perhaps acutely conscious of the fact that the influence of the sardars in any region decreased in inverse proportion to the degree of urbanisation that existed there and that their influence was greater wherever FCR was in force.\textsuperscript{179}

The Federal Government's emphasis on road building in Balochistan has been opposed by force by those tribal chiefs who regard this developmental activity as the beginning of the end of the very special privileges enjoyed by them in their fiefdoms. They feel that the first traffic that comes along the new roads in their areas would bring schools, hospitals, electricity and the impersonal law and order agencies of the State, and would change for ever the pattern of society in Balochistan.\textsuperscript{180} Objective of NAP in this area seems to be greater autonomy for the provinces and insulation for the tribal chiefs. The die-hard feudalists or those with ulterior motives tell the tribal chiefs that they are threatened by the instruments of progress.\textsuperscript{181} The NAP Governor and Chief Minister in Balochistan called out their tribal armies in early 1973 to settle scores with tribes that did not vote for them, the Federal Government had little choice but to say
that provincial autonomy did not extend to such action and to point out that in law and order situations of a serious nature - as existed in the Mekran coastal area of Las Bela - the Provincial Government of Balochistan should have used either its own police force or asked the Federal Government to send in the army.

To experienced observers it seemed that the NAP administration in Balochistan chose to demonstrate the strength of its tribal support against another tribe to underline its message, the real source of power in Balochistan still lay within the framework of the tribal system any reforms announced or planned by the Bhutto Government could filter into the tribal system only if the tribal chiefs in Balochistan, in their capacity as sardars, allowed them to be implemented. The NAP administration in Balochistan had by this time not only become aware of the Bhutto Government's resolve to abolish the sardari system but also for some months had been obstructing the completion of preliminaries before the formal announcement of the abolition of the system could be made. With the removal of the NAP administration, various legal and other aspects of the sardari system are being studied in detail before the final step is taken to abolish it.

This action when taken will not mean the de facto end of the sardari system. For instance the sardars receive allowances, from the Government, under the system, but these allowances bear no relationship to the influence which the sardars have acquired. The sardari allowance of the former Chief Minister, Mr. Ataullah Khan Mengal, is about twelve pounds per month which is about the maximum amount that any of the 300 sardars (apart from three or four superior sardars known as nawabs or tumandars) receive monthly from the Government as their allowance - hardly the sort of money that would enable even a majority of the sardars working together to finance a standing force of fighting men which each sardar maintains as his lashkar.

The power and wealth of the sardars come from their own lands and perquisites established by tradition among the insulated and largely illiterate tribal communities of Balochistan. The sardars fear that the erosion of this power, wealth and privilege, having already
began with the land reforms which have reduced the size of their holdings, and with the abolition of Shishak - a tax levied by the sardars - will assume new proportions when their serf-like tribesmen come into direct contact with the rest of Pakistan with the opening of roads, and when they and their children are attracted to the schools and hospitals that are being set up by the Government.  

They will enable a much larger proportion of Balochistan's population to register as voters, and make the journey to the polling booths, without having to seek any facilities or permission from the tribal chiefs. In the 1970 general elections to the National Assembly, the lack of roads in Balochistan was an important factor in keeping over sixty per cent of the voters away from the polling booths.  

As a Postscript it would be pertinent to record the reply of Sardar Khair Baksh Marri to Prime Minister Bhutto's offer of his release from detention, if he would stop opposing development work in his area. Sardar Khair Baksh Marri's reply was that he would give up his opposition to the Government if the building of roads in the Marri area was stopped. This then is the central issue in Balochistan, a strategic part of Pakistan, where sub-version is being encouraged by a country looking for a land corridor to a seaport that could dominate what Mr. Abdul Wali Khan calls the "Balochistan Gulf".  

On Pakistan, there are added pressures through Kabul's belligerency on the Pakhtoonistan issue, the Azad Balochistan movement with its headquarters in Baghdad and the attempts of pro-Moscow political groups to stir up trouble between what Russian oriental scholars maintain are four nationalities living in the country. Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan on his return, after eight years of self-imposed exile, from Afghanistan to Pakistan expounded this theory directly and indirectly. Addressing his first public meeting on his return at Peshawar he said that "Sind, Balochistan, Punjab, Pakhtoonistan, Afghanistan, Iran and India" should cooperate with each other in a peace mission because the nuclear Powers were stock-piling such weapons as would annihilate mankind. He thus equated the provinces of Pakistan with the sovereign independent States of Iran, India and Afghanistan. How their grouping together under
the Asian Collective Security Plan would help mankind escape nuclear annihilation he did not explain, but he did seem to offer the four remaining provinces of Pakistan "independence" and "sovereignty": if they in effect became client states of the Soviet Union, and thus provided Russian access to the warm waters of the Arabian Sea and the Gulf.

The White Paper on Balochistan issued by the Government of Pakistan on 19 October 1974, "The Government is confident that the irresponsible utterances and behaviour of the Kabul regime apart, no power - far less global one - will find its interest served by instability in the region in which Pakistan is placed. No policy, domestic or foreign, can be predicated on rumour and suspicion. With the corner having been turned in Balochistan, the Government has reason to believe that the rumours and promises of steady foreign patronage with which the ring-leaders have sought to maintain the morale of their followers will gradually subside and a realistic and peace-loving outlook will prevail," also see Williams L.F. Rushbrook Pakistan Under Challenge p.27.

The financial assistance to Balochistan shows an overall increase of 233 per cent over that of 1971-72, giving a total figure of Rs. 251.69 million. In addition, a sum of Rs. 5 million has been provided to Balochistan for the setting up of the Bolan Medical College, while the Food Aid Convention fund for Balochistan has risen from Rs. 1.29 million to Rs. 5 million - an increase of 287 per cent.

It has been mentioned earlier also that "multiethnic" frontier provinces-Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province, which were, for long, neglected posed a real challenge to Bhutto's authority. What seemed to have irked people of these areas was that Bhutto's approach and methods proved no different from those which had been applied by Ayub and Yahya Khan earlier to crush regional movement in erstwhile East Pakistan. Since the dismissal of NAP-JUI coalition government in these provinces, the federal government did not hesitate to apply fascist and militant tactics in suppressing the regional aspirations. Sidetracking the constitutional issues.
The situation had deteriorated considerably and posed a veritable challenge to Bhutto administration after the dismissal of NAP-JUI popular government. The puppet government installed by Bhutto proved incapable of resolving mounting tribal unrest and regional tensions in the province. Despite heavy military "crackdown" by the federal government, the Balochi regionalists continued their struggle for regional autonomy and restoration of constitutional processes.198

Interestingly Bhutto's strategy of changing the provincial government structure did not yield desired results. Former Governor Akbar Khan Bugti, who was one of Bhutto's loyalists and staunch critic of Khan Abdul Wali Khan and his NAP also resigned from his post. According to reliable sources he did not approve of military action in the province which came down heavily on the tribal people. Moreover, Akbar Khan Bugti was not satisfied with the constitutional position of the Governor, which had created serious problems in the relationship between the Governor and the Chief Minister.199 Thereupon, Bhutto appointed Khan of Kalat (another feudal sardar) as act as Bhutto's spokesman in later's communication with NAP leadership and as a counter-weight to army hawks and the Chief Minister.200

Throughout his tenure, Bhutto calculatedly undermined the real constitutional problem of Balochistan. He harped on the theme that the problem of Balochistan, was, in fact, one of economic advancement. The pro-establishment media highlighted that tribal insurgency was against feudal Sardars and not against his regime. The White Paper201 issued by the federal government presented false data and contrived analysis concerning the provincial turmoil and blatantly justified deployment of army units. Moreover, Bhutto's action against the "National Awami Party" further aggravated the problem. The strategy of federal government proved a failure in appeasing the militant Balochis. For instance, the declaration of "general amnesty"202 and abolition of "Sardari system"203 bore little fruits and the confrontation continued unabated till Bhutto's fall. It would not be entirely wrong to say even thereafter the new military regime finds itself in no better, or different, position vis-a-vis Balochistan.204
The circumstances under which the game of dirty politics was played which brought and end to the Bhutto's regime in the country. On the 15th August 1972, Bizenjo was arrested for half a dozen offences under the substantive law and one day later Marri was arrested under the Arms Act and the Penal Code and Ata Ullah under the Defence of Pakistan Rules for anti-state activities. In the meantime, Gul Khan Nasir was sentenced to three years R.I. and lost his seat and Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan went to gaol for one and a half years. Under this drastic pruning, the Assembly met on the 28th Sept. and the Jam produced ten supporters out of a total House of 21. In the Senate elections, four seats had been taken by the PPP, two by the NAP and one by JUI. In the meantime, one former Minister, Abdur Rahman, was declared a proclaimed offender and was unseated. Another one was also convicted and unseated. In due course of time, both these seats went to the PPP nominees. Things appeared to be brightening up.  

On 2nd December, 1973, Abdus Samad Achakzai was assassinated and his death meant one more seat less for the Opposition in the Provincial Assembly. The culprit, of course, was never traced. We might deal here with one more recalcitrant, Maulvi Shams ud Din of JUI. Six months earlier, in June, some intruders had broken into the Maulvi's house in Quetta but he woke up and raised an alarm. In late autumn, one day the Maulvi vanished but proved difficult to dispose of. Rumour said he had been kidnapped, kept in detention and pressurised to change sides. But the Maulvi did not succumb, neither did he open his mouth. On the 13th of March, 1974, his dead body was found in a parked car, one more member of the opposition out of the way.  

This alone speaks volumes for the tenacity of the remaining NAP-JUI warriors. One who had succumbed had two sheets of paper put before him, one containing a long list of criminal charges, the other an offer of ministership. He chose the easier one.  

The Jam's administration was the worst in the province so far. It was weak, inefficient and corrupt. the Jam himself was liked neither by the Governor nor by his Senior Minister, Raisani, and innumerable complaints against him must have been taken to the President.
result, on the last day of December, 1975, the Legislature was dissolved and the Ministry sacked.\footnote{208}

On the 7th January, 1977, the Prime Minister announced the holding of fresh elections on the 7th of March for the National Assembly and three days later for the Provincial Assemblies. He also announced that the existing National Assembly would be dissolved on the 10th of January and the Provincial Assemblies on the 13th. The Federal and Provincial Cabinets were to stay till the next elections. He promised clean and fair elections and put it to the other side to reciprocate. Bringing in his usual element of drama, he said, "Politicians avoid elections as generals avoid war. But that is the test of a leader and a party. In the past, rulers held on to powers 'in disgrace' and till the very last moment, till they were 'kicked out'. Previous Governments did everything to go beyond their stipulated periods. But this Government, which has great achievements to its credit, believes that what matters is best assessed through the ballot... Taking a plunge was characteristic of us as I believed in going into battle and not running away from it.\footnote{209}

Within a fortnight, the shape of 'clean and fair' elections promised by the Prime Minister was becoming apparent. Bhutto, along with sixteen of his staunchest supporters from Sind and Balochistan, had been elected unopposed to the National Assembly amidst loud allegations from political parties in opposition that their candidates had been prevented, in one way or another, from getting their nomination papers through. Against Bhutto personally a storm was raised for unprecedented highhandedness against the man who intended to contest the Larkana seat against him. From Balochistan, three candidates had been returned unopposed already, which number later went up to four, against a total of seven seats. One was a sitting Minister at the Centre, one was an advisor to the Chief Minister of the province and the third was a son of the Khan of Kalat. Similarly, in the Provincial Assemblies, 48 members of the PPP had been returned unopposed.\footnote{210}

Final Party Position in the (March, 1977) National Assembly Election:-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sind</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Total seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(Q)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Dawn, March 9, 1977).

Throughout Bhutto regime the Province presented a worst picture of turmoil and instability witnessing unprecedented student unrest, agrarian conflicts and politics of violence and terrorism. Pakhtoon regionalists accused Bhutto regime of converting Parliamentary democracy into a mockery through brutal military action. Even after the imposition of ban on the NAP, they continued their struggle based on NAP's stand: for "self-determination for Pakhtoon People", residing in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and greater regional autonomy to the province.\textsuperscript{211} The "Khudai Khidmatgar" (Red Shirt Party) led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan continued its underground activities and became more vociferous for recognition of distinct Pakhtoon culture and identity. the Pakhtoon Student Federation was also actively involved in opposing federal government suppressive politics. the Pakhtoons never recognised the Peoples Party as a popular force. However, they alleged that movements launched by the Muslim League and the PPP were basically movements of and for Punjab, and Sind and not for the Pakistani nation as a whole.
NOTES


1. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was asked by the Government of Pakistan to represent Pakistan as Foreign Minister at United Nation, he returned after this unsuccessful mission, because Pakistan Forces surrendered in East Pakistan and cease fire was ordered on Western Border, the nation was under great agony. He took the oath of President of Pakistan on 20th of December 1972.

2. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was borne at Larkana took oath of President on 20 December 1971. On 4th of April 1979 at Rawalpindi, he was hanged till death.

3. At Rawalpindi on 20th December 1971 he took over the reign of power in an haste.

4. In the history of this modern world the first civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator.

5. The President of Pakistan General Yahya Khan, wanted to keep the chair of President but keeping in view the public demand as well as prevailing conditions in the country, he relinquished the seat and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became the President of Pakistan.

6. Above all Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was made Supreme Commander of the forces, means the most powerful man of Pakistan in its history.


8. Ibid.


11. Ibid.


13. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, a feudal lord from Muzafargarh area, a young man from Punjab was entrusted the job of Governor General of Punjab.

14. On 24 December 1971, Mumtaz Bhutto, Mr Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s first cousin was appointed as Governor Sindh.

15. PPP was in majority as far as Punjab and Sindh is concern but in NWFP (North West Frontier Province) and in Balochistan, the PPP was in minority even than Zulfiqar Ali
Bhutto forced his Governors, and it was opposed by all these provinces, also see, Surendra Nath Kaushik Politics in Pakistan p.10.

16. Ghous Bakhsh Raisani, an independent MNA was asked to take oath of Governorship on 29th December 1971.

17. Akbar Bugti was not even a member of NAP or nor an MNA even then, Akbar Bugti was unable to participate in the election being in jail and become the victim of Yahya Khan's election orders, on this day a feud started when Bugti opposed Raisani, it is still existing during 1995 a bloody clash took place between Raisanis and Bugtis, Akbar Bugtis two grand sons were killed.

18. A tumultuous situation was created in the Quetta to stop Ghous Bakhsh Raisani from taking his oath of office of Governorship of Balochistan.


20. Miss Fazila Aliani, contestant for the Assembly seat from NAP

21. Miss Waliahd Begum, daughter of Samad Khan Achakzai sister of Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai who has now become Sardar of his faction after his fathers execution.

22. A.B. Awan p.264, a red shirt leader from Pakhtoon area of Balochistan Pishin district.

23. Shams ud Din


25. Twelve point accord between Mufii Mahmood and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, these were to reach an agreement to get a support in the NWFP and Balochistan were PPP was in minority, to consolidate the power.

26. After 16th December 1971 debacle Pakistan was under an interim constitution it was necessary to form another interim constitution in the light of new set up.

27. A.B. Awan p.265.


29. Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti was passing through great anguish due to new changes on the Balochistan political horizon, in subsequent para it further government and becomes provincial minister.

30. An understanding was taken from the Governor Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizinjo that, all victimisation on political grounds of officials, politicians or political workers. The
Governor must remember that they represent the Central Government, and must stand aloof from all local party considerations and affiliations. On this 1st May 1972 Mr Ata Ullah Khan Mengal was selected leader of the house and was Chief Minister of the Balochistan, L. F. Rushbrook, Pakistan under Challenges p. 78, also see


32. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti did not qualify under Yahya's Legal Framework Order (LFO) as he has been in prison for over two years. Balochistan its Strategic Importance by Iqbal Syed p.177. Also see Outlook Op.Cit., p.11. Under such circumstances, during that period when he was away in Europe he was getting such faults.


34. Ibid.

35. The obvious aim of NAP were to reduce to a minimum the authority of the Centre: to frustrate the application of its policies of reform to the existing conditions: and to enhance at all costs the party influence on local affairs.

36. These Punjabi people not only settled from Pakistani Punjab, but many are settled over there in Balochistan even before the partition author had an opportunity to be with them during stay at Quetta they are quite influential not by their wealth due to their inculcated in the local population of Quetta.

37. Not realizing that this vaccum will create disastrous for the people when the administration at petty mattes will be neutralized.


39. Ibid. 29th August 1972.

40. Nabi Bakhsh Zehri, a rich man owner of Marble known as king of marble, on old Muslim League joined Qayum Khan's Muslim League from Balochistan, who later on joined PPP and was elected as Senator during 1975. The first Senate of Pakistan 1973 to 1977. Senate Secretariat Islamabad p.123, also see Senate of Pakistan Directory of members p. 25-26.

41. A get together of these leaders of opposition was treated a conspiracy against the Government in particular people from NWFP and Balochistan, A.B. Awan p.267.
42. Ibid.
43. The Pakistan Times 10th of September, 1972.
44. The Massawat 12th of September, 1972.
45. Sher Baz Khan, is well respected and honoured personality, is residing in Karachi Defence Housing Authority.

Dodo Khan Zarakzai, a Chief of Jhalawan area, author remained in his area during period of insurgency from October 1976 to December 1976 for protection of Line of Communication. We as know for his anti-Government activities, joined hand with PPP Government and was pitched against his own cousin Safar Khan Zarakzai another absconder, was killed during an encounter with 19-Azad Kashmir Regiment, however Doda Khan joined PPP to take his avenge from Safar Khan Zarakzai and promised that there will be no disturbances in Jhalawan area.

48. Zehri brothers with persuasion joined PPP Government to safeguard their interest in the area.

49. Jhalawan area consist of formidable hilly track, impregnable area, RCD highway passes from this area which used to be threatened by the insurgents operating on behalf of Mr Dodo Khan, and Safar Khan Zarakzai.

50. To confirm this, author had an opportunity to serve in Frontier Corps Balochistan, A Major cannot implement on the order of or direction of revenue officer, however, if he gets an order from his Headquarter only then he can take some action. A.B. Awan p.268.

51. Central Government was keeping a close watch on all these events and never wanted to pitch their official against these tribal chief, since it was planed to make use of these people against their own kith and kin.

53. Ibid.

54. Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, from Pishin area was bitter on the behaviour of Doda Khan Zarakzai, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai area of influence comes upto Punjpai Shaikh Wasil, and those are at the boundary of Jhalawan, Khuzdar Karachi Road (RCD Highway) and Kolpur Zahidan Section divide Brahvi, and Pakhtoon area.
55. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was Minister of Interior, and Frontier Corps Balochistan is and was under Interior Ministry, but as such they were not ordered to take any action against these recalcitrant.

56. L.F. Rushbrook Pakistan Under Challenge p.87.

57. A vast area in the Nasirabad sub-division of the Sibi district was a sprawling desert. Before Independence, various schemes had come up for a seasonal canal to bring irrigation to this arid desert. But as soon as the plan got under way, powerful Sardars and their tribes converged on the area and the usual fictitious transactions took place, under the barrel of a gun or with the aid of a fat purse. There was also much fighting and although the project carried the official nomenclature of 'Pat Feeder', those who came within its orbit, for profit or loss, nicknamed it 'Patt Feeder', the blood-sucker. The blood-sucking canal went on flowing its seb course, pouring in gold with one hand and draining blood with the other till the NAP Government came to claim Balochistan for the Baloch.

58. It was an outcome to claim Balochistan for the Baloch. Governor Balochistan Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizinjo statement which he gave on 6th September 1972, that Punjabis must leave Balochistan, these settlers were enjoying pool relations amongst local population, but they turned against them, such events were leading the Province towards turmoil.

59. The owner of this land was Punjabis, they purchased it from Baloch landlord.

60. Purchase of land in Balochistan are in particular when owned by a tribe is something different as described in the Notes ante. Also see L.F. Rushbrook p.90-91.

61. A.B. Awan p.269, also see L.F. Rushbrook p.91.


63. Surendra Nath Kaushik Politic's in Pakistan p.11.

64. To fill the gap the provincial Government raised a political cadre under the name of Dehi Muhaliz (DM) or Rural guards. The idea was to support the NAP and BSO (Balochistan Solvents Organization). Atta Ullah recruited 1,100 Baloch as DM and 550 as special levies. Syed Iqbal p.178, also see A.B. Awan p.270.

65. The turbulent situation in the Jhalawan area was due to Sardar Doda Khan, who was against NAP, the Wali Khan group and Sardar Atta Ullah Khan, active connivance of
Khan Abdul Qayum Khar was to take an avenge from Wali Khan his political arch reveal.

66. What all was in the oftening for the poor people this region, these Sardars were just trying to equalise their revenges against each other, and so called satisfaction of their ego.

67. In the subsequent it proved that by expelling the Punjabis and other extraordinary unconstitutional behaviour of NAP-JUI coalition government did not prove their worth, and they could see the writing on the wall. Inspite of the intra party dissensions, Bhutto ultimately succeeded in gaining consensus of different political parties at the "All Party Constitution Conference" held at Rawalpindi on October 20, 1972. Dawn, October 21, 1972.

68. During this reception the crowded raised slogans against the government.

69. It was a start of an agitation against the NAP-JUI coalition government, the main part at this juncture was played by the Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti.

70. Ahmed Nawaz Bugti remained Provincial Minister against the wish of his brother Akbar Khan Bugti.

71. It was already known that the foreign Headquarters for the organisation of Military Training, and international propaganda in support of the "Greater Balochistan" movement was located in Baghdad - indeed direct Iraqi involvement in the conspiracy was to be dramatically illustrated ten days after the Bugti Chief had made his statement to the press. L.F. Rushbrook Williams Pakistan Under Challenge p.95.

72. According to History the Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur areas, which are now part of Punjab used to be part of Balochistan.

73. Ibid.

74. A lunch given by Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto to the Russian leader Kasygin on 17th March, 1972 which was attended by Sardar Bugti was mentioning that Russian leader during his speech; "To speak frankly, as we appraise the political meaning of the past crisis (referring to the Indo-Pakistan War), it was determined, in our opinion, by the clash of two opposite forces: on the one hand, the forces of national liberation and, on the other, the forces of anti-people military dictatorship which had joined efforts with external
aggressive circles hostile to the peoples of Hindustan, including the Pakistani people. The Soviet Government strictly adhering to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, repeatedly stated publicly and through diplomatic channels that the East Bengal problem should be settled peacefully, through negotiations between the sides concerned and on the basis of respect for the will and legitimate rights of the people of that country. We did everything in our power to prevent the death of millions of people in Bangladesh, to prevent the growth of tension between the states of Hindustan and a conflict between them.

"And if history were to be repeated, we would take again the same stand because we are convinced that it is the correct one". (Pravda, dated 18th March, 1973).

75. A time Iran use to claim that Iranian Balochistan boundaries extend up to Kolpur, near Quetta a hill pass.

76. To support his viewpoint Sardar Bugti use to tell the people the Iranian Jel rangers, Helicopter, Chanooks and UH1H USA made aircraft, these were given to Government of Pakistan for transportation of goods to the difficult areas like Kohlu, Mewand, Khuzdar, author had many opportunities to go with these helicopters to provide protection but politicians used even these instrument for their political gains.

77. To take the avenge of his three grievances as mention ante is well known, he used to call him conspirator, time server etc.

78. On the other hand Mengal the Chief Minister stance was that Sardar Bugti is being planted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto against the NAP government, however it seems to be correct as Bhutto did manage to pitch Baloch against Baloch and tribe against tribe.

79. Las Bela, Jam Ghulam Qadir was head of Las Bela and he did not join the Government, and was supporting Mr Z.A. Bhutto.

80. Bhutto seemed to be losing patience. He resorted to iron hand methods to contain the challenge of the opposition. Moreover, Bhutto also tried to put Balochis and Pathans against each other. Politics in Pakistan Surendra Nath Kaushik p.14.

81. On his return from Lahore on the expert advise of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, started of his political activities against the provincial government.
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82. Sibi, Kachhi and Jacobabad area been close to Sindh border and in this area PPP did manage to make some dent, therefore Sardar Bugti was directed to make use of this opportunities.

83. The "Baloch Tanzeem" was organised to liberate the Baloch during 1963 the heads of this Organisation were Bizenjo and Mengal and Sardar Bugti was its treasure.

84. Ibid.

85. A.B. Awan p.271.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.


91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.


94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. This on the face of it, was in consonance with the Soviet policy towards Pakistan which supported autonomous provinces to be loosely federated with a weak centre. But Soviet support to the Baloch separatism was not whole hearted. Perhaps they thought that a fragmented Pakistan would be even more difficult to deal with.

97. Shah of Iran Shehnshah Raza Shah Pehlvi speculated that these weapons may be used against Iranian Balochistan.


100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. A new task force FSF (Federal Security Force) which soon become controversial, was created in October 1972. This force was placed under the direct control of the Federal
Government. Its strength was 13,875 men and officers, in 1974 it rose to 18,563 by the end of 1976. Its equipment included 7.62 rifles, SMG, LMG, 60mm mortars, hand grenade, modern communication equipment and transport vehicle. There were plans to acquire reconditioned tanks from the Army, the FSF soon turned out to be a private force at the disposal of the ruling party. The Military and Politics in Pakistan Hasan Askari Rizvi Op.Cit., p.201-202.


104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. SAVAK. Sazman-e-Ittelat wa Amniyat-e-Kishwer. The shah selected his near relative General Taymour Bakhtiar Bakhtiari as its head, it was guided by CIA.

107. Kurds the displaced tribe of Iraq mainly they live closer to Turkey border, these are mostly organised for insurgency in Iraq, it was exploited by Iranians with the help of SAVAK.

108. As Kurds are voluntarible for Iraqi Government vis-a-vis Irani Balochis are for Iran, so Iraq was creating their sympathizer in Iranian Baloch, and these were excited and supported by Iraq.


110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Historically it is a known phenomena in Balochistan that politics of tribes in every issue plays a vital role. Baloch Tribal System: In general, each tribe has a specified region in its possession obtained either by conquest or as a result of a mutually agreed inter-tribal distribution. For instance, when Mir Jalal Khan Rind had occupied Kalat and Balochistan, he distributed the region among his followers comprising of 44 tribes. Division of land is based on the dual criterion of communal importance and man power of each tribe. This is the general practice; but sometimes individual tribes resort to capture of lands belonging to the tribes in the neighbouring regions. The lands thus captured belong to the entire tribe, and are divided on the basis of the male population of
the whole tribe, including minors. If, however, a particular clan within the tribe takes the risk of warfare and captures any land, it becomes the legitimate owner of it; the rest of the clans have no claims to it.

The Chief of the tribe or clan is generally assigned a portion of land from the general pool for his upkeep; but he cannot sell it. He is only a beneficiary. The same principle applies to other war prizes such as cattle and property captured after a battle.

Each tribe has a Chief or Tumandar (a Turkish word), with whom are attached Mukkadams or Heads of clans who collectively act as a Council for war and peace. It is the duty of a Mukkadam to collect and mobilize clansmen according to a set formula for purposes of armed expeditions. He also chooses the commander of the men supplied by him. This office, like that of the Chief, is hereditary; and any near-relation of his can exercise this privilege.

Attached to each clan is a person called Wadera, whose office, too, is hereditary. The elders of the clan jointly tie a turban on his head as a symbol of assigning this office to him. Generally, a Wadera acts as a go-between for the Mukkadam and Headmen of sub-clans in times of need. Similarly, to each distinct sub-clan is attached a sub-Mukkadam and a sub-Wadera; and to each group of family is attached a Motabar or elder. In this way, the tribes have a perfect functional set-up, right down to the head of a family.

In times of emergency, a Council of war is convened, and discussions are held in a democratic way. The decisions arrived at between the Chief of a tribe and the Mukkadams of main clans are then conveyed to their respective sub-organizations; and decisions are thus taken and carried out smoothly.

Distribution of Booty: Apart from the basic system of distribution of land and property on the general basis of male-population, there is a separate method for distribution of plundered goods. The footman, for instance, normally has one share; but if he has a weapon like a gun or a sword and a shield, his share is increased to one-and-half; while if he has a horse in addition to weapons, he is given two shares. Initially the booty is distributed on this principle among the actual participants in the plunder; and whatever remains thereafter is dealt with on the usual tribal basis.
Settlement of Tribal Disputes: In the early period, inter-clan disputes, including murders were jointly decided by the Chief and the Heads of clans; while disputes within a clan were decided by the Head of the clan, who would summon both the parties to an open session, and give his verdict according to Islamic Sharia as understood by him. Mostly the decisions used to be correct, for the Heads of clans had their own authentic sources of interpretation in the matter of judging the culpability or otherwise of an alleged offence. The mainstay of judgments used to be the administering of Quranic oath either to culprit, if he was known to be honest; or to a respectable and reliable person of the culprit’s clan or of his family, verdicts being based on the oath sworn by such a person. As long as the tribal system remained intact and uncorrupted, the authority of the Chiefs, the Heads of clans and Wadera remained undisputed; and these oral judgments were duly respected and obeyed. Subsequently, however, with more settled conditions and introduction of The Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1901 by the British Government, official interference increased; and the concept of tribal adjudication by Jirga has now radically changed. False oaths and false evidence have become the order of the day for avoiding long-term imprisonments. Searchlight on Baloch and Balochistan, by Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri, Baloch culture heritage, by Jan Mahmud.


114. Surendra Nath Kaushik, Politics in Pakistan p.16.

115. I.H. Burney 3rd February 1973 Outlook p.322.116. It was popularly known in Balochistan that Khan Abdul Qayum Khan minister of interior was backing these out laws to create law and order situation in the province.

117. Shifting of loyalties from one chief to the other is only in extreme circumstances, however, who it is inevitable only then they will do so, with lot of manipulation etc.

118. Wadh, the centre of Mengal tribes, Khuzdar Kalat Mustong, the RCD runs through these areas, area between Khuzdar and Kalat was controlled by Doda Khan Zarakzai Sardar of Jhalawan area.

119. Ali Muhammad Mengal was used by Doda Khan Zarakzai, Gohar Khan Zarakzai was by Atta Ullah Khan Mengal.
120. Zehri brothers the owner of Marble mines, their trucks used to play on the RCD highway from Kharan to Karachi, via Khuzdar.

121. A.B. Awan p.274.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. These procession were organised on the instigation of Khan Qayum Khan, the Minister of interior to entangle the NAP Government of Balochistan.
127. Such actions reveals that there is of course traditional tribal enmity between the followers of the present Governors and those in the opposite camp, but that explains nothing, it is funny to fan these flames in the interest of partisan politics.
128. Ibid.
129. This engineered game was played for exploitation of such issues to led down the coalition government of JUI-NAP. I.H. Burney p.298.
130. Ibid.
132. I.H. Burney p.322.
133. L.F. Rushbrook p.90 and 102.
135. An amount levelled on the people working on their field that Shishak will be paid to Sardar on every crops.
137. Ibid.
139. This demand could have meat with some resolution, but the language used was such, also raised the question of autonomy, which led to his removal from Governorship.
140. These volunteers, in fact, were organised, when they were issued the police weapon were made as Dehi Muhafiz.

141. L.F. Rushbrook p.102.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.


147. L.F. Rushbrook p.103.

148. Ibid.


150. Mochi Gate, A small ground in Lahore surrounded by building a place for public meeting on historical back ground of this public place is that in most of the cases all the major parties in Pakistan wants to hold their meetings at this place. A.B. Awan Op.Cit., p.275.

151. Ibid.

152. Ibid.


154. Ibid.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.


159. Ibid.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid.

162. Ibid.


165. Ibid.

167. L.F. Rushbrook p.103.

168. Jhalawan areas, mainly remained under Sardar Doda Khan control, but Sardar Safar Khan Zarakzai did manage to organise few clandestine moves in Jhalawan areas, with the help of Mengals out laws.

169. M.I. Repats etc.

170. Ibid.

171. Sher Mohammad Marri, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto used to call him General Sherof, Syed Iqbal p.169.

172. Those who supported NAP and JUI Government on the eve of dismissal of Governor Bizinjo and Mengal Government became out laws and created law and order situation.


174. The road opening day was organised under the army Headquarters, Syed Iqbal p.203.


176. L.F. Rushbrook p.203.


178. The British rulers gave special privileges to Sardars as a class who consequently became mini-dspsots. Otherwise, in the Baloch culture Sardar was checked in many ways Jamnammad The Block Cultural Heritage p.XXV (23).


181. Such issues were propagated by the interested parties to create cause and confusion in the country, the relations between Federal Government and Provincial Government are covered with full detail in the Constitution ibid.


183. Ibid.


185. Ibid.
186. Ibid.
188. These Lasharis were used to collect til and Shishak from the ordinary man of the tribe, this force is normally maintained by all the Sardars.
189. L.F. Rushbrook p.196.
193. Ibid.
196. The Veteran Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan stated "As far as the Balochis and Pathans are concerned there is in any case Military rule, worse than what could have been envisaged even during the days of Ayub and Yahya Khan". Press Asia International (PAI Pakistan Service) 26 June, 1974.
198. Ibid p.38.
202. The Federal Government had on 14 April 1974 announced amnesty. Equal to that, Army action was frozen upto May 15, 1974. Prime Minister Bhutto extended the date for laying down arms to October 15, 1974. It had its benign effect. Till 17th October, 5501 hostilies had surrendered indulging 112 special levies with their arms and ammunition. White Paper on Balochistan.
204. Surendra Nath Kaushik p.39.
206. Khan Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai leader of the Pukhtoonkhawa (Pro-Pathan faction) was assassinated on night 2 December 1973, in Quetta Balochistan. According to the former Governor of Balochistan Akbar Khan Bugti, the murder was a deliberate attempt of the federal government to ensure estrangement between Balochis and Pathans. Politics in Pakistan Surendra Nath Kaushik p.40.

The tragic assassination was observed throughout the country in particular Balochistan and NWFP Quetta was handed over to the army, author was part of that contingent which was ordered to restore law and order situation in Quetta city, in the eve of this assassination disturbances took place in Quetta city. An interview with Muhammad Khan Achakzai Joint Secretary, Chief economist Ministry of Planning and Development Division on 21 May 1992 at Islamabad.
CHAPTER VIII

TRIBES AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

A political system is best judged by the nature of its political parties, and it is in terms of political parties that we discuss its success or failure.\(^1\) Party system is considered to be so indispensable in a political system, that it is not possible to establish well nit political process. In tribal system the importance of political party has emerged, observed during accession issue, the role played by Muslim League of India. How party system was made and functioned amongst tribe. The party system has served as the glue that holds the political process together. This kind of glue is needed when we observe the divisions in Balochistan tribal system, division between ethnic groups, the federal government and the province. A party sharing something of a common outlook can give vitality to the system and keep it running better than several thousand randomly functioning egos, particularly in case of election the need of parties has to do with the realization that since most tribes do not pay a great deal of attention to politics, a party label can be (or could be) a mechanism to tell a simple tribal man something of significance about the views and beliefs of the candidate for the same office, even he belongs to the same tribe or not. Sardari system in Balochistan has played a pivotal role in the political process in Balochistan since ages, but during accession issues, election of 1970, 1977, 1985, 1988 and 1990 has shown different results, the factional groups has shown sympathies with a common party, although they had their feuds. (Refer to Appendix V p.338).

Toward ethnic polarisation Balochistan has not had a political party which could claim a non-ethnic support base across the province ever since the National Awami Party (NAP) - disintegrated. Even the Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam which is the largest single political party in the province in terms of votes, has its power-base in the northern Pushtun areas only. (Refer to Appendix IX p.347).
The disintegration of the NAP and General Ziaul Haq's material law created ethnic division in the province which has just begun to surface. Balochistan's last bulwark against ethnic polarisation, the Pakistan National Party, also lost influence with the death of its founding member Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo. Today, at a wider level, the province is divided between the secularists and the fundamentalists and, within the secularists, between the Baloch and the Pushuns. One thing, however, which certainly goes to the credit of Balochistan's regional parties is that unlike the regional parties in other provinces, the ones in Balochistan have a genuine electoral standing.²

The former Balochistan, comprising Quetta-Kalat Region, is the original home of three different racial communities which have spread to the other parts of West Pakistan. These are the Brahvis, the Pathans and the Balochs. The Brahvis form the majority in the Kalat Division of Pakistan, the Pathans dominate in Peshawar and D.I.Khan Divisions; while the Tribal area is exclusively inhabited by them, they are in appreciable numbers in other western districts of the former Panjab, the Balochs are found in considerable number in the former Sind, Quetta and Kalat, Bahawalpur, Multan and D.I.Khan. The importance of these three racial elements can be early in the population at the country imagined. Roughly speaking, the combined population of these racial groups must be nearly 33 % of the total population of Pakistan. These three communities dominate our Frontier Regions, which are contiguous with Russia, Afghanistan and Iran; they occupy a highly strategic position. Balochistan has the same position in the history of Pakistan which Arabia has in the history of Afro-Asia. It has not only been the original home of these three communities, but the Jats, known here as Jadgals, the single largest community in Pakistan, have also lived in and ruled over this land before the Baloch immigrants from the Persian highlands pushed them into Sind, Bahawalpur, the Panjab and farther eastwards into Rajputana, leaving only a Jat pocket in Kachhi district of Kalat.³ Balochistan has thus been the cradle of one of the main Pakistani ethnological elements, and therefore importance of its study cannot be over-emphasized.
Most of their main tribes are sub-divided into branches locally known as "phallis" (offshoots). Originally the Brahvis do not seem to have been divided into so many tribes. The increase in population or political differences of the force of a personality led to the dissociation of a phallis from the main tribe and its independent development in the comity of tribes. Ahmadzais (539), were in fact, a part of Qambranis, but as soon as Mir Ahmed Khan I (1666-95) outshone other tribal leaders and firmly saddled himself in power, his descendants became the Sardar Khel and an independent tribe. The Ahltazais broke away from the Almadzais due to political differences. The Zagar Mengals were shifted to Chaghi District in 1766 by Mir Nasir Khan I so that their presence should thwart the attacks of hostile tribes.4

The original Brahvi population which began the experiment of building up state in the first decade of sixteenth century under Mir Umar must have been small in number, not more than 10 thousand which was divided into only a few tribes like Qambranis Mirwanis or Mirwaris, Samalanis, Gurgaris and Qalandranis. The Brahvis might have remained a submerged community had it not been for their absorption of Arabs in eight to tenth centuries and of Mongols in thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, who infused a new blood and became its sword arms.5

The tribe-wise population was the following in descending order.6

If the present Brahvi population is analysed into its ethnic elements, we will find that the non-Brahvis (who were later Brahvised) are pre-dominant. Numerically the Mengols come first with 49,993 members and they are Mongols.7 The second are the Zahris with 39,009 and they originally shifted from Afghanistan and settled here.8 The third are Muhammad Husainis, with 26,055, who migrated from Iran and were Shahis known as Muhammad Husain Is or Muhammad Hasanis.9 The fourth are Bezanjus (the Brahvised form of "Jangjus" or fighters) who are an offshoot of the Rind Balochs. The fifth are Shahwanis, the descendants of Shahu Baloch. Then there are Lahris, again an offshoot of Rind Balochs. The Raisanis migrated from Qandhar and belong to Tor Tareen Afghan tribe.10 The Kurds are obviously migrants from Kurdistan. Bungalzais are also Rind Balochs. Similar are Muhammad Shahis Langus11 are also
predominantly Baloch in blood. Thus about 72 per cent of the Brahvi population was originally non-Brahvis. It may be asserted that the percentage of the non-Brahvi elements would be perhaps larger than 72 if more information could be obtained; the real Brahvi element would be reduced to a microscopic minority. Then non-Brahvis not only predominate in numbers but they have also produced the administrators as well as the best soldiers of the Brahvi Khanate. Mengals, Raisanis, Zarakzais (Zahris) and Lahris may be mentioned especially.

Another fact to be remembered is that Mengals and Muhammad Hasanis were Shiahs while the Afghans were Sunnis and yet they have lived together for centuries with the result that sectarian lines of distinction have disappeared and they are neither Shiahs nor Sunnis but simply Muslims. In fact, the Mulla class which was responsible for keeping alive and fanning the sectarian differences is the most hated in the Brahvi folk literature.

The Brahvi social system, unlike the Pathan system, has not been rigid and inflexible. Its ruling characteristics have been elasticity and expansiveness. It has been complex and heterogeneous, eager to absorb others and, in this process of absorption, it has been modified and improved, often imperceptibly, though its essentials have generally remained the same.

This semi-Brahvized group of about 1,00,000 persons is mostly agriculturist while the bulk of the Brahvis is pastoral. Thus the Brahvi social system, with all its expansiveness, is yet clearly defined and well marked and this is one of the secrets of its persistent survival. Obviously, therefore, the Brahvis, like the Balochs, are a political entity and their system is also as elastic as that of the Balochs. The Balochs, are less knit together than the Brahvis but are far more comprehensive and display a greater aptitude for enlightenment than the Brahvis. As compared with these two, the Pathans are strictly an ethnic organization-rigid, inflexible and intensely democratic, believing in social equality. "The Khan is to the Tumandar what the Tumandar is to his Muqaddam". In fact, it was always an objective of the Khan to regularise the customary right of plunder by the tribes who, without him, might have suffered reverses or ended in mutual clashes.
The Brahvis were generally considered to be of Turki-Iranian origin, but recently attempts have been made to trace it to pre-historic times. Maulana Abdul Jalal Nadvi would like us to believe that they were the descendants of the people of the Indus Valley; these were Dravidians of the Mediterranean type and, therefore, of Semitic origin. He has been followed by Noor Muhammad Farwana, a Brahvi writer, who, without bothering about the racial identity of the Dravidians, said more explicitly that the Brahvis were the descendants of the people of the Indus Valley. The Jats who began to cross over to Balochistan (circa 100 B.C) thrust their rule upon these Dravidians who, however, stuck to their culture and manoeuvred to out them by offering more favourable terms to the new-comers, the Arabs. But it would be wrong to suppose that the Brahvis are Balochs just as it would be wrong to say that they are Arabs or Afghans or Iranians. They are a joint product of the mingling of all these racial elements. The idea that the Brahvis and Balochs are the one and same people has been recently put forward by Mir Gul Khan Nasir and Malik Saleh Muhammad Lahri.

Lastly, it is simply fantastic to assume that the Baloch marauders, referred to by Firdousi in his Shahnamah and against whom Anushirwan himself conducted reprisals were the first band of Baloch immigrants who were later termed "Brahvis", a changed form of the word "Burz Kohis" (the dwellers of Alburz Mountains). Firdousi, who has himself woven the legends, which are not always authentic history, into his poetry, has, however, used the word "Baloch". The following explanations have been given of the term Brahvi.

1. 'Brahui' is an old Persian word meaning 'hill-men'. It may be added that the word 'Roh' in Pashtu means mountain and so 'Rohi' means the dwellers of the mountainous regions.

2. The progenitor of Brahvis must have been Broho "not an uncommon modification of the name Brahim or Ibrahim". These refugees were immediately named 'Burz Kohis, by the local population and this word was distorted into Brahvis. The term conveys status rather than race. The name is traditioned to be a corruption of Barohi meaning dweller of the mountains, a highlander."
Mir Bai Khan Gichki of Makran referred to this position in his speech in the Constituent Assembly on 5 September, 1955 and said, "Just like water which if cuts itself adrift from a running stream becomes stagnant and putrefied, the same way we being cut off from the rest of the country, became stagnant. Inaction and inertia overtook us. To crown all, we began frittering away our energies on petty squabbles and tribal feuds which further divided us in a number of tribes and sub-tribes. Instead of progressing, we were relegated to regression".27

Their public conduct has not always been above reproach. The system of Brahui chiefship, like all other hereditary systems, like all other hereditary systems, is open to serious defects. Some of these Sardars endangered the very safety of the State by staging revolts as in the days of Mir Khudadad Khan while some acted to throttle the freedom movements as in the case of Nura Mengal. Yet others have led a 'devil may care' life while the people around them have been clad in rags, famished and benighted. "The despotism of the Khanate liquidated and suppressed the independent and freedom-loving spirit of the race and favoured the growth of a submissive type of population, tending towards a slavish life".28

Bray wrote, about thirty years back, "Taking one thing with another, I am forced to the regretful conclusion that unless the many disintegrating influences are arrested and some counter influence, such as the purging and strengthening of the Jirga system, speedily arises to put new life into tribal and racial unity, the Brahui tribes have seen their best days and that the Brahui race is doomed in the future, let us hope the very distant future, to absorption into some more viable community."29

Balochnistan is typically Dry World territory. Its low population density and small total number of inhabitants are suggestive of its extensive deserts".30

This is not to say that they do not cooperate; tends to generate the spirit of tribal loyalty and faithfulness."31
The Pashtuns of Balochistan lived primarily in what was British Balochistan-Quetta, Pishin, Zhob etc. They are closer to and more integrated into urban life and professions, with more education, more urban employment, and a more developed market economy. In the agrarian sector, the Pashtuns occupy a territory less mountainous and therefore more hospitable to settled agriculture. On the whole, the Pashtuns are economically and socially more advanced. Then, history of migrations and tribal exclusivities being what it is, the Pashtuns occupy an area closer to Sarhad province and to Afghanistan.32

The Pathans constitute a major portion of the total population of Balochistan living since times immemorial in the north-western region of the province embracing within its fold Loralai, Sharigh, Degari, Harnai, Quetta, Pishin and Chaman. The Pathan cluster round their homes at the back of the famous Suleman Mountain with its peak known as Takht-i-Suleman situated in this part. The north-western region comprising mainly Quetta, Pishin, Zhob and a major part of Loralai and Harnai Sub-Division of Sibi District, covering an area of 23,000 square miles out of the total 1,34,000 square miles of Balochistan province of Pakistan, is inhabited by about 5000,000 Pathans. According to 1972 census, the total population of the province is 2,500,000. This region is mostly mountainous and has a severe cold climate, with a heavy snowfall in winters. This range of Suleman Mountain passes through the northern part of Marri tribal area towards the Punjab to join the main Himalayan range and as such this is the most beautiful and green area having forest in this part of Balochistan.33 (Refer to Appendix XXIII p.398).

According to the Pathan genealogies Kais Abdul Rashid, the thirty-seventh in descent from Malik Talut (King Saul), had three sons, Gurgusht, Saraban and Baitan. Among the descendants of Gurgusht we have Mando Khels, Babis, Kakars and Panis. The Sarban division is represented by the Tarins, Shirans, Mianis and Barech; the descendants of Baitan can be identified in the Baitanis living across the Gomal.34

The tribes of Balochistan are divided into many small sections which it is hard to keep track of and it is usually found that the less warlike classes have the longest tribal tree. The
tables are, however, interesting as showing he great interest taken in tribal history and their social order.\textsuperscript{35}

According to the local tradition, almost all the present Afghan tribes of the Zhob district allege that they supplanted bye Mughals at the time of Sanzar Nika. They were primarily pastoral but gradually began to till the land. The existence of ruins called after the Mughals corroborates the local tradition. The Bargha Sheranis and the Khosti Saiyeds are said to be recent immigrants.

The Tarins conquered Pishin in the fourteenth century and afterwards certain of them migrated to Loralai district where they established the settlements in which they now live.

The Pathans of Balochistan are both agricultural and pastoral. That they lean more towards the latter is evident in the vast waste stretches of cultivable land all over the area in which they live.\textsuperscript{36}

The Baloch are concentrated in the Kalat Division and in the Sibi and eastern Loralai districts of the Quetta Division. Their tradition, irrespective of the languages spoken by the various subgroups, traces their origin back to the ancient Babylonian homeland of Aleppo, Syria, Balochi tradition and scholarship support the theory that the Baloch are Chaldean descendants of Belus, identified as the Babylonian king Nimrod.\textsuperscript{37}

The Balochs are much given to poetry, both ancient and modern; and in addition to their ballads of war and love, poems on religious subjects are by no means uncommon. To illustrate their feelings and ideas on these subjects, we append translations of some extracts from religious poems taken down from verbal recitation among the Balochs: (Refer Appendix XXI p.369.

By Brahim Shambani

"I remember 'Ali the King, who has poured a torrent into my heart, and the pure Prophet who sits upon his throne to do judgment and justice.

'The true God is merciful, with him is neither greed nor is there mother'.


A strict adhesion to the tribal code of honour is regarded by all Balochs as of supreme importance, and this code has greater influence than the tenets of their nominal religion. Liberality to all petitioners and hospitality to all comers stand first, and all people are judged by this standard, which plays a large part in the legends of the saints. The legendary hero most admired is Noshbandagh, who gave away all his possessions; and his verses in praise of giving are often quoted.  

'Whatsoever comes to me from the Creator, a hundred treasures without blemish, I will seize with my right hand, I will cut with my knife, I will deal out with my heart, I will let nothing be kept back'.

Next comes the duty of supporting and protecting refugees, and refusing to surrender them to their enemies or to the law. The maintenance of family honour by the punishment of infidelity in wives is considered also of the greatest importance, and death is the penalty both for the woman and for her paramour, although in modern times under British influence compensation is accepted. This is fixed in money, but in practice the debt is generally discharged by the marriage or betrothal of a woman belonging to the family of the aggressor to a man of the family of the injured husband. These are the principal articles of the tribal code.

Balochistan is a multilingual region; a majority of its inhabitants are bilingual, and there is a sizable trilingual population. Balochi, Brahvi, Pashto, Sindhi and Seraiki are the main languages. Balochi has eastern and western dialects and Pashto is spoken in its southern dialect as distinct from the northern Pashto of North-West Frontier Province. Sindhi has four dialects, and Seraiki has two dialects. Persian, in the Dehvari dialect, is spoken by the Dehwar communities of Kalat and Mastung and a mixed dialect, the Mokaki is spoken by the Lurs in the Kalat Division. Punjabi is spoken by the settlers from Punjab, Mainly in the urban areas, while Urdu is used as a lingua franca.
The Baloch and Pashtun (Pathan) peoples constitute the two major and distinct ethnic groups; the mixed ethnic stock, mainly of Sindhi origin, forms the third major group. There are minor ethnic communities of Meds along the coastal belt, Lurs in the predominantly Balochi areas, and Jats in the Sibi, Kachhi and Las Bela districts.\textsuperscript{41}

The Baloch and Pashtuns are mostly Sunni Muslims, although some communities profess the Shiah doctrine. Some of the Balochi communities and few people of Makran and Las Bela districts profess to be the followers of the 16th century messiah Miran Muhammad Mahdi of Jaunpur and constitute a sect by themselves Zikri.\textsuperscript{42} Hindus, Parsis (Zoroastrians) and Christians constitute minority communities the latter two living mainly in Quetta city. The vast rural areas are mostly barren, and semiarid lands are visited by nomads in the rainy season. The few green areas have pastoral concentrations, while the coastline has clusters of fishing villages. Though some mining settlements have sprung up in the interior, the bulk of the rural population remains nomadic. Since 1947, however, the process of urbanization has increased in response to industrialization and the greater education.\textsuperscript{43}

The only heretical sect which now has any influence in Balochistan is that known as the Zikri, which is powerful in Makran and Las Bela. Its members appear not to be Balochs but Jats and other tribes of Indian or indigenous origin, and some Brahvis, especially the Bizanjo tribe. The Zikris believe that their founder, Dost Muhammad, was the twelfth Mahdi, and his abode, Koh-i-Murad, near Turbat, takes the place of Mecca as the object of their pilgrimages. Their Mullahs have great power.\textsuperscript{44}

There are certain tribes or sections of tribes which have special Levitical functions, and whose members are believed to have the power of curing the sick by breathing on them. Such are the Nothani clan among the Bugtis, the Khairi tribe, and the Kalmati tribe.\textsuperscript{45} The last named are probably not Baloch by origin, although now assimilated. There seems to be a probability that they are the descendants of the Karmati or Karmathian heretics who were expelled from Multan by Mahmud of Ghazni at the commencement of the 11th century.\textsuperscript{46}
The Baloch and Pashtun peoples are organized on the basis of qawm or qabita, "community" or "tribe". Depending upon its strength and standing, a community headed by a sardar or Khan may be composed of various divisions and groups, each with its own headman. The nucleus of a Pashtun community is characterized by blood bonds and homogeneity, while that of a Baloch community is characterized by "common weal and woe" and heterogeneity. In the Marri community of the Baloch, land is the common property of all and is divided among the three main clans every 10th year. Riwaj (custom) specific to each community, has served the function of unwritten law. The Balochi Diwan serves as a legislative assembly for the Baloch, while the jirgah serves as a judicial tribunal among both the Baloch and Pashtun communities. Mayar or nang is the traditional Baloch code of honour, based on blood feud and chivalry. Marri society includes the rahzan, who conducts the attack in war, and the rizawar shair or community poet laureate. Horse racing, wrestling, religious holidays, melas (fairs), and marriage feasts are the main festivals. Baloch communities have professional minstrels who sing from Balochi daptar, known as the great epic of the 50-year Rind-Lashar War, and there are numerous regional folk songs. Among the Pashtuns, the landai form of folk song in the kakarri style is the most popular singing style, and the Kakar community has a rich variety of folk songs.

The important role played by the parties in the tribal system in Balochistan politics is of great importance for all political scientists, that how a Sardar loose his ancestral seat, to a common tribes man.

Pakistan's major parties and their influence before independence and after in the political process of tribal politics in Balochistan has played significant role, these parties like Pakistan Major Parties and local provincial parties are playing their role.

Soon after the passage of the Political Parties Act, all parties, except the Republican Party of Pakistan, the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Communist Party of Pakistan, of which the latter two had been banned in July 1948 and July 1954, respectively were revived. The first party to re-emerge was the Jama'at-i Islami, on July 16, 1962; followed by the Jama'at al-Ulama-i-
Islam on August 4, and the Nizam-i-Islam Party on August 6. In the process of reviving itself, the Pakistan Muslim League split into three groupings: the Convention Muslim League, set up on September 4-5; the Council Muslim League, established on October 27; and the third grouping, known as the "non-revivalists", joined the National Democratic Front. The Pakistan Awami League was revived on January 25, 1964, and the National Awami Party on February 28, 1964. The only real new party was the Pakistan Peoples Party, founded in December 1967.54

The initial difficulty in studying Pakistani political parties is that of classification. Should we accept the time-honoured categorisation and divide them into the parties of the Left and the parties of the Right, or should we try to find some other method of distinguishing them? It has been suggested that parties can be based either on a doctrine or on no doctrine. The doctrine-based party is characterised by the fact that "its leaders and its basis of appeal function largely in the realm of principles and moral argumentation". Socialist parties not based on trade union membership are the classical example. In Pakistan only the Islamic groups and the Communists would have qualified as doctrine-based parties. The non-doctrine party, on the other hand, has as its appeal and organising basis a "shared interest or identity"—it may be socio-economic classes, charismatic leadership, church, trade union, shared nationality, public office or spoils.9 But this classification breaks down when it is applied to a concrete situation such as existed in Pakistan. Religious groups, like the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Nizam-i-Islam, were certainly doctrine-based parties; but so was the Muslim League in so far as it firmly stood on the issue of separate electorates.56

The Muslim League was the only major political party in existence in August 1947, and it started its career in the new State with all the advantages that a party could conceivably wish for. It had been the sole instrument of freedom in creating the country; it enjoyed immense prestige among all classes of people; and leaders of all shades of opinion bowed their knee to it. The country looked to it not only with respect and gratitude, but also with a passion and affection not usually associated with a political group. Nearly every Muslim Pakistani was a Muslim League in 1947 and 1948. Not unnaturally, therefore, people identified that Muslim League with the country and the State. A number of factors helped to sustain this illusion. Absence of other
ries protected it from the rough and tumble of rival claims and concentrated public gaze on its

tions and decisions. As in the pre-1947 period the Muslim People had been the Muslim

tague, so now the Muslim League came to be the State. Jinnah, who had been elected its
esident year after year since 1937, was now not only the Governor General of Pakistan and
esident of the Constituent Assembly but also the supreme figure of the Pakistan Muslim

tague. Thus while all public opinion was reflected in one party, all political action was
centrated in one person.

With such an encouraging start Muslim League could confidently look forward to a long
	troubled spell of rule. This hope was not belied, and for seven years it was continuously in
ower in all provinces as well as in the Centre. In 1952-53 the Muslim League central
organization was forced to dissolve no less than four constituent Leagues, viz, those of Karachi,
lochistan, the Punjab and Sindh.

On 25 July, 1957, there was, as we have seen, a serious rift in the East Pakistan Awami
League, and Maulana Bhashani walked out to form his own party, the National Awami Party. In
East Pakistan it was soon joined by the Pakistan National Party, which itself was a combination
of the Azad Pakistan Party, the Red Shirts, the Sindh Awami Mahaz and a few other minor
groups. The real reason for Bhashani’s break with the Awami League was his disagreement with
Isharrowdy on foreign policy and his belief that the Awami League had betrayed itself by
refusing to implement the 21-point manifesto of the late United Front. One of the basic demands
of the National Awami Party was to make East Pakistan completely autonomous. Further, it
sired a drastic change in the country’s foreign policy in the direction of abrogating all defence
and military pacts and withdrawing from the western bloc. In the economic and social sphere the
party stood squarely on the Left and wanted, among other things, nationalization of basic
industries, liquidation of all foreign firms, creation of strong trade unions, confiscation of all
estates, immediate abolition of landlordism, and a closer connection between the Government
and the worker. It was resolutely opposed to “One Unit” and favoured its break-up. In February
1958 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the chairman of the West Pakistan National Awami Party,
published a pamphlet entitled Pathans and One Unit, in which he called the establishment of
West Pakistan, "a dangerous conspiracy against the people of smaller units hatched by the late Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurnari, and the Punjab leaders". He though that "One Unit" was a move to create a greater Punjab, to counteract the influence of East Pakistan, to minimize the influence of Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and Balochistan on national politics, to destroy the Red Shirts and his own prestige, and to do away with the States without "fuss or commotion".59

The National Awami Party has been called a "union of malcontents, men who, by temperament, find themselves in opposition under any government".60

The Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God), popularly known as Red Shirts from the colour of their uniform, were a body of Pathans founded in 1929 by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It was a religious-cum-nationalist organization closely allied with the Indian National Congress and bitterly opposed to the All India Muslim League. Soon after Independence Ghaffar Khan co-operated with G.M. Syed of Sindh to form the People’s Party. In June 1948, however, he was arrested for conspiring against Pakistan with the Faqir of Edward,61 and was not released till January 1954. By the time he was freed, the People’s Party had disappeared, and for a time he refused to ally himself with any group, but frequently expressed views on political topics.62 He was a great supporter of the Pukhtoonistan movement, which differed from the Pashtoonistan movement in that while the former was based on Pathan "nationality", the latter was founded on language. In other words, Ghaffar Khan of the North-West Frontier Province wanted to separate autonomous province of the Pathans, while Khan Samad Khan of Balochistan aimed at the creation of a separate province of the Pushto-speaking people.63 Pukhtoonistan, according to Ghaffar Khan, would include the tribal areas on the Pakistan side of the Durand Line, Mianwali District, the Chhachh area of Campbellpur District, and the whole of the North-West Frontier Province. Among his other demands were the abolition of zamindari and complete provincial autonomy with only four subjects -- defence, foreign affairs, communications and currency -- vested in the Centre. In 1956 he joined the Pakistan National Party, and next year, when the latter merged with the National Awami Party, he was appointed the Chairman of its West Pakistan branch.
In Balochistan, the Anjuman-i-Watan agitated for the creation of a new province on linguistic basis. Founded and led by Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, it was in favour of winding up the Muslim League, which was no longer needed, and establishing organizations founded on an economic basis “with an Islamic Socialist Party of Pakistan on the top”. Later he founded a new party called Wrore Pushtoon (Pushtoon Brotherhood), which consisted of all exponents and supporters of the Pushtoonistan movement. It advocated the breaking up of Balochistan on linguistic consideration and creating a distinct unit of Pushto-speaking people, to be known as Pushtoonistan. Believing in non-violence, the party was prepared to co-operate with any other organization “which is not opposed to our national demand of Pushtoonistan”. With the aim of creating political consciousness among the villagers, the Brotherhood claimed that it was concentrating its activities on educating the backward and illiterate rustic population of the province. It demanded the holding of a referendum on the question of accepting or refusing American military aid.  

Pakistan Muslim League was devided into two organs, Convention Muslim League and Council Muslim League. The split of Muslim League into many more faction like Qayyum Muslim League etc, the General Secretary Qazi Muhammad Isa had also been EBDO and neither Qayyum Khan nor Qazi Isa joined Convention Muslim League. Convention Muslim League was headed by President Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan had agreed to the revival of parties on the advice of his political advisers, then comprising mainly cabinet ministers and leading MNAs. He still disliked the decision. Once political activity picked up pace and politicians began to revive former parties, his advisers again pressed him to organize a political party of his own. He was not happy with their suggestion, but allowed them to establish a party which would support the programme and policies of his government.

The ministerialists, as Ayub Khan’s supporters were commonly referred to, first considered the idea of forming a completely new, broad-base national party, but then abandoned this idea in favour of taking control of the former PML. It was for this reason that they won over Manzare ‘Alam when he initiated moves to revive PML in July, after he had consulted leading West Pakistani Leaguers, including Mumtaż Muhammad Khan Daultana and Sardar Bahadur
han. Later, when Maulana Akram Khan announced the party's revival in August and directed branches to start functioning immediately, pressure was put on him to withdraw his directive. Even Ayub Khan expressed his displeasure. Maulana Akram Khan, who was a salaried member of the Advisory Council on Islamic Ideology, took little persuasion to agree to withdraw the announcement. The ministerialists then appointed a five-member committee, consisting of two central ministers, Habib Ullah Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and three parliamentary secretaries to formulate plans to reorganize the PML through its council; but things did not move according to their wishes. They soon realized that a majority of the councilors would not support them, because prominent Leaguers, enjoying the confidence of large groups of councilors, were not prepared to associate themselves with the ministerialists until they had been assured of the democratization of the 1962 Constitution, the removal of restrictions on politicians and political parties, and the release of 'Abdul Qayyum Khan. The ministerialists now decided to hold a convention; and, to avoid legal complications, they called it the Leaguers', not the League, convention. The decision to this effect was taken formally at a meeting of the federal cabinet presided over by Ayub Khan, on August 16.

Many events took place in reorganization of Convention Muslim League however the participation from Balochistan in the Convention Muslim League remained quite safe and politician moved with reservation they did participated with zeal and remained in the main stream of political activities. The climax came with the mutual sacking of the two leaders from their respective offices in the reorganizing committee. Two ConMLs existed in Karachi for nearly three months; and the rift was finally mended only at the instance of a three-member committee comprising Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Mian Amir al-Din and Jam Sahib of Las Bela. The office-bearers of the West Pakistan League and councilors to the central council were elected late as December 7, 1963. Raja Hasan Akhtar was elected its president and Shatkh Zafar Hasan its secretary. Although West Pakistan constituted one unit, its former provinces and regions were taken into consideration in the distribution of offices and seats in the central council. The president and the general secretary were from the former Punjab, but other office-bearers were from the remaining regions: vice-presidents-Ibrahim Khan Jhagra (NWFP), Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah (Sind) and Commodore Khalid Jamil (Karachi); joint secretaries-Sardar Khair Muhammad
Tarin (Balochistan), Shafqat Husain Moosvi (Sind) and Maulana Bashir Ahmad (Bahawalpur). Besides twenty-five nominees of the chief organizer, other members of the central council included sixty-two from Punjab and Bahawalpur, twenty-six from NWFP, twenty-one from Sind, six from Balochistan, and ten from Karachi. On May 22, Ayub Khan came forward to become a two-anna member of the party in East Pakistan as well as West Pakistan. His explanation for this was that the ConML had supported his programme since its inception, both in and outside the National Assembly; and its leaders had been inviting him, individually as well as collectively, to become a member of the party, and that he had finally joined it to fill "a political vacuum and to promote stability in the country." Monem Khan, governor of East Pakistan, and the following month the District Leagues of Qalat, Makran and Kharan, of the Qalat Division, unanimously elected him to represent their Division in the West Pakistan council as well as the central League council. The Quetta offer was formally signed by Sardar Doda Khan, Nawabzada Shaikh 'Umar Gichki and Nawabzada Sher 'Ali Khan, Presidents of the Qalat, Makran and Kharan District Leagues respectively. It was accompanied by a one-mile-and-662-yard-long scroll bearing 367-642 signatures requesting him to represent Quetta in the West Pakistan League council. Ayub Khan agreed to oblige. Their efforts to patch up their differences and forge some unity remained weak and yielded no fruitful results. In February 1969, when the council of the ConML gathered to elect its office-bearers, the East Pakistan "rebels", more assertive than ever wanted nothing short of Monem Khan's removal. All this was a traumatic experience for Ayub Khan. The intensity of the movement against himself and the strife within the party had shaken his confidence. When party workers requested that he might again shoulder the responsibility of the party's leadership, he expressed his inability to do so, and observed that he was not a political person and that politics was not in his temperament. Muslim League in Balochistan has played an important role in the Pakistan movement during accession issue, Ayub regime as convention Muslim League and in recent history Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Group) Baloch tribes in particular their Sardars/head of tribes have been part of main stream by joining major parties in the country.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded the PPP about one year and three months before Ayub Khan's downfall. Hailing from a leading landlord family of Sind, with degrees from Berkeley,
Oxford and London, he was taken into the central cabinet in October 1958 at the age of twenty-nine and held different portfolios under the Ayub Khan regime among which the last and longest held office was that of foreign minister. Despite being the youngest minister, Bhutto, with his youthful exuberance, oratorical gift, dynamism and nationalist orientation, won Ayub Khan's confidence and built up support amidst the opposition as well as in government.82

The Tashkent Declaration was the beginning of the end of Ayub Khan, who realizing that the shift in foreign policy had not taken Pakistan anywhere, now wanted to reverse some of the policies his government had pursued so far. Bhutto was not prepared to go along with him.83 He resigned from the general secretaryship of the ConML in March 1966, and, three months later, he was removed from the cabinet.84 The restoration of US economic aid just two days after his removal and the Indian jubilation over his exit strengthened the belief that his ouster was the result of outside pressure and not in accord with national aspirations.85 Bhutto wanted to be in a position in which he could control and direct policies; and this he could not achieve in any of the old parties. He could only fulfill such an ambition by organizing a new party with himself as its leader, and therefore moved in this direction with patience and calculation.86

The ulema and the religious political parties like Jamaat-i-Islami and JUP were harsh critics of Bhutto and his brand of socialism. They were doubtful of his religious credentials. Like President Ayub, under whom Bhutto developed his skills as a politician, Bhutto was at best a Modernist. His educational background and political philosophy were sufficient grounds to categorize him as a secularist or pragmatist. During his ministership under Ayub Khan, he had emphasized the need for Pakistan to adhere to the Islamic ideology. Addressing a conference of educationalists and ulema, he stated:

In a truly Islamic polity, there is no room for theocracy or governance through a sacerdotal class. For that matter, Islamic constitution or, in other words, a constitution for an Islamic state can only be secular.87

Bhutto did speak for implementation of an economic structure based on socialism, yet he completely discarded communism.88 What Bhutto visualized of socialism could become clear
only after his government’s policies took effect. Jamaat-i-Islami believed that Bhutto was inspired by socialism as practiced in China and would implement his Islamic socialism on the same pattern. The leader of JUP, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani also shared Maududi’s views and he took the stand against socialism. Among the religious-political parties, it was only JUJP which supported Bhutto. Although the PPP and JUJP did not work as an alliance during 1970s election, yet Bhutto succeeded in assuring the NAP and JUJP that the PPP was willing to establish a working alliance with them.

Like previous regimes who had ruled the country in the name of Islam, Bhutto also claimed that his main objective was to serve the Islamic cause. It is interesting to note the orientation and outlook of all such politicians who were secular and Bhutto was no exception. He did respect the great saints and sufis yet his ideas were totally based on Western teachings. Bhutto seemed to be influenced by men like Napoleon Bonaparte who occupied a central place as a political role model in Bhutto’s life. Bhutto viewed Napoleon as a giant. There was no man more complete than him. His military brilliancy was only one facet of his many-sided genius. His Napoleonic code remains the basic law of many countries. Napoleon was an outstanding administrator, a scholar and a romanticist. Bhutto was also influenced by Kamal Attaturk of Turkey, whose efforts brought Turkey on to the path of progress and Westernization. He was also close to the Shah of Iran whom he saw developing Iran on the basis of secular political ideas.

Bhutto was determined to bring progress and prosperity in the country through new ideas. This did not suit the ulema who believed in traditional means of progress. They feared Bhutto’s ideals of secularism and socialism. They thought he would be able to enforce his policies on the basis of popular mandate and the support he enjoyed among the secularist and socialist elements. The ulema believed that under such circumstances religious parties would not be able to influence the masses. So they opposed and criticized his policies. Bhutto however, continued referring to Islam as a dynamic force, enlightenment to the peasants, and means of ending feudalism, or allowing the forces of egalitarianism to spread.
Despite the fact that he gave too much importance to Islamic ideals, it could not stem the tide of general feelings prevailing among many that he did not attach any importance to Islam with special reference to Pakistan and that Islam would fare no better there than in the other Muslim countries.\(^9\)

The situation during the 1970s was quite the same which prevailed in undivided Pakistan. Islam was the only factor which bound the four provinces of Pakistan together. The ulema were of the view that the grievances of different ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups could only be removed through the application of Shariah otherwise these differences between the various parts of the country could lead to a further dismemberment of it.\(^6\)

The religio-political parties had only 18 MNAs, but this tiny group of ulema had a stronger voice in the National Assembly. The PPP had very little representation in the NWFP and Balochistan whereas the JUIP was strong enough in both these provinces because of the way the seats had been distributed between different political parties. The NAP and PML (Qayum) in the NWFP could form a government with the support of minor parties and independent members. Because of the important position of the JUIP in the Balochistan Assembly, Mufti Mahmud offered a formula for coalition with any of the parties [NAP and PML (Qayum)] on the following basis:

1. The coalescing party would support JUIP in its stand on the process of constitution-making; and
2. The provincial governments would abide by the injunctions of Shariah to the extent permitted by the limitations under which they functioned.\(^7\)

This formula brought JUIP and NAP together and they agreed to support each other in forming the governments in Balochistan and NWFP. The JUIP chose to support NAP because a coalition with PML(Qayum) would have guaranteed power only in the NWFP, as there was no chance for PML(Qayum) to form the government in Balochistan. The NAP leadership was considered more reliable than the PML(Qayum) leadership because of the former's consistent
stand in the politics of Pakistan. It was strange that both the parties followed different ideologies yet agreed to cooperate with each other just in order to share power.

Bhutto knew that the NAP was the only party which followed the secular approach and its support could be beneficial for the PPP in the National Assembly as well as in the provincial assemblies of Balochistan and the NWFP. The ban imposed by Yahya Khan on the NAP was lifted and Bhutto’s intention in doing so was to start with a clean slate.

JUIP and NAP demanded that the appointment of the governors in the NWFP and Balochistan should be made after consulting them, but Bhutto did not accede to such a demand. They pressurized Bhutto to lift Martial Law and restore democracy. Bhutto, who himself had been an opponent of Martial Law, was vulnerable to such vociferous demands. He, therefore, made an accord with NAP and JUIP on 6 March 1972, in order to retain their support. The tripartite accord between NAP, JUIP and PPP was as under:

1. An Interim Constitution based on the Government of India Act, 1935 would be framed.
2. Martial Law would continue to be in force up to 14 August 1972.
3. The Governors of NWFP and Balochistan would be nominated in consultation with NAP and JUIP.
4. NAP and JUIP would be entitled to form governments in the provinces of the NWFP and Balochistan.

Bhutto withdrew Martial Law on 14 April 1972 and sought an alliance with PML(Qayum) in order to contain the influence of the NAP and JUIP. In accordance with the accord, the NAP-JUIP coalition governments were formed in NWFP and Balochistan under the chief ministership of Mufti Mahmud and Ataullah Khan Mengal respectively. Before allowing the NAP and JUIP select their own governors, Bhutto, mindful of the threat the autonomy movements could have on the integrity of the country, demanded from Bizenjo, the would-be-governor of Balochistan, that he ensure against the “political victimization or unfair treatment of
non-locals and that fissiparous tendencies and movements, however nebulous, would be put down firmly.105

Balochistan being a backward province, as compared to other provinces of Pakistan has the lowest per capita income in the country106 and the highest illiteracy rate. The NAP government of Balochistan, representing the first elected government of the province since independence was determined to improve the poor socio-economic standing of the province. Although both Bhutto and Mengal realized the need of improving the standard of living, their different approaches intensified the bitter conflict, Bhutto, a staunch advocate of a strong centre, urged modernization in Balochistan under the directions of the central government. His development programmes not only encompassed the economic sphere but also the social structure of the province.107 He had diagnosed Balochistan’s backwardness as essentially the result of the feudal and tribal structure existing in the province.108 He was determined to change this and it was this meddling in the provincial arena which caused the two governments to clash. The NAP government was of the view that in order to build up a Baloch middle-class through the exploitation of the province’s mineral resources, it would have to eliminate competition with all non-Baloch elements, especially Punjabi and Muhajir. They wanted to see an end to the reserves of Sui gas and coal being extracted and exploited by non-Baloch workers and shipped out of the province for the benefit of the rest of the country.109 So Governor Bizenjo decided to sack 6,000 non-Baloch government employees in contradiction to his assurance to Bhutto. His government overlooked the acts of violence perpetrated by the radical Balochistan Student Organization (BSO) on non-Baloch.110 The NAP government treated its political opponents harshly, and the chief minister, as Sardar of the Mengal tribe, personally led punitive expeditions against the rival Jamote tribe.111 Bhutto, fearing that this type of government-sponsored activities had the potential of developing into large-scale inter-tribal warfare which could make Balochistan ungovernable, decided to send in the army. Coupled with its decision to resort to military means, Bhutto decided to dismiss the Balochistan governor and chief minister as well as the governor of NWFP on 12 February 1973. The official reason for dismissing the two NAP governors was based on the statement made by Wali Khan, NAP leader, declaring that his party was no longer bound by the Governor’s agreement which established the NAP governments in the two western
provinces. The necessity of sending the army was felt by Bhutto after the discovery of a cache of 300 Soviet-made submachine guns and 48,000 rounds of ammunition in the Iraq embassy in Islamabad. The central government was informed well in time that those weapons were meant for a separatist movement aimed at making Balochistan secede from Pakistan. This act of the central government was considered by many as undemocratic and an interference in the provincial affairs. The NWFP government under Mufi Mahmud resigned in protest against the arbitrary dismissal of the Balochistan government.

"Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUIP Conference of Ulema of Pakistan) The JUP is an orthodox Islamic party, fundamentalist and rightist. It has no program other than the vague aim of Islamization, although it supports the idea of democracy in general terms. The party draws its strength from the Bralvi sect of Sunni Muslims the JUP virtually has no support in Balochistan: President Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani is its head"

Balochistan has not had a political party which could claim a non-ethnic support base across the province ever since the National Awami Party (NAP) disintegrated. Even the Jamiat i Ulema e Islam (JUI) which is the largest single political party in the province in terms of votes, has its power-base in the northern Pushtun areas only.

The disintegration of the NAP and General Ziaui Haq's martial law created ethnic divisions in the province which have just begun to surface. Balochistan's last bulwark against ethnic polarisation, the Pakistan National Party (PNP) also lost influence with the death of its founding member Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo. today, at a wider level, the province is divided between the secularists and the fundamentalists and, within the secularists, between the Baloch and the Pushtuns. One thing, however, which certainly goes to the credit of Balochistan's regional parties is that unlike the regional parties in other provinces, the ones in Balochistan have a genuine electoral standing.

The Awami Jamhoori Party. It is difficult to describe Nawab Akbar Bugti's Jamhoori Watan Party as a political party. It is more a gang of moneyed people who have made enough
money over the years to buy their way into politics. And Nawab Bugti is an automatic choice for them because they know that he will always make a beeline for power irrespective of what he has to do enroute.\textsuperscript{118}

By the time the 1988 assemblies were dismissed, Bugti's BNA had already fallen apart because of the withdrawal of the BNM. Bugti had survived the BNM's withdrawal primarily because the IJI, without a benefactor in Islamabad, was not strong enough to take over on his own. And the PPP federal government was happier dealing with Bugti than with the JUI which was the only logical alternative to the Nawab. However, after the dismissal of the assemblies, Bugti found himself all alone. He hurriedly put together all the individuals with whom he exercised some influence under the umbrella of the JWP.

Bugti had an understanding with the IJI, reached during the COP's no-confidence move against Ms Bhutto in November 1989,\textsuperscript{119} that, among other things, he would be the IJI's man in Balochistan irrespective of what happened after the ouster of Ms Bhutto.\textsuperscript{120} In the 1990 elections, the PPP and the BNM were virtually wiped out and the JWP emerged as the largest single party with 13 seats in the 45 member House.\textsuperscript{121} He approached his allies in Islamabad with the agreement of 1989 but was told to wait. Meanwhile, the House of Jamali made up with the IJI high command and Taj Jamali was selected to be the provincial chief minister of the IJI-led coalition.\textsuperscript{122} Bugti ranted and raved, but to no avail.\textsuperscript{123}

After coming to power,\textsuperscript{124} Mian Nawaz Sharif's trouble shooters in Balochistan have been steadily chipping away at Bugti's men. So far, at least three of his MPAs have unofficially deserted him while many more are negotiating their terms of endearment to the Jamali government, Bugti himself has more or less distanced himself from the scene, returning a few weeks ago after a lengthy stay abroad. Even his criticism of the government has waned in recent days.

The Pakistan National Party. The origins of the Pakistan National Party can be traced in the early politics of Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, a firebrand leftist who was served as the
Governor of Balochistan in the early 70's when the National Awami Party was leading a coalition government in the province. When Bhutto dismissed the NAP government, Mir sahib resigned in protest and was implicated in the Hyderabad conspiracy case.125

On being released after Gen Zia's martial law, Mir sahib, unlike most of NAP's Baloch leaders, preferred to stay in Pakistan. Deserted by Mengal and Marri, and having fallen out with Wali Khan because the latter supported Zia's martial law, Mir sahib had no other politician of his stature to ally with or to think of forming a new party. He was deeply influenced by the events in Afghanistan and came to be described as an 'internationalist' by his contemporaries. By the early 80's, ethnic polarisation in Sindh had started to surface and Mir sahib started thinking about a party which could act as a bulwark against such developments at the national level.

In February 1986, the Pakistan National Party was formed in Multan with a strong anti-feudal, anti-capitalist manifesto. Mir sahib took charge as the PNP's president while Qaswar Gardezi from Lahore was made its general secretary. Though the bulk of the party's support was in Balochistan, Mir sahib had developed a strong aversion to being categorised as a regional leader. He spent most of his time away from Balochistan, leaving the field open to more parochial politicians. This limited his scope of activity in other provinces as well; in Sindh he refused to ally with the Sindh National Alliance in 1988 as well as with the Balochistan National Youth Movement.126

Mir sahib had grossly underestimated the strength of parochial politics. In the 1988 elections, his party was almost wiped out from Balochistan by the BNYM127 and he himself lost both his ancestral seats. The shock of the loss led to his death in 1989. Not long afterwards, his trusted and diligent colleague, Qaswar Gardezi, also died.

After Mir sahib's death, the party was taken over by his son Bizen, who did not have a political background at all. He let Hafeez Pirzada from Sindh and Nawab Aslam Raisani in Balochistan handle most of the party's affairs. Finally, in 1990,128 the PNP showed a marginal improvement over its 1988 performance and won three seats in the provincial assembly and two
n NA. Later, two more MPAs joined PNP to raise its parliamentary strength to five. In 88, the
PNP had won only two PA seats.

Since then, the party has remained allied to the Balochistan government. Hafeez Pirzada,
who became its chief organiser, tried several times to hold a convention to re-organise the party
but was foiled by Baloch workers who were happier with a relatively non-political person like
Bizen Bizenjo.

The Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party. One of the most militant parties of
Balochistan, the Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) is the only provincial party whose
street power enables it to enjoy a nuisance value far in excess of its electoral standing.

The PMAP's present chairman, Mahmood Achakzai, inherited his party's politics after his
father, Abdus Samad Achakzai, was assassinated in Quetta in the 2/3rd December night 1973.
A former leader of the NAP, Abdul Samad formed the NAP (Pakhtoonkhwa) after the dismissal
of the NAP government in the mid 70s. Almost exclusively a Pushtun party, the NAP(P) drew its
strength from the Pushtun dominated districts of northern Balochistan. Its main political rival in
Balochistan was therefore the JUI. Since the NWFP had a major leader like Wali Khan as an
advocate of Pushtun rights, the NAP(P) could never get a foothold in the Frontier. It concentrated
on Quetta, and the only way of getting a quick response from the electorate was to play the
ethnic card which Abdus Samad did with great success.

After Abdus Samad's death, Mahmood Khan merged with the Pushtun faction of the
Mazdoor Kissan Party and renamed the new organisation as the Pushtun Milli Awami Ittehad
(PMAI) in 1988. After winning two seats in the 1988 elections, the PMAI was once again
renamed as Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAF) in 1989. In the 1990 elections, it won
three seats in the provincial assembly while Mahmood Khan himself made it to the national
assembly.
Though he advocates a separate homeland for the Pashtun, consisting of the NWFP and parts of Balochistan plus a few bits of Afghanistan as well, he would happily settle for a Pashtun province, consisting of the Pashtun-dominated areas inside Pakistan, for the time being. His party is currently spear-heading the agitation against the Balochistan government, demanding redemarcation of Local Bodies constituencies. A cadre of young and militant workers and Mahmood Khan's personal influence over the drug trafficking routes in Balochistan has given him a lot more clout than his electoral standing merits.

The Balochistan National Movement. The exit of Balochistan's two most powerful leaders, Attaullah Mengal and Khair Bux Marri, and the refusal of Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo to enter provincial politics left the field open for the Balochistan Student Organisation (BSO) which is perhaps the most active of all student organisations in Pakistan. Because of Gen Zia's ban on political parties, students graduating from the BSO could not find any political platform to operate from. They therefore continued to use the BSO's name despite the fact that they would be addressing national, or at least provincial, issues.

These 'student' leaders capitalised on the resentment created among the people against the sardars because of the alliance of Nawab Akbar Bugti and his likes with the Zia regime. A poor middle class activist from Karachi, Dr Hayee Baloch, emerged as their leader and along with Ghulam Mohammad who remained the BSO chairman throughout the 80s, they started their politics in the southern districts of Mekran and Kalat.

Shortly before the 1988 elections, the BSO realised that it had done enough work to try a shot at electoral politics. Also, the experience of the 1985 partyless elections had convinced these leaders that staying away from elections would only marginalise them. Failing to contact their elders like Marri and Mengal, they hurriedly put together a few candidates in their areas of influence and sought election tickets for them under the banner of Balochistan National Youth Movement. However, lack of financial support forced them into an alliance with Nawab Bugti and they faced the 1988 elections from the platform of Balochistan National Alliance (BNA) -- a mostly collection of 'progressive' sardars and 'student leaders.
The BNA won 11 seats in the 1988 elections, mostly at the cost of the PNP. Of these 11, four were won by the BNYM. Shortly after Nawab Bugti assumed power following the ouster of Zafarullah Jamali, the BNYM changed its name to Balochistan National Movement (BNM). The purpose was to project it as a party which had matured and which was no longer dependent on the BSO. Besides the speakership, the BNM was given two ministries.

Nawab Bugti’s arrogance and his allowances to the fundamentalists soon brought the BNM under pressure from its voters. In 1990, the BNM resigned from the ministries and the speakership but continued to support the Bugti government till the assemblies were dissolved in August. But its brief term in office had cost it dearly.

In the 1990 elections, the BNM could win only two seats and the subsequent alignment of forces further confused its politics. It refused to ally with the IJI coalition which included the IJI because of its earlier experience with fundamentalists and it could not join the Opposition which was being led by Nawab Akbar Bugti’s Awami Jamhoori Party because it had accused Bugti of benefiting from the electoral rigging organised by the IJI.

Today, the BNM neither supports the government nor does it sit on the Opposition benches. The infighting within the BSO has further complicated the situation. In sheer panic, the BNM decided to respond to the provocations of the Pashtun Party, the PMAP. Over the past year, clashes between the BNM and the PMAP have twice led to curfew. So far, 17 people have died in one year in ethnic violence.

The previous balance among the three communities has been upset by the influx of Afghan refugees. There are now about 400,000 Afghan refugees in Balochistan. Many of the refugees have acquired Pakistani identity cards and registered on voters lists. The Balochs who have been the majority in all censuses since 1901, are visibly concerned. They fear being converted into a minority in their own province. Fairness and transparency of the census, including checking identity cards and excluding the refugees may resolve the issue.
The southern part of the province has the vast majority of Baloch people, while the northern ones are primarily Pashtu-speaking Pathans. Given the ethnic divisions in other parts of the country, and cultural and linguistic differences among the two main groups, demand for division of the province can become an issue and may lead to conflict. Steps taken now to achieve integration of the various communities would prevent such conflict.†

The rise and fall of tens and hundreds of political parties, like the launching and termination of hundreds of individual and group newspapers and publications which rise and fall in a short period of time, are signs of weakness limitation and individualism of political systems. In some cases, the establishment of political parties not only have not solved political problems, but has caused profound political crises and has even led to racial, ethnical, and religious disputes.
NOTES

3. If the Jats are Sythians, as most probably they are, then their stay and rule in Balochistan must be more than a thousand years old.
5. Ibid.
6. Table No.III

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<td>1)</td>
<td>Mengals (including Zagar Mengals = 9,926) = 49,993</td>
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<td>2)</td>
<td>Zahris = 39,009</td>
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<td>3)</td>
<td>Muhammad Hasakis = 26,055</td>
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<td>4)</td>
<td>Bezanjus = 14,219</td>
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<td>5)</td>
<td>Shahwanis = 12,313</td>
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<td>Langus = 10,893</td>
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<td>Lahris = 8,617</td>
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<td>Muhammad Shahis = 4,879</td>
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<td>Ahmedzais</td>
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<td>26)</td>
<td>Ahtazai</td>
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<td>27)</td>
<td>Unidentified Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Total** = 2,62,463

1. Mir Gul Khan Naseer, p. 150 (Vol. I)
2. Collectively known as Khan's sulus or original nucleus. This sulus, with considerable Arab and Mongol blood, form about 11% of the total Brahui population. M.S. Khan Baloch, History of Baloch Race and Balochistan, 268.
4. Tarikh-e-Balochistan by Hittu Ram, p. 547.
5. Ibid, p. 547
6. Ibid, pp. 22 and 547

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Brahui Tribe</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Strength</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Mengals</td>
<td>Mongol</td>
<td>49,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Zahris</td>
<td>Afghan</td>
<td>39,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Mohd Hasans</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>26,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Bezanjus</td>
<td>Balochs</td>
<td>14,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Shahwanis</td>
<td>Balochs</td>
<td>2,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Lahriz</td>
<td>Balochs</td>
<td>8,617</td>
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<tr>
<td>7) Raisanis</td>
<td>Afghan</td>
<td>4,006</td>
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<td>8) Kurds</td>
<td>Kurds</td>
<td>5,991</td>
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<td>9) Bungalzai</td>
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<td>10) Mohd Shahis</td>
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<td>4,879</td>
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<tr>
<td>11) Langus</td>
<td>Balochs</td>
<td>10,893</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12) Sarparahs Afghans 3,336
    Total: 1,90,024

12. It must be remembered that these tribes are not exclusively derived from the racial stock shown against them, but they also contain considerable Arab and Jat elements, e.g. Zahri nucleus is Arab Qureshyite and Bezanjus include Jat-clans like Chanal, Motak, etc., ibid, p.268.
14. "The narrow and bigoted spirit of the Brahui never admitted the Balochis in their efforts to build up a national life or culture", p. 124 (M.S Khan Baloch).
15. Imperial Gazetteer of India, VI, 290.
16. Ibid.
23. Saieh Muhammad, pp. 26-28
   Extract from Tarikh - e - Balochistan- R.B. Hittu Ram, Lahore, 1907, pp 6-7.
24. For other minor differences between Brahvis and Balochs, vide Hittu Ram, p. 23.

30. Culture Worlds p. 311-from the sub-topic 'Balochistan' of the 32nd main topic 'South Western plateaus' of the part "Dry World".


32. Focus on Balochistan and Pushtoon Question, Dr Feroz Ahmed, p. 58.


34. Ibid.

35. The Balochistan Intelligence Bureau Quetta 1937, Notes on the Tribes of Afghan Descent in Balochistan, p. iii.


38. A full account of this sect is given by Mr Hughes-Buller in the Balochistan Census Report, 1902.


41. Ibid p.393.


44. Ibid. See also Islam in Tribal Societies from the Atlas to the Indus by Akbar S. Ahmed Op.Cit p.313.

45. Author had an opportunity to be with their Chief in Karachi, had an association of two days meat S. Shair Baz Mazari at his residence. Kalamati Tribes are respected by the Balochi tribes in particular Distt Makran.


49. Ibid.


52. Kakar. The tribe is considered to be lax in morals and of dirty habits. Their courage is not supposed to be of any great standard. (General Wahid Khan Kakar belongs to the same tribe) Notes on the tribes of Afghan Descent in Balochistan. The Balochistan Intelligence Bureau Quetta 1937 Op.Cit., p.6.


54. 


56. The history of All India Muslim League and after partition The Muslim League is well known, Party Politics in Pakistan by KK Aziz Op.Cit., p.69.

57. Ibid p.71.


61. The Faqir of Ippi, this legendary figure of the north west borderland. For years he kept the British frontier guards on their toes, and after 1947 conspired with Afghanistan and Pakistan Red Shirts to incite the Pakistan population to revolt against Pakistan KK Aziz Op.Cit., p.136.

62. This Red Shirts organization was declared as unlawful by the Government of West Pakistan on 7th July 1956, Dawn of 8 July, 1956.


64. Pakhtoonistan advocacy by spokesmen of various interests involved provides ample evidence of the significance Mr Abdur Rahman Pazkhwak an Afghan diplomat remained Ambassador in New Delhi India, has written a book "Pakhtoonistan", see appendix to Chapter VIII p. shown all the areas adjacent to Afghan border as Pukhtoonistan, including Balochistan upto Arabian Sea. Also see KK Aziz Op.Cit., p.137.

65. Both the Leagues claimed to be the genuine League and true successor to the old League. In June 1964, their leaders clashed over the issue in the National Assembly, and Council
Muslim League even considered taking the matter to a court of law. M. Rafique Afzal Op.Cit., p.54

66. At many time Gen Ayub Khan did oppose his adviser, but he also became victim of expediencies as our other leaders and brought disasters for the country and in particular for the people of Pakistan.

70. Unsuccessful talks on this subjects were held by Muhammad Ali Bogra with East Pakistan Leaguers; by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto with Sindhi leaders, and by Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana with Ayub Khan.
72.
75. On Hasan Akhtar’s death in October 1964, Shaikh Mas’ud Sadiq replaced him as the president.

76. On May 12, 1964, Raja Hasan Akhtar appointed Mian Bashir Saigol, an industrialist from the Punjab, as the treasurer of the Party.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
87. The Pakistan Times, 19 February 1962.
43. Ibid.
45. Bhutto, If I am Assassinated, Op.Cit., p.120
54. Ibid.
111. Ibid., p.6.
112. Ibid., p.4.
116. "Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam (JUI; conference of ulema of Islam) The JUI is the Pakistani Successor to the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind (Conference of Ulema of India) the JUI has a strong base among the Pathans of the North West Frontiers Province and Balochistan".

"National Democratic Party. (NDP) The strength behind this party, which succeeded the National Awami Party (NAP) after its banning in 1975, rests with Wali Khan and his wife, Nasim Wali Khan, who are highly respected among the Pathan Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari.

Mazari, a Baloch of Dera Ghazi Khan in the Punjab, is the NDP's president. An intellectual in his fifties, Mazari lacks a political base. Secretary General of the party is Abid Zubari, an insurance magnate in his fifties Mazari and Zubari are pro-West rightists while Wali Khan, though not a Communist favours the USSR. The result of this disfunction is considered able vagueness about the NDP's programs and policies: It lost its Balochistan Wing which drifted further left in the mid 1970, and prolonged cooperation with the Zia regime has tarnished its image. It has participated with MRD in opposition to Zia, but it was not very active.


117. "Pakistan National Party. (PNP) The Pakistan National Party was created in 1979 in a split from the NDP. The party was headed by Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, a known communist who support ex Soviet social policy reason for the NDP and PDP involved both Bizenjos objections to Mazaries leadership although PNP is the only Baloch party to
which Baloch leadership generally ignore it (The party advocates a very weak central government and maximum provincial autonomy. It has also consistently supported recognition of the Marxist government of Afghanistan"

0. Ibid.
1. See Appendix VIII Distribution of Provincial Assembly Constituencies Balochistan p.344.
3. Ibid.
4. 6th November 1990, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif took the oath of Prime Minister.
7. Origin of Balochistan National Youth Movement its area of activities is Kalat and Mekran.
8. After the death of Mir ghaus Bakhsh Bizinjo, the PNP was in a disorganised position, but did manage to emerge by winning MPAs and MNAs seats during 1990 election.
9. Son of Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizinjo, Mir Bizen Bizenjo won from NA-207 Turbat Punjgur area with a little margin Dr M. Yasin BNM.
11. "Pashtoonkhwa (Pathan Brotherhood). This was the Balochistan wing of the NDP - NAP. It was led by Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai until his assassination in 1973: his son Mahmood Khan Achakzai inherited the leadership. The party is found only in the Pathan areas of Balochistan. It is leftist and Pathan racist influence in the college among students at college, University the population, areas of influence are Chaman, Pishin Shela Bagh Kidia Abdullah, Kuchlag, Mahmud Khan- Achakzai is Member National Assembly, during Zia regime as described in chapter VII the period of reconciliation Mahmood Khan Achakzai".
12. See Chapter VII of the same dissertation.
1. Other sources and visit to the area by the author during 1989-1990.

5. See Appendix X p.351.

5. Senate of Pakistan Directory of Members Third Edition p.21. A medical professional and President of the Balochistan National Movement (Hayee Group), Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch was born at Chhalgari in the Bolan District of Balochistan on 1st February, 1945. After his early education from the local High School Bagh, Government College Mastung and Government Degree college Khuzdar, he joined Dow Medical college Karachi for MBBS and won a degree in medicine.

His political career started during his academic life and was so popular among the students' community that he was elected as founder Chairman of Baloch Students Organization as early as 1967. He is very popular among the middle, lower middle and working classes for espousing their causes. (Refer to Appendix X p.351).

He was elected as Member of the National Assembly in 1970 when he was still a student, on the ticket of National Awami Party (NAP). After ban on the National Awami Party, he joined Pakistan National Party and continued his political activities. Presently, he is the Central President of the Balochistan National Movement (BNM-H).

He was elected as member of the Senate in March 1994 for a six year term. He is currently a member of the Senate Standing Committees on Finance and Economic Affairs and Communications and Railways and also that of the Functional Committee on Less Developed Areas.

37. On August 6, 1990, Ghulam Ishaq dissolved the National and Provincial assemblies and COP leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi replaces Benazir as the caretaker prime minister. Elections are scheduled for October 24.

38. Baloch society has traditionally been stratified and characterized as "feudal militarism." The significant social tie is between a leader, the hakim, and his retinue. Tribal violence or clan warfare is a part of daily life. Historically, when the Sardars fought among each other, only their followers died. In recent times, the Sardars are getting killed themselves. In 1983, Nawab Ghaus Bux Raisani, the powerful chief of Sarawan, was assassinated following clashes that had taken place during the "Local Bodies" elections that year. This led to a lasting enmity between the Raisanis and the Bugtis.

CHAPTER-IX

POLITICS OF CONCILIATION 1977 TO 1990

Between the achievement of Independence by Pakistan in 1947 and the replacement of Bhutto by an Army Regime in 1977, over a period of thirty-odd years, there were three distinct phases of disturbances in Balochistan; between 1958 and 1959, between 1959 and 1967 and between 1972 and 1977, and in between these there was respite only for brief periods. Due to recent developments in the surrounding areas, Balochistan is a happy hunting ground for foreign analysts who see in these disturbances, a sign of resurgent nationalism, of insurgency on the part of the residents of this part of Pakistan.

The half decade of the seventies, between 1972-77, truly belongs to Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto and the origin of the Balochistan disturbances during this period can be traced to five causes, viz

1. Bhutto's ambition for unlimited political power whetted further by his party's failure to win the elections in two out of the four provinces;
2. His inherent mistrust and fear of Wali Khan as a political adversary and his consequent endeavour to neutralise him and his party, the NAP, as a political threat;
3. Bhutto's perception that the Baloch Sardars were standing in his way and preventing his political access to the Baloch tribesman and as a result thereof, the need for the political liquidation of the Sardars.
4. Constant pressure from the Shah of Iran on Bhutto to take action against the recalcitrant Baloch in Pakistani Balochistan in order to prevent their "bad influence" from infiltrating into Irani Balochistan; and
5. Bhutto's assessment that if he managed to involve the army, it would not only be more effective than the civilians but, by its very involvement, the army would itself be neutralised as a pressure group against Bhutto and his Government.
On the 5/6th of July, 1977 the army took over and put Bhutto under protective custody.\(^\text{10}\)

The Chief Martial Law Administrator disbanded the Hyderabad Tribunal on the 1st of January, 1978, ordered the release of all the accused and declared an amnesty for those who had left their homes during the disturbances in Balochistan.\(^\text{11}\) Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri requested Gen Zia ul Haq that rehabilitation programme should be organised on his request an amnesty programme was planned in which Central Government gave Rs. 30 million to distribute amongst distress families, those faced difficulties and left there homes during insurgency operations. He said that the 'folding up of the Tribunal was in the general interest of the country'.\(^\text{12}\)

Khair Bakhsh Marri was released from the Hyderabad jail on the 4th of January and came to Quetta the next day to a small reception. On the 11th November, 1978, he went away to London where he stayed till the end of 1981 paying at least one visit in between to Afghanistan. Since December he has been living in Kabul.

Ata Ullah Mengal had been having heart trouble while in gaol in Hyderabad and through arrangements made by the Government of Pakistan went to the USA in September 1977, for a heart operation. He returned to Karachi on the 6th of February 1978, but went back to England in the middle of 1979 and has been staying there.\(^\text{13}\)

Muhammad Zia-Ul-Haq,\(^\text{14}\) 54 years old chief of Army Staff, Chief Martial Law Administrator, Health Minister, Foreign Minister.\(^\text{15}\)

Zia, who certainly supported Bhutto’s tough line on Balochistan, was conciliatory when he took over. Balochistan was a useful smear on Bhutto. He released the National Awami Party leaders who Bhutto had jailed. They were winded by the war, and silenced by martial law.\(^\text{16}\)

Soon after the change-over of July 5, 1977, the Chief Martial Law Administrator appointed a Committee of Inquiry to probe the conduct of the March elections. The relevant order dated November 1, 1977, appointed the following as members:- (1) Brig Mir Abdul Nayeem (2) Mr Abdul Aziz Khan, Secretary, Police Foundation (3) Mr M. Haumayun Khan,
OSD, election Commission (4) Lt Col Mohammad Aslam Raja. The Committee was to fix responsibility for the malpractices during the elections and recommend proceedings against the persons concerned in accordance with the law. 17

In Balochistan, both the National Assembly and Provincial Assembly polls were boycotted from the very beginning. The Provincial NAP leadership was in jail. As a consequence, the PPP romped home with four uncontested seats in the National Assembly and twenty in the Provincial Assembly. The remaining seats were still contested by elements like the Pakhtoonkhwa NAP and independents. The most bitterly contested seat was that of Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, the then Attorney General, who was pitted against Mr. Mahmood Achakzai, a formidable rival. This was a classic contest and a unique case by itself. It makes a fascinating study and will be dealt with in the chapter.

As for the rest of the contested seats, the CMLA’s Inquiry Committee came to the conclusion that "large scale brazen rigging and malpractices were carried out on the polling day to ensure the victory of the PPP candidates in the province."

The former Inspector General of Police, Balochistan Mr. A.R. Arif, in his statement of January 21, 1978 deposed as follows:-

"The machinery of the elections needed a lot of support from the Government as the candidates picked to fight the elections on PPP tickets could not have won the elections on their own. The rift among the higher echelons of the provincial political parties resulted in nominating such candidates who had personal obligations to Messers Muhammad Khan Barozai, Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, Tahir Muhammad Khan and Yahya Bakhtiar. 18

White paper was published to ascertain the rigging in the 1977 election which was a main cause for the country wide disturbances for the administration of the country, the Martial Law government set up a Military Council. It consisted of the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Chiefs of all the military services. A few other senior Generals were also
associated with policy making who were assisted by senior civilian bureaucrats. The Council announced the following new structure for the interim government:

1. President Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry will continue as the Head of the State.

2. Important administrative functions of the country will be performed by the Military Council.

3. The Chief Martial Law Administrator will be the head of the executive. The Secretary General Defence, Mr. Ghulam Ishaque Khan, will be responsible for coordination between all federal departments.

4. Secretaries in the Federal Government will be the heads of their respective departments.

5. The Chief Justice of High Court in every province will be the Acting Governor of that Province.

6. Provincial Martial Law Administrators will be the heads of executive in their respective provinces, and secretaries would continue to be in charge of the provincial departments. On 7th July 1977, Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri was appointed as Governor Balochistan. Stringent Martial Law regulations were issued. Special Military Courts and Summary Military Courts were set up to punish people for violation of these regulations. No appeal could be made against the judgments of these Courts in any regular Civilian Court. Apparently General Zia projected himself as a reluctant ruler. He argued that the armed forces were compelled to step into the political field when it became quite clear to them that the politicians were unable to resolve the political crisis. He emphasized like the most other military rulers that neither he nor his fellow officers had any political ambition and that he would return the country to democratic rule within 90 days.

To clarify his position, he declared that his only aim was to organise free and fair elections which would be held in October 1977. Soon after the polls, power will be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. He gave a solemn assurance that he would not deviate from this schedule. During the next three months, his total attention would be concentrated on the holding of elections and he would not like to dissipate his powers and energies as the Chief Martial Administrator on any thing else.
Zia's first address to the nation:

"I want to make it absolutely clear that neither I have any political ambition nor does the army want to be taken away from its profession of soldiering. I was obliged to step in to fill in the vacuum created by the political leaders. I have accepted this challenge as a true soldier of Islam. We are absolutely determined to carry, out a '90-day operation Fair Play' leading up to free and fair general elections."

Through his pro-Islamic postures and anti-Bhutto measures, General Zia tried to legitimize his rule and to a considerable extent neutralized the threat of opposition. Besides crushing Bhutto and the PPP, General Zia's non-chalant ambivalence finally divided the PNA constituent. With no political experience Zia usurped power without any scruples with the support of the army so far ensured. General Zia as he wanted to have a presidential form of government closest to Islamic ideology with the president or Ameer elected by the entire nation was best suited for Pakistan. The President will be checked by a legislature through "Ijma" (consensus), an Islamic concept first introduced by Hazrat Abo Bakar (Allah be pleased with him), the first caliph providing that the caliph shall be guided by the consensus of opinion (Ijma) in the majlis-e-Mushawrat (the council of advisors) consisting of the Ulema possessing unimpeachable character. The President will be counted checked by the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister by the National Assembly. General Zia also suggested introduction of a "shadow cabinet" in the system where the opposition is not dubbed as "traitor" but acts as contributory agency in the governmental affairs. More significantly, General Zia added that such a form of government would also have to have "in-built arrangements to safeguard the integrity of the country which could not be done by politicians alone but could be ensured by the Armed Forces who should have contributory and constitutional role to that extent."

The two former PNA parties. The Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan criticized Zia's proposal and even severed links with the PNA. The other parties of the PNA faced a dilemma whether to join or keep out of the proposed government. Before the formation of the national government, the president of the PNA Mufti Mahmud clarified that his party will extend help and support to the present military government in the larger interest of the nation but no representative of the PNA will join the proposed government. After the formation of
interim national government, "General Zia's next political move was "self-elevation as the President of Pakistan." He assumed the office of the President on 16 September, 1978 following relinquishment of the office by Fazal Elahi Chaudhury. Reiterating his political - neutrality slogan Gen. Zia said:

"There was no other way to fill the vacuum. This was not my choice but the decision was made for me in all the forums (of government) I never wanted to be a political candidate but technically and legally the appointment was least controversial course. I will remain in office until the next elected President can take over. The outgoing president Fazal Elahi Chaudhury refused to continue in office beyond one year's extended term. It was reported that the former President was not happy with Gen. Zia for delaying general elections; for introducing certain amendments in the constitution and formation of PNA dominated cabinet. While apprehending the bonafides of Gen. Zia, the JUP identified the move as the first step towards a presidential form of government.

But the pro-government PNA parties welcomed the move and expressed their full support to the new President. The PNA collectively identified the new arrangement as only a temporary step which was not a basic issue of apprehension and in no way automatically meant to being presidential form of government. According to PNA leaders Parliamentary form of government was a "settled issue in conformity with the 1973 constitution."

In his (July 27, 1977) address to the nation, Gen. Zia categorically stated;

"All political parties in their programme and election manifesto should give priority to national unity and integrity of Pakistan and should not encourage regional prejudices or sectarianism. They should resolve to work for establishment of an Islamic order in the country, because it was created in the name of Islam and shall survive only holding fast to Islam".

One of the important advocates of multi-nationalism in Pakistan Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, ex governor of Balochistan ridiculed the propagation of the so-called "two-nation theory" and the "Islamic ideology of Pakistan". He gave exhaustive rejoinder to religious fundamentalists and advocates of two-nation theory;
"So much publicized two-nation theory was never meant to give birth to the ideology of Pakistan. It was a slogan coined to merely describe the division of India". According to Bizenjo, the term "ideology of Pakistan" was used for the first time by General Yahya Khan and was never used or referred to even by the Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah. Bizenjo opined that the protagonists of the ideology of Pakistan were using it for no other purpose than to deprive the people of different units of the federation of Pakistan (Punjab, Sind, Balochistan and NWFP) of their economic rights and socio-cultural freedom. Moreover, he said that "the theory of multi-nationalism was first presented by Islam. He challenged the Ulema to deny the fact that "Islam was a religion composed of various nations yet the Muslims formed a single Millat". He asserted that using the name of Islam for ones own vested interests and negating the facts would not help in the emergence of a strong and united Pakistani nation". He added that "the name of Islam would not be useful for those who had ignored the actual problems faced by the people". "The present social structure", Bizenjo argued, "needed basic changes in its frame-work."

Thus, instead of Islamization, Bizenjo had called for the evolution of "pure" Pakistani system to forge unity to steer the country out of the prevailing crisis and asserted that only way to solve the multi-farious problems confronting Pakistan lay in effecting revolutionary changes in the present set up. In his view, the only alternative left for the extrication of Pakistan's problems was of developing a "national outlook", honouring the rights of each sub-nationality inhabiting different provinces. Recalling the painful tragedy of erstwhile East Pakistan Bizenjo declared that it was the People's responsibility to uphold the integrity of Pakistan. Zia readily went over to be in tune with orthodox Ulema and "Islam Pasand" parties, and therefrom he could be seen to have derived inspiration and supports Qura'nic penalties, such as amputation of hands, public flogging and hanging for different offences. Soon after the coup, General Zia imposed "fourteen harsh Islamic Penalties". After assuming the office of the President of Pakistan, General Zia under the intense pressure of Ulema, brought about an amendment in the constitution providing for "separate electorate" for non-muslim minorities in the forthcoming general elections."
Besides introducing separate electorate system, Gen. Zia on the same day (Sept. 24, 1978) issued Presidential orders that with immediate effect all official and semi-official correspondence will begin in the name of Allah, the Merciful and Beneficent. For this he insisted inscription of Arabic letter (“Bismillahirrahmanirrahim”) to reflect the symbolic significance of Pakistan as an Islamic state. In pursuance of new education policy based on "Islamic ideology of Pakistan", all English medium schools in Pakistan had been ordered to switch over to Urdu as the medium of instruction. In conformity with the persistent demand of the PNA for introduction of Nizam-e-Mustafa General Zia introduced several Islamic Laws. On Feb. 8, 1979, Zia-ul-Haq through a Presidential order No. 3 (1979) set up Shariat Benches so as to confer on the High Courts the power to decide injunctions of Islam and to provide that a law declared by a High Court to be so repugnant, shall cease to have effect on the day on which the decision of the High Court becomes effective. On the eve of the birthday of prophet Hazrat Mohanmad (Peace Be Upon Him) (10 Feb. 1979) General Zia announced the establishment of "Nizam-e-Islam" in Pakistan. For the establishment of Islamic system two aspects were specifically mentioned: legal and economic. On the legal front, Gen. Zia promulgated stiff Islamic penalties with immediate effect for all four offences which are subject to “hadood” - intoxication, theft, Zina (adultery) and Qazf (False imputation of Zina). On the economic front the government promised to abolish interest on capitalizing all fiscal transactions. But it introduced Islamic taxation system in the form of Zakat (Tax on wealth) and Usrah (Tax on agricultural produce). It was specified that Zakat will be collected from July 1, 1979 and Usrah from October 1979. According to government sources these new laws were aimed at "Islamizing the local economy of Pakistan". The collection of Zakat and Usrah shall be expanded on the removal of hunger and beggary from the country. However, this Islamic taxation system will not be applied on non-Muslim minorities. After conducting an open trial, perhaps, the longest trial in Pakistan’s judicial history, General Zia went ahead with the Supreme Court’s verdict and finished Bhutto by a hanging on April 4, 1979 at 2.30 A.M in the district jail of Rawalpindi. The accountability process was heavily loaded with Islamic overtones with a view to “cleansing” perverted politics of Pakistan General Zia explained that "it was for first time in the history of Pakistan that those personalities who remained at the helm of affairs were being made to account their acts of omission and commission. In this context the trial of Z.A. Bhutto
and his coterie had become a matter of necessity so that the people of Pakistan should be able to choose their representatives without doubt and repose their confidence in them.46

In the eyes of Bhutto, the sins of the National Awami Party of Pakistan, and its leader Wali Khan, were legion, but the greatest and the most unforgivable one was that it had won the elections in two out of the four provinces in West Pakistan, later Pakistan. Bhutto certainly had no personal enmity with Wali Khan, much less with his Baloch collaborators. He was on visiting terms with Khair Bakhsh and with Akbar Bugti. But soon after he was forced by circumstances to concede a ministry to them in Balochistan, he made up his mind to remove the NAP, Baloch as well as Pathan, from his path before it had taken roots and become a nuisance. It was the NAP he was after and not any particular province or any particular individual. It is unfortunate that it was the Baloch who got in his way.47

President Zia-ul-Haq's chances of finishing out the year as Pakistan's leader are in doubt. He has called elections for November 17, but it would not be surprising if he canceled or postponed them. He would run some risk in doing so, and martial law is unpopular, and he would face increasing unrest. Tensions between the provinces will continue to frustrate Zia's efforts to develop a national consensus on the type of government Pakistan should have. The deep malaise in Pakistan is thus unlikely to improve by the end of 1979.48

Lack of firm leadership has had a profoundly depressing effect on the Pakistani population, his martial law administration is not harsh -- he is generally regarded as a bumbler incapable of extricating himself or the country from the current troubles. Among the upper and middle classes, there is a flight of capital and talent that bodes ill for Pakistan's future political and economic stability. Zia's main political opposition continues to come from former Prime Minister Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, which has shown signs in the past month of regenerating its power as the largest and best-organized political party in Pakistan's history. Although initially reeling from the shock of Bhutto's execution last April, the party's leaders are increasingly confident that they could win any fair election in Pakistan. Their strategy reportedly is to lie low, avoid confronting the martial law administration on any issue, and take their case to the people. While the party still faces potential problems over leadership, Bhutto's
wife has announced her claim to head it. She may be able to supply the unity the party needs to compete in the elections, though she will be largely a figurehead. Zia also faces potential opposition from those who once supported him. The loose coalition of parties that banded together to topple Bhutto in 1977 extended its support to the successor martial law government. The parties gradually fell away, however, in disputes with Zia over various issues, culminating with the complete withdrawal of civilian political participation in Zia's government a month after Bhutto's execution. They have now joined the Pakistan People's Party in opposing continuation of martial law and calling for elections. Factionalism and a lack of charismatic leaders plague Pakistan's political groupings. One of the formerly powerful opposition organizations, the tribal-based National Democratic Party, recently split apart in a clash over personalities and over the degree of provincial autonomy that the party would espouse.49

Whether Zia will hold elections is uncertain. As late as July 22, he recommitted himself to polls in November. The outcome he desires would be a majority of seats won by center and rightist parties, which would then form a governing coalition possibly with a strong military president to keep them on an even keel. A victory by the People's Party, on the other hand, would threaten Zia's personal liberty as well as reinstate policies that Zia believes bankrupted the country both morally and economically.50 Pakistan's poor economic prospects reflect the lack of forceful political leadership. Industrial production is recovering somewhat from the stagnation of the Bhutto era, although political uncertainties are inhibiting investment confidence in the private sector. Agricultural performance remains mixed. Wheat production is at a record level and rice has been showing steady increases in production; on the other hand, cotton, vital both to the domestic textile industry and as an export earner, remains in a prolonged slump. Overall growth in gross domestic product in 1978-79 was in the range of 6 to 7 percent for the second year in a row, in contrast to the 2 to 3 percent rates that prevailed during the last years of Bhutto's rule. At the same time, Pakistan is rapidly approaching financial crisis.51

The Pakistani writ of authority, never very strong in tribal areas, is now even less effective in controlling opium production and smuggling because of the insurgency on the Afghan side of the border. In addition, the Islamic ordinance introduced in February banning all intoxicants paradoxically threw the narcotics control apparatus into a shambles when it removed
existing enforcement mechanisms without providing new ones. Afghanistan will continue to be an urgent foreign policy problem for Pakistan over the next six months. So far, Islamabad has reacted with considerable restraint to the pressure of approximately 140,000 refugees inside its borders, hostile propaganda from Kabul and Moscow, and various border incidents such as jet aircraft overflights and occasional shelling. Islamabad’s urge to aid the dissidents in overthrowing the unfriendly Taraki/Amin regime may grow but will be tempered by the knowledge that the Soviets and Afghans have the capability to make things quite uncomfortable for Pakistan by meddling in Balochistan. Is said to be no longer a blatant apologist for the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is as though Bizenjo’s wave of the future had been seen suddenly to have spent itself out at sea. Balochis were happy to see Afghanistan weak. For their part, Pathan supporters of the DRA were reportedly furious with Amin, who had committed the unpardonable sin of disrespect for a great leader.

Events in Iranian Balochistan had also gone well. Balochis in Iran were said to have struck a deal with Ayattollah Khomeini, through the Balochi Democratic Front, acknowledging a degree of autonomy in the Baloch province of Iran. There had not been a single incident in Iranian Balochistan in six months. All Savak agents had been withdrawn. Balochis had been given key jobs. All this has made the Baloch border of Iran and Pakistan quiet and calmer, calmed Pakistan's Baloch leadership. The failure of the Soviets to inspire unrest in Iranian Balochistan, in fact the crackdown there on Soviet-oriented Balochis, has led to these fellow travelers crossing into Pakistan. One who has come across is the poet Juma Khan, the man behind the Azad Balochistan movement. Meanwhile, the refugee exodus from Afghanistan continues. Since Sept. 15 over 25,000 have come into Balochistan alone, in jeeps, in wagons pulled by tractors, on foot. Many are fleeing out of fear of Amin, others because of the approach of winter.

Zia has won over Marri. He claimed that Zia’s close friend, Balochistan Governor Rahim Uddin, plays squash with Marri and once shared with him, before independence, opposition toward partition. Marri had left for London a week ago after he received permission from the Martial Law Administration to leave Pakistan, and that his henchman Sher Mohammad Marri ("General Sheroff," the so-called Che Guevara of Balochistan) himself was awaiting permission
to leave the country. Their absence would coincide with the elections. The implication was that the two Marris had made a deal with the MLA. At any rate, the Marri tribe was noticeably quiet right now. Further support for this theory, the apparent falling out between Khair Bux Marri, on the one hand, and Bizenjo and fellow PNP-member Attaullah Mengal, on the other hand Marri had never had much truck for Bizenjo, however, because he considered Bizenjo a commoner.\textsuperscript{56}

Turning to the local bodies elections, Faisel said that they had been rigged, but not by the Army. He implied that the bureaucrats and persons running the polls had connived with political parties and individual candidates to warp the results. Faisel though that the PPP had won only 10 to 15 percent of the seats in Balochistan, compared to 60 to 70 percent in Sind and 45 percent in Punjab. Despite the PPP's success in most places, the party would not be able to rely on the persons who had won seats with its support. All of those backed by the PPP were youngsters. They may have obtained power through the Bhuttos but they will hold onto it through Zia. Zia hopes, by giving them powers, to wean them away. Zia's scheme would worked best, however, if there were no general elections, because provincial and national assemblies would detract from the local bodies powers.\textsuperscript{57}

Three months ago the threat from Soviet-dominated Afghanistan caused tension in Balochistan the concern has eased, reflecting the setbacks the Soviets and their Khalqi allies suffered in the intervening period.

Whereas the pre-coup situation in Afghanistan had exacerbated divisions between Balochistan's two dominant population groups, the Balochis ad Pathans, and between the left and right, the issue now seems less divisive.

Pathans tribals of their outrage over the killing of Taraki.\textsuperscript{58} (they accepted that he had lost his life). One Pathan explained that, while his people often and with impunity dispatched members of their own families to the grave, they rarely counted the opprobrium attacked to killing a respected leader. The Balochis, for their part, appeared simply to have calculated new odds as a result of the Taraki overthrow and decided that Kabul's wave of the future crested out
at sea. The leader of the National Democratic Party in Balochistan even predicted the break-up of Afghanistan.

The so-called progressives, including Pakistan National Party President Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo had backed off from open support of Kabul.

Soviet troubles in Afghanistan would tie the USSR's hands. If there was any relaxation of tension about Afghanistan it was solely because of the passage of time. People have become used to the fact that the Soviets are across the border and believe they have to live with it. The Soviets would be active in Balochistan regardless of their success or failure elsewhere and he personally regarded Hafeezullah Amin as a greater danger than Taraki. While Balochistan is quiet, 'invisible money' is flowing to certain elements in the province. Nevertheless, the problem was manageable. Daud Jan, the Khan of Kalat, gave a specific report of arms running. That a group of left-wing members of the Marri tribe and foreigners believed to be East Europeans had passed through Sarawan, Jalalawan and Kalat districts this summer, distributing Kalashnikovs and other weapons plastic explosives, money and provisions. The travelers were said to have forecast war in the near future between Afghanistan and Pakistan, urging those to whom they gave arms to store them until hostilities and then use them against Pakistani supply lines.50

In Balochistan the local bodies elections held there September 27, 1979 left the province divided between Pakistan People's Party and still powerful sardars, sardars as an institution actually took a beating.51

It was generally concerned that the PPP did what it failed to do during Bhutto's life, make a respectable showing in Balochistan. Even opponents of the PPP said that its members won about 15 percent of the seats. The party's most talked about successes occurred in strongholds of the PNP's top leaders with the PPP taking the majority of the seats in Mekran (Bizenjo's home district) and Lasbella (Attaullah Mengal's).52
The strength of the sardars was manifest in the lands belonging to the Marri and Bugti tribes, where the people simply refused to allow the polls to take place. In tribal areas where voting did occur, a group of important sardars (Doda Khan Zarakzai, Nabi Bux Zehri, Sheikh Umar, Taj Muhammad Jamali and Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan), who are supporting the Martial Law Administration, took active part, and their nominees won a good number of seats.

The real winners of the local bodies elections, however, may be the relative unknowns who defeated established figures or their candidates in virtually every corner of the province. Many of these new faces belong to the PPP. President Zia-ul-Haq can be expected to try to undermine their loyalty by awarding them powers and influence. To avoid this possibility, the PPP is said to have chosen candidates who had suffered at the hands of the MLA.63

Total breakdown of tribal authority of the Khan of Kalat was further compounded during Zia’s misrule of the country, when black money from corruption and drugs was poured into sardars’ coffers. "The non-party local bodies polls in 1979 saw political pygmies emerging as the established parties refused to contest. The district councils’ elected chairmen began to command considerable say over local politics because of access to administration officials and funds. In the next elections, the important families also wanted their proxies elected; thus the poison seeds for further tribal feuds were sown," views are vindicated by the fact that at least two of the bloodiest feuds in Balochistan coincided with local bodies elections. Essa Khan Jatoi and nine other people of the Rind camp were shot dead on the day of the local bodies elections in 1983.64 Tribalism is on its death-bed. As the system breathes its last, the turbans of Baloch society’s self-styled barons are becoming redder, smeared by the blood of their relatives. Previously, a sardar would go into action only in defence of his tribesmen’s interest. Today the sardar is obliged to personally take up arms to defend his honour and political prestige -- a manifestation of the fact that his blood is no longer more precious than the rest of his tribesmen. Until 1938, when a common Baloch was killed, his blood money was fixed at Rs 1500 plus Rs 500 state penalty; the sardar’s blood-money ranged between Rs 20,000 and 100,000 depending on his tribe’s numerical strength.65
Abolishing the Jirga system has literally taken the wind out of the chieftains' sails. Previously a killer could get free from the deputy commissioner's office on the intervention of the local sardar, after assurances that he himself would arbitrate in the matter according to unwritten tribal customs. Now the Pakistan Penal Code applies throughout Balochistan although the administrative changes which earlier divided Balochistan into A and B areas are still intact. A areas house police stations whose jurisdictions do not extend to a radius of three miles, while levies maintain law and order in B areas. "To restore law and order, the killers first have to be brought to justice."

The victory of so many unknown persons was a blow to the sardars as an institution because in numerous instances tribes voted against their own leaders. The Khan of Kalat said that a new generation of nationalists is emerging, fed up with the failure of the old leadership and prepared to look to outside sources for help. He noted that, in the report of the group traveling through Balochistan distributing arms, it was significant that the persons with whom the group was in touch were not well-known leftists like "General Sheroff" Marri but low-level tribesmen. He thought the by-passing of the leaders was more dangerous because it would be more difficult for the government to monitor the activities of widely-scattered tribesmen than a few prominent persons.

Zia visited Quetta on 29 July 1979, met publicly and privately with over 50 prominent citizens of the province, mostly as members of the group to whom he made his well publicized remarks casting doubt on the schedule for the elections. Dubbed "the notables" by local residents, the members of this group were for the most part carefully selected supporters of the MLA. Of them 20 allowed to question Zia, 19 called on him to cancel the elections and remain in office.

Zia a reassessment of Balochistan, with particular emphasis on the attitudes of Bizenjo and Khair Bux Marri. That Zia had made a deal with the Marris, citing in support of this hypothesis the fact that the MLA recently gave permission to both Khair Bux Marri and General Sheroff to leave the country. Hashim Ghilzai, President of the NDP in Balochistan, alleged that Zia has also bought off the radical Balochistan Students Organization. He said
that the Federal Intelligence Agency has hired eight members of the BSO and that the provincial
government set up an organization one month ago to find jobs for Balochi students.\textsuperscript{72}

Zia appears to have prepared people of Balochistan psychologically for an
announcement postponing or even canceling the elections. However, whether this would lead to
confrontation between the province and the MLA.\textsuperscript{73}

Leaders of the pugnacious Hazara tribe,\textsuperscript{74} which makes up a significant part of the
population of Quetta, believed that the non-participation of the PPP, NDP and PNP would
effectively disenfranchise Balochistan's voter, of that, if the elections were held with only the
present line-up of parties, the people of Balochistan would rebel.\textsuperscript{75} Former Governor Nawab
Akbar Khan Bugti said that the people are fed up with martial law and would react violently\textsuperscript{76}
were an effort made to prolong it. Ghulam Sarwar Khan, a former member of the PPP who was
recently elected unopposed to the District Council in Pishin, thought the parties would come out
on the streets if elections were not held.\textsuperscript{77}

Those who thought no confrontation would occur argued that the tribesmen who bore the
brunt of the insurgency against Bhutto from 1973 to 1977 had suffered enough and were too
tired to return to their mountain hideouts. Bugti himself suggested a reason confrontation might
not prove successful when he said that the Pakistani National Alliance, which has spear-headed
the successful opposition to Bhutto in the spring of 1977, would not take to the streets because
the overthrow of the MLA would benefit only the PNA's opponent, Bhutto's PPP. Mohammad
Saleh Mandokhel, a long-time associate of Wali Khan and Deputy Secretary General of the
NDP, said that his party would not join other parties in confronting the MLA because the NDP
did not oppose Zia, who unlike Bhutto had done nothing against the NDP's leaders. Generally it
was doubted the ability of the PPP to organize an effective protest against the MLA.\textsuperscript{78}

The specific suggestion that help should be extended, one of the winners of the District
Council seat in Pishin, urged to direct economic assistance to the development of the tribal
areas. In order to weaken the appeal the Afghanistan government has with its call for a greater
Pukhtunistan.\textsuperscript{79} An imminent threat of USSR invasion in Afghanistan was evident due to heavy
interference in Afghanistan affairs, lately, the Soviet Union erstwhile tried to further complicate the Pakhtoonistan question. Over 3 million Pashtoons of Afghanistan came to Pakistan as refugees. The invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 led people who had never heard of Balochistan to study the problem. Its heightened strategic importance, and the continual fear of a Russian push, supported by angry tribesmen, down towards the Gulf, focused foreign attention on the province.

But the most ominous threat comes from the occupation, in fact, annexation of Afghanistan. The lightening invasion itself was a reminder to awkward neighbours what could be done. With Soviet air power installed at the sprawling Shindand air base near Herat, a mere 350 miles from the coastline, and at Qandahar, with more bases in the offing, backed by the new Rail-Road link over the Amu Darya at Hairatan, the Soviet posture is menacing and frightening. It is in this light that Balochistan has to be seen.

Russia's southward expansionist drive has been historically called as its "manifest destiny" and many a chapter and verse could be quoted in support of the ambition. When Rudyard Kipling wrote his novel Kim and called this "the Great Game that never ceases day or night," the prize was Afghanistan. That prize has already been won, or lost, and some contestants have already thrown down the towel and departed. Others are taking their place, somewhat half-hearted. The prize is no longer the next visible one within sight, mere Balochistan, or even Iran and its Gulf, but it extends beyond the vast seas towards areas on the horizon. Zia's martial law governor, General Rahimudán, decided to cash in. He suggested a special development programme for the area, financed by the foreigners. So the provincial government put together a lot of programmes in a hurry and took them to the foreigners, who came for official visits and signed cheques for more dollars than the Balochistan government could manage. The money could be used as soon as they liked; the trouble was, they could not absorb it. They didn't want to employ engineers and teachers from other provinces, and they just didn't have enough trained Baloch to design the canals or run the schools. According to the chief secretary of Balochistan, Mr Poonegar, $5 billion worth of aid - $1,000 each for everybody living in Balochistan -- had been committed by the foreigners by the end of 1987. The rush was so great that the World Bank committed $40 million to one project without knowing the
details.\textsuperscript{84} The tribes were making trouble, too. The Marris would not accept development programmes, because Khair Bux Marri had told them not to.\textsuperscript{85} Akbar Bugti did nothing to prevent development, he wanted that there should be development in Bugti area.\textsuperscript{86}

A decade earlier, the Soviets had asked the Government of Pakistan to allow them to construct a road from Kandahar, through Chaman, to one of the five undeveloped ports on the Mekran coast; Jewani, Gwadar, Pasni, Ormara or Sonmiani. They also offered to help in developing one of these ports, Gwadar or Pasni. This 'philanthropic' offer was not accepted; otherwise, it might have been a repetition of the Salang Tunnel,\textsuperscript{87} linking northern Afghanistan (and Soviet Russia) with the capital. It would have linker up Soviet Central Asia, through an All Weather Road (with a bridge over the Oxus now) to a warm water port on the Indian Ocean, overlooking the Gulf. The physical presence of Soviet Russia in Afghanistan now, with all its enormous resources and a more or less clear line of communications, makes a southward Soviet drive to the warm waters coastline both feasible as well as practicable. This would look like the logical culmination of Soviet Russia's policy of denial of vital raw materials to the adversary,\textsuperscript{88} however their such policies came to an end, when USSR disintegrated, this disintegration has opened new avenues for the world in particular Central Asia, at this juncture aim is not to discuss USSR erstwhile disintegration, its positive effects on Balochistan are enormous, these were exploited by Gen Zia-ul-Haq and his successors.

The execution of Bhutto made the way clear for the martial law regime to come out in its true colours. "There is no possibility of an early end to the third and longest martial law. We have come to stay\textsuperscript{89} declared Zia. "I will neither leave the scene", he added emphatically. "nor allow any one else to rise."\textsuperscript{90} In the first phase of martial law, Zia-ul-Haq promised an early return to civilian government. There after he informed the nation that had been revealed to him in a dream that elections were un-Islamic.\textsuperscript{90} Those who dismissed him as a simpleton, the brute man for a clique of power generals, were to find that he was a shrewd political operator. Zia's position was strengthened internally and internationally when in December 1979 thousands of Russian troops entered Afghanistan to occupy the country. Afghan refugees began to pour over the border. If the Russian invasion brought dangers it also brought renewed large-scale American aid, both economic and military. The CIA saw in Afghanistan the way to manufacture
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a Vietnam in reverse, with the Russians acting the former American role. Zia became valuable as a sound anti-Communist. His regime which at first appeared tenuous was consolidated. The year 1979 thus constitutes a watershed in the career of Zia-ul-Haq when he threw down his apron of an interim Administration and came out boldly that he wanted to establish an Islamic State in consonance with Sunnah and would hold elections on non-party basis at the appropriate time which should produce positive results, he had clearly stated "I have a mission, given by God, to bring Islamic order to Pakistan." He established Shariah courts to enforce the provisions of Islamic law, which enjoined punishments of flogging, amputation of limbs, public hanging and death by stoning for offences of adultery, drinking, theft and false evidence, etc. These courts were also empowered to examine the existing laws whether they were Islamic or un-Islamic and could be declared void in the latter case. His Federal Minister for Labour and Manpower, Lt. General Faiz Ali Chishti openly advocate that the "enemies of Islam must be hunted down and killed like snakes even when they were offering prayers." It was not only to be said but implemented faithfully.

On August 30, 1979, a presidential ordinance amended the political parties Act of 1962 requiring all political parties to register them with the Election Commission and to publish their manifestos and submit their accounts for audit. The implication of the ordinance was that the parties could be denied registration if their manifestos did not conform to the Islamic order nor could they raise funds for political propaganda by accepting big donations. In October, 1979 the martial law administration banned all political parties and public meetings, seized all the assets of political organisations and thus put a halt to the entire political activity in the state.

On March 24, 1981, Zia-ul-Haq promulgated the Provisional Constitution order which stated as under:

The Chief Martial Law Administrator is satisfied that it is necessary to make adequate interim provisions for governing Pakistan in accordance with the provisions contained in this order and for the removal of doubts and for consolidating and declaring the law and
for effectively meeting the threat to the integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan and its Islamic ideology.

The main provision of this order relating to setting up of a Federal Council (Majlis-e-Shoora), which was to consist of persons chosen by his wishes.96

It was only in December 1981 that Zia constituted his first Majlis-i-Shoora. A list of Majlis-i-Shoora is at Appendix-XIII. It met a month later in January 1982 but served little purpose to the people as well as the President, in as much as its members were quite vocal in denunciation of various government policies and their effective implementation but were unable to censure the government or seek its removal. General Zia-ul-Haq unfolded his plans in phases. In August 1984, he declared that he might like to stay on as President. Taking cue from his statement, several local bodies (elected in 1983 in non-party polls) passed resolutions urging him to continue as president after the restoration of constitutional system. This encouraged General Zia-ul-Haq to adopt a more definite posture and he declared in October 1984 that power would be transferred to the elected representatives only if they gave him an undertaking that the "present process of Islamization would continue".97 Less than one week later he removed all doubts about his political plans by declaring that he would "share" power rather than "transfer" it to the representatives elected in the upcoming elections.98 The next stage of the constitutional development for the martial law regime was to obtain an elected Majlis, which could claim to be a representative body of the people. On November 30, 1984, Zia gave a big jolt to all his admirers and adversaries by announcing to hold a national referendum. It was to be held on December 19 and the voters were asked to say "Yes" or "No" to the following99 question:

Whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq the President of Pakistan, for bringing (the) laws of Pakistan (into) conformity with the injunction of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (Peace by upon him) and for the preservation of the ideology of Pakistan, for the continuation of that process and for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.
The Referendum Order 1984 promulgated by the President on December stipulated:

If a majority of the votes cast in the referendum is in favour of the answer “Yes”, the people of Pakistan shall be deemed to have endorsed all steps taken by the President of Pakistan and General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq shall be deemed to have been duly elected President of Pakistan for a term of five years from the day of the first meeting of the Houses of Parliament in a joint sitting.

According to the Election Commission, 97.7 percent voters said “Yes” in their answer. The turn-out on the ballot day was 60 per cent officially which tantamount to that majority of voters had overwhelmingly endorsed what Zia had been doing and had elected him as the President for a full term of five years. Elections were to be held on 25 February, 1985 for 217 National Assembly seats and two days later on 27 February for 483 seats in four provincial assemblies: Civilian rule, if not democracy, was returning soon.

In all, nearly 5000 candidates contested the elections, which were held on non-party bases. There were no election campaigns, no public meetings, and no manifestoes. Candidates were to be elected on personal merit, yet the turn-out of votes was quite high 18.5 millions out of a total electorate of 33 millions exercised their franchise. Contests were keen, on an average among 5 candidates for the National Assembly and 8 for the provincial assemblies. The highest participation in election was in Punjab and lowest in Balochistan. 35.1 and 46.6 in National and Provincial assemblies respectively. List of Majlis-e-Shoora 1985 elected from Balochistan at Appendix-XV p.360.

The Assemblies met in March, 1985. The inaugural session of the National Assembly was held on March 20 under the Chairmanship of the Chief Election Commissioner. Three days later, Zia-ul-Haq assumed the presidency of the new civilian administration. His speech in the assembly was quite long lasting 75 minutes. He declared “I shall live and die for Islam”. He designated Muhammad Khan Junejo as the new Prime Minister, of course, subject to approval of the National Assembly. After winning a “confidence” vote in the assembly the
Prime Minister declared that he would do his best for lifting of martial law as the civilian rule and martial law could not function together. Soon after the completion of the National elections, General Zia-ul-Haq issued the "Revival of the Constitution 1973 Order" (RCO) on March 2, 1985 which introduced amendments in 67 out of 280 articles of the 1973 Constitution. Parliamentary system has been retained but the president enjoys several overriding powers which has diluted the original character of the 1973 Constitution. The all-powerful president exercises wide discretionary powers with a stipulation that the president has the sole authority to interpret his discretionary powers. He appoints and removes Prime Minister, the Services Chiefs, provincial Governors, judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, and a number of other top officials. Subsequently, the power of the President to dismiss the Prime Minister was modified by an amendment.\textsuperscript{104} It was on August 14, 1985, that the Prime Minister declared in a public meeting in Lahore that martial law would be withdrawn by the end of the year. This commitment was repeated by the Prime Minister in the National Assembly, and General Zia-ul-Haq endorsed it.\textsuperscript{105} He started his government with a team of 20 Ministers on April 10, 1985 to which fifteen more were added on January 28, 1986. The National Assembly passed the Indemnity Bill which endorsed and legalized all acts of martial during the last eight years. That paved way for lifting of martial law on December 30, 1985.

The National Assembly of 1985 did not consist of divergent shades of public opinion. It also did not represent various economic interests and was dominated largely by landlords loyal to the martial law regime. It looked as if the members had been elected on the strength of tribal or clan allegiance and were akin to one another through the 'baradari' system.\textsuperscript{106}

The civilian rule of Zia-ul-Haq with the Majlis-e-Shoora as Parliament and Junejo as the Prime Minister was no better than an era of honeymoon of convenience. The President dismissed the Ministry and dissolved the national and provincial Assemblies on May 29, 1988. It could thus be said that although Zia-ul-Haq was a great politician and strategist, he was unable to pull on with his Ministers because he could not act as the constitutional head of the state.\textsuperscript{107}
The accident which resulted into the dismissal of Prime minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, is known as Qjheri disaster. It was a very serious disaster in the history of Pakistan. As reported in the national press some one thousand innocent people died. The prime minister constituted a technical committee to probe into the causes of the incident. He promised the nation that he will make public the findings of the committee. However General Zia-ul-Haq did not like this attitude of the prime Minister and it created a rift between them. Keeping in view the attitude of Prime Minister, General Zia was convinced that he would publish the report of the disaster at all cost, he pre-empted and dismissed his government.\textsuperscript{108}

After dismissing the Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, General Zia formed a caretaker government which consisted mostly of the ministers of the dismissed cabinet of the Prime Minister. He did not appoint any care-taker Prime Minister. He declared that elections will be held within ninety days of the dismissal of the Junejo Cabinet. But no date was fixed for it and the political leaders feared the repetition of the old story of General Zia-ul-Haq promises. But in the meantime, he made an announcement for holding the general elections on November 16, 1988. In the beginning he did not give any details about the mode of election but later declared that these will be held on non-party basis. However later the situation had greatly changed and it would not have been possible for him to hoist elections on non-party basis. The political parties filed a writ for holding party-based elections but in the meantime General Zia-ul-Haq died in an air crash near Bhawalpur on August 17, 1988. According to Constitutional provision Ghulam Ishaque Khan chairman of the Senate took over as the President of Pakistan and conducted free and fair elections on the schedule date which helped in the establishment of the government of the people for the people.\textsuperscript{109}

After the demise of general Zia-ul-Haq in an air crash near Bhawalpur on August 17, 1988, Mr. Ghulam Ishaque Khan Chairman of the Pakistan Senate took over as the President of Pakistan. He declared that he would hold the national elections on November 16, as had been announced by the government of late General Zia-ul-Haq. However he did not yield to the popular demand for holding the election on party basis. It compelled the political parties to go to the court for the clarification of the relevant provision of 1973 Constitution.\textsuperscript{109} The People's Party came with a clear majority in the National Assembly on the basis of this achievement
President Ghulam Ishaque Khan nominated Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto as the Prime Minister of Pakistan on December 1, 1988. She took oath of the office of the Prime Minister next day. In her first address to the nation, she announced some bold decisions. She declared to remove ban from the student unions and trade unions. Her first speech was applauded throughout the country and abroad.111

On December 15, 1988, the Balochistan Assembly was dissolved by General (retd) Mohammad Musa, the Governor of Balochistan112 on the recommendation of Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, the chief minister, as no parliamentary group enjoys a majority in the House.113 Justice Khada Bakhsh Marri takes over as caretaker Chief Minister of Balochistan on December 22, 1988.114 On January 23, the dissolved Balochistan Assembly is declared "restored" by the Balochistan High Court.115 On January 25, the Jamaat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) and the Balochistan National Alliance (BNA) form a broad-based government in Balochistan headed by Nawab Akbar Bugti.116 On February 8, 1989, the People's Programme with a budget of Rs. 2 billion is launched. The programme is expected to cover basic needs of the people such as health facilities, potable drinking water, education and communications networks. On April 13, Balochistan Chief Minister Nawab Akbar Bugti charges that the People's Programme infringes on provincial autonomy.117

When Benazir Bhutto's PPP formed the government at the Centre, Nawab Akbar Bugti became the Chief Minister of Balochistan. Now, the supporters of Balochi expressed themselves more freely. Ayub Baloch presented a resolution for increasing the time given to Balochi on television and radio.118 Benazir had a curious coalition, the most striking feature of which was her inability to carry the Punjab or to find a place within her government for the forces led by Nawaz Sharif. She failed to sustain a coalition with the Karachi-based MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz), and her tactics prevented alliance with frontier leaders in Balochistan and the NWFP (North West Frontier Province). Nawaz Sharif on the other hand, proved more adept at forming coalition.119

The tenure of Benazir Bhutto as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the most uneventful as it was, lasted from 2 December, 1988 to 6 August, 1990 twenty months and five days when she
was dismissed by President Ishaq Khan on the charges\textsuperscript{120} of abuse of power, nepotism and corruption. The Presidential action, although sudden and stunning, was supported by the Army Chief of Staff,\textsuperscript{121} General Aslam Beg and was taken in accordance with the provisions of the constitution\textsuperscript{122} of Pakistan. It brought an abrupt\textsuperscript{123} end of parliamentary system of government in which the fate of a ministry is decided on the floor of the deliberative body. The Parliament which was scheduled to meet on August 9, 1990, was dissolved by the President, three days ahead of its meeting along with four provincial assemblies. The President appointed the leader of combined opposition parties (COP) Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as the care-taker Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{124} Benazir Bhutto stated, “when all these conspiracies against our government failed, they ultimately had no way left but to stage this constitutional coup. The sacked Prime Minister resolved to fight back with utmost vehemence, “these people have not harmed me, they have harmed the people of Pakistan” and added “we will go to the people with our head high, because we have served them, we have served them selflessly and faithfully”. That proved to be only an idle boast. The electorate gave her a boot-clip verdict against her party in the elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies held on October 24 and 26 respectively.\textsuperscript{125}

National elections were held in October 1990. Two main political alliances were formed. The most important of these was the Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad of Mian Nawaz Sharif. It consisted of the parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League, Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam, Jamiat Mashaikh and four other smaller political parties. The second alliance consisted of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Tehrik-e-Istiqlal, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafriah.\textsuperscript{126}

In Pakistan’s three largest provinces the 1990 elections, therefore, became essentially a contest between the PDA, led by Benazir Bhutto’s PPP, and broad alliance of anti-Benazir forces led by the IJI. Several smaller parties fielded candidates, but did not play much of a role in Punjab, Sindh, or NWFP. The picture in Balochistan was more complex. (Refer to Appendix XVI p.361).

Unlike other parts of Pakistan in the 1990 elections, Balochistan was not polarized politically between the two major coalitions. The greater fragmentation of political forces and
the continuing influence of powerful tribal leaders perhaps made for a less tense and confrontational atmosphere in most of the province than in the rest of Pakistan. The two major national alliances -- the IJI and PDA -- had only a limited presence in Balochistan, equalled or surpassed by regional or religious parties: the Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP, an IJI-affiliate, led by former Chief Minister Nawab Akbar Bugti, leader of the Bugti Baloch tribe); and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam Fazlur Rahman Group (JUI-F, based in the Pakhtun areas of NWFP and northern Balochistan). Other regional contenders included the Awami national Party (ANP) and Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), both also based in the Pakhtun areas.\footnote{127}

The Islami Jamhoori Mahaz got simple majority in the general elections of 1990. However it succeeded to get the cooperation of independent M.N.A’s and some other political groups such as Mohajir Qaumi Movement in Karachi, Awami National Party in N.W.F.P., and Nawab Akbar Bugti group in Balochistan. Please see appendix XV, MNAs from Balochistan.\footnote{128}

Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif was elected as the leader of the house on November 6, 1990. The President of Pakistan appointed him as the new Prime Minister of Pakistan. After taking oath of his office, the new Prime Minister addressed the Nation. In his address, he lifted the emergency in the country and vowed to strengthen the democratic system in the country. He also promised to eradicate corruption from the society. He further promised to provide timely justice, ending of adhocism in government policies and encouragement of privatization in national development. On foreign relations, Mian Nawaz Sharif declared to continue support of Pakistan for the Muslims of Afghanian and oppressed people of Kashmir. He also declared that friendly relations will be made with all countries including the U.S.A. but no compromise will be made about Pakistan’s peaceful nuclear programme.\footnote{129}
NOTES

1. In this particular chapter aim is to cover the political activities by the tribal politicians after 5th July 1977, when Gen Mohammad Zia ul Haq took over the government from Z.A. Bhutto in an army "coup". This chapter contain political developments between July 1977 to 1990.

2. During 1977, 7th March election opposed by all the nine opposition parties Pakistan National Alliances (PNA) about rigging in the general election "10th March 1977" the Pakistan Times, and its aftermath.


4. 1959 to 1967 a continuous struggle against One Unit, and break of One Unit did bring some relief to this region during President Gen Yahya Khan. Balochistan Its Strategic Importance by Syed Iqbal Ahmed Op.Cit., p.117, also see Breaking the Curfew by Emma Dunken Op.Cit., p.139.

5. Period 1972 to 1977 remain tumultuous for Balochistan due to insurgency operation in which either Pathans were pitched against Baloch and Sardars of different tribes against each other by divide and rule formulae. Politics in Pakistan A Study of rise and fall of Z.A. Bhutto by Surendra Nath Kaushik Op.Cit., p.37.


7. Developments like Russian interest in the region in particular Afghanistan and invasion an Islamic revolution in Iran.


10. A Judge may speak by Khuda Bakhsh Marri p.58.
11. Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri (Born at Kohlu, Marri tribal area of Balochistan 1926), he read law at Lincoln's Inn, London. He was called to the Bar in June 1958. He returned to Pakistan and began his career as a High Court Advocate at Quetta (1959-70). After the breakup of One Unit, he was appointed the first ever judge from Balochistan to the High Court of Sindh/Balochistan stationed at Karachi. Justice Marri was raised to Chief Justiceship of the first Balochistan High Court in 1976. He established it at Quetta from scratch. On 7th July 77, after the imposition of Martial Law, he was appointed Governor of Balochistan like Chief Justices of other provinces. This post he held till Sept, 78. He, and a few other judges, refused to take the Oath on the Provisional Constitutional Order, 1981. Hence he retired compulsorily. In December 1988, he assumed the charge of caretaker Chief Minister of Balochistan on the request of Federal Government for or about 2 months. He is the author of 4 books - Searchlight on Balochis and Balochistan; The Baloch through the Centuries; History verses Legends; Qadeem Balochi Sha'iri (Balochi and Urdu). He was interviewed on 2nd January 1997.


13. Ibid.

14. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1924-1988). He usurped power from Z.A. Bhutto, an elected representative in a bloodless coup d'état on July 5, 1977. He was a person with religious bent and after assuming power, proceeded to impose his own brand of Islamization in Pakistan without a popular mandate. He rationalized that Allah created Pakistan to be an "Islamic State" and he was thus only doing Allah's work.

Zia was born into a Punjabi family in Jallundar (India). His father, Akbar Ali, was a senior clerk in the British Indian Civil Service and a very religious man, who saw to it that his children practiced their religion. Zia studied at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and after graduating in 1943, joined the Royal Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. After having served the occupation-liberation forces in World War II, Zia migrated to Pakistan. As a loyal officer in the armed forces, Zia was twice sent by President Ayub Khan to the USA for advanced military training. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and appointed instructor at the Command and Staff College, Quetta, in 1964. In 1968, he became Staff Colonel of an armoured division and in 1969 became
Brigadier. Zia was then sent by President Yahya Khan to Jordan where he advised King Hussain's army and contributed to the successful quelling of the PLO uprising in September 1970. He was recalled to Pakistan to fight in the December 1971 War on the West Pakistani front. In 1972, Bhutto purged a number of senior army officers which resulted in Zia's promotion to the position of Major General, commanding an armoured division. He was the presiding judge at the court-martial proceedings of two dozen army officers who had conspired to overthrow Bhutto. Zia passed severe sentences to the conspirators on the grounds that they were guilty of treason in attempting to subvert and overthrow a "popularly elected constitutional government". Zia was rewarded by Bhutto with promotion to the rank of Lieutenant General in 1975. He was elevated over at least eight senior generals to army Chief of Staff in March 1976 as Bhutto considered him the safe choice, i.e., totally a political, un-ambitious, loyal and obedient. During April 1977, when the PNA's movement against Bhutto was at its height, Zia pledged to support Bhutto's constitutional government and sent letters to a number of senior officers to leave politics to the professional politicians. He died in an air crash, near Bahawalpur on 17 August 1988.

15. Secret documents recovered from USA embassy in Iran.
18. Ibid.
19. The Political History of Pakistan by Professor Rafi Ullah Shehab p.308-309.
20. A Judge may speak Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri, introduction.
21. Author was past of MLA Headquarter at Lahore Cantt and all HQs were ordered to finalize all the preparation for election in October 1977.
22. The Political History of Pakistan by Professor Rafi Ullah Shehab p.309.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, Sept 2, 1977
27. Though initially General Zia was not in favour of annulling the 1973 constitution; he wanted more powers for the president who should also be the constitutional head of the armed forces. According to the constitution, Prime minister was more powerful. It is interesting to note that the oaths taken by General Zia-ul-Haq as the chief Martial Law Administrator and other martial law administrator, do not provide for allegiance to the constitution which places the armed forces of Pakistan under the control and command of the federal government (Article 213 (1) names the Prime minister as the chief executive of the federation," (Article 90 (1).

Times of India, Sept 20, 1977: Pir Pagara at this Press conference was almost echoing the amended views of General Zia-ul-Haq who told an urdu monthly of Lahore (Urdu Digest) in an interview that all that he had meant by favouring a presidential form of government was to give more powers to the president and place the Armed Forces under his control. According to Zia, the president under the 1973 constitution was totally ineffective.

28. The Tehrik-e-Istiqlal led by Asghar Khan withdrew from the PNA in November 1977. The JUP led by Shah Ahmed Noorani severed its links with the PNA in July 1978 soon after the formation of the National government. The JUP described the PNA as an "ineffective and unconstitutional organisation." The NDP was the third party to withdraw its links with the PNA. In August, 1978 the NDP ended its identification with the PNA as the "national government" did not show a favourable consideration towards the issue of regional autonomy. The PNA finally left the interim national government soon after Bhutto's execution and the announcement of the date of general elections in April 1979. It was reported that PNA took the decision in view of mounting criticism of Zia's government with regard to Bhutto's execution. The PNA appeared a bit hesitant to share the blame. Hence, it ultimately decided to quit the federal cabinet. Afterwards President Zia formed a new 20-member cabinet comprising military men and civilians on April 21, 1979.


30. The decision was taken in an emergency session of the cabinet. The cabinet meeting concluded that "instead of elevating any political figure or non-political personality to
the presidency, it would be better that the defacto head of the state formally assumed the office." It was also announced that the Martial Law Administrators (MLAs) of the four provinces would assume the office of the governor and the outgoing setting governors will be reverted. Justice Khuda Baksh Marri relinquished the post of governor and Lt Gen Rahim Uddin took over the governorship on 19 Sept 1978.


32. Ibid.


35. A.K. Brohi, minister of law and parliamentary affairs, a well known jurist and liberal intellectual countering Bizenjo's thesis of multi nationalism strongly favoured two-nation theory and regarded Islam as the linchpin of the state of Pakistan. He preferred for a strong unitary state.


39. On Sept 24, 1978, General Zia-ul-Haq introduced an amendment in the (1973) constitution providing for separate electorate for non-Muslim in Pakistan. Article 7 which provided for joint-electorate has been amended through a presidential order number 16 of the 1978. Following amendment the breakup of seats in the national and provincial assemblies will be as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Assembly</th>
<th>200</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 Minorities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The share of various provinces in the 200 Muslim seats will be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federally Administered Areas</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Federal Capital  | 1 |
Total            | 200 |

Provincial Assemblies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Muslim seats</th>
<th>Minorities</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim seats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim seats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim seats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim seats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under the amendment laws Muslims voters will vote only for Muslim seats, and members of the minority communities will vote for minority seats on the basis of direct
vote'. While various assemblies will constitute the 'electoral college' for electing women members on the basis of 'proportional representation' through single transferable votes. Dawn, Sept 25, 1978.

41. Ibid.

42. Pakistan Times, Feb 9, 1979.
44. Ibid.
45. Radio Pakistan announced it at about 1000 hours whereas BBC broadcasted this news in the morning of 4th April 1979.
48. Bureau of Intelligence and Research USA.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid p.52.
53. Ibid p.52,53.
54. RDS-2 8/24/85 (multiple sources).
55. Secret documents recovered from the US Embassy Tehran p.75.
56. Ibid.
57. These documents were confronted with other available sources these are authentic documents, these documents carry a warning notice "Sensitive intelligence sources and method involved". "not releasable to foreign nationals not reliable to contractors or contractor-consultants dissemination and extraction of information controlled by originator" with all these cautions and warning they keep their secret documents, contrary to that how they try to manipulate with the sovereignty of the independent state, a word of caution for the worthy officials". To understand that a power big enough to
give you every thing you want is a power big enough to take from you every thing you have”.

58. Tarakai the President of Afghanistan 1978, 1979 was wounded in the shoot out on 11 September 1979 and he died the same night in hospital he was pathans favourite in Pakistan. Kamal Mateen Op.Cit., p.55.

59. The Home Secretary Colonel Abdul Rauf Khan stated in a meeting at Quetta.

60. In the light of these sources an arm catch was organised and with the help of local administration arms/ammunitioon was recovered from area Naushki and Punjpai.

61. This beating they kept in mind and there are feuds still existing in many parts of Balochistan in while valuable lives have been base.


63. Ibid.

64. The Saga of the Khan of Kalat by Ahmer Masti Khan ,The News 16 September 1994.


66. Ibid.


68. Zia postponed the election in November 1979 and it was his preparation to hold talks with the people. The Political History of Pakistan by Prof Rafi Ullah Shehab Op.Cit., p.315.

69. Khair Bakhsh Marri Balochs name was on exit control list, he was not allowed to leave the country, keeping in view his participation in his anti-State activities during insurgency of 1973-77 during Bhutto’s regime.

70. Sher Muhammad Marri generally known as General Sheroff, he practically participated in the insurgency operations and was declared as recalcitrant and his name was also on exit control list but during Martial Law they remained peaceful.

71. See appendix-X to the appendices.

72. Such measures were taken to pacify the frustrated students and unemployed youth in Balochistan to provide an opportunity at national level.


by Mohammad Outadolajer. Department of Sociology University of Karachi 1 July 1976.

75. As such no violent or whement action was shown by the people of Balochistan these were just speculation of the parties.

76. Ibid.

77. Secret documents recovered from USA Embassy Tehran p.94.

78. Ibid.

79. Syed Iqbal Op.Cit., p.306. If, however, the Soviets push their way through the Khojak Pass and Bolan, their objective probably would be to create a Greater Balochistan so through it they gain a free and safe passage the port facilities on the Mekran coast, at Gwadar and Chabahar.

80. From 1973 when Sardar Muhammad Daud staged a bloodless coup, those loyal to King to seek shelter took refuge in Pakistan, during December 1979, registered refugees population in Pakistan had risen to 402,100 the same reached to 3.25 million, Kamal Mateen Op.Cit., p.314-315.

81. Breaking the Curfew, Emma Dunken p.140.


83. Lieutenant General Rahim Uddin was governor Balochistan from 19 September 1978 to 21st March, 1984, then he was promoted to the rank of General on 24 March 1984 became Chairman Chief of Joint Staff Committee, was interviewed at 44 Roomi Lane, Peshawar Road on 24th September 1996.

84. Breaking the Curfew, Emma Dunken p.141.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.


89. Prof Rafi Ullah Shehab, The Political History of Pakistan p.315.
90. Ibid p. 314.
91. Ibid.

95. Ibid.
98. The Muslim, November 1984.
100. The opposition contended it was only 30 per cent. The JUP declared the referendum as un-Islamic. The MRD declared, “We will not respect or recognize Zia as president and we will not accept the results of the rigged election”. Another agitation was also to be started to bring down Zia but keep the country together”.
101. See Appendix XIV, MNA from Balochistan.
103. Muhammad Khan Junejo began his political career in 1964 as Railway Minister under Mohammad Ayub Khan, he had been a member of Zia’s Cabinet for a period of 1978-79.
105. Ibid.
107. Bardawaj KK, Pakistan March to Democracy and Liberalism.
111. Ibid p.333-334.
113. In the provincial Assembly of Balochistan as such no coalition was made the assembly was dissolved.


115. Ibid.


117. Ibid.


120. The Pakistan Times 7th August 1990.

121. In an interview to the New York Times before leaving her official residence in Islamabad, the ousted Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto described the “unexpected military intervention organized by the army headquarters”. “It has been planned very well and for a long time”.

122. The Bush Administration also declared President Ghulam Ishaque Khan’s dismissal of Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan as a ‘constitutional’ act.

123. The Pakistan press criticized the action of President Ishaq Khan in dismissing Benazir Bhutto. The dailies IBRAT, AWAMI AWAZ, Hilal-e-Pakistan, etc. wrote editorials.

124. The “no-confidence” motion moved by him against Bhutto government was lost in the National Assembly as it was able to obtain only 107 votes against the minimum requirement of 119 in the chamber of 237 after two and a half hour long debate on November 1, 1989. The MQM which was initially inclined to support the motion later on changed its stand not to do so. Four IJI member, namely Rais Shabbir, Ghulam Mohd. Maneka, Anwar Aziz Chowdhury, and Mukhdoom Ahmed Alam Anwar and an independent member Zulfiqar Burg did not support the opposition move, which helped Benazir Bhutto to survive. The horse-trading went to the extent of one crore rupees for each vote. The Prime Minister later made a reshuffle of her Council of Ministers and appointed 3 IJI members as the ministers. The COP leader Jatoi declared at Islamabad on November 21, 1989, “I challenge her for a debate on the television or a public meeting to swear that she did not use money to buy members during the no-confidence motion.” The challenge was never accepted.
125. The Muslim, October 26, 1990.
128. Appendix XV, list of MNAs from Balochistan.
CHAPTER-X

CONCLUSION

Balochistan, the largest province of Pakistan, is a vast expanse of land lying along borders with Afghanistan and Iran. The province is spread over an area of 34.7 million hectare, which is 44% of the total national area of Pakistan. Of this, only 1.6 million hectare is under cultivation. A further 4.7 million hectare can be brought under cultivation by reclaiming the land and providing irrigation facilities. Nearly 62% of the total population of 6.18 million is dependent on agricultural related occupations.

About sixteen million Balochs inhabit a vast and contiguous tract of land in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. This region is extremely rich in mineral wealth and agricultural potentialities. Apart from the province of Balochistan in Pakistan, which is mainly populated by Balochs, about one-fourth of Sind, and one-fifth of the Punjab is populated by the Balochs, where they have settled down since centuries as soldiers of fortune, Zamindars and herdsmen. It is therefore logical and natural that the Balochs have high stakes in the integrity, preservation and progress of Pakistan. It would be sheer ignorance of elementary knowledge of history and psychic character of Baloch mind for any body to think that they would benefit from, or look forward to, any kind of assistance from beyond the borders of Pakistan.

The Balochs have undeniably played no less (if not more) part in the establishment of democratic Pakistan. As such, they have no less rights than others in all matters; nor are they less patriotic than their next neighbour. Besides this, no particular community, group of people, or region can legitimately claim to be the sole custodian of Islam or Pakistan. Such an attitude (if there be) deserves to be condemned outright by every right-thinking citizen, because history tells
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us that such tendencies did us no good in the past. On the contrary, it would breed disunity and hatred among the people.

It must be remembered that the vast province of Balochistan with all its contrasts of climate and geography has also the fortune to be a part of the region that once nursed the glorious ancient civilizations of Moenjodaro and Harappa.

Balochistan is neither a desolate desert nor an unproductive and arid chain of mountains, nor are its people ignorant or backward in any respect than other Pakistanis. The people of Balochistan are now wide awake. They know their democratic rights and liabilities, especially the enlightened class of the younger generation of Balochs who are engaged in a final struggle to demolish the barriers of tribalism and the remaining few pockets of vested interest. It appears that they are on the verge of wresting political leadership from the hands of a bunch of confused feudalist 'old guards' within a short span of a couple of provincial elections, if such an opportunity is afforded to them.

From the general trend of things, it seems that Balochistan is no more a paradise for political parasites, vested interests, and greedy exploiters, as some people naively want to believe. By virtue of its vast hinterland, high mountains standing like strategic sentinels, and sturdy and warlike people, this province since pre-Islamic times, has served as a 'safety valve' for India (undivided) against outside aggression; and it is destined to continue to play the same role with regard to Pakistan also for all times to come.

This was the sad state of affairs in Balochistan when Pakistan came into being. Pakistan--the infant State-- inherited these problems which are manifest today in varied forms. Therefore, to say that the present problems of Balochistan are a creation of any particular regime would not only be unjust but a confession of ignorance of the true causative factors in the current state of affairs in Balochistan
It was not realized that tribalism could not be kept intact for ever, and that in the immediate and prime interest of Pakistan it was imperative to bring an end to this stagnated state as gracefully as possible. Barring stray instances, the entire Balochistan administration was manned by persons imported from outside the province.

Due to sparse population, the distances are long, which are mostly covered by Kacha roads. Only 10% of the roads have metallised black top. Similarly, only 5% of the area in the Province is considered a settled area, where normal laws of the land are applicable. This is technically known as A area. The rest of the 95% is known as B or C areas where laws are enforced through the Jirga System under the Frontier Crimes Regulations. This is another reflection of deep rooted tribal system where Sardars exercise an over-riding influence in decision making and enforcement of law. The obtaining conditions in the province are thus altogether different from rest of the country be it political, moral or socio-economic values.

**Political System.** Balochistan was given the status of a full-fledged Province in 1970 on the breakup of One Unit. But under environment of a tribal dominated society, democracy was hardly given a fair trial. Successive general elections could not change pattern of political activity as Assembly seats are virtually inherited from one tribal chief or Wadera to his successor or nominee. Similar is the case of domination of ideological and ethnic parties in certain areas of Balochistan. The political influence is thus paradoxically divided into nationalists, radicals, moderates, secular and religious leaders.

This trend is also reflected in the Provincial Assembly, where not a single political party has been able to secure more than 10 seats in a house of 43. The Chief Minister Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Magsi, thus heads an uneasy coalition, which is regularly slipping under his feet. Since his coming to power he has barely managed a majority by offering Ministership to each of his supporter in the Assembly. Such is the scarcity of Government supporters that even the Speaker belongs to the Opposition. The stakes are high, so is the price. Each Minister is not only given a free hand, but is also allotted a portfolio of his own choice.
There is thus no administration worth the name in Province. There are practically 27 Chief Ministers and no Minister. The members of the Cabinet almost work independently and are generally concerned with making money. Most of them spend their time at Karachi or in Quetta. Many of them have not visited their constituencies for the last two years.

Balochnia has been ruled by the British government and subsequently by Pakistan, indirectly through cash and other favors to the Sardars. There is violence under one pretext or another if the payments or other favors from the government are reduced or even delayed. "Clan militia find that token attacks on the province's infrastructure are a useful way of reminding Islamabad of the apparent limits of the center's power. Violence has suited the tribal chiefs because it leaves their authority at local levels intact. It also permits them to dispense central and local government patronage at will. However, it has left the common citizen backward. The people need to be educated and brought into the nation's mainstream.

Sardari System. A majority of Ministers or local influential are Nawabs, Sardars or Waderas with roots in the tribal system. The Sardari System is a primitive way of exploitation still prevalent in Balochistan. The Sardar demands object loyalty of his subjects and ensures it through coercion and tyranny. A male tribal on attaining adulthood has to serve the Sardar free for five years, before he can become eligible to take a job independently or raise a family. Similar are the codes of conduct for female subjects. Every tribal has to offer a goat or sheep when Sardar is blessed with a child or Sardar marriages of his daughter or son. The tribal-men and women holds by nature are a simple creature. They are kept ignorant through machinations of Sardars and denied any access to the fruits of modern age. Sardars have not allowed even construction of roads, what to speak of schools and hospitals.

The tribal system, recognizes no boundaries including perhaps the international boundaries. There is a crisis across tribal population to and pro Afghanistan and Iran. Due to utter lack of communication and access along the border, the people on both sides generally meet
their daily requirements through barter exchanges. Smuggling is only an extension of barter trade.

The ruling class in the Province is product of the Sardari System. The Chief Minister and most of the Provincial Ministers are Sardars. Under the tribal system, not only a Sardar retains his fief under government sanction, but also maintains an army of Levies at government expense.

A wind of change is said to be pervading Balochistan, although this change is too feeble and painfully slow. The process is gradual in Pashtoon areas and very slow in Baloch area. The tribal people, shackled by poverty and ignorance, cannot bring a dramatic change by themselves, unless their efforts are supplemented by outside forces of democracy.

The eradication of gun-running requires immediate attention but the government should also concentrate on reducing tribal tensions so that the need for and use of weapons could be reduced to reduce tribal tensions, the economic activities other than smuggling should be started, coal mine industries development marble, graphite, and so on many mineral wealth in the province, which has yet to be explored should be explored and industries should be installed, there are many opportunities for the industrialist to exploit new fields, a time there was a great problem of manpower the same is no more existing, young people are without job and their idleness has brought many problems indulging in unnecessary tribal feuds, and showing their anxiety due to frustrated mind, young generation should be used in befitting manner for the prosperity of Balochistan.

As stated earlier, smuggling is only an extension of barter trade under the tribal system. When hundreds of miles of international borders are without effective check-posts, different clans of same tribes live on both sides and smugglers enjoy political patronage, the conditions are certainly conducive for unchecked smuggling, which is locally claimed as free trade.

Smuggling is thus a way of life in Balochistan. Since fertile areas with water resources are scarce and very few avenues for gainful employment exist, most of the people take to
smuggling to supplement their income. Big smugglers are either influential politicians or enjoy political patronage. Whenever any big consignment is detained by Frontier Corps Balochistan troops, the politicians raise a loud cry and even go to the extent of destabilising the Provincial government. The Frontier Corps Balochistan troops, which is mainly staffed by Punjabis and Pathans, is also blamed for a partisan role. But as far as individual carriers are concerned, they operate under a honorarium. Reliably there are nearly 300 persons who carry a man-load of smuggled goods daily from the border to Quetta. The markets in Quetta are full of foreign merchandise and prices highly competitive as compared to duty free markets in the Gulf. The customers are mostly from Punjab, who visit Balochistan on duty. To create a constant demand, there is also a constant resistance to customs checking at Quetta railway station and enroute, so that the goods could reach other Provinces safely. This demand has a striking similarity to unending pressure by NWFP for the removal of check post at Attock Bridge. The excuses are many but the ultimate aim is unhindered trade.

Smuggling in Balochistan has another interesting facet, which also speaks of our gross inability to operate in difficult border areas. Drug barons from Afghanistan on caravans of over 100 camels enter Pakistan near Ribut Qila triangle and track along the Pak side of border in a 10-mile corridor and enter Iran across Sandak. Such caravans carry months of dry rations, walk through most inhospitable track and have a superior fire power. Frontier Corps Balochistan troops had to face humiliation whenever they challenged these drug barons. Iranians too had to undergo a similar experience and in an encounter lost two gunship helicopters to Stinger missiles fired by drug mafia. The drug barons thus finally make their way right upto Turkey.

Loyalty to Pakistan The people of Balochistan have a different sense of loyalty and patriotism. Their attitude towards the concept of independent Pakistan is embedded in the colonial history of the sub-continent. The British bought the loyalty of tribal Sardars through coercion and money. The annual Sibi Mela used to be the Sibi Darbar in colonial days, where Sardars paid homage to the British Resident by pulling his cart upto the dais. In a tribal society, where very little has changed over years, everything has to be paid for, even loyalty. Most of the Sardars, small or big,
are in the payroll of Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners or Political Agents. Not surprisingly, bureaucracy also makes a lot of money by sharing the booty.

The Sardars expect monetary reward for maintaining peace in their areas. Akbar Bugti and his sons receive around Rs. 100 million annually from the Sui Fields as so-called royalty. Besides they can fleece a few lacs of rupees every time they want, by using strong hand methods against the gas field management. They can travel free from Sui airport in PPL aircraft. A couple of rooms in Serena Hotel Quetta are always booked for the Bugti clan, of course, free or on nominal charges.

Some of the tribesmen living astride Pak-Afghan border hardly differentiate between loyalty to Pakistan or Afghanistan. During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, some of them frequently switched their loyalty to and fro Afghanistan. Mahmood Khan Achakzai (MNA) spent five years in Afghanistan from 1983 to 1988 and waged a war against Mujahideen and Pakistan. He availed of the general amnesty under the PPP regime to return to Pakistan alongwith his 3000 strong armed militia.

**Provincial Autonomy** Despite divergence on political and ideological planks, leaders of all political parties are united on demanding unlimited autonomy. There is a general demand that the Federal Government should retain only Defence, Currency, foreign Affairs and Communications and the rest should be handled by the Province. They feel that Balochistan should be left alone to settle its own affairs.

The political parties and bureaucracy in Balochistan are highly suspicious of Federal Institutions, especially the government agencies. By far, these are the only institutions which have stood in between extremist elements and realisation of their dream of Greater Balochistan.

Despite deep hatred and animosity against the Armed Forces, there is a general consensus that whatever development is seen today was done during the Martial Law regime. Gen
Rahimuddin forced his way in extending electricity to vast areas with sub-soil water, thus turning them into lush green orchards. One can see this spectacle while travelling from Quetta to Loralai.

**Misuse of Public Money** Balochistan has set higher standards in the misuse of public money. Elected representatives and bureaucracy pool their ingenuity to devise ever new ways to fill their coffers. Some examples in this connection will make the point clear:-

Every MPA is allowed a sum of Rs. 2 crore annually for schemes in his constituency. The MPA usually allocates Rs. 1 crore for the shingle road, (which is washed away every year). Of the remaining Rs. 50 lac are set aside for raising of infra-structure on the MPA's own lands and hardly Rs. 50 lac goes to the common man. In each case, the contractor is generally a relative or a friend of the MPA.

Provincial Departments maintain a very large pool of official vehicles, which are generally Pajeros or Nisan Jeeps each costing around Rs. 2 million. Nobody settles for anything less than 2000 cc on the pretext of rugged land and difficult terrain.

Every Minister has a large number of vehicles at his disposal.

The conflict over Quetta Municipal Corporation is in fact a fight for sharing the booty. The QMC has a revenue of Rs. 11 crore annually, which is almost entirely misappropriated.

Funds allocated for many projects have remained unutilised due to lack of infra-structure. Such unutilised funds are not surrendered and instead transferred to a sort of discretionary account.
Most of the Departments have opened up projects which are not governed by normal rules & regulations. Hence, all concerned draw lavish perks and facilities without fear of accountability. Even Department of finance maintains vehicles on the pretext of inspection to various projects.

Bolan Medical College was sanctioned at a cost of Rs. 70 million in 1973, and the contract was awarded to a local contractor. The cost of the project has increased to over Rs. 1000 million, but contractor remained the same.

Government Servants Baloch government servants have different connotations about participation in political activities. Almost all government servants have political patrons who take care of their postings, transfers and promotions. It is also customary for these government servants to participate in public meetings or processions organised by political party of their choice. Employees of WAPDA, Telecommunication Deptt serving in their own areas are generally affiliated to local political parties. An employee serving in Chaman area could be an affiliate of PMAP, whereas in Kalat or Makran he may owe allegiance to BSO/BNM.

Ethnic Division Among various factors which have plagued the atmosphere in Balochistan, the ethnic division is the most important. This factor alone has caused a deep division in the socio-economic set up and the wounds inflicted by it may take a long time to heal. The germs of this malignancy can be traced to Soviet sponsored subversion weaknesses in the political handling of the situation, socio-economic factors and ethnic upsurge in Sindh.

The Baloch - Pakhtoon ratio in the Province is reckoned at 60:40, although this is not borne out by reliable statistical figures or Census records. The Pashtoons are by nature hard working and are economically better off. They occupy fertile lands in the north of the Province, which are connected by Pakka roads. Balochs in contrast are backward and overwhelmed by poverty - thanks to the Sardari system. The current position of ethnic layout and its exposition in the National Assembly is given on the slide.
Recommendation A complex tribal system and a split mandate in the last General Elections have given rise to a peculiar situation unlike any other province of Pakistan. A weak coalition government has rendered the Chief Minister practically ineffective. Provincial Ministers act independently and pay more attention to party interests and personal affairs than their official duties. Anti-social elements, who include some MPAs also, carry out their activities with impunity and are afforded protection in the name of tribal traditions. Even Federal laws are not enforced as a matter of political expediency. Militant groups thus feel encouraged to raise private Militias with assistance from across the borders.

The prevailing situation in the Province is far from satisfactory and is in fact quite grim in some respects. It calls for the introduction of both short term and long term measures to bring a healthy change in the province. Some suggestions in this regard are:

Short Term Measures

The provincial government survives through compromises under a weak Chief Minister. There must be change not only in personalities but also in attitudes.

The Provincial Administration, including the Office of the Chief Secretary, needs a new look to imbibe confidence in the lower echelons.

Effective checks should be placed on raising of private Militias and display of sophisticated arms at public places. The activities of PMAP need a tactful but firm handling.

No relaxation should be allowed in the enforcement of Federal laws. Political compromises should not stand in the way of national interests.

Long Term Measures
Sardari System has been the bane of many existing evils in Balochistan. Commanding abject loyalty from their subjects, the Sardars perpetuated their stronghold over the centuries, as also sought direct confrontation with the government and the civilised world at large. There is a need to weaken this subjugation of a large mass of humanity. It is not an easy task, but a beginning shall have to be made somewhere by somebody.

Sardars have always opposed development work, education or health facilities in their areas. Economic development should keep pace at a reasonable speed, using force where it is really necessary.

Proliferation of arms has increased as a fallout of the Afghan situation. It must be brought under manageable limits through administrative measures.

Smuggling is favourite pastime in many areas. Narcotics trafficking has added new dimensions to the problem. Most of the drugs are produced in Afghanistan, but pass through Balochistan to reach Iran and the Middle East. Smugglers are heavily armed capable of engaging regular troops. Some checks should be placed on such trafficking to establish the write of the government.

Political instability has affected the judicial system also. There have been cases, where money and influence altered the course of justice. The confidence of the judiciary should be restored. At the same time, undesirable elements in the judiciary may also be subjected to accountability.
A systematic approach is required to reduce the extent of B areas, and bring them in the realm of A areas (Settled areas).

Feudalism must be eradicated and a middle class must be developed. The common people are particularly concerned about the relative lack of government efforts to preserve their languages and cultural heritage. Special encouragement and resources must be provided.

The Baloch and Sindhi leadership, including the politicians, the press, civil servants, intellectuals, and the military must reassess their cultural anomalies. They must discard archaic ideas which have decayed, leaving only remnants of their original value. The issues relating to a dowry at the time of marriage, "marriage to the Qur'an" in the case of non-availability of a suitable match within the family murder in the case of the slightest suspicion of sexual misconduct, etc. must be reconsidered.

The central government and Pakistanis from all provinces must realize that an overwhelming portion of the population wishes to remain a part of Pakistan. This has been repeatedly demonstrated by the defeat of separatist parties in elections. The decision makers must therefore remove the cloud of suspicion regarding national loyalty which hangs over almost every Sindhi and Baloch.

A constitutional provision is needed to protect the rights of all ethnic minorities. It should include provisions for the protection and development of their language, culture, economy, and human rights. The need for provincial and local government autonomy is particularly strong in Sindh outside Karachi and Hyderabad and Balochistan, where a large number of civil servants are not willing to transfer.

Steps must be taken to achieve a better integration of the various communities within Sindh and Balochistan provinces so that a division of the provinces, which is sure to lead to great conflict and bloodshed, will not be necessary.
A four pronged politics is expected in the near future. Jamhoori Watan Party, Pakhtoonkhaw Milli Awami Party, Muslim League and Jamiat Ulema Islam, Mengal-Marri group with Awami National Party and Pakistan National Party axis. The Pakistan National Party is showing her desire to merge with Awami National Party. Resultantly the Baloch will continue to play a vital role in Balochistan politics.

There is a dire need to have TV boasters at Dera Bugti, Khuzdar and Zhob. A large number of dish antennas that throng these areas are most likely to bring these people under the direct influence of Western media. The general awakening in these areas can be well imagined from the fact that majority of the tribesmen coming to condole the death of Nawab Bugti’s son, are reportedly said to have heard the news of cold blooded murder from the BBC.

A metalled highway should be constructed to join Quetta with Dera Bugti and Sui areas. The Sui areas, a hidden giant through which the energy needs of major part of our Industrial sector is bolstered and the gas for daily consumption is being supplied to even areas in Punjab should not be ignored. The annoyance of people belonging to Sui is natural. The government enjoys benefits from Sui but nothing is being done to develop this area of international repute.

The tribesmen accuse the version of bureaucracy that tribal Sardars are a hindrance in the way of development. The local populace believes that if levies check posts and police stations can be set up in tribal areas why not schools and hospitals. It is high time we forget the system of consuming of files. The speedy development, world over, has brought lot of awareness amongst masses. The govt should find new solutions to these very old problems by analysis, study and research. Those times are gone when general masses would go to mountains on orders of Khair Bakhsh Marri or any other Sardar. They want socio-economic development and nothing less.

The inexperienced bureaucracy has ruined the entire system. The Bureaucracy with no knowledge and experience of Baloch tribal system are posted here. The only source of information for him is old file lying in the record branch. Such old files always carry out dated
informations and personal biases. These bureaucrats do not visit these areas for themselves but form opinions on information from touts who flatter them to their own advantage. Such immature handling further complicates the situation.

Balochistan is known on various accounts. Its loyalty to Pakistan movement is part of our history. It mineral resources contribute significantly to the national economy. Its people brave. Its traditions are tribal. Their heroic deed of the past have turned into legends of the present. Much has been written about their culture, politics, their habits and traits. Still there is lot more that can be known alert them.

Unfortunately the pace of its growth has remained alarmingly slow. The prime reasons being its difficult terrain and its arid lands which made the establishment of developmental infrastructure an ordeal in itself. Despite all that its urban centers are swelling fast due to innumerable commercial and trading activities becoming possible day by day. The province has its own well attended university now. An Engineering College at Khuzdar and a Medical College at Quetta have provided ample opportunities for its people for benefiting from the resulting educational awakening. Quotas for educational facilities and jobs which are meant to develop the backward people are used by the feudal lords and sardars to advance their own families and a few loyal associates. The quotas are needed by backward communities but measures must be established to ensure that the facilities are well-targeted and used by the most deserving within each community. The quotas for people of Balochistan and rural Sindhis must be used by the most deserving among them rather than by nominees of the powerful.

Family feuds Among the Baloch Sardars. Baloch society has traditionally been stratified and characterized as "feudal militarism". The significant social tie is between a leader, the hakim' and his retinue. Tribal violence or clan warfare is a part of daily life. Historically, when the Sardars fought among each other, only their followers died. In recent times, the Sardars are getting killed themselves. In 1983, Nawab Ghous Bux Raisani, the powerful chief of Sarawan,
was assassinated following clashes that had taken place during the "Local Bodies" elections that year. This led to a lasting enmity between the Raisanis and the Bugtis.

Division Among Baloch, Pashtun, and Punjabis. The previous balance among the three communities has been upset by the influx of Afghan refugees. There are now about 400,000 Afghan refugees in Balochistan. Many of the refugees have acquired Pakistani identity cards and registered on voters lists. The Balochs who have been the majority in all censuses since 1901, are visibly concerned. They fear being converted into minority in their own province. Fairness and transparency of the census, including checking identity cards and excluding the refugees may resolve the issue.

The southern part of the province has the vast majority of Baloch people, while the northern ones are primarily Pashtu-speaking Pathans. Given the ethnic divisions in other parts of the country, and cultural and linguistic differences among the two main groups, demand for division of the province can become an issue and may lead to conflict. Steps taken now to achieve integration of the various communities would prevent such conflict.

The grievances of the people have been underestimated and ignored. Their concerns and justified demands need to be fully understood and acted upon. The small provinces suffer from all of the problems that the country as a whole does. In addition, they suffer from issues peculiar to them.

The government must pay special attention to developing the small provinces which happen to be least developed. Special encouragement must be given to new industries, particularly those providing employment and future growth (e.g., electronics). Inter-provincial problems (e.g., allocation of water, and financial resources) must be resolved equitably. The federal government must consider special developmental priorities of the people of small provinces.
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No. PS/7/S&GAD/475
Government of Balochistan
Services & General Admn:
Information, Sports and Culture
Department
Dated Quetta, the 25.3.1991

Phone Office: 75094
70181/208
Res: 78133

Mir Jan Muhammad Jamali
Minister

Respected Sir,

I hope this will find you in the best of your health.

There has been some confusion over the correct spelling of the words 'Baloch' and 'Balochistan' in the past. Different spellings were in use most of which did not convey the correct background and sense of the word.

It was, however, last year that the Government of Balochistan took a decision in this regard and notified the correct spelling as 'Baloch' and 'Balochistan' respectively.

I shall be highly grateful if you could kindly make it convenient to issue necessary instructions to this effect to all concerned under your administrative control.

With best regards.

Your sincerely

Sd/xxxx
(MIR JAN MOHAMMAD JAMALI)

Sd/xxxx
Gen Mirza Aslam Baig
Chief of Army Staff,
General Headquarters,
ISLAMABAD.
Appendix II

Commander-in-Chief, 
Pakistan Navy, 
Naval Headquarters, 
KARACHI.

No. DN/1100. 

Dated 5th September, 1958.

OPERATION ORDER NO. 1-OPERATION "BRAVO".

Reference : Admiralty Chart No. 38.

Appendices : A. Gwadar Intelligence Brief.

b. Photostat Copy of Gwadar Bay 
(to 'BABUR' only)

Time : All times ECHiO (-5).

Information

1. Since Independence the Government of Pakistan has been negotiating with the Sultan of 
Muscat for the return of Gwadar territory. Arrangements have now been finalised for its return to 
the Government of Pakistan on Monday 8 September, 1958. Agha Abdul Hamid, CSP, Principal
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister and Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat will represent the 
Government of Pakistan at the transfer ceremony and will receive this territory on behalf of the 
Government.

Intention

2. a. The transfer of Gwadar will be effected at an Official Ceremony in the Port of 
Gwadar on Monday 8 September, 1958. The Government of Pakistan will be represented by Mr AA Hamid.

b. On completion of the transfer ceremony, the administration of Gwadar will be 
taken over by a Pakistani Official who will be assisted by the special police force being 
despatched from Karachi for this purpose.

c. PNS Babur is to anchor in Gwadar East Bay and act as radio link with Karachi 
and provide Military support to the Pakistani Civil Administration, if required.
Execution
3. PNS Babur is to detail one Signal Communication Officer and one Leading Tel. with one portable R/T Set Type 62. This party is to board SS Sirdhana AM Sunday 7 September. Naval personnel are to travel incognito in plain clothes. Likewise the equipment and their personal kit is to be camouflaged.

4. Pakistan's representative accompanied by a contingent of 22 Pakistan Police and the Naval Communication Unit is scheduled to sail for Gwadar on board SS Sirdhana at 1400 on Sunday 7 September, 1958.

5. SS Sirdhana is expected to reach Gwadar on Monday 8 September. Firm ETA will be signalled later.

6. After having embarked about 8 pressmen/photographers, PNS Babur is to sail for Gwadar PM Sunday 7 September. Course and speed is to be adjusted so as to arrive Gwadar East bay one hour after SS Sirdhana and anchor in safe depth.

7. Pakistan Government's representative, along with the rest of the party, will disembark from SS Sirdhana and proceed ashore to attend the Official Transfer Ceremony. The civilian personnel on board Babur are to be landed to witness the function.

8. On behalf of the Sultan of Muscat, the Wali will hand over Gwadar to the representative of the British Consul General in Muscat. The British Authorities in turn will hand over the territory to the Pakistan Government's representative.

9. PNS Babur may be required to land a guard of honour for the Pakistan Flag hoisting ceremony.

10. On completion of the Transfer Ceremony, the Wali of Gwadar, his local administration staff and the representative of the British Consul General will leave Gwadar.

11. On successful completion of transfer of power a tea party will be given on board PNS Babur PM 8 September to which about 250 guests will be invited.

12. On about 11 September or as directed by Pakistan Government's representative, PNS Babur is to embark all personnel, not required for local administration, and return to Karachi.

13. During stay at Gwadar, especially during the first phase of the transfer of power, PNS Babur is to maintain efficient communication with the Naval Communication Unit ashore at Gwadar and is to be ready to land 3 platoons in aid of civil power, if required.

14. No opposition is expected but all possible precautions and measures are to be taken to prepare against any eventuality.

Administrative Arrangements
15. a. For operation "BRAVO" PNS Babur will come under the direct operational control of the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Navy.

b. The Commanding Officer is to afford all assistance and cooperation to Agha A Hamid, CSP, Pakistan Government's representative and is to provide such military support as may be requested for the successful execution of this operation.

c. Commanding Officer is to make periodical Situation Reports to the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Navy as necessary.

Signal Communication

16. A direct link is to be maintained between PNS Babur and Karachi W/T on 8520 Ke/s from the time of the ship's departure till its return to Karachi.

17. Following frequencies are to be used for communication between PNS Babur and the Naval Communication Unit ashore:

   (1) Primary - 2530 KC/S.
   (2) Alternative - 3540 KC/S.

PNS Babur to allocate call signs and other necessary instructions.

18. Communication between Babur and the Naval Communication Unit is to be established as soon as the latter has landed ashore.

19. Receipt of this order is to be acknowledged on the attached receipt.

Sd/-
(H M S CHoudRI)
VICE ADMIRAL
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
PAKISTAN NAVY

Commanding Officer
PNS BABUR
ARTICLES OF AN ENGAGEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND MEHRAB KHAN, THE CHIEF
OF KALAT—1839.

WHEREAS a Treaty of lasting friendship has been concluded between the British
Government and His Majesty Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, and Mehrab Khan, the Chief of Kalat, as well
as his predecessors, has always paid homage to the Royal House of the Sadoozais, therefore, with
the advice and consent of the Shah, the under mentioned Articles have been agreed upon by
Mehrab Khan and his descendants from generation to generation. As long as the Khan performs
good service, the following Articles will be fulfilled and preserved:

ARTICLE 1

As Nasir Khan and his descendants, as well as his tribe and sons, held possession of the
country of Kalat, Kachli, Khorstan, Makran, Kej, Bela and the port of Soumiani in the time of
the lamented Ahmed Shah Durani they will in future be masters of their country in the same
manner.

ARTICLE 2

The English Government will never interfere between the Khan, his dependents, and
subjects, particularly lend no assistance to Shah Nawaz Fateh Khan, and the descendants of the
Mahabbarzai branch of the family, but always exert itself to put away evil from his house. In case
of His Majesty the Shah's displeasure with the Khan of Kalat, the English Government exert
itself to the utmost to remove the same in a manner which may be agreeable to the Shah and
according to the rights of the Khan.

ARTICLE 3
As long as the British army continues in the country of Khorstan, the British Government agrees to pay to Mehrab Khan the sum of one and a half lakh of Company's rupees from the date of this engagement by half-yearly installments.

ARTICLE 4

In return for this sum the Khan, while he pays homage to the Shah and continues in friendship with the British nation, agrees to use his best endeavours to procure supplies, carriage, and guards to protect provisions and stores going and coming from Shikarpur by the route of Rozan, Dadar, the Pass of Bolan, through Shal to Kuchlak from one frontier to another.

ARTICLE 5

All provisions and carriage which may be obtained through the means of the Khan, the price of the same is to be paid without hesitation.

ARTICLE 6

As much as Mehrab shows his friendship to the British Government by service and fidelity to the Saddozai family, so much the friendship will be increased between him and the British Government; and on this he should have the fullest reliance and confidence.

This agreement having been concluded, signed and sealed by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, Kt., Envoy on the part of the Right Hon'ble George, Lord Auckland, G.C.B., Governor-General of India and Mehrab Khan, of Kalat, on the part of himself, the same shall be duly ratified by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

Done at Kalat, the 28th day of March, A.D. 1839, corresponding with the 12th day of Muharram, A.H. 1255.

A. BURNES
Envoy to Kalat
Appendix IV

Governor General's House,
Karachi.

2nd February, '48.

My dear Khan Sahib,

I was glad to meet your Prime Minister, Nawabzada Mohammad Aslam, today when he came to talk over matters with me on your behalf. We have discussed the matter, and he will convey to you the result of our talk.

As your friend and well-wisher, I advise you to join Pakistan without further delay. I do hope that you will carefully consider the matter and let me have your final reply which you promised to do after your stay with me in Karachi when we fully discussed the whole question in all its aspects.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- M. A. Jinnah

His Highness the Khan of Kalat.
MAJOR TRIBAL FEUDS IN BALOCHISTAN

Bugti vs Bugti

A political tussle between the Kalpar branch of the Bugti of the Bugti tribe and Nawab Akbar Bugti turned into a blood feud. The Kalpars left the area and are now trying to re-settle in Sui area with the help of the federal government. The Kalpars are also supported by some of the Massooris.

Bugti vs Raisani

Apparently there was no direct dispute between the two tribes. The clash between the Bugti and Raisani tribals in the city a few months ago created strong tension between these tribes, finally resulting in the clash at Sariab Road on August 27, leaving nine dead and several wounded.

Bugti vs Mazari

The feud erupted over the ownership of sand dunes on the border of Punjab and Balochistan near Kashmore. The sides attacked each other on several occasions and many precious lives were lost.

Raisani vs Rind

This feud dates back to the murder of some Jatois (a clan of the Rind tribe) on the eve of the local body elections in 1979. Tribesmen from both sides have clashed on several occasions since then. Nawab Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, a leading tribal and political figure of the province, was also murdered during these clashes.

Rind vs Rind

The dispute is between the families of Sardar Yar Muhammad Rind, an MNA representing JWF, and the late Sardar Taj Muhammad Rind.
Raisani vs Domki

There was no dispute between these tribes until recently but the Sariab Road clash on August 27 this year pitched them against each other, when two sons of Sardar Chakar Khan Domki were killed there.

Marri vs Marri

The difference between the Bijarani and Gizini branches of the Marri tribe erupted during their self-exile to Afghanistan. The Bijarans are no longer loyal to Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and their tug of war over the financial benefits from the oil and gas exploration and production from the Kohlu area continues.

Hammedzai vs Ghaibezai

Both are branches of Achakzai tribe. They entered into the blood feud after the murder of Sayyid Muhammad Khan Ghaibezai. Gulistan, the native area of the Achakzais, has been ruined due to the use of lethal weaponry during the clashes that have often taken place.

Magsi vs Magsi

Mainly a family dispute between the families of Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Magsi, Chief Minister Balochistan and his uncle Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi. Over 20 persons were killed when Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Magsi’s caravan was ambushed near Piruk in Jhal Magsi district when he was proceeding to file the nomination papers for the October 1993 elections.

Nasir vs Tareen

Additional Deputy Commissioner Pishin was killed near Ziarat; Senator Sardar Yaqub Khan Nasir was accused in this case.

Sulemankhel vs Mandokhel

The tribes have a dispute over some land in Sambaza area north-west of Zhob. Several clashes have taken place between the two tribes. Sulemankhels are not allowed to enter Zhob
City, they are living in area Amar-ud-Din a small border town with a wing Headquarters of Zhob Militia to control Afghan Pak border and law and order situation in the area.

Appendix VI

BALOCHISTAN STATES UNION MERGER AGREEMENT

Agreement made this first day of January 1955 between the Governor-General of Pakistan and the Khan-e-Azam, the President of the Council of Rulers of the Balochistan States Union (hereinafter referred to as the "Union") on behalf of the Council of Rulers.

Whereas the Rulers of Kalat, Makran, Las Bela and Kharan entered into the Convenient for the formation of the Union of the 11th day of April, 1952.

And whereas the Khan-e-Azam executed on behalf of the Council of Rulers an instrument of accession on the 3rd November, 1952 which was accepted by the Governor General on the 2nd December, 1952.

And whereas in the best interests of the Unions as well as the Dominion of Pakistan, it is desirable to provide for the cession of the territories of the said Union to the Dominion of Pakistan and for the merger of the same in the proposed Unit of the said Dominion to be known as West Pakistan.

Now therefore it is agreed as follows:

Article 1. His Highness the Khan-e-Azam hereby cedes to the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan his sovereignty and all his rights, authority and powers as President of the Council of Rulers of the Union, together with all his territories including the territories known as the leased areas, and having been duly authorised to that end by the members of the Council of that is to say the Rulers of Makran, Las Bela and Kharan, their sovereignty and all their rights, authority and powers as such Rulers together with all their territories; and the authority
jurisdiction and powers for the governance of the said Union and territories shall vest in the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as "the said day".

As from the said day the Government of the Dominion shall exercise all powers, authority and jurisdiction for the governance of the said Union and territories in such agency as it may think fit.

Article II. The members of the Council of Rulers shall be entitled to receive annually from the Government of Pakistan for their pivy purse free of all taxes the amount given below:

- His Highness the Khan-e-Azam of Kalat: Rs. 6,50,000 (Rupees Six Lacs and Fifty Thousand only)
- The Nawab of Makran: Rs. 2,25,000 (Rupees two lacs and twenty five thousand only)
- The Jam Sahib of Las Bela
- The Nawab of Kharan: Rs. 2,00,000 (Rupees two lacs only)

The said amount is intended to cover all the expenses of the Rulers and their families including expenses on account of their personal staff, bodyguard, tours, hospitality, maintenance of their residences, marriages and all family ceremonies.

The said amount shall be payable to the Rulers in four equal instalments at the beginning of each quarter in advance.

The payment of the said amount as herein provided is guaranteed by the Government of Pakistan.
Article III. The Ruler's shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all the jewels, jewelry, ornaments, shares, securities and other private properties, movable as well as immovable, not being State properties, belonging to them on the date of this agreement.

If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of the Ruler or State property, it shall be decided by the Governor General of Pakistan whose decision shall be final and binding on all concerned.

Article IV. The Rulers, their wives and children shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territory of the State immediately before the date of this agreement.

Article V. The Government of Pakistan guarantees the succession according to law and custom of the states concerned to the personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles specified in Article II to IV, above.

Article VI. This agreement abrogates all the Instruments of accession and agreements between the Governor General of Pakistan and His Highness the Khan-e-Azam signed so far.

In confirmation whereof the Governor General of Pakistan and His Highness the Khan-e-Azam have appended their signatures on this first day of January 1955.

This Agreement has been made by the President on our behalf and with our authority on behalf of our heirs and successors and shall be binding upon us, our heirs and successors.

Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, Ruler of Kalat
Bai Khan, Ruler of Makran
Habibullah Khan, Ruler of Kharan
Jam Mir Abdul Qadir, Ruler of Las Bela
### DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES
#### BALOCHISTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ser No</th>
<th>Constituency/Area</th>
<th>Population Composition</th>
<th>Political Influence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NA-197 Quetta-Chaghi</td>
<td>Baloch</td>
<td>40% PMAP</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Pashtoon</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hazara</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Settlers</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>NA-198 Pishin</td>
<td>Pashtoons</td>
<td>PMAP</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>NA-199 Loralai</td>
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<td>20%</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>NA-201 Kachi</td>
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<td>JWP</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>NA-202 Sibi,Kohlu</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>NA-203 Nasirabad</td>
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<td>NA-204 Kalat/Kharan</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>NA-205 Khuzdar</td>
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<td>11.</td>
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Source: Chief Minister Secretariat Quetta
## DISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES

### BALOCHISTAN

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<th>Population Composition</th>
<th>Political Influence</th>
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<td>1.</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>PB-34</td>
<td>Othal (Lasbelia Distt)</td>
<td>Baloch, PML-N</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>PB-35</td>
<td>Dureji</td>
<td>Baloch, PPP</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>PB-36</td>
<td>Panjgur</td>
<td>Baloch, BNM(Hye)</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>PB-37</td>
<td>Turbat</td>
<td>Baloch, BNM(Hye)</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>PB-38</td>
<td>Buleda (Turbat Distt)</td>
<td>Baloch, BNM(Hye)</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>PB-39</td>
<td>Tump</td>
<td>Baloch, BNM(Hye)</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>PB-40</td>
<td>Gawadar</td>
<td>Baloch, PPP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chief Minister Secretariat Quetta
PROVINCIAL POLITICAL PARTIES

1. PAKISTAN NATIONAL PARTY
   1. Malik Faiz Mohammad Yusafzai - Chief Organizer
      Provincial PNP
   2. Dr. Abdul Hakeem Lahri - President Provincial PNP
   3. Malik Saeed Diwar - Vice President I.
   4. Sakhi Sultan Advocate - Vice President II.
   5. Bizen Bizenjo - General Secretary
   6. Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo - Central President

2. AWAMI NATIONAL PARTY
   1. Mir Abdul Rehman Kurd - Provincial President
   2. Mira Khan Mandokhel - Senior Vice President
   3. Aurang Zeb Kasi - Junior Vice President
   4. Aman Ullah Bazai - General Secretary
   5. Abdul Rehman Asuet - Press Secretary

3. JAMIAT ULEMA ISLAM (FAZAL-UR-REHMAN GROUP).
   1. Moulvi Abdul Wahid - Sarparast-e-Aala I.
   2. Haji Mohammad Zaman Achakzai - Sarparast-e-Aala II.
   3. Moulvi Mohammad Khan Sherani - Provincial Amir
   4. Moulvi Noor Mohammad - Provincial Vice President
   5. Moulvi Syed Sadique Shah - General Secretary

4. PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY
   1. Aman Ullah Gichki - Provincial President
   2. Jamal Khan Jogeza - General Secretary
3. Ghulam Haider Jamaldini - Joint Secretary
4. Sakhi Sultan Durrani - Press Secretary
5. Abdul Rauf Khan Kasi - Finance Secretary

5. SINDHI BALOCHI PASHTOON FRONT
1. Mir Meher Ullah Khan Mengal - Provincial President
2. Noor Mohammad Achakzai - General Secretary
3. Mir Lal Bakhsh Mengal - Provincial Convener
4. Nawab Khalid Gichki - Provincial Deputy Convener
5. Ghour Khan Zarakzai - Active member

6. TEHREEK NIFAZ FIIQA JAFFRIA
1. Yaqub Ali Tawasli - Provincial President
2. Mohammad Juma Asadi - Provincial Vice President
3. Haji Mohammad Musa - Provincial General Secretary
4. Haji Haider Ali - Treasurer
5. Wallyat Hussain Advocate - Executive Member

7. PAKHTOON KHWA NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY
1. Mahmood Khan Achakzai - Provincial President
2. Abdul Rahim Advocate - Acting President
3. Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan Jogeza - Vice President
4. Mohammad Ayub Kakar - Joint Secretary
5. Shah Ghasi - Secretary Information

8. MUSLIM LEAGUE (FIDA GROUP)
1. Mir Zafar Ullah Khan Jamali - Provincial President
2. **Sardar Mohammad Yaqub Khan Nasar**  -  Vice President
3. **Sardar Ali Ahmed Jogezai**  -  Vice President II
4. **Malik Gul Zaman Kasi**  -  Treasurer
5. **Saeed Hashmi**  -  General Secretary

**JAMIAT ISLAMI**

1. **Moulvi Abdul Hameed Mengal**  -  Provincial Amir
2. **Moulvi Abdul Ghafoor Baloch**  -  Naib Amir
3. **Aman Ullah Baloch**  -  General Secretary
4. **Rahim Bakhsh Paracha**  -  Treasurer
5. **Fazal Eilahi Qureshi**  -  Secretary Information

**TEHREEK ISTIQLAL PARTY**

1. **Khudai Noor**  -  Provincial Chairman
2. **Haji Mohammad Hayat Jamaldini**  -  Provincial President

**MUSLIM LEAGUE (JENEJO GROUP)**

1. **Mohammad Ibrahim Baloch**  -  Provincial President
2. **Jhangir Shah Jogezai**  -  Vice President
3. **Syed Fasih Iqbal**  -  Vice President II
4. **Haji Qasim Khan Achakzai**  -  Vice President III
5. **Pir Abdul Hakeem Shah**  -  Provincial Chairman

**PASHTOON ITTEHAD TANZEEM PARTY**

1. **Nawab Zada Aurang Zeb Jogezai**  -  Provincial President
2. **Nasrullah Khan Pashtoon**  -  Vice President
3. **Mirza Khan Pashtoon**  -  Junior Vice President
4. **Akhtar Mohammad Pashtoon**  -  General Secretary
5. **Ghazi Mohammad Hassan**  -  Press Secretary
13. **JAMIAT ULEMA PAKISTAN (SHAH AHMED NOORANI GROUP)**
   
   1. Moulvi Fateh Mohammad Barozai - Provincial President
   2. Moulvi Habib Ahmed Lahri - Vice President
   3. Moulvi Habib Ahmed Naqshbandi - General Secretary
   4. Syed Ghulam Mohammad shah - Secretary Information
   5. Khalifa Abdul Aziz - Treasurer

14. **BALOCH ITTEHAD BALOCHISTAN**
   
   1. Mohammad Ismail Mengal - Provincial Chairman
   2. Mohammad Yousaf Baloch - General Secretary
   3. Nawab Mohammad Akbar Bugti - Active Member
   4. Ayub Baloch - Provincial Vice Chairman
   5. Abdul Samad Baloch - Press Secretary

15. **AFRO ASIAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY ORGANISATION**
   
   1. Aman Ullah Advocate - Provincial President
   2. Saleh Mohammad Mandokhel - Vice President
   3. Sakhil Sultan Advocate - Vice President III
   4. Dr. Inayat Ullah - General Secretary
   5. Abdul Jabbar Kakar - Secretary Information

16. **PAKISTAN KHAWA AWAMI MILLI ITTEHAD**
   
   1. Abdul Rahim Advocate - Provincial President
   2. Sardar Hashim Khan Jogezi - Vice President
   3. Dr. Kaleem Ullah - General Secretary
   4. Shah Ghazi - Secretary Information
   5. Sardar Bashir Khan - Active Member

17. **PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (NAWAZ GROUP)**

18. **TEHRIK-E-ISTIQLAL**
STUDENTS ORGANIZATION IN BALOCHISTAN

1. BALOCHISTAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION, (BSO)

Divided into two groups

(a) Waheed Baloch group
CHAIRMAN
Waheed Baloch.
General Secretary.
Muhammad Baloch

(b) Dr. Kahure Khan group
CHAIRMAN
Dr. Kahure Khan Baloch
General Secretary
Abdul Karim Kohi

This organization came into existence in November, 1976 and is affiliated with PNP.

2. PASHTOON STUDENTS ORGANIZATION, (PSO)

PRESIDENT Qazi Dawood
General Sec: Abaid Ullah

The organization was established on 28-1-1969 and is politically affiliated with Pashtoon Khaw Milli Awami Itihad backed by Mehmood Khan Achakzai.

3. PASHTOON STUDENTS FEDERATION, (PSF)

PRESIDENT Abaid Ullah Abid
General Sec: Sajjad Tareen
The Federation came into being in August 1969. This Federation has got firm affiliation with ANP, follows the lines of Abdul Wali Khan.

4. **PEOPLES STUDENTS FEDERATION (PSF)**

   **PRESIDENT**  
   Iqbal Hussain Shah

   **General Sec:**  
   Shahjehan.

The Federation came into existence in March 1973. The Federation has got affiliated with PPP.

5. **DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS FEDERATION (DSF)**

   **PRESIDENT**  
   Imdad Hussain Chandio

   **General Sec:**  
   Anwar Zaib

The Federation was came into existence in December, 1981 and being supported by Jam Saqi.

6. **JAMIAT TULBA-E-ISLAM (JTI)**

   **PRESIDENT**  
   Dr. Sarfraz (Expired on 17-10-1988)

   **General Sec:**  
   Kamal Shah

JTI came into being in 1977 and has got firm affiliation with JUI.

7. **PAKISTAN PROGRESSIVE STUDENTS ALLIANCE (PPSA)**

   **PRESIDENT**  
   Suleman Zubari

   **General Sec:**  
   Kudai Dost

The Alliance is affiliated with leftist political parties.
TRIBALS POLITICAL MURDERS IN BALOCHISTAN

December 2, '73

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, founder of the Pashtoonkhawa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) was murdered in a bomb attack while asleep at home in Quetta. Mystery still unresolved.

June 19, 1983

Barat Khan Achakzai, father of former MPA Naseer Bacha and an accused in the murder of Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, ambushed on Quetta-Chaman highway.

May 26, 1987

Nawab Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, a former Chief Minister and Governor of Balochistan killed in an ambush near Dhadar while proceeding to his native village Sunni Shoran in Bolan district.

1984

Sardar Rasool Baksh Zarakzai shot dead while attending a jirga at the residence of former Senator Mir Nabi Bakhsh Zehri at Quetta.

June 19, 1990

Haji Eid Muhammad Notezai MPA from Chaghi, shot dead while coming out of a mosque in Satellite Town, Quetta. Mystery still unresolved.

September 20, '90

Haji Muhammad Khan Ghaibezai, an elder of the Ghaibezai clan of Achakzai tribe and his two sons were ambushed and killed near Said Hameed Bridge on Quetta-Chaman highway while returning to Gulistan from Quetta. This murder triggered off the Hameedzai and Ghaibezai blood feud in which about a hundred people have been killed so far.

October 28, '90
Saeed Khan Achakzai, brother of Abdul Hameed Khan Achakzai and an elder of Hameedzai clan of Achakzai tribe, was kidnapped and killed.

April 14, 1992

Sardar Taj Muhammad Rind ambushed and killed along with eight bodyguards while going from Dhadar to Sibi in his Pajero jeep.

May 1, 1992

Sardar Arif Jan Muhammad Hasni ambushed and murdered on his way to Khuzdar. Mystery still unresolved.

May 7, 1992

Mir Hamza Bugti killed during a visit to a polling station near Sui in Dera Bugti district on the eve of local bodies elections. This murder turned the political contest between the Kalpar family and Nawab Akbar Bugti into a blood feud.

June 2, 1992

Nawabzada Salal Akbar Bugti, younger son of Nawab Akbar Bugti, shot dead while driving on busy Jinnah Road in the heart of Quetta city, in broad daylight.

Feb 10, 1994

Additional Deputy Commissioner Pishin Sardar Faqir Muhammad Tareen attacked near Ziarat and killed. Sardar Yaqub Khan Nasir, a PML-N senator and a former federal minister, was among those named in the FIR of this murder.

August 24, 1994

Sher Baz Bungalzai, an Assistant Director of Labour shot dead in his office.

August 27, 1994

Three grandsons of Nawab Akbar Bugti (Dinar Domki and Salar Domki sons of Sardar Chakar Khan Domki and Shahar Yar, son of Shahid Bugti) killed in tribal clash at Sariab Road.
TRIBAL AREAS IN THE LIGHT OF
CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN 1973

1. "Tribal Areas" means the areas in Pakistan which, immediately before the commencing day, were Tribal Areas, and includes:-
   a. The Tribal Areas of Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province; and
   b. The former States of Amb, Chitral, Dir and Swat;

2. "Provincially Administered Tribal Areas" means:-
   a. The districts of Chitral, Dir and Swat (which includes Kalam). 1[the Tribal Area in Kohistan district] Malakand Protected Area, the Tribal Area adjoining 2[Mansehra] district and the former State of Amb; and
   b. Zhob district, Loralai district (excluding Duki Tehsil), Dalabandis Tehsil of Chagai District and Marri and Bugti tribal territories of Sibi district; and

3. "Federally Administered Tribal Areas" includes:-
   a. Tribal Areas adjoining Peshawar district;
   b. Tribal Areas adjoining Kohat district;
   c. Tribal Areas adjoining Bannu district;
   d. Tribal Areas adjoining Dera Ismail Khan district;
   e. Bajaur Agency;
   f. Orakzai Agency;
   g. Mohmand Agency;
   h. Khyber Agency;
   i. Kurram Agency;
   j. North Waziristan Agency; and
   k. South Waziristan Agency.
4. **Administration of Tribal Areas** (1) Subject to the Constitution, the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and the executive authority of a Province shall extend to the Provincialy Administered Tribal Areas therein.

(2) The President may, from time to time, give such directions to the Governor of a Province relating to the whole or any part of a Tribal Area within the Province as he may deem necessary, and the Governor shall, in the exercise of his functions under this Article, comply with such directions.

(3) No Act of 4[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] shall apply to any Federally Administered Tribal Area or to any part thereof, unless the President so directs, and no Act of 5[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or a Provincial Assembly shall apply to a Provincially Administered Tribal Area, or to any part thereof, unless the Governor of the Province in which the Tribal Area is situate, with the approval of the President, so directs; and in giving such a direction with respect to any law, the President or, as the case may be, the Governor, may direct that the law shall, in its application to a Tribal Area, or to a specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be specified in the direction.

(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, with respect to any matter within the legislative competence of 6[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], and the Governor of a Province, with the prior approval of the President, may, with respect to any matter within the legislative competence of the Provincial Assembly make regulations for the peace and good government of a Provincially Administered Tribal Area or any part thereof, situated in the Province.

(5) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, with respect to any matter, make regulations for the peace and good Government of a Federally Administered Tribal Area or any part thereof.
(6) The President may, at any time, by Order, direct that the whole or any part of a Tribal Area shall cease to be Tribal Area, and such Order may contain such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary and proper:

Provided that before making any Order under this clause, the President shall ascertain, in such manner as he considers appropriate, the views of the people of the Tribal Area concerned, as represented in tribal jirga.

(7) Neither the Supreme Court nor a High Court shall exercise any jurisdiction under the Constitution in relation to a Tribal Area, unless Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) by law otherwise provides:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall affect the jurisdiction which the Supreme Court or a High Court exercised in relation to a Tribal Area immediately before the commencing day.

COMMENTS

Tribal Areas. Tribal Areas, as defined in this Article are under Article 1 of Pakistan. But though they are included in Pakistan, neither the Federal nor the Provincial laws apply to them unless in the case of the former the President, and in the case of the latter the Governor with the approval of the President, so directs. Where any such direction is given, it may provide that the law shall apply, not as made by the Legislature but subject to such exceptions and modifications, it shall apply only to a particular part of such area. The President and the Governor have further power of making regulations for the Tribal Areas, for the peace and good government of a Federally Administered area or any part thereof or Provincially Administered area or any part thereof.

Neither the Supreme Court nor a High Court is to exercise any jurisdiction under the Constitution in relation to a Tribal Areas, unless Parliament by law otherwise provides. Dispute related to land situated in Tribal Area and criminal offences taking place there, the High Court of Peshawar, held, had no jurisdiction in the matter.

Prohibition (Enforcement of Halal) Order, 1979 was promulgated as President's Order and does not come within the purview and definition of Act of Parliament to require direction of President for its application to the Federally Administered Area as envisaged in Article 247(3) of the Constitution.
FEDERAL COUNCILORS OF BALOCHISTAN (MAJLIS-E-SHOORA) 1981 - 1985 AS SELECTED BY ZIA-UL-HAQ

S/NO   NAME
1.    Agha Said Hussain Harara
2.    Ali Ahmed Jogezi
3.    Begum Bilquis Shahbaz
4.    Gardhari Lal Bhatia
5.    Ghulam Qadir Masooor Bugti
6.    Haji Ali Akbar Rind
7.    Haji Hafeezullah Khan Hameedzai
8.    Ibrahim Baloch
9.    Khurshid Marker
10.   Malik Gul Hassan Kansim
11.   Malik Mohammad Ramzan
12.   Maulvi Abdullah Khilji
13.   Mir Chakar Khan Domki
14.   Mir Jam Ghulam Qadir Khan
15.   Mir Nihalan Khan Marri
16.   Mirza Mohammad Ahmad
17.   Saeed Iqbal Hashmi
18.   Sardar Doda Khan Zarkzai

Source: National Assembly Islamabad
### Members of the Senate of Pakistan from Balochistan 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mir Nabi Bakhsh Zehri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Haji Habib Ullah Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mir Muhammad Ibrahim Reki Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Haji Mir Rasool Bux Lehri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan Luni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sardar Muhammad Yousaf Sasole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sheikh Muhammad Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mr Abdul Rehman Jamali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mr M. Munir Afridi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jogezaei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Nawabzada Sheikh Omer Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Mir Yar Muhammad Rind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mir Yousaf Ali Magsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mir Hussain Bux Bungulzai</td>
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### Special Seats

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Ahmad Mirza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Syed Faseeh Iqbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Syed Muhammad Fazal Agha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Ishaq Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mr Abdul Rahim Mir Dad Khel</td>
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</table>

Source: National Assembly Islamabad
### NON-PARTY ELECTION - 1985

<table>
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<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NA-197 Quetta-Cum Chagai</td>
<td>Haji Sardar Fateh Muhammad M.Hassani</td>
<td>Fateh Traders, 6-Al-Shahab Building, Jinnah Road, Quetta ii) H.No. 209-L, 3/B, Satellite Town, Quetta.</td>
<td>773302 73823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-198 Pishin</td>
<td>Mr Muhammad Qasim Khan</td>
<td>Gulistan Karez, Distt. Pishin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-199 Loralai</td>
<td>Mir Haji Tareen</td>
<td>P.O.Duki, The: Duki, Distt. Loralai Ph.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-200 Zhob</td>
<td>Sardar Wazir Ahmad Jogezi</td>
<td>Thrilri Shingul, Killa Saifullah, Distt. Zhob (KSF-28 Quetta-70633)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-201 Kachhi</td>
<td>Sardar Taj Muhammad Rind</td>
<td>Rind House Yar Muhammad Street, Joint Road, Quetta</td>
<td>73287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-202 Sibbi-Cum-Konlu-Cum-Dera Bugti</td>
<td>Mir Ahmad Nawaz Bugti</td>
<td>i) House No.3, Dera Bugti ii) 6-A, Hassan Home, Kehkashan 5, Clifton, Karachi</td>
<td>533009 831881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-204 Kalat-Cum-Kharan</td>
<td>Prince Mohyuddin Baloch</td>
<td>Aiwan-i-Kalat, Sariab Road, Quetta</td>
<td>73470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-205 Khuzdar</td>
<td>Mir Muhammad Arif Jan Muhammad Hassani</td>
<td>Jebri, Tehsil Mashkai, Distt. Khuzdar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-206 Lasbela-Cum-Gwadar</td>
<td>Shahzada Jam Mohammad Yousaf</td>
<td>Bela, Distt. Lasbela</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-207 Turbat-Cum-</td>
<td>Maulana Abdul Haque Baloch</td>
<td>Madriessa-e-Daul Hadees Turbat, Makran, Balochistan</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PARTY ELECTION - 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NA-197 Quetta-Cum-Chaghi</td>
<td>Sardar Fateh Muhammad M.Hasni, PDA</td>
<td>209, 3-B, Satellite Town Quetta</td>
<td>43436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-198 Pishin</td>
<td>Mehmood Khan Achakzai, PKMAP</td>
<td>Central Secretariat PMAP, Jinnah Road Quetta</td>
<td>72540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-199 Loralai</td>
<td>Sardar M. Yaqoob Khan Nasar. IJI</td>
<td>Bungalow No.2 Khojak Road Quetta</td>
<td>71436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-200 Zhob</td>
<td>Maulvi M. Khan Sherani, JUI-F</td>
<td>Sherani Mohallah, Zhob City</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-201 Kaechi</td>
<td>Mir Yar M. Rind, JWP</td>
<td>P.O. Shoran Distt. Kachhi, Balochistan</td>
<td>(Shoran 2) 083-2639-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-202 Sibi-Cum-Kohlu-Cum-Dera Bugti-Cum-Ziarat</td>
<td>Saleem Akbar Bugti, JWP</td>
<td>Bugti House, Quetta</td>
<td>78460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-203 Jaffarabad-Cum-Nasirabad</td>
<td>Mir Nabi Bakhsh Khan Khoso, PDA</td>
<td>Khojo House, Tugi Road, Quetta</td>
<td>74388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-204 Kalat-Cum-Mastung Cum-Kharan</td>
<td>Maulvi M. Siddique Shah, JUI-F</td>
<td>Muslim Mohallah, Kalat</td>
<td>70035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-205 Khuzdar</td>
<td>Mir Hasil Bizenjo, PNP</td>
<td>Vill Bezinpur Nall Distt, Khuzdar</td>
<td>Nall.11 Kar.573896 Qta.40097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA-206 Lasbela</td>
<td>Shahzada Jan M. Yousaf, IJI</td>
<td>Lasbela House, Block F-31, North Nazimabad, Karachi</td>
<td>621678 616692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cum-
Gawadar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NA-207</th>
<th>Mir Bizen Bizerjo, PNP</th>
<th>C-28, Darkshan Villas, Defence Housing Society Phase-V, Karachi</th>
<th>Qta 40097</th>
<th>Kar 573898</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Turbat-Cum-
Panjgur   |                        |                                                                 |           |            |
### Agents to the Governor General in Balochistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Colonel Sir Robert G Sandeman KCSI</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Major General Sir James Browne JCSI, CB, RE</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sir Hugh Barnes</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Colonel Sir Charles E Yate KT, CSI, CMG</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lt Col Sir Henry MacMahon COVQ, KCIE, CSI</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Lt Col Sir John Ramsay KCIE, CSI</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1917</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Sir Henry Dobbs KCIE, ICS</td>
<td>1917</td>
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<td>Lt Col Sir Armine Dew KCIE, CSI</td>
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<td>Sir Frederick Johnston KCIE, CSI, ICS</td>
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<td>Lt Col Sir Beauchamp St John KCIE, CBE</td>
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<td>Sir Norman Catter KCIE, ICS</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<td>Lt Col Sir Arthur Parsons KCIE, CBE, DSO</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<td>Sir Aubrey Metcalfe KCIE, CSI, MVO, ICS</td>
<td>1939</td>
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<td>Lt Col Sir Rupert Hay KCIE, CSI</td>
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<td>Lt Col Geoffrey Prior KCIE</td>
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<td>Lt Col S M Khurshid CSP</td>
<td>1-2-1949</td>
<td>15-7-1949</td>
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<td>Mr Amin-ud-Din CSP</td>
<td>16-7-1949</td>
<td>18-11-1952</td>
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### LIST OF GOVERNORS: BALOCHISTAN

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<td>Lt. Gen, Riaz Hussain</td>
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<td>Sardar Ghaus Bakhsh Khan Raisani</td>
<td>26-12-71</td>
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<td>Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo</td>
<td>30-8-72</td>
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<td>Nawab Mohammad Akbar Khan Bugti</td>
<td>15-2-73</td>
<td>31-12-73</td>
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<td>Mir Ahmed Yar Khan Baloch</td>
<td>1-1-74</td>
<td>3-7-77</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri</td>
<td>6-7-77</td>
<td>18-9-78</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Lt. Gen. Rahim Uddin</td>
<td>19-9-78</td>
<td>21-3-84</td>
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<td>Lt. Gen. S F K Lodhi</td>
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<td>Lt. Gen. K.K Afridi</td>
<td>8-7-84</td>
<td>20-12-85</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Gen. (Retd) Muhammad Musa</td>
<td>31-12-85</td>
<td>Death on Chair</td>
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### LIST OF CHIEF MINISTERS

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<td>1.</td>
<td>Sardar Ata-Ullah Mengal</td>
<td>1972</td>
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<td>(President's rule: 15th February 1973-27th April 1973)</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Jam Ghulam Qadir Khan</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<td>(President's rule: 31st Dec, 1975-30th June 1976)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(No Chief Minister 1977-85)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Jam Ghulam Qadir Khan</td>
<td>1985</td>
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### BALOCHISTAN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT

**LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE, MINISTERS AND MEMBERS, PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF BALOCHISTAN (ELECTED IN OCTOBER, 1990)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>NAMES/CONSTITUENCY NO</th>
<th>ADDRESSES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Malik Sikandar Khan Advocate, FB-4-Quetta-IV</td>
<td>Speaker, Provincial Assembly of Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Mir Taj Muhammad Khan Jamali PB-21-Jaffarabad-II</td>
<td>Chief Minister Balochistan, Quetta.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Sardar Sanaullah Zehri, FB-30-Khuzdar-I</td>
<td>1) Minister for Local Government Department Balochistan Quetta. 2) Jhalawan House, Jinnah Road, Quetta</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Sardar Israr Ullah Zehri FB-29-Kalat-III</td>
<td>1) Provincial Minister, Government of Balochistan, Quetta 2) 54-C, Zarghoon Road, Quetta</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Mir Mohammad Ali Rind, FB-39-Turbat-III</td>
<td>Minister for Revenue Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Mr. Jaffar Khan Mandokhel, FB-14-Zubab</td>
<td>1) Minister for Education Department Balochistan,Quetta 2) 8-20/237-A, Janan House, Khuda-e-Dad Road, Quetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mir Jan Mohammad Jamali. FB-20-Jaffarabad-I</td>
<td>1) Minister for S &amp; GAD/Information, Sports and Culture Department Balochistan, Quetta 2) 31-A, Chaman Housing Scheme, Quetta</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Haji Noor Muhammad Saraf FB-2-Quetta-II</td>
<td>1) Minister for Urban Development and Planning Department, Balochistan, Quetta 2) 6-10/87-13, Sardar Issa Khan Road, Quetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Malik Muhammad Sarwar Khan Kakar; FB-8-Pishin-III</td>
<td>1) Minister for Communication and Works Department, Balochistan, Quetta 2) JI4 Block No. 4, Setteltite Town, Quetta</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Master Johnson Ashraf Community Chrestian</td>
<td>Minister for Minorities &amp; Population Welfare Department, Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position and Address</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor Haideri</td>
<td>1) Minister for Public Health Engineering Dept; Baln:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PB-28-KakoI-II</td>
<td>2) C'O Maulvi Ghulam Sarwar, Imam Jamia Masjid Postal Colony, Quetta</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Maulvi Asmaullah</td>
<td>Minister for Planning &amp; Development Department</td>
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<td>PB-15-Killa Saifullah</td>
<td>Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Maulvi Amir Zaman</td>
<td>Minister for Agriculture Department Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-11-Loralai-II</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Maulvi Niaz Muhammad Dotani.</td>
<td>1) Minister for Irrigation &amp; Power Department Balochistan, Qta</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PB-17-Ziarat-Cum-Sibi</td>
<td>2) C'O Haji Wali Muhammad, Meer Road, Near JogezaI House, Qta</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Syed Abdul Bari</td>
<td>Minister for Food Department Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Mr. Hussain Ashraf</td>
<td>Minister for Livestock &amp; Fisheries Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Mr. Muhammad Saleh Bhootani</td>
<td>Minister for Industries Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-33-Lasbela-II</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Mr. Mohammad Aslam Bizinjo</td>
<td>Minister for Labour &amp; Manpower Dept; Baln. Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-31-Khuzdar-III</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Nawabzada Zulfiqar Ali Magsi</td>
<td>Minister for Home Department, Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-26-Kachhi-III</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Malik Mohammad Shah Mardanzai</td>
<td>Minister for Zakat, Usher, Augaf &amp; Social Welfare</td>
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<td>PB-13-Zhob-Cum-Killa Saifullah</td>
<td>Department, Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Shahzada Ali Akbar</td>
<td>Minister for Forest and Wild-life Department, Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-34-Lasbela-I</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>Mr. Saeed Ahmed Haslumi</td>
<td>1) Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-3-Quetta-III</td>
<td>2) 7-15/78 Sunder Singh Lane, Quidabad, Toghi Rd, Quetta</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>Mir Abdul Karim Nousherwani</td>
<td>1) Minister for Health Department, Balochistan, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-33-Kharan</td>
<td>2) Shuaib House, Banglow No D-67, Block No 4, Settelite Town Qta</td>
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**III. MEMBERS**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position and Address</th>
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<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Dr. Kalimullah</td>
<td>1) Killi Faizabad, Saddar Surkhab, Pishin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PB-1-Quetta-I</td>
<td>2) House No 7-31/5-6, Nichari Road, Quetta</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>Mr. Ali Muhammad Nizamzai</td>
<td>Nizamzai House, Shawak Shah Road, Quetta</td>
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<td>PB-3-Chagai</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
28. Mr. Abdul Qahar
   PB-7-Pishin-II
   Street No 13, Pashtoonabad, Quetta

29. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan Achakzai
   PB-9-Pishin-IV
   4-35/9, Jabbar Colony, Quarry Road, Quetta

30. Sardar Muhammad Tahir Luni.
    PB-10-Loralai-I
    1. Killi Wahvi, Tehsil, Duki, District Loralai
    2. H-Bangla No. 514/A-24, Madrasa Road Quetta, Cantt

31. Mir Baz Muhammad Khan Kethran I. Chapper, District Loralai
    PB-12-Loralai-III
    1. Killi Wahvi, Duki, District Loralai
    2. House No 3, Phase III, Shahbaz Town, Quetta Cantt

32. Haj Malik Karam Khan
    PB-16-Sibi
    1) Muhallah Behramzai, Khajjak, Sibi
    2) C/O Musa Khan Khajjak, 9-BDA Complex, Quarry Road, Quetta

33. Sardar Mir Humayyyun Khan Marri 1) Saddar Khan, Kohlu Agency
    PB-18-Kohlu Agency
    2) Marri House, 16, Sariab Road, Quetta

34. Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti
    PB-19-Dera Bugti
    1) House No 1, (Ward No 1), Saddar, Dera Bugti
    2) Bugti House, Shara-E-Ain-ud-Din, Quetta

35. Mr. Zahoore Hussain Khan
    PB-22-Jaffarabad-cum-Tamboo
    Goth Mir Zahoore Hussain Khan, Tehsil Jhatpat
    District Jaffarabad

36. Sardar Fateh Ali Umran
    PB-23-Tamboo
    1) Goth Mirwah, District Tambo
    2) 24-B, Block No 5, Setelie Town Quetta

37. Mr. Muhammad Asim,
    PB-24-Kachhi-I
    76 - Railway Housing Society, Joint Road, Quetta

38. Sardar Mir Chakar Khan Domki
    PB-25-Kachhi-II
    1) Domki House, Arbad Karam Khan Road, Quetta
    2) Domki House, P.O. Lehri, District Kachhi

39. Mr. Kaikhokol
    PB-36-Fanjgar
    C/O Mr. Ghulam Mustafa, 8/2, Junior Assistant Colony
    Whyte Road, Quetta

40. Dr. Abdul Malik,
    PB-37-Turba-I
    Haji Abdul Salam, Mahallah, Turbat

41. Mr. Munshi Muhammad
    PB-38-Turba-II
    Alandur Buleda, District Turbat

42. Mr. Arjan Dass
    Community Hindu
    1) Hindu Mohallah, Tehsil Dera Bugti, Dera Bugti Agency
    2) House No 2-39/10-A, Hari Kishen Road, Quetta

43. Mr. SanNT Singh
    Community Sikh/Parsi and other non-Muslims.
    1) Ward No 1, Saddar Dera Bugti
    2) Bugti House, Quetta
# LIST OF TRIBES

(Note: Star-marked tribes have been discussed briefly in the pages preceding this table.)

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Shambani
Bagarani
Bakhshwani
Perozai
Phadlani
Hotakani
Nohakani
Mondarani

**BULEDI**

or

**BURDI**

Jafuzai
Khorkhani
Kolachi
Jolai
Paitafi
Raiti

**BUNGULZAI**

*(Rind Baloch)*

Dinarzai
Garrani
Shoranzai
Badozai
Byarzai
Shahozai
Mundwani
Phuzh
Mughalnd
Phugh

**DARISHK**

Karnani
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Gulphad
Saragani
Arabani
Jistikani
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Shab-K or
(night-blind)  Changwani

GORSHANI  Goshani  Jalabani
(Dodai)  Shaikhani  Bakrani

Hotwani  Sanjani

Khalilani  Bakrani

Zaid Or Lashar  Masperwani

Bhotani
Dildarzai
Hotiani
Tharozai

Jalwani
Sangani
Soohriani
Jakharani
Dadrani
Kashmani
Mazarani
Suhrabzai
Fazalani
Nodhwani
Attrani
Mandwani
Warirani
Gadani
Talani

Babolani
Maithani

Mankani
Dodani
Maithani

Sanjani
Chutani
Kasmani
Kalangani

Bakhrani
Bahdurani
Curpatafi

Masperwani
Pabwani
Dalani
Brahimani
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HADIANI
(sub-tribe)

Ahmadani

Angiani

Bharkanî
Haidrani
Hajiani

Bulwani

Anglani
Bagrani
Bulwani
Bijarani
Hajiani
Isnâliâni
Jakhrani
Jangwani
Juriani
Khadrani
Sarbani
Shâdianî

Batwani

Shabani
Hajiani
Shahani

HAROONI*

Badinzai
Bai-Khanzai
Jianzai
Samdini (India)
Dinari
Khanzai
Kechizâi
Umarani
Turkzai
Yakaswar
Mardan Shahi
Sangozai
Banduzai
Rahimkhanzai
Adamzai
Janizai (India)
Mazarzai
Boherzai
Notak
Muradzai

JAKHARANI
(Sind & Balochistan)
Salwani
Sonari
Siahphad (black foot)
Moujani
Solkani
Malkani
Sodkani
Karorkhani

JAMALI*
Rind

KAHER
Butani
Muradani
Kalanderani
Tahurani

KAISARANI*
(Punjab & Balochistan)
Lashkarani
Rubadan
Waswani
Laighari
Budani
Jarwar
Bada
Tahuri

Bambwani
Mandwani
Soomerzai
Bandani
Janbani
Hamhamani
Noorani
Hazoorani
Ahmadani
Budrani
Wazirani
Allahbux Zai

Alani
Sakhani
Rustamani
Mamdani
Lailani
Shahalani
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*(Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab)*
KURD BADRO*  
Madazai  
Kermonzai  
Sardarzai  
Shudanzai  
Massodani  
Gurgaizai  
Shadezai  
Mohdzai  
Phulanza  
Safarizai  
Satakzai  

LASHARI*  
(Juube tribe Punjab)  
Jalalani  
Badwani  
Bungolani  
Morwani  
Gabol  
Bhand  
Gowahramani  
Hagdani  
Gurkhawani  
Shalmani  
Sarangani  
Nihalzai  
Gishkori  

LAIGHAI*  
(Punjab & Sind)  
Aliani  
Jogiani  
Habtani  
Rumdani  
Jahbani  
Talboor  
or  
Talpur  

Dodani  
Muridani  
Ferani  
Nadranani  
Malhani  
Jamalkhanani  
Brahmanani  
Marzani  
Sanghani  
Mastoi  
Rusthani  
Sarkhani  
Habitani  
Bijarani  
Shahbani  
Gurmani
Ghandia
Kuloi

LEHRI
Brahimzai
Haiderzai
Shangrani
Zuberani
Shadiani
Khalchani

MAGASI
Bhootani
Rawatani
Sobhani
Shambani
Raheja
Sakhanii
Hasbani
Hasaranii
Khosa
Nindani
Shahroza
Bungulani
Gola
Gudahait
Kathobar
Jagirani
Lashkani
Karzani
Lashari
Aljai
Bhangrani
Bhutani
Dinarzai
Gorani
Jhawani
Jani
Manghani
Tajani
Waswani
Gajani
Surani
Mianzai
Laksalani
Shambani

Mugheri
Bhambarani
Bhand
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Hotanzai
Andara
Isiani
Jamali
Sarai
Chamra
Jalgari
Modarani
Newriwins
Jamali
Jatoi
Brahimani
Boolani
Hajianzai
Jamalani
Lahoorzai
Perozani
Sheh
Kheher
Kalwani
Karmozani
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Bakhrani
Gunnani
Sakhani
Shahani
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Khosa
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Kuchak
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Siah Phad
Jalambani
Laighari
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Lund
Masori
Mugheri
Muradkhol
Naharh
Lakhizai
Nusherwan
Nandwani
Paindazai
Fardkani
Paiafi
Phugh
Phuzh
Raheja

Jogi
Badiazi
Sahakani
Sanani
Saikani
Sharkani
Shabiakani
Rahoja
Rakhsani
Ramizai
Rozi
Rustamani
Suhrani

Bagarzai
Hajianzani
Nandwani
Sarkhi
Shahejah
Shar
Sundarani

SHAHWANI*
Hajizai
Rawatkhanzai
Shadainzai
Chanarozi
Mirozai
Sherzai
Hasalkhanzai
Kulozai
Hasani
Sorizai
Umarani
Chul
Khushani
Shahizai

TIBI LUND*
Lund
Chandia
Rind

Sori Lund
Haidarani

Haidarani
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahmadani</th>
<th>Ludani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohammadani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moriani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gurmani (or Gorman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dangwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jangwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorchani</td>
<td>Gorchani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mosaranli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaliliani</td>
<td>Balkani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaliluni</td>
<td>Bakrani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sabzanl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Horwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gajani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadorwani</td>
<td>Godhorwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazwani</td>
<td>Ludhani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pholani</td>
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<td>Turbani</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Siahani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sariani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuhani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuhamard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nurkan</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZEHRI*</th>
<th>Boherzai or Noor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Moosiani)</td>
<td>Mohammadzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jamzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Durazai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dahoza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammadzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radhani (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saizani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanjrani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dina (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katani (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mullazai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wiherian (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Davan (India)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sasoli*</th>
<th>Salehzai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talwani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Daya
- Harand
- Bhattar (India)
- Wadgot (India)
- Muthazai
- Baduzai
- Kahani
- Kahzozai
- Ismaiilzai
- Sahibdadzai
- Hasanzai
- Alidadzai
- Mahinoodzai
- Mohammadzai
- Polatani
- Dinarani

Saidzai
- Siadzai
- Tawari (India)
- Sarbani
- Mandokani
- Pir Mohammadzai
- Dostanzai
- Kaheenzai

Rais
- Taj Mohammadzai
- Durazai
- Karazai (India)
- Mirzazdai
- Haroonzai
- Akhoobzai
- Shambozai
- Gorasingyzaı
- Biber or Naqibs (Slaves)

Jatak
- Bhandozai (India)
- Jalalzai

or
Banzoozai
- Ahmdani
- Soomarani
- Shahozai
- Admaihi
- Zaghmanai
- Gazgi
- Hunarani
- Jarozai
- Aliani (Marri & other tribes)
- Saidzai
As observed earlier, Makran has been the region where successive Baloch migrant tribes, including Rinds, had settled for sometime before they went eastwards, leaving behind many splinter-groups and factions of the original Baloch tribes. As a result, Baloches of nearly every faction can be found in disorganized small packets in Makran District, including descendants of the slaves (Naqibs) belonging to the Baloches. Makran of course is the homeland of Jats, Medes etc., descendants of original residents of this region. Following is a list of the main factions of various Baloch tribes of Makran District.

**Baloch Tribes of Makran**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>TRIBE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Makran (Proper)</td>
<td>Gichki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kainazai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kashani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dashti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mazarzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suhrwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gowargoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulazai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naqibs (slaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rais (Indian origin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rawakzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dahani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jehangirzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mand</td>
<td>Askani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noohani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kech</td>
<td>Rind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bizinjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sajidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shahdadzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mihrabzai Lundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sangur (Indian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rais (Indian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Darzadag (slaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naqibs (slaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghulams (slaves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kolwah</th>
<th>Nusherwani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kodai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rakhshani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koh Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khalid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kotwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Almar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jalamouni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buledaah</th>
<th>Buledi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nusherwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mazurzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minaz Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalumati (at Pasni)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Baloches of Kharan District**

The vast district of Kharan is thinly populated, and a major part of it is a desert. It borders on Sanni Balochistan. Most of its population is Baloch. One may find the Siah Phad clan in Kharan as well as among many other Baloch tribes of Balochistan, Sind and Punjab. A weak claim is occasionally made that the Nusherwanis are the descendants of Nausheran, the Sassani King, but there is no definite proof of this. It is possible that this faction, like some other Baloch tribes, was
once in the army of Nausherwan; hence the name. Due to geographic proximity of Iran, some border groups here speak both Persian and Balochi languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>TRIBE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kharan</td>
<td>Nushervani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siah Phad (kohi) of Mountains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siah Phad (Maidani) i.e. of Plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jalazai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manoja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Temoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirarhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yalanzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Washoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jangali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sejwari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohammad Hassani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hotkani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sasoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totazai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kambrani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tendai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naqib (slaves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clans Attached To Zaheri-Zarakzai Tribe of Jhalwan Region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adainzai</td>
<td>Mahmoodani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahdinjoi</td>
<td>Samawani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghbari</td>
<td>Sultamojo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajom</td>
<td>Sanari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobak</td>
<td>Sartagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channal. (Ind)</td>
<td>Shahozai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chooharzai</td>
<td>Shahool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daigari</td>
<td>Siahjoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jam</td>
<td>Sundar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koheni</td>
<td>Tarasani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tribes Contribution to Kalat Division**

(1749-1794)

To gauge a rough idea of the fighting strength of each tribe of Kalat region in the 18th century, we give hereunder a table (by no means very accurate) of a total of 12,650 armed men contributed by Baloch tribes to the Lashkar of Khar Nasir Khan, the Khan of Kalat (1749-1794). The Khan had divided his State into two main Divisions of Jhalwan and Sarawan (North
and South) for this purpose; and each Divisions used to supply armed men in three separate tribal groups as under:

**Jhalwan Division**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>TRIBE</th>
<th>ARMED MEN SUPPLIED</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Zehri</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pindrani</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nichari</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jatak</td>
<td>700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sasoli</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Mengal</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bizinho</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sajidu</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khidrani</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohd. Hasani</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Magasi</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dinarzai</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lashari</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sarawan Division**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>TRIBE</th>
<th>ARMED MEN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Raisani</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurd</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Satakzai</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lango</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Lehri</td>
<td>700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bungulzai</td>
<td>700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rind</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Shohwani</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohd. Shahi</td>
<td>360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarpara</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Special Detachment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRIBE</th>
<th>ARMED MEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mirwari</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambrani</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zagar Mengal</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurganari</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalandrani</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simalani</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodini</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand Total:  12,650
Source: With the kind courtesy of Justice Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bajaranari Marri Baloch, Judge High Court of Sind and Balochistan. Former Governor and Chief Minister Balochistan.

Appendix XXII

PROVISIONS FOR PROVINCES IN THE LIGHT OF CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN 1973

PART IV
Provinces
CHAPTER 1. THE GOVERNORS

Appointment of Governor.

101. (1) There shall be a Governor for each Province, who shall be appointed by the President [in his discretion] [after consultation with the Prime Minister.]

(2) A person shall not be appointed a Governor unless he is qualified to be elected as a member of the National Assembly and is not less than thirty-five years of age[.]

(3) The Governor shall hold office during the pleasure of the President [and shall be entitled to such salary, allowances and privileges as the President may determine].

(4) The Governor may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office.

(5) The President may make such provision as he thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor [in any contingency not provided for in this Part.]

Conditions of Governor’s office.

102. Before entering upon office, the Governor shall make before the Chief Justice of the High Court oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule.

Acting Governor.

103. (1) The Governor shall not hold any office of profit in the service of Pakistan or occupy any other position carrying the right to remuneration for the rendering of services.

(2) The Governor shall not be a candidate for election as a member of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or a Provincial Assembly and, if a member of [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or a Provincial Assembly is appointed as Governor, his seat in [Majlis-e-Shoora
(Parliament)] or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly shall become vacant on the day he enters upon his office.

Oath of office.

104. When the Governor is absent from Pakistan or is unable to perform the functions of his office due to any cause, such other person as the President may direct shall act as Governor.

105. (1) Subject to the Constitution, in the performance of his function, the Governor shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, [or the Chief Minister]

[Provided that the Governor may require the Cabinet or, as the case may be, the Chief Minister to reconsider such advice, whether generally or otherwise, and the Governor shall act in accordance with the advice tendered after such reconsideration.]

(2) The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered to the Governor by the Chief Minister [or the Cabinet] shall not be inquired into in, or by, any court, tribunal or other authority.

(3) Whether the Governor dissolves the Provincial Assembly, he shall appoint, in his discretion, but with the previous approval of the President, a care-taker Cabinet.

(4) The powers conferred by this Article on the President shall be exercised by him in his discretion.

(5) The provisions of clause [(2)] of Article 48 shall have effect in relation to a Governor as if reference there in to "President" were reference to "Governor".]

CHAPTER 2. PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

Constitution of Provincial Assemblies.

106. (1) There shall be a Provincial Assembly for each province consisting of the number of members hereinafter specified to be elected by direct and free vote in accordance with law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North-West Frontier Province</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punjab</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sind

(2) A person shall be entitled to vote if-
(a) he is a citizen of Pakistan;
(b) he is not less than [twenty-one] years of age;
(c) his name appears on the electoral roll for any area in the Province; and
(d) he is not declared by a competent court to be unsound mind [.]

(3) In addition to the seats in the Provincial Assemblies for the Provinces of Balochistan, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Provinces of Balochistan, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind specified in clause (1), there shall be in those Assemblies the number of seats hereinafter specified for non-Muslim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Hindus and persons belonging to the scheduled castes</th>
<th>Sikh, Buddhism and Parsi communities and other non-Muslims</th>
<th>Persons belonging to the Quadi and the Lahori group (who call themselves Ahmadis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North-West Frontier Province</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punjab</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation:- Where no independent seat is allocated to a minority in a Province for being very small in number, the seat allocated jointly to all other non-Muslims in that Province shall be deemed to include that minority.

(4) Until the expiration of a period of ten years from the commencing day or the holding of the [third] general election to the Assembly of a Province, whichever occurs later, there shall be in the Assembly a number of additional seats reserved for women equal to five per centum of the number of members of that Assembly specified in clause (1).
[(5) The members to fill the seats referred to in clause (3) shall be elected, simultaneously with the members to fill the seats referred to in clause (1), on the basis of separate electorates by direct and free vote in accordance with law.]

[(6) As soon as practicable after the general election to Provincial Assembly, the members to fill seats in that Assembly reserved for women shall be elected in accordance with law on the basis of the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote by the electoral college consisting of the persons elected to that Assembly.]

Duration of Provincial Assembly.

107. A Provincial Assembly shall, unless sooner dissolved, continue for a term of five years from the day of its first meeting and shall stand dissolved at the expiration of its term.

Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

108. After a general election, a Provincial Assembly shall, at its first meeting and to the exclusion of any other business, elect from amongst its members a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker and, so often as the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker becomes vacant, the Assembly shall elect another member as Speaker or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

Summoning and prorogation of Provincial Assembly.

109. The Governor may from time to time—

(a) summon the Provincial Assembly to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit; and

(b) prorogue the Provincial Assembly.

Right of Governor to address Provincial Assembly.

110. The Governor may address the Provincial Assembly and may for that purpose require the attendance of the members.

Right to speak in Provincial Assembly.

111. The Advocate-General shall have the right to speak and otherwise take part in the proceedings of the Provincial Assembly or any committee thereof of which he may be named a member, but shall not be virtue of this Article be entitled to vote.

Dissolution of Provincial Assembly.
112. [1] The Governor shall dissolve the Provincial Assembly if so advised the Chief Minister; and the Provincial Assembly shall unless sooner dissolved, stand dissolved at the expiration of forty-eight hours after the Chief Minister has so advised.

Explanation - Reference in this Article to "Chief Minister" shall not be construed to include reference to a Chief Minister against whom [notice or a resolution for a vote of no-confidence has been given] in the Provincial Assembly but has not been voted upon or against whom a resolution for a vote of no-confidence has been passed or who is continuing in office by virtue of clause (2) of Article 134 or a Provincial Minister performing the functions of Chief Minister under clause (1) or clause (3) of Article 135.

[(2) The Governor may also dissolve the Provincial Assembly in his discretion, but subject to the previous approval of the President, where, in his opinion:-

(a) a vote of no-confidence having been passed against the Chief Minister, no other member of the Provincial Assembly is likely to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Provincial Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, as ascertained in a session of the Provincial Assembly summoned for the purpose; or

(b) a situation has arisen in which the Government of Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and an appeal to the electorate is necessary.

CHAPTER 3. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

Exercise of executive authority of the Province.

[129. The executive authority of the Province shall vest in the Governor and shall be exercised by him, either directly or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with the Constitution.

The Cabinet.

130. (1) There shall be a Cabinet of Ministers, with the Chief Minister at its head, to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.
(2) The Governor shall appoint from amongst the members of the Provincial Assembly a Chief Minister who, in his opinion, is likely to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Provincial Assembly.

[(2A) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2) after the twentieth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight, the Governor shall invite the member of the Provincial Assembly to be the Chief Minister who commands the confidence of the majority of the members of Provincial Assembly as ascertained in a session of the Assembly summoned for the purpose in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution;

Provided that nothing contained in this clause shall apply to a Chief Minister holding office on the twentieth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution]

(3) The person appointed under clause (2) for as the case may be, invited under clause (2A)] shall, before entering upon the office, make before the Governor oath in the form set out in the Third Schedule and shall within a period of sixty days hereof obtain a vote of confidence from the Provincial Assembly.

(4) The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the Provincial Assembly.

[(5) The Chief Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor, but the Governor shall not exercise his powers under this clause unless he is satisfied that the Chief Minister does not command the confidence of the majority of the and require members of the Provincial Assembly in which case he shall summon the Provincial Assembly and require the Chief Minister to obtain a vote of confidence from the Assembly.]

(6) The Chief Minister may, by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor, resign his office.

(7) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Provincial Assembly shall, at the expiration of that period, cease to be a Minister, and shall not before the dissolution of that Assembly be again appointed a Minister unless he is elected a member of that Assembly.

(8) Nothing contained in this Article shall be construed as disqualifying the Chief Minister or any other Minister for continuing in office during any period during
which the Provincial Assembly stands dissolved, or as preventing the appointment of any person as Chief Minister or other Minister during any such period.]

**Duties of Chief Minister in relation to Governor.**

[131. It shall be the duty of the Chief Minister:

(a) to communicate to the Governor all decisions of the Cabinet relating to the administration of the affairs of the Province and proposals for legislation;

(b) to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Province and proposals for legislation as the Governor may call for; and

(c) if the Governor so requires, to submit for consideration of the Cabinet any matter on which a decision has been taken by the Chief Minister or a Minister but which has not been considered by the Cabinet.]

**Provincial Ministers.**

[132. (1) Subject to clauses (7) and (8) of Article 130, the Governor shall appoint Provincial Ministers from amongst members of the Provincial Assembly on the advice of the Chief Minister.

(2) Before entering upon office, a Provincial Minister shall make before the Governor oath in the form set out in the THIRD Schedule.

(3) A provincial Minister may, by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor, resign his office or may he removed from the office by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister.
THE PATHAN RACES ALPHABETICAL LIST OF VILLAGES SHOWING TRIBES AND SECTION LIVING IN BALOCHISTAN

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Glar  Sanzar Khel
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Ghnd  Targhara
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Mujji Shakar Din Saiyid.
Mujji Sardar Targhara
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Mujlai Kalai Sanzar Khel
Mujna Sanatia
Mujlahin K, Iai 'Pani
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Mujsan Khan Kili Luni
Mujssanzai Kalai Mauddo Khel
Mujsuband Sherani
Mujveli Khetran
Mujyat Khan Targhara
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Mujrana Achkzai
Mujzubagh Sarghara
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Mujroo Kalai Pani
Mujda Kansl
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Mishwani.

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Shadozai.

Kibzai -
Ibrahimzai.
Ilarun Yhel.
Kapip.
Zarkun-
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Nidazai.
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Khoidadzai.  
Daulatzi.  
Jalalzai.  
Sarangzai.
A LETTER FROM QUAID-E-AZAM TO KHAN OF KALAT
ON ACCOUNT OF ACCESSION ISSUE

Col. A.S.B. Shah, Joint Secretary, Ministry of States and Tribal Regions, addressed the following letter to the Khan from Sibi on the 15th February.

Your Highness,

I beg to inform your Highness that as you were not able to meet the Quaid-e-Azam on the 14th at 6.30 p.m. at the Residency, as arranged, owing to your sudden indisposition, the Quaid-e-Azam deputed me to see Your Highness at your residence at Dadar, last evening, to inquire after your health. While I was there, Your Highness put me some question and I gave certain explanations with regard to the Draft Instrument of Accession. After discussion and examination of the Draft Instrument of Accession, Your Highness was good enough to give me a letter addressed to the Quaid-e-Azam and also asked me to give a verbal message to the Quaid. I delivered Your Highness's letter the same evening and also gave the Quaid Your Highness's verbal message, which was as follows:

That after discussion and consideration of all the pros and cons, Your Highness has definitely come to the conclusion that it is in the best interest of the State and the people of Kalat to accede to Pakistan and that Your Highness has decided to do so.

2. That Your Highness has examined the terms of the Draft Instrument of Accession and after discussion of the various terms and examination, Your Highness is fully satisfied and approves of it.

3. That as Your Highness has already summoned the two Houses of Your Advisory Legislature to meet on the 21st, you will, after consultation with them, communicate your final answer before the end of the month.