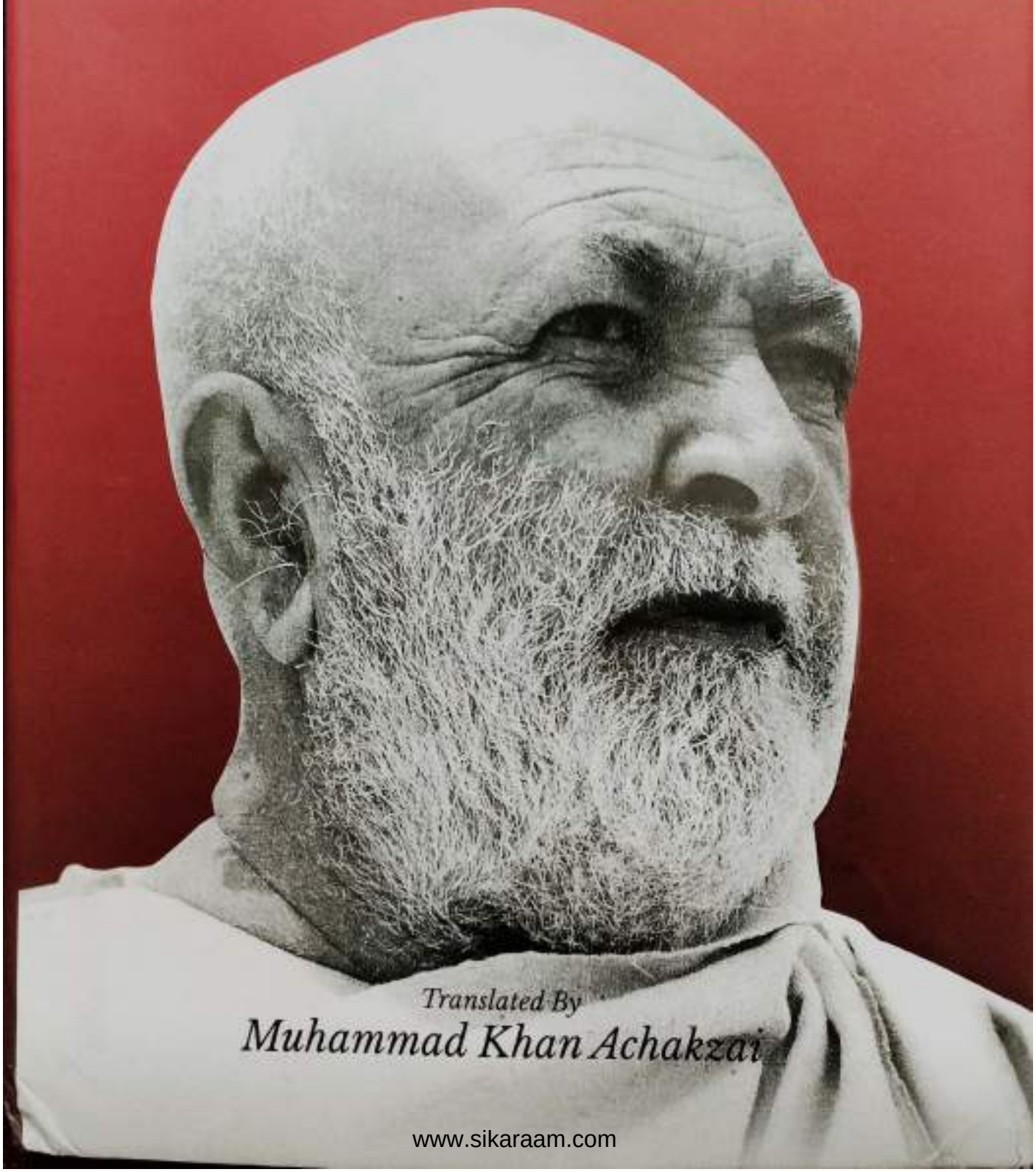
MY LIFE & TIMES

ABDUL SAMAD KHAN ACHAKZAI

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY



Translated By

Muhammad Khan Achakzai

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My Life and Times

Auto biography of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai (1907 -1973)

Translated by
Muhammad Khan Achakzai

Khan Shaheed Research Centre, Quetta.

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Dedication

It is not in the tradition of our house to construct and maintain memorials for our departed ancestors. However, I have thought of raising an individual or collective memorial for my father, mother and begum, either in the form of a grave with something engraved on the tombstone or then a mosque like structure. When I began writing Pashto booklets and books I settled for dedicating a write up to each of them instead. I have therefore dedicated this book to the Pashtoon lady (my wife) whose love, untiring dedication and wholehearted adherence to Pashtoonwali, (Pashtoon code of behaviour) has thus sweetened my life and made its path easy for me.

Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai

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Glossary

Agent to Governor General(AGG)	Paramount colonial post in British Balochistan
Anjuman e Watan	Homeland organization – political party founded by Samad Khan Achakzai in 1938
Arz Baig	Literally 'master of supplication' Title in the royal court of Afghanistan
Assistant Political Agent (APA)	Subordinate of PA
Atanr	Traditional Pashtun dance. The dancers usually form a circle. It is performed to the tune of dhol and zurna.
Badae	Astragalus of the ankle of a sheep and goat
Balochistan Public Safety Act	Executive order which allowed arbitrary detention without trial
Bhang	edible preparation of cannabis originating from the Indian Subcontinent
Chakor	Bird with scientific name of Alectoris chukar
Charas	hashish form of cannabis which is handmade in the Indian subcontinent
Dal	Lentils
Dhol	Double sided barrel drum
Durand Line	Colonial boundary established between Afghanistan and British India
Durrani	Name given to his Abdali tribe by Ahmad Shah Abdali
East Pakistan	Now Bangladesh
Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC)	Administrative post below that of Commissioner
Faqir	Mendicant
Fort Sandaman	Initially Apozai, then named after Sir Robert Sandaman now known as Zhob

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Khawaja Amran	Eponymous saint buried atop the highest peak of the mountain range
Khilafat Movement	An Indian Muslim movement aimed to rouse public opinion against the harsh treatment accorded to the Ottoman Empire after World War I
Khozhak Pass	Pass in the Khawaja Amran range which connects Kandahar with Quetta, now a principle trading route
Khusai	The two opponents hop on one leg while they hold the other leg behind their back with the opposite arm. The aim is to make the opponent lose their balance and fall. It can also take the form of a one legged race.
Kota	Afghan guest house
Lado and Spin Zheri	Doll and White Beard – charade performed in times of drought
Landi	is dried meat, a famous winter dish of Pashtun cuisine popular amongst Pashtuns in Afghanistan and southern and central regions of Pashtuns in Pakistan
Lasbela	City and district in Balochistan province
Maiwand	Seminal battle in Afghan history
Mir Aoe	Manager of Karez water distribution
Muezzin	A person who gives the call to prayer
Muhammadzai	Royal branch of the Barakzai tribe
Munshi	Accountant employed in a business
National Awami Party Pakistan	Amalgam of progressive leftist political parties of Pakistan, formed in 1957
North West Frontier Province	Pashtun majority province now known as Khyber Pashtunkhwa
One Unit	.The 'One Unit' Program merged the four provinces of West Pakistan into a single province to parallel East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).
Parsi	Zoroastrian
Pashtunwali	Pashtun code of conduct exemplified by principles such as hospitality and granting of refuge

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Patwari	A low ranking official in revenue department who keeps and updates land records of his designated revenue village.
Political Agent (PA)	Colonial post, head of a particular area exercising judicial, administrative, revenue collection and political control
Raig	Desert located south of Kandahar and west of Khawaja Amran range
Raway	Witch
Sadra	Procession taken out in rural areas to ward off calamities such as epidemics
Sanyas	form of asceticism, is marked by renunciation of material desires and prejudices, represented by a state of disinterest and detachment from material life.
Sarai	Caravanserai
Shinae	Pistacia khinjuk
Sissi	Small bird with scientific name of Ammoperdix bonhami
Surna	one of many variant terms used for a double-reed instrument known as Zūrnā throughout the Arab world, Asia and southeastern Europe.
Tafseer	Commentary on Holy Quran
Tasawwuf	Mysticism
Tehsildar	Revenue collector with some judicial powers
Toba Achakzai	Highland plateau north west of Quetta
Urs	Annual remembrance of a saint
Wadera	Feudal lord
Wror Pashtun	Political party founded by Samad Khan Achakzai in 1954
Zarkurn	A Pashtun tribe primarily living in Kohlu

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Introduction

In some respects the emergence of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was inevitable. The family history of this house of the Jalezai Hamidzai sub tribe of the Achakzai[1] reads like the history of Afghanistan itself, for in every instance of crisis an individual of this house has risen to provide leadership to the nation. The house of Barkhurdar[2] has been intimately involved with the court of Afghanistan since the formation of the Afghan state. Barkhurdar Khan Achakzai, the eponymous patriarch of this clan was a general of Ahmad Shah Abdali bestowed with the title Arz Baig (Master of Supplications). At the third battle of Panipat in 1761, he commanded a body of horse on the right wing of the Afghan battle array. At the time of the first Anglo Afghan War (1839-42) when Afghanistan was occupied by imperial Britain, another of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai's forebears, Ghazi Abdullah Khan Achakzai raised the banner of independence and initiated the war of liberation by killing Sir Alexander Burnes, the British resident, in Kabul. The Second Anglo Afghan War saw the generalship of Mohammad Hasan Khan Achakzai, who commanded at Maiwand (1880), the first instance of an Asiatic army defeating a European one in a pitched battle. Mohammad Hasan Khan's father Fatteh Khan Achakzai had been Governor of Kandahar but been removed and imprisoned at Kabul.

By the time Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was born in Innayatullah Karez, district Quetta-Pishin in 1907, Afghanistan had been partitioned by imperial Britain through the formulation of the Durand Line, which separates Afghanistan and Pakistan to this day. That the line cut across the Pashtoon heartland, dividing nation, tribe, clan and family bore no concern to imperial functionaries eager to secure British India against an imagined Czarist invasion. Samad Khan Achakzai's agitation for independence began early, as he led a rally against British rule at the age of 13.

Yet his struggle differed from that of his illustrious forebears in one important aspect. His emphasis on waging a non-violent political struggle was a break from the violence of the past and the cornerstone of his later association with Gandhi Ji. He formed the political party Anjuman-e-Watan (Homeland Organisation) in 1938 and entered into a political alliance with Gandhi Ji's Indian

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National Congress (INC) in 1942. It should be noted though that unlike the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement of his friend and colleague Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), the Anjuman-e-Watan never merged with the INC, thus preserving its decision making autonomy. This distinction gained importance at the time of the partition of India. Along with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai is the father of modern Pashtoon politics. Indeed he laid the foundation of political activity in British Balochistan, the Chief Commissioner's province whose name was a misnomer since this recently annexed Afghan territory had a near total Pashtoon/Afghan majority and should therefore have been more aptly named British Afghanistan or British Pashtoonistan. This explains the irony that Samad Khan, an ethnic Pashtoon, is often remembered by the title "Balochistani Gandhi".

Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was not just a political figure. He was also a journalist, religious scholar, linguist, social reformer and author. He founded the first newspaper of British Balochistan "Istaqlal" in 1938. A Mullah by training, he translated numerous religious texts into Pashto and was permitted by Abul Kalam Azad to translate his tafseer of the Quran into Pashto as well. He also formulated a new phonetic alphabet for Pashto, simplifying and clarifying the written language and making it easier to print. He believed in the emancipation of women and their participation in the development of a nation, nominating his daughter for a provincial assembly seat in Pakistan in 1970.

He was jailed in 1948, subsequent to partition and released six years later in 1954. This incarceration was through an executive order, Balochistan Public Safety Act, as opposed to a sentence by a court of law. Upon his release, he formed the political organisation "Wror Pashtoon" in 1954. He strongly advocated the adoption of democracy, the acceptance of universal adult franchise and the promulgation of a neutral foreign policy. He espoused the formation of linguistic provincial units and the adoption of national languages as mediums of instruction in educational institutions. Unfortunately, the politics of newly formed Pakistan followed a different course. The One Unit scheme, which clumped all of West Pakistan into a single administrative unit to provide an imagined parity with the more populous East Pakistan, went against the grain of his political beliefs and instincts. He was the first political prisoner of General

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Ayub Khan's martial law and the last one to be released, spending close to a decade in prison. Altogether, he was sentenced to imprisonment for 40 years of his 66 year life, a time he used to gain academic credentials and pen most of this autobiography.

He parted ways with his colleagues of the National Awami Party (NAP), the umbrella organisation of progressive leftists, when they reneged on their party manifesto by agreeing to the formation of provinces on a nonlinguistic basis after the breakup of the One Unit scheme in 1971. This meant that British Balochistan, the Pashtoon majority Chief Commissioner's Province, instead of becoming a full province or joining the Pashtoon majority Khyber Pashtoonkhwa (then named NWFP) was merged with the Brahui princely state of Kalat and its Baloch dependencies. The new entity is the current province of Balochistan.

Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was assassinated on the night of December 2, 1973.

He is reverentially referred to as "Khan Shheed" – the Martyr Khan.

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Prologue

"Where is your father?
" I replied , "He is in Mach"

"What is he doing in Mach?"
"He is a political prisoner"

It was April 1953 and the Agent to the Governor General (AGG) Qurban Ali Khan had come to visit Gulistan Middle School, which is perhaps the oldest school in rural British Balochistan. At the time I was the youngest student in the 9th grade, which had only recently been commenced at the school, my classmates being grown adults.

The AGG had posed a question to the class "What is the old name of Iran?" and all the students had remained silent in response to his query. Finally, I rose and said "Faaras" Commending my correct answer; it was then that the AGG had inquired about my father.

I had been able to answer the question due to my command over Urdu, a proficiency which had developed during the time I had spent as a student at Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. In 1945, Gwal Agha[3] (how our household referred to my father) had admitted my elder brother Ahmad Khan, a cousin Saeed Khan and I to the Jamia, which was then headed by Dr Zakir Hussain, who would after partition become the third President of India. At the time the college was situated outside of the city amongst sand dunes, some eight miles from India Gate. Since Gwal Agha was busy, a munshi[4] took us to the campus and admitted us there. Saeed Khan was not even five years old at the time and was admitted to the nursery, despite the concerns of the principal regarding his age.

On account of his being the youngest student, Saeed Khan laid the foundation stone of the Jamia mosque that still stands in the institution, which is now a university. My elder brother, meanwhile, was selected as the school *muezzin*[5]. It was during our time there that we learnt Urdu as a first-language; to the extent that Saeed Khan had forgotten Pashto when the disturbances of partition precipitated our return home a year and-a-half later.

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While at Delhi, the three of us once accompanied Gwal Agha to one of his meetings. We reached a house with a large lawn and a circular gravel pathway which led to a porch. It was here that a young lady received us. A boy was holding her finger while she carried a baby on her arm. While Gwal Agha went inside for his meeting, the three of us and the boy, who had been holding the woman's hand, stayed behind. This boy showed us his toy car, which we took turns to sit in. When it was finally the boy's turn, the three of us pushed the car until we found ourselves outside the house and on the road, which was rather dark. We could not have been gone long, but as we returned I recall seeing a rush of servants. Upon spotting us, one of them called out "Rajiv Baba! Rajiv Baba!" and quickly plucked the young boy from his seat and took him to the lady, who was waiting with Gwal Agha under the lighted porch. When we got near, I noticed a thin man standing alongside them. We did not realise it then, but standing before us were three future Prime Ministers of India. The thin man was Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first Prime Minister. The young lady was his daughter Indira Gandhi, who was also destined to rise to the office held by her father. The young boy we had driven outside on to the road was Rajiv, whose tenure as Prime Minister was cut short by his tragic assassination. The baby in the arms of Indira Gandhi was Rajiv's younger brother, Sanjay.

Nehru had suggested to Gwal Agha that he was likely to be persecuted in Pakistan and should therefore stay behind in India as they would need people like him to be ambassadors to Muslim countries. To this Gwal Agha had replied, "You must serve your people here while I must serve my people there"

I saw Jawaharlal Nehru once again, this time on the Jamia campus. The Silver Jubilee Celebration was held on November 17, 1946 and was the last time that Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan were seen together on stage at a public event.

Gwal Agha was the first political prisoner of the newly independent state of Pakistan. In August 1948, he had initially been sentenced to six months imprisonment through an executive order, sans the due process of a trial, under the Balochistan Public Safety Act. This six month term was continuously extended for additional terms of six months that turned into an incarceration of

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six years. He had appealed against his imprisonment to the court of law and was released in 1954.

Returning to the AGG's visit to the Gulistan School, two days after my answer of *Faaras* I was awarded a scholarship to study at the Grammar School Quetta, which was run by a Roman Catholic mission. While at the Grammar School, my maternal uncle Ismatullah Khan came to take me once to visit Gwal Agha at District Jail Quetta. He was a class II prisoner and lived in an open compound. Gwal Agha was well dressed with a karakul cap, clean clothes and tea had been laid out on a table along with sweets and biscuits. I was later told that these were special arrangements made for me lest I feel distressed by the atmosphere of the jail. When his trial started, I once took our hostel warden, a Dutch priest Father Arminius to meet him.

After being released, Gwal Agha often visited me at our school hostel. Being a trained Mullah himself, he would at times enter into theological discussions with the Catholic priests there. I recall him gifting me a brand new bicycle and wristwatch during these visits. He must have noticed that I was the only one in the hostel who did not possess these items. Otherwise, all of my financial expenses and indeed of the whole family were taken care of by my uncle Agha Jan (Abdul Salam Khan). He was meticulous in the discharge of this function. Despite being a staunch muslim, I found out that he had once even taken a loan on interest to ensure the continuity of funds that were sent to me while I was studying at Lahore.

From amongst us four brothers, I believe I spent the most time with our father. I had not even reached adolescence when Pakistan was created in 1947 after which Gwal Agha was almost perpetually in jail. His longest stretch of freedom was during the last years of his life from 1968 till 1973. Altogether, he only spent around five years as a free man during the last 26 years of his life, which he spent in Pakistan. It is, therefore, no surprise that my younger brother Mahmood Khan met him for the first time when he was nearly seven years old. I, on the other hand, was nurtured by him since I was a child. My mother died of tuberculosis in 1942, after two years of hospitalisation at Brewery Sanatorium, when I was barely three years old. My father raised me by himself in his small two room house across the Aziz Press in Quetta. In later years our time spent together mostly consisted of the visits I

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paid him while he was incarcerated in various prisons across the country; or in my role as his companion and messenger during the short intervals when he was at liberty.

At Quetta, I was a regular visitor to the Aziz Press and was therefore known to the Anjuman-e-Watan party leaders and workers. I remember the 1948 meeting of the Anjuman-e-Watan executive committee in our village Inayatullah Karez at which they took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan and dissolved the party.

I met Bacha Khan for the first time in 1958 when, together with Gwal Agha and Maulana Bhashani, he addressed public meetings in Quetta, Chaman and other places in British Balochistan from the platform of National Awami Party (NAP) in anticipation of the announced general elections of 1959. Those elections never took place due to the imposition of martial law by the then Defence Minister and Commander in Chief of the country, General Ayub Khan. Gwal Agha was sentenced to 14 years rigorous imprisonment and lodged in Mach Jail. He gave a detailed appeal against his conviction to Ismatullah Khan and I which we typed and distributed to such newspapers as Pakistan Times and Imroze. During the first few months, I would travel to Mach once a week to meet with Gwal Agha and deliver some food, as the quality of eatables offered to C Class prisoners was quite poor. Gwal Agha was then transferred to Haripur Jail where many of his NAP colleagues including Bacha Khan were also imprisoned.

A few years later, while studying at the University of Peshawar, I would frequently visit Gwal Agha at Haripur Jail. During my time in Peshawar, I would also often pay a visit to Shahi Bagh, the residence of Wali Khan in Charsadda where Bacha Khan would come in the morning to take his breakfast.

Gwal Agha earned a remission of four years of his 14 year sentence by acquiring academic qualifications in Adib Pashto and Alim Pashto followed by three qualifications in Persian and BA in English from Punjab University. He was, therefore, released by the high court on April 23, 1968 after being incarcerated for a decade, almost the entire tenure of General Ayub Khan's Martial Law regime. On his release, he stayed back in Lahore, the capital of West Pakistan under the One Unit[6] scheme, to familiarise himself with the political situation in the country.

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While still at Lahore, Advocate Mehmood Ali Kasuri, the president of National Awami Party (NAP) for West Pakistan, confided in me that a big welcome was being arranged for Gwal Agha at Quetta which was not allowed as the decade-old ban on political activities was still in place. Gwal Agha reached Quetta by plane on May 4, 1968. He was given a rousing welcome by the party cadres of NAP and the citizens of Quetta. An avid photographer since my Grammar School days, I took many of the photographs of this event that are included in this book. On the same day, he was driven to our village Inayatullah Karez by Nawab Khair Baksh Marri, who was then the Quetta Division president of NAP. Gwal Agha and his colleagues, who arranged the welcome party for him were arrested on May 19, 1968 and a tribunal sentenced him to another term of 14 years imprisonment. Gwal Agha's arrest caused discontentment amongst the population. The hostel of Science College was fired upon in the evening which resulted in the death of a young student from Zhob named Zareef. I was then a lecturer of economics at Degree College on Sariab road. The Pashtoon Students Organisation (PSO) had been revived that year. I was therefore accused of instigating students and together with a cousin, Abdul Hamid Khan, who was an officer in the agriculture department, was transferred out of the province, Hamid Khan to Faisalabad and I to Lahore. Meanwhile, the country was in turmoil as there was great agitation against General Ayub Khan's regime and the One Unit Scheme. A Round Table Conference of all the political parties was called to resolve the impasse. Gwal Agha was set free on the insistence of General Azam Khan[7], who had made his participation in the Conference conditional on the release of Gwal Agha, the only political prisoner in the country who was still behind bars. His own party, NAP, had surprisingly not asked for his release. Many years later, while I was serving in the Planning Commission of Pakistan, I was part of a delegation that visited General Azam's farm near Lahore. While speaking to the delegation he recognised me and burst into tears. I recall him saying to me, "Such people also existed in this world"

As Gwal Agha's messenger, I was able to meet many personalities, who would come to define the politics of Pakistan. In Karachi, we were staying at the Standard Hotel when Gwal Agha told me to go to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's residence and ask for an appointment. There was a huge mass of people outside 70 Clifton when I reached there. I was told to stand by the gate and wait for a messenger. When the said person arrived he gave me a pen and piece of paper on which I

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wrote the request for an appointment. He went inside with the chit and soon returned with the message from Mr Bhutto, who was down with fever at the time, that he would come and visit Gwal Agha on his own. In my absence he did come to our hotel and met with Gwal Agha. The visit was reciprocated by Gwal Agha some days later and Bhutto received him at the entrance of his home (See picture XX on page). I would eventually meet Bhutto in our village, when as Prime Minister he came to condole with us on the demise of Gwal Agha.

On another occasion in Karachi, I accompanied Gwal Agha to his appointment with General Yahya Khan[8], who at the time was the President of the country, having taken over from General Ayub Khan. I sat in the waiting room as Gwal Agha went in for the meeting while in the waiting room I was soon joined by a gentleman wearing black clothes. It was the month of Muharram and I assumed the person to be a Shia cleric as the President belonged to the same denomination. I was about to ask him this when Gwal Agha emerged from his meeting and warmly embraced the stranger. When I later mentioned this to Gwal Agha, he laughed at my observation and told me, in jest, that I should have asked him! The person turned out to be Shah Ahmad Noorani[9]. I still wonder how a prominent Sunni cleric would have reacted to my question.

On our way back from his meeting with Yahya Khan, I noticed Gwal Agha was deep in thought and asked him what was on his mind. He said to me, "I told Yahya that East Pakistan[10] cannot be defended from here. Prolong negotiations with Mujib. Remove your heavy weapons and personnel. If Mujib agrees then good, if not then minimise our losses" To this Yahya Khan had replied, "You are the only person, who has said this to me while everyone else keeps telling me to send in more forces and use all my force!"

Two years after his release, we were back in Lahore and staying at Lahore Hotel on McLeod Road. The demise of the One Unit Scheme was imminent and democratic elections were expected. Gwal Agha asked me to phone the Governor West Pakistan's office and ask for an appointment. I was a bit surprised when the appointment was readily given and set for the evening of the next day. We walked to the Governor House, as was his wont and introduced ourselves to the guard on duty at the gate. The guard spoke to someone on the phone and the gate was opened for us. It was getting dark and the garden lights were being switched on. I

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was trying to see which way we should go when I noticed a young man emerge from the building. I recognised him as a college-mate from Forman Christian College and called out "Tariq[11]" He was surprised to see me and asked, "Mohammad Khan, what are you doing here?" and exclaimed that the Governor Air Marshal Nur Khan[12] was waiting for us at the main gate! We were ushered into the office of Nasrum Minallah[13], who was then secretary to the Governor. While waiting there, Gwal Agha dictated some notes to him and asked these to be presented to the Governor at a later time.

In his meeting, Gwal Agha suggested to Nur Khan that after the dissolution of One Unit, the Pashtoon inhabited areas of Quetta Division be combined with the contiguous North West Frontier Province (NWFP) to form a single Pashtoon province, whereas the Baloch inhabited Kalat Division be merged with Dera Ghazi Khan division to create a separate Baloch province. Nur Khan had readily agreed to this proposal.

Gwal Agha developed differences with his colleagues in NAP on the issue of linguistic provinces which arose due to the imminent dissolution of One Unit. The NAP manifesto called for the creation of administrative units on the basis of language and culture. Adherence to this principle would have meant the formation of a single province by combining the Pashtoon majority province of British Balochistan with the Pashtoon majority province of North West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pashtoonkhwa).

The Baloch leadership of the time accepted this principle and was anxious regarding its own future. They did not expect the erstwhile Kalat States Union to be raised to a province owing to its low population and had resigned to the fact that they would either have to become part of Sindh or the Pashtoon province. Unfortunately, British Balochistan was merged with Kalat States Union to form the current province of Balochistan.

The first direct elections of independent Pakistan were finally held in 1970, 23 years after the country had attained independence. Convicted persons were barred from contesting but for Gwal Agha this legal impediment had been waived by General Yahya Khan. The sentiments of the people were aroused by his unexpected defeat in the election for the National Assembly seat.

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In deference to him, all but two of the 18 candidates, who were contesting in the provincial assembly election, to he held a few days later, withdrew their candidacy. The two candidates, who contested were the NAP candidate Mohammad Yousaf Piralizai and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) candidate Syed Ali Agha. Gwal Agha won the provincial assembly seat by a large margin of votes.

The current province of Balochistan is an anomaly and impractical to govern owing to the differences in language, culture, politics and social structure of the Pashtoon and Baloch. In February 1971, just a year into the creation of the province, I witnessed an instance of these frictions on a visit with Gwal Agha to the historic annual cattle show at Sibi. In the evening, after the day's festivities were over, I was tired and informed Gwal Agha that I would be going to sleep. It was late and as I lay in bed, I noticed a person cautiously enter the guesthouse in which we were staying. He wore a voluminous turban in the Baloch style and quietly talked with Gwal Agha for some time before leaving. When I asked about him in the morning, Gwal Agha told me that he was a Zarkurn[14] notable. This tribe, along with other Pashtoon tribes that resided in Sibi, Loralai, Kohlu, Barkhan and adjoining areas, were being terrorised by the Marris[15] through constant raids, which resulted in the loss of life and property. The chief had come to complain about this tyranny, which was occurring unchecked by the government. Fearing for his safety, he could only come to meet Gwal Agha surreptitiously in the dead of night. On Gwal Agha's suggestion, the federal government began to take notice of the lawlessness in the area.

Even after the creation of Balochistan, Gwal Agha maintained that the optimal solution was to merge the Pashtoon areas of the current province with NWFP or else to raise the former Chief Commissioners Province of British Balochistan (a misnomer since its population was overwhelmingly Pashtoon) to a full province, as had been called for by Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his famous 14 Points issued in 1929. While the current province existed, he demanded equality between its Pashtoon and Baloch population. An example of which was his proposed convention to rotate the apex offices of the province, Governor and Chief Minister, between the Pashtoon and Baloch. In the politics of the day, such principles were not acceded too.

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Efforts were made for a rapprochement between Gwal Agha and his Baloch colleagues of NAP. When he clarified his position at one such meeting in Quetta, which he had been reluctant to attend, the laconic Nawab Khair Baksh Marri had said to him, "The Pashtoon in Balochistan will have to live the same way as we lived in One Unit" In the early hours of December 2, 1973, while Gwal Agha was asleep, two grenades were hurled into his room via the air vents. I was studying in Glasgow at the time of his assassination. I hope the translation of his autobiography serves as an adequate introduction to this remarkable man.

Note on the Chief Commissioners Province of British Balochistan

The Chief Commissioners Province of British Balochistan was a misnomer. An overwhelming majority of the population was Pashtoon and the territories that comprised the province had been largely annexed from Afghanistan in the aftermath of the Second Anglo Afghan War (1878-1880). In the vein of territories annexed by the British empire in other parts of the world, a more apt name for the province would have been British Pashtoonistan/ British Afghanistan.

The area which comprised British Balochistan conforms to the present districts of Quetta, Pishin, Qilla Abdullah Khan, Ziarat, Qilla Saifullah, Zhob, Sherani, Musakhel, Loralai, Sibi, Harnai, Nushki, Chagai, Kohlu, Barkhan, Dera Bugti, Nasirabad, Jaffarabad and parts of the current Bolan district.

The British had occupied Quetta in 1876. The areas of Sibi and Pishin were taken over by the British from Afghanistan as Assigned Districts as a result of the Treaty of Gandamak May 26, 1879. It is to be remembered that Sibi included Sibi tehsil, Harnai, Shahrag, Khost, Ziarat, Thal-Chotiali, Duki and Barkhan. The relevant section of the treaty is as follows:

In consideration of the renewal of a friendly alliance between the two States which has been attested and secured by the foregoing Articles, the British Government restores to his Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies the towns of Kandahar and Jelalabad with all the territory now in possession of the British armies, excepting the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi.

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His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies agrees on his part that the districts of Kurram and Pishin and Sibi, according to the limits defined in the schedule annexed, shall remain under the protection and administrative control of the British Government: that is to say, the aforesaid districts shall be treated as assigned districts, and shall not be considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan kingdom. The revenues of these districts, after deducting the charges of civil administration, shall be paid to His Highness the Amir.

On November 1, 1887 the areas under British control were designated as the Chief Commissioner's province of British Balochistan. Loralai (including Sinjavi and Musakhel) was added to the province in 1886. Zhob (then Appozai renamed Fort Sandeman) was incorporated in 1890. All of this formerly Afghan territory, renamed as the Chief Commissioner's Province and Administered Agencies of British Balochistan, were ruled by the Agent to the Governor General (Chief Commissioner) at Quetta.

Some Baloch areas also became part of this entity. These are the Marri-Bugti tribal area, Bolan Pass tract (1883), Chagai and West Sinjrani (1896), Nushki (leased from Kalat in 1899) and Nasirabad (leased from Kalat in 1903).

Thus although occupied by the British government, the Brahui Baloch land (Kalat State) and Pashtoon (Afghan) lands were ruled altogether as separate political and constitutional units, the Agent to the Governor General as the resident in Kalat State and as Chief Commissioner for predominantly Pashtoon (Afghan) Chief Commissioners Province, with the Khan of Kalat working as the ruler of Kalat while Shahi Jirga led by Pashtoon Nawab (Jogezai) functioning as a legislative, judicial and executive house for the Chief Commissioners Province.

It is also interesting to note that British Balochistan became a Chief Commissioners Province much before NWFP, which gained this status in 1901 when it was separated from Punjab. While NWFP was made a Governor's province in 1932, the same reform was not enacted in British Balochistan.

Point 10 of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's famous 14 points of 1929 states:

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Reforms should be introduced in the NWFP and Balochistan on the same footings as in the other provinces.

It should be noted that Balochistan here refers to the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan, which had an overwhelming Pashtoon majority population. Since Kalat was a princely state and not a province, Jinnah's reforms were exclusively aimed at the Pashtoon majority part of the current province.

The status of British Balochistan remained intact even after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Like other provinces of Pakistan, it ceased to exist with the enactment of the One Unit Scheme in 1955 when all of West Pakistan was consolidated into a single province with its capital at Lahore. The area of the Chief Commissioners Province of Balochistan was declared as Quetta Division while the Balochistan States Union was declared as Kalat Divison.

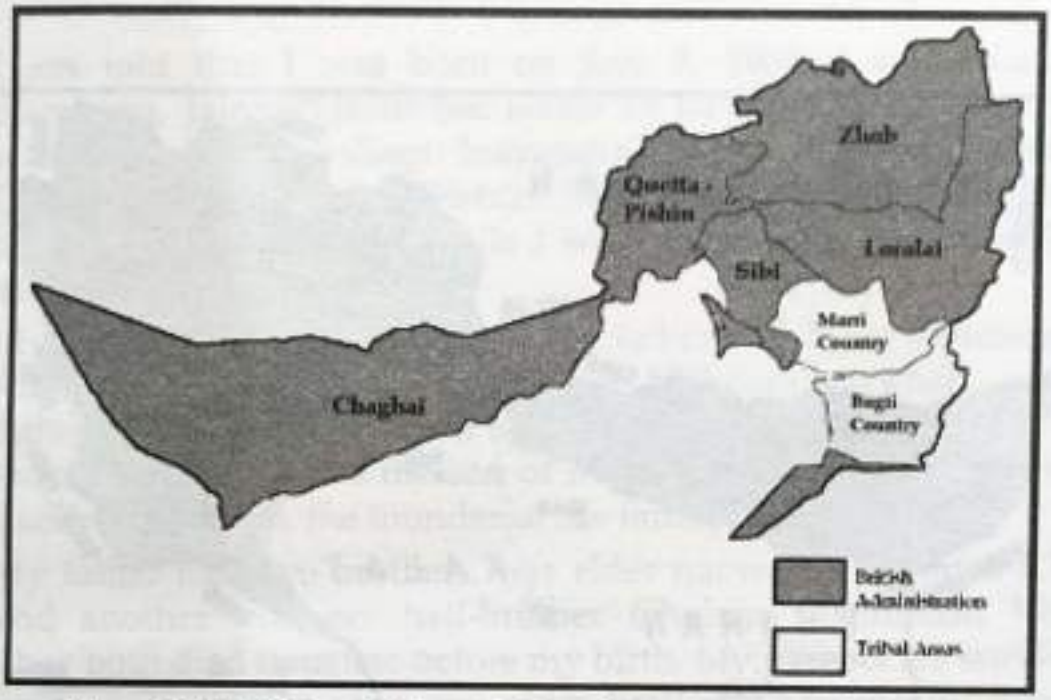
It is interesting to note that the first Chief Minister of West Pakistan, Dr Khan Sahib, contested and won his seat from Quetta Division (formerly British Balochistan). Adult franchise had not been extended to Quetta Division and he was elected by the Shahi Jirga (council) of selected elders.

The National Awami Party (NAP) stood for the creation of linguistic and cultural provinces as part of its party manifesto. While the other provinces were restored after the dissolution of One Unit in 1970, the incorrectly named Pashtoon majority Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan (Quetta Division) was neither amalgamated with the contiguous Pashtoon province of NWFP according to the NAP manifesto nor was it upgraded to a full Governor's province like NWFP in 1932. Instead, it was merged with the Kalat States Union (composed of the states of Kalat, Kharan and Las Bela which had a Baloch/Brahui population) to form the current province of Balochistan. This combined Pashtoon-Baloch province has since then been a bone of contention between the two brotherly communities, which had historically been allies. This is the crux of the disagreement, which led to the parting of ways between Samad Khan Achakzai and his longtime Pashtoon and Baloch colleagues.

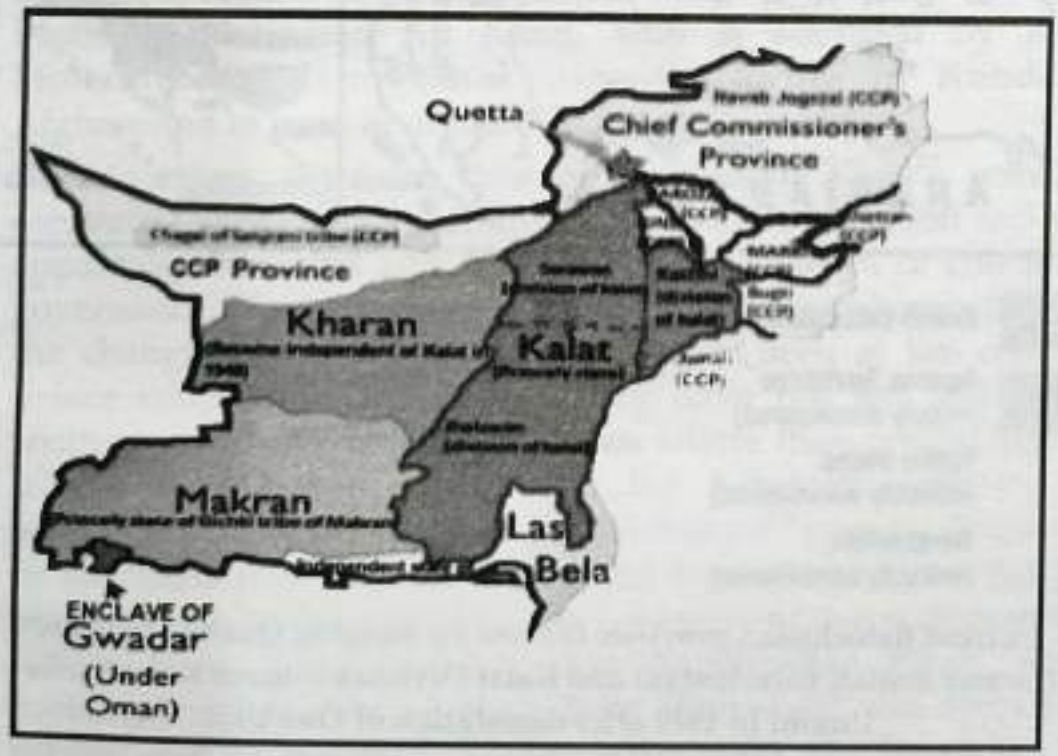
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(In this book the word Balochistan, in context of a province, means the Pashtoon majority Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan)



Map of Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan from 1887 till 1955

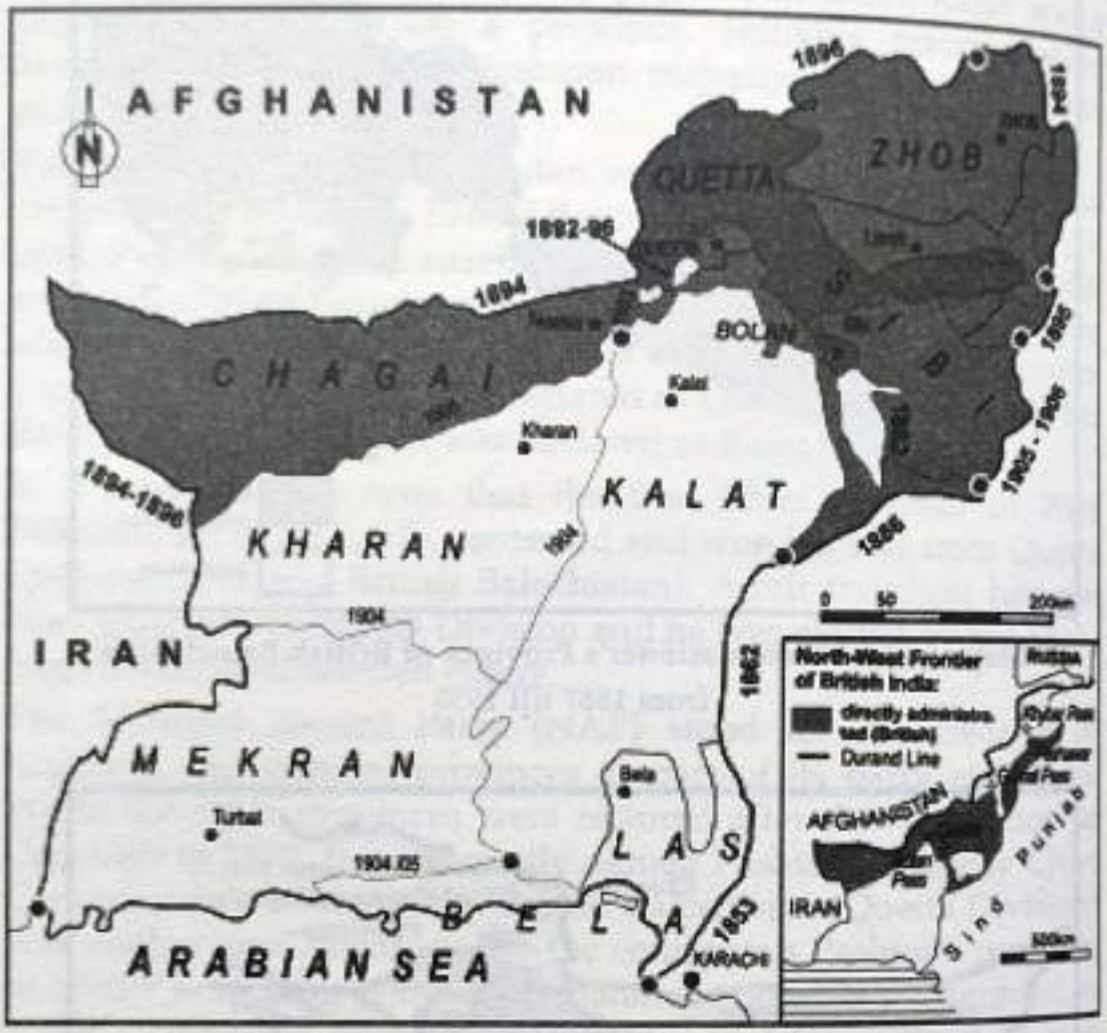


Map of Quetta Division(former British Balochistan) and Kalat Division (former Kalat States Union)

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during One Unit (1955 - 1970)



Current Balochistan province formed by merging Quetta Division (former British Balochistan) and Kalat Division (former Kalat States Union) in 1970 after dissolution of One Unit

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Part One
Birth, Lineage and Ancestry

I am told that I was born on July 7, 1907. I am Achakzai, Hamidzai, Jalezai[16] from the house of Barkhurdar by lineage. I was born in the village Inayatullah Karez, Gulistan, District Quetta-Pishin (presently District Qilla Abdullah) and reside there till this day July 2, 1959 while I write these lines in District Jail, Multan.

My mother was named Dilbara. My father was Noor Mohammad Khan. My grandfather was Sultan Mohammad Khan, whose father was Inayatullah Khan by whose name our village is called. Inayatullah Khan was the son of Bostan Khan, whose father was Barkhurdar Khan, the founder of the family.

My father had two brothers, one elder named Mir Ahmed Khan and another younger half-brother Ghulam Mahiuddin Khan. They both died issueless before my birth. My parents are survived up to date by two sons, my elder brother Khan, Abdul Salaam Khan, myself and two daughters. My mother was the daughter of Mohammad Hassan Khan the first cousin of my father, whose father was named Fateh Mohammad Khan. My mother had a real brother Mohammad Ali Khan, who is survived by a son Mohammad Azam Khan currently living in Kandahar, Afghanistan in pursuit of national political objectives.

Our ancestors, since the time of Barkhurdar Khan[17], remained connected to the national Afghan court and government and were apparently educated and well-versed in the ways of courts and governance. However, they seem to have changed loyalties with the changes at the court and have hence been at the centre of palace coups and revolutions. They have not left behind any written record nor is it known from where they originated. The Jalezai, Hamidzai a sub-tribe of the Achakzai however, still resides at Dud in the range of Toba Achakzai[18] plateau. It can thus be surmised that they too originated from there. How did they become close to the court and the government is not documented either. It is being related that Barkhurdar Khan was a contemporary of Ahmed Shah Baba (Durrani)[19], the founder of present day Afghanistan. Among other tasks, the Kandahar Fort was constructed under his supervision. Barkhurdar Khan is also

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said to have participated in the Turkistan campaign of Ahmed Shah Baba. Another elder of the family is also said to have been the governor of Kashmir at one time. In the ancient cemetery on the outskirts of Kandahar there is a grave with the tomb stone bearing the inscription "Bostan Khan Achakzai Fatheh (conqueror) of Turkistan". This tomb is said to be that of the son of Barkhurdar Khan.

The Achakzais and the tribes of Pishin and Kandahar till this day look up to the families of Barkhurdar Khan and Arzbaig[20] with reverence. The founding father of the Arzbaig family is said to be the nephew of Barkhurdar. It is not clear whether Arzbaig was a War (1839-1842). Ghazi Abdullah Khan, his brother and two sons were martyred during this uprising but only after the whole Pashtoon nation rose in arms and challenged the British. Ghazi Mohammad Akbar Khan[21] attacked and took Kabul at the head of the death of Burnes[22] and MacNaghten[23] the British commanders at Kabul and the rout of British forces.

Apparently, our elders had gone from Toba to the court initially at Kandahar and later to Kabul. They, however, later chose to settle in the fertile valleys of upper Pishin in the vicinity of Toba rather than Kandahar and Kabul. Inayatullah Khan, our grandfather, purchased a Karez (a subterranean water channel) and some land with it and established a settlement in his name where our family resides up to date. To the north of Inayatullah Karez at a distance of eight to 10 miles are the Deh Sura and Zaraa Karez known as Qilla (Fort) Abdullah where the family of Ghazi Abdullah Khan resides. One-and-half miles south of Inayatullah Karez is Gulistan Karez, inhabited by another descendent family of Arzbaig. It is said that Gulistan Khan was the manager of the estate and because the owners were away the settlement assumed his name. Gulistan Khan is said to have been the governor of Peshawar at range, died fighting for Shah Zaman[24] and Shah Shujah[25]. Gulistan was a legend for his bravery, loyalty and wisdom and was at one time Shuja's governor at Peshawar.

I regard this documentation by Caroe as credible because none of the Gulistan family appears on high ranks in the reign of the Mohammadzai[26] family. The family of Barkhurdar Khan and Abdullah Khan had instead prospered under the court patronage of the Mohammadzais. This is because their ancestors had fought the Mohammadzai Barakzais on the side of the Populzais and

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Sadozais. They were thus ignored by the Mohammadzai court to the extent that once on a trivial matter, probably a quail fight, one of the family killed the brother of Ghazi Abdullah Khan. To avenge the death, Abdullah Khan set out from Kabul where he was serving and in the early hours of one morning attacked Gulistan village killing four of their family and returned to Kabul. The Gulistan family neither pursued Abdullah Khan nor did they approach the government at Kabul. Abdullah Khan, however, gave up ownership claim to his share in the family property at Gulistan. And when the British took over the area then the family of Gulistan, contrary to that of Barkhurdar Khan and Abdullah Khan, extended their support to them both here and at Kabul. Once when the Kakar tribes of Pishin and Baloch tribes had besieged the British at Quetta and were on the verge of defeating them and thus forever saving British Balochistan and Afghanistan, the British gave some Rs20,000 to Sardar Salo Khan, the head of the family at that time, who raised a force of the Achakzai tribesmen and attacked the Kakars and Baloch from the rear at night, who taken by surprise withdrew and dispersed. This event is close to the Second Anglo Afghan War (1878 – 1880). They were thus with Shah Shuja, who was later wholeheartedly on the side of the British. The British patronised this family more than any Durrani, Tareen and Achakzai family of Quetta and Pishin. They bestowed the Sardari (Chieftaincy) of Achakzais on Abdul Hamid Khan Kaka and his brothers along with a monthly stipend of Rs 2,500. After Abdul Hamid Khan Kaka was removed, it was bestowed upon Ghulam Haider Khan Kaka with a salary of Rs 500 and their land revenue was written off forever. Besides, the family was given two Levies posts at Chaman and Gulistan. Caroe further writes, that in 1802 Shah Shuja[27], after being defeated by Wazir Fateh Khan, fled via Zhob to Shal Kot (Quetta) and then with the help of Malik Gulistan Khan borrowed a large sum of money from a well off trader and reached Kabul where the public was already against Shah Mehmood and installed Shah Shuja as the king[28]. He arrested Shah Mehmood and later exiled him to Herat. Shah Shuja ruled Kabul peacefully for six years and was later defeated by Shah Mehmood with the help of Wazir Fateh Khan. Shuja was then exiled. Gulistan Khan must have been killed in the post 1880 battles.

Mohammad Ayub Khan Achakzai[29], who along with Mohammad Azam Khan and other companions migrated to Afghanistan in

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1950 in pursuit of important national objectives and is there till date, too belongs to the Arzbaig family of Gulistan Karez.

This area, presently a part of Pakistan, was previously a part of Afghanistan. As a result of the Treaty of Gandamak (May 26, 1879), this area along with Sibi, Pishin and Tal Chotiali was separated from Afghanistan and annexed to India. The Treaty of Gandamak was initially entered into by Amir Yaqub Khan[30] and was later ratified by Amir Abdul Rehman Khan[31] as well. It is around this time that our family migrated and settled here at its current abode. Prior to the Treaty of Gandamak, my grandfather Sultan Mohammad Khan lived with his brother, my mother's grandfather, Fateh[32] Mohammad Khan at Kandahar. Fateh Mohammad Khan was the governor of Kandahar during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan[33] and subsequently during the reign of his sons

Amir Mohammad Yaqub Khan and Amir Mohammad Ayub Khan[34]. The Second Afghan War occurred during this period during which Kandahar fell to the British but even then Fateh Khan continued to be the governor. It is not clear whether he was appointed by the British or was it because the British did not interfere with the civil administration. An old letter shows that he was once imprisoned by the British and all of his property was confiscated, to be released on the intercession of Amir Abdul Rehman Khan. A copy of this intercessionary letter is still in our family's possession. While Kandahar was being ruled by our family in the person of Governor Fateh Khan, as was customary, other relatives were assigned important responsibilities in other parts of the country. My grandfather, however, was not inclined towards exercising state power and along with his sons preferred scholarly pursuits and social work. It is hence that my father and uncles were well-versed, literate and informed. It appears that consequent to the Second Anglo Afghan War (1878-1880) when the British transferred the kingship of Afghanistan from the family of Amir Sher Ali Khan to that of Amir Abdul Rehman Khan and a battle ensued at Kandahar between Amir Mohammad Ayub Khan and Amir Abdul Rehman Khan, who was backed by the British, our family as was customary in those days split into two. Governor Fateh Khan sided with Amir Abdul Rehman Khan. It is a matter of pride and satisfaction for me and my family that my grandfather, father and Fateh Khan's son Mohammad Hassan Khan, my mother's father, sided with Amir Mohammad Ayub

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Khan and fought the British in the national battles of Maiwand[35] and other smaller battles around Kandahar. It is not clear whether this division in the family, one siding with one Amir and continuing as the governor and the other joining the war of liberation against the British was with mutual understanding, hedging against odds of backing a losing side or was it the result of disagreement and individual choice? Or was it that because of his position as governor, Fateh Khan was aware of the strength of the British and their nominee Abdul Rehman and hence sided with them while the others were driven by their zest of youth and national and religious fervur of Jihad? Amir Mohammad Ayub Khan was defeated and fled to Iran by way of Herat. My mother's father Mohammad Hassan Khan also went into exile with him and returned to India six years later with the Amir. The British exiled Amir Mohammad Ayub Khan to Lahore and Mohammad Hassan Khan returned home. Amir Mohammad Ayub Khan continued to award him a stipend of Rs 100 per month from his pension for quite some time. My grandfather, father and uncle sought refuge in Raig, Kandahar with Mullah Baran of Yasinkahol Shamshozai, Achakzais, who gave them protection from Amir Abdul Rehman and looked after them well in the tradition of the Pashtoons. Amir Abdul Rehman after ascending the throne arrested Governor Kandahar Fateh Muhammad Khan and had him taken to Kabul demanding of him to bring back his brothers and sons, who had fought against him. It is obvious that he could not and did not want to meet the Amir's demand. The Amir confiscated his landed property, houses and other holdings worth tens of millions of rupees. He was imprisoned at Kabul where he died after a few years. It is not clear whether Fateh Khan was put in prison or was under house arrest because he married in Kabul and was survived by a son and a daughter by that marriage, they were exiled to Pishin after his death by Amir Abdul Rehman Khan. It is also not clear whether he died a natural death or was put to death. Family elders, however, related that he was poisoned for which I cannot vouch as people of those days were very suspicious and I cannot reject it either as Amir Abdul Rehman Khan did execute many Pashtoon notables and socialites.

With the coming of Amir Abdul Rehman to the throne of Kabul, the Gandamak Treaty was signed separating our ancestral abode Gulistan and Pishin from Afghanistan and annexing it to India. My grandfather and his family left Raig and came to their home

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most probably with the consent of the British. The British administration by way of patronage not only did not question their past activity but also wrote off their land revenue for their lifetime.

Although most members of our family were educated and well-versed in Pashto, Persian and Arabic and such persons were in great demand by the British, our elders due to their participation in the national battle of Maiwand[36] (1880) stayed away from the services of the British. So estranged they remained that although Achakzais generally regarded the house of Barkhurdar and Arzbaig as their leaders and Sardars, the British formally recognised this status but when Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan was arrested for attacking the camp of the British Political Agent[37] of Quetta, killing some sepoys and decamping with their guns that were subsequently recovered from his compound, no known person of standing came forward as his replacement. This was because those of standing in the family regarded the British bestowed Sardari (chieftaincy) as belittlement and its reward profane. When the British resident pressed Taj Mohammad Khan, an elder of the family of Abdullah Khan, for the official acceptance of the Sardari and a salary of Rs 500 with other privileges, he is said to have retorted in the presence of the full court, "We cannot be trusting and friendly as neither will you forget Burnes and Macnaghten nor I Abdullah Khan".

He is said to have related a parable of the friendship between a snake and a man during which the son of the man had trampled the snake and in return the snake had bitten the son, who died thereof. The man wanted to renew the friendship and the snake is said to have turned down the offer by saying, "Neither can I forget my wounds nor you your son".

The British had Taj Mohammad Khan arrested and removed to Karachi where he was kept for six months. They then appointed an unknown person of no standing as the official head of Achakzai tribe who had no influence and was limited to official salary and stayed at Quetta. Since he died issueless, the British did not nominate another person as Chief of the Achakzais. It is thus that the Achakzai is the only tribe from those of Balochistan that were spared this most cruel encroachment of the British Raj in the form of Sardars and Nawabs that has crippled other once powerful and proud tribes. Much later, many lesser persons

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strived to secure the Sardari of Achakzai but by then the tribe had produced such persons who understood that the appointment of official Sardar sounded the death knell of the tribe and hence they did not succeed.

One of the aspirants for the nominated headship of the tribe was a distinguished elder respected by us all Mohammad Anwar Khan, who belongs to the Arz baig family of Gulistan and was the real uncle of Mohammad Ayub Khan. He is known for leading the Achakzai tribe against the forces of Bacha Saka[38], who had occupied the throne of Kabul during the Afghan civil war[39], and liberating the city of Kandahar from his representatives. He lives and resides in Kandahar to date and the king has granted lands and a title (Naib Salar) to him. Being a literate and politically aware democrat, he is politically active. A few years ago, he along with his elder son Mohammad Alam Khan (Basarkai) and other comrade, was arrested for being a leader of the political party, *'Wesh Zalme'* (Awakened Youth). He was later released due to his bad health.

Although like all other Afghans, our family too suffered from petty kinship jealousies and groupings, yet because of our educated background this blemish was limited to social boycott. It certainly did not involve the use of abusive language, either face to face or at the back of one another. Nor did we indulge in physical brawls, killings and harm being done through hirelings. Although in the surrounding villages and tribes, physical violence was common, it was unheard of in the house of Barkhurdar. Once before my birth, a nephew had threatened my grandfather and this was such an unexpected event that people composed couplets around it. On another occasion, when I was still young, some family members had a physical fight and at another time two of my maternal uncles were involved in a fist fight.

Whenever our families fell out amongst themselves, they would resort to social boycott of one another including avoiding such occasions as marriages and deaths or at most they would report the dispute to the government. Since litigation under the British administration was a never ending process, so the social boycott would at times continue for years. Once there was a disagreement on the appointment of the village prayer leader and the two parties went into litigation and the government closed the village mosque, to begin with, which remained closed for well over six

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years. The village mosque remained without a priest nor was the call for prayer given from the mosque during that time. It was a shameful event in all respects but the two parties persisted in their stubbornness. Each party engaged a separate priest and offered prayers at places other than the spacious village central mosque. I started my religious study during those days under the temporary priest.

By the time we grew up, things were like this. But then some of us youngsters got together and put an end to these happenings and replaced it with a very close association and friendship. For nearly three decades now, we have not sought government interventions in any matter except on one or two occasions and that too as individuals. In case of differences, we sit together to find a solution acceptable to all. It is quite simple and feasible as long as there are a few individuals who are above family and kinship groupings.

As for myself, even if someone has a dispute with my elder brother I do not join in nor do I distance myself from the other party but instead carry my relationship with them as usual. This despite that my brother is a father figure to me dearly loved and respected by me who has been extremely kind to me and continues to be so. Even presently he is in litigation with two relatives regarding the property of Azam Jan, who is currently at Kandahar, over their claims to the village headship (Maliky) and his property. I not only continue to socially meet them but in my hearts of heart I sincerely wish them well. I consult them in the affairs of the village and family. Till this day, I have neither participated nor influenced or interfered in their dispute. The same is the case of my brother, who not only stands on the side of those that are transgressed against but also tries to solve a dispute by mutual consultation and agreement.

I have never entered into litigation with anyone nor do I intend to in the future. I have never instigated one against another rather I have saved many from falling into dispute. Once while camping in the mountains, we were attacked by Malik Daroo Khan of Afghanistan. My forehead was split while I neither retaliated at that time nor reported the case to the government.

The most distinctive act of our family compared to that of others in the region is our management of the collectively owned water channel (Karez). This water channel irrigates the land of three

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villages and has hundreds of shareholders, big and small, poor and rich as well as widows and orphans. It is currently valued at over Rs 2,000,000. Some of the owners are away in faraway lands, pursuing a living sometimes for years at length. Even then every shareholder gets his share of water. This management is in place for over 100 years now. Not a share has been lost nor has this joint ownership been damaged.

Other Karezaat of the area are plagued by internal disputes and strife among the owners. Small owners do not get their share of water and large holders usurp the rights of others. Some even sell more than their share of water with the end result that in addition to the disputes and litigation, crops do not get water in time causing heavy losses to the owners and the Karez loses value. When a water channel collapses and gets blocked, the owners fail to share the cost of maintenance and repair and the channel remains blocked for years with the lands remaining uncultivated.

The collapse and blockage of our channel is unheard of, instead in my own lifetime, the owners have spent more than Rs200,000 undertaking fresh excavation and adding additional sources of water to it with the result that the crops and orchards are irrigated in time ensuring better income to the owners. There is so much trust developed amongst the owners that every year they undertake buying, selling and mortgaging deeds of hundreds of thousands of rupees in exchange for a simple note of deed. This is all due to the unique management of the Karez. This management on the one hand is a cooperative joint stock company with share value of approximately two million rupees and on the other hand a small democratic government. Like the government of Britain, the management of Inayatullah Karez has no written constitution and has instead its own usages and laws that are known to all the owners and are fully observed by everyone to the extent that none has violated them to date. If one knowingly or otherwise trespasses his limits, it is discovered sooner than later and the recovery is made promptly in total. Such an incident has occurred only once in these years with all the owners confronting the defaulter and making him pay for the extra use of water.

Twice a year in spring and autumn, all the shareholders hold joint audit meetings. The Karez has an elected secretary (Mir Aoe)[40] who is at times honorary or paid. The Mir Aoe holds his position till he enjoys the trust of the shareholders; otherwise he is usually

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elected for life unless he himself resigns. There has been one exception when the Mir Aoe was removed after losing the confidence of the shareholders.

The Mir Aoe keeps the accounts of the shares and any changes therein that take place in the form of sales, purchases and mortgages that occur frequently both on short as well as long term basis. He is thus constantly aware of the share of each shareholder at any given time. Therefore, none can use more water than what he is entitled to.

The unit measure of water ownership is 24 hours (Shawaroz), 12 hours (Wakhth), 6 hours (Nimakae), 3 hours (Charyak), 1 ½ hours (Mazigar), 18 minutes (Seer), 6 minutes (abasi) and 4 ½ minutes (Pao)[41].

At times small shareholders pool their share together in one cycle, which is usually 15 days to collect one Wakhth or Shawaroz to be used at one time for irrigating land. Those, who have a little more than twelve hours, would leave the extra minutes till such time that it accumulate into twelve hours and would then use the water channel for twenty four hours at one time. Likewise, those having slightly less than 12 hours would borrow from the Karez and when the borrowing reached his total share he would forego his turn in one cycle and thus repay the Karez. The system thus provides an advantage to small holders, who would go for collective farming especially of winter crops i.e. wheat and barley etc. Such cooperative farming is in practice currently in advanced countries but unfortunately those of the poor countries are incapable of adopting it despite their greater need.

During the summer, however, each shareholder gets his share by the clock because of the timely irrigation need of summer crops. In the biannual meetings, all accounts are settled to the minute. Thus, every shareholder is aware of his water share in advance for which he plans cropping accordingly. There is also a provision for meeting emergencies without disturbing the water cycle to the extent of causing crop damage.

It is the duty of Mir Aoe to convene the biannual meeting of the shareholders and inform all the members of the time and place which is usually under the shady trees of the village central mosque. In these meetings, on the pattern of budget session of the modern legislative assembly, the Mir Aoe presents the full annual account of the Karez for the past year. All the expenditure heads

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are identified and the expenses charged. He also indicates the surpluses or deficits of the budget and identifies the development and repair work needs of the Karez for the coming year with the required budget estimates. The funds for the coming budget are raised in the following three ways:-

a) Contribution per share holding

b) Authorise the Mir Aoe to sell a nominated amount of water in each Karez cycle

c) To mortgage the use of some water with any member against cash till the Karez pays back the mortgage amount.

Similarly, on the occasion of the general meeting members raise their grievances and questions that are specific to the Mir Aoe, who is obliged to reply to the satisfaction of the questioner. The other members listen to the queries and replies and point out whether it is in line with the agreed and presently practiced procedure. If a loss is caused to an individual, it is rectified with consensus for future.

Whenever I participated in these meetings, I used to be reminded of the Swiss Communes democracy which is open to all members of the community with everyone having one vote.

After participating in these assemblies of the village and observing its fair and detailed account and decisions, I would involuntarily recall the blemish, "That Pashtoon are incapable of working in a democracy." In addition to the two meetings, the Mir Aoe or any other shareholder can call another meeting if the concern so justifies it. Such emergency meetings have proved to be extremely useful. On one occasion, there was a prolonged drought spread over several years, resulting in shortage of water flow in the Karez. The water flow became so low that the fruit trees were not expected to sustain their fruits. There was an eminent danger that large acreage of orchards would go dry. It was decided at a Karez meeting that for the remaining year the Karez cycle be enlarged, which may fully or partially damage the current crop but save the trees from dying as these take years to reach fruiting age. The Karez cycle was thus enlarged by one fifth which automatically increased each share by one fifth. It so happened that contrary to our expectations most trees managed to carry their fruits with not much damage. The new cycle was made permanent even when the drought was over which

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increased the total irrigated crop area by one fifth with the resultant increase in grain output and income and increased employment of the landless labourers. It was beneficial to all the stakeholders.

In my lifetime the following were the Karez Mir Aoe my father for his lifetime, my maternal uncle (they both worked on an honorary basis), another relative Mohammad Tahir Khan, who after some time was paid an honorarium of Rs300. He was followed by my elder brother, who gave over to the current Mir Aoe, Abdul Quddus Khan. The office of the Mir Aoe carries respect and prestige. The Karez presents a valuable pocket watch to the Mir Aoe.

While I was quite young, our family spent nearly three to four months in the Mission Hospital at Quetta where my elder sister was undergoing surgery. The head lady doctor, Miss Steward, who was of quite an advanced age, and her two younger colleagues of the Mission used to be wholeheartedly and completely involved in their work during the working time. There were other children like me in the hospital who were afraid of these doctors, as their parents had told them that these Christian doctors abducted youngsters and then converted them to Christianity. I, on the other hand, was naturally attracted towards the senior doctor and liked her company. I used to be in close proximity to them whether they were examining patients, praying or even preaching to the patients. Soon the head doctor took note of my presence and became friendly towards me. Whenever she saw me, she would beckon me to her and take me along with her. Sometimes she would take me home as well. Occasionally, when going to the church on Sundays, she would make me sit with her in the horse carriage and take me along as well. One evening she stopped me for dinner. The three of them and I had dinner together. When I came back, my mother was quite upset and complained to my father that I had had dinner with the European doctors. He did not approve of it either and told me not to eat with them again and when I asked why, I was told that they ate forbidden foods, the meat of swine and consumed alcohol. I was very upset by this false statement and said, "I have neither eaten these things there nor did I see them eat."

I was told that I did not recognise forbidden foods and drinks. I responded that though I did not recognise those specific items, I

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was familiar with what I saw there and ate, which was chicken meat, spinach, potatoes, fruits and water.

At that time I did not fully appreciate the work of those lady doctors till later on when the contact with the head doctor turned into a lasting friendship. We came to the hospital on several occasions, seeking treatment for family members. I used to call on her whenever I visited Quetta and she too visited us a couple of times at Inayatullah Karez, our village. In due course, I began to appreciate more and more the hard work, devotion and expenses that those doctors undertook in treating the sick Hindu, Indian, Baloch and Pashtoon patients and with it my liking and respect for her and their work increased. When I finally realised that those kind doctors undertook all the tedious work as a religious cause, my respect for them increased even more and I began to wonder as to why our people particularly the clergy did not perform such selfless service. As for myself, I decided that as a grown up I would devote myself and all that is mine to the service of my faith and my people.

This elderly doctor had good command over Pashto language. I used to address her as "mother" and she would call me "son". She was there for many years at Quetta and later left for England, leaving the hospital and its property worth hundreds of thousands of rupees to the mission of Doctor Henry Holland. Later, she is said to have gone as a missionary to Africa. I wonder if she is still living.

She was at Quetta when in 1930 my brother and I were arrested by the British for being allegedly involved in the kidnapping of two British army officers and a British lady. She had visited our mother on the occasion to console her. When I called upon her after our release, she was much pleased. At that moment she was reading an English newspaper and showed me an item therein which said that Achakzais of Raig, Afghanistan, had abducted Indian railway employees from Gulistan as ransom, demanding the release of some of their men. Then she asked me, "Why do your people abduct government employees?" As I knew the background of the occurrence, I told her that she, who had spent so many years here, would know that Pashtoons were not criminal and bloody minded. However, there was a difference between the laws of the Pashtoons and those of the British specially the accursed Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR), which

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did not provide justice to those simple tribal-folk nor did it provide the right of appeal to another authority. They, therefore, as a last resort, abducted government employees for settlement of an issue, which was more often than not accepted by the government and then reached a mutually acceptable agreement.

I said, "Watch and see the government will reach an agreement with them in this case as well. It is a form of an appeal against injustice." She understood the situation and then told me that she wanted to visit our village for a few days but following the abduction of Major Farley and Captain and Mrs.Frere, the political agent had banned the travel of British women on the Chaman road. "I would therefore have to petition the political agent for special permission," she said.

She was hoping that he would allow her to travel to our village. A few days later when I inquired of the proposed visit she said, "He is not agreeable to the proposed visit, especially to your place. I tried to impress upon him that I regarded you a son and had no fear of you. Whatever your views and that of your Jirga (Tribunal) on the subject I cannot be in agreement with you since I know him from the days of his childhood. The political agent then said that if travel I must, I should take along a police squad. To which I replied, that I could accept this condition as it was an insult to me as well as to them whom I was visiting."

Our family in the tradition of Pashtoons was highly hospitable. Besides entertaining the local guests they would elaborately fete government employees and officials. Their standard of living was much above the other families of district Quetta-Pishin. It was akin in style to the noble families of Kabul and Kandahar. Friendly relations once established were kept up for years. In addition to feting the local officials, we would gift them seasonal fruits even when they were transferred to some other place like Pishin and Quetta. We used to observe this relationship by way of civility and hospitality. Some of the officials, however, did not appreciate it in that spirit and took it more as a bribe and gratification and did not reciprocate. I was the first to change the basis of this relationship from the general principle of customary hospitality and replace it with individual friendship. It was customary for Pishin and Chaman magistrates to hold the joint Jirga (Judicial Tribal Council) at Gulistan once every month. The magistrates would for this purpose come to Gulistan in the

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company of influential and notorious councillors and stay for four to five days. During the stay, our families would lavishly fete them at a huge financial cost. When I grew up, I realised that whenever I happened to be in Chaman, Pishin or Quetta these councillors and officials did not reciprocate our hospitality in return. I thought, "They probably did not appreciate the mutuality of hospitality and regarded our attitude as their due and extraction." I initiated the discussion with my family elders and my age relatives and convinced them to give up this practice of lavishing our hospitality on these councillors. On the occasion of their next visit, when the officials and the councillors arrived, they were not invited by anyone. By late afternoon when no invitation came, despite their queries to the effect, they slaughtered four rams for the evening and retreated to their stations early the next morning. Since that day there has been no sitting of the Jirga in Gulistan to date and our relationship of entertainment and hospitality with individual officials is on the basis of reciprocity and friendship. It was about the time that magistrates and councillors were introduced to the primary Pashtoon lesson in hospitality. It is beyond position, beyond power, beyond formalities. Hospitality is a central ethos of the Pashtoonwali Code.[42]

I have recorded the events related to my ancestry in some detail as this background is a great influence on my life and provides an important context to the politics of the Pashtoon nation and (British) Balochistan. Our family continued to maintain a distance from the British rulers and their services, despite being well qualified and literate. Our family, however, did send their youngsters to learn English language and other subjects at the Middle School Gulistan, which was one of the first middle schools of the province, and at a higher level to Quetta. On the contrary, throughout India at that time, Muslims were keeping away from modern education and British schools. In those days, the sole aim of people was to attain employment with the British colonial rulers, however my ancestors, despite being educated and thus well qualified, kept away from such service and also kept their progeny away from government employment. With one or two exceptions, the family also shunned the tribal Levies service, the most successful and attractive trap invented by Sir Robert Sandeman[43], which had entrapped the majority of other tribes and their elders.

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Our Household

In the extended family of Inayatullah Khan, our immediate family i.e. my grandfather, uncles and father were inclined towards religious education and the acquisition of knowledge. Even while at Kandahar, whereas other members of the family had stayed in government positions and pursued various gainful employments, our family remained occupied in the main with the acquisition of education and knowledge. My father had full command over Arabic, Persian and Pashto.

When the properties at Kandahar were confiscated, we were left with comparatively less property at Inayatullah Karez and were consequently less affluent. But over time we managed to develop the newly acquired property and subsequently enjoyed a better living. As far as I remember, we had sufficient orchards and cultivable land to sustain a decent simple Pashtoon livelihood. My father was not rich by any means but since he lived a simple life and was not given to extravagance and excesses generally associated with the lives of the Khan, he lived a comfortable life.

My father would as a routine help out religious scholars, students, widows and orphans of the tribe and the region. He, on a daily basis, devoted two to three hours to the management of his agricultural property and during the remaining day taught the household women, us two brothers and an occasional student. In addition, he would attend to the social affairs and other needs of the village folk such as death, marriage and matters related to government officials. He, on a daily basis, provided food and nightly stay to a number of guests that included common passing by strangers, well known tribal elders and religious scholars specially summoned and those, who had come to seek him concerning personal problems. For this purpose, he maintained a separate guesthouse. He would at regular intervals during the year entertain all the government functionaries of the Gulistan tehsil saying that they were far from their kith and kin and deserved to be patronised. He was highly respected by all the strata of society of the village and its surrounds. The poor people would specially bring their problems to him and even entrust their savings for safe keeping. Since the time of my grandfather, our family was in the practice of adopting orphans who would share and grow with the children of the family and when grown

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they would be married off and separated to follow their own lives.

It was the daily routine of my father to offer his dawn prayer in the mosque, take breakfast with the guests at the guesthouse, tutor us two brothers and other students and attend to the village-folk. At about 10 am, he would leave to supervise the orchards and crops returning by noon to tutor the family women reading Pashto books with them. When there were no guests in the guesthouse, he would take the midday meal with the family, rest for a while and offer his afternoon prayer in the mosque, returning to tutor us again and attend to the village folk.

In the whole village, children of our family were cared for the best. They would be kept close by and well supervised. So much so that on one occasion my father took a government job at Quetta so as to closely supervise his younger brother, who was studying at Sandaman School, Quetta. During that time he was employed as a Tehsildar[44] with the assignment of translating from Persian to Urdu in the office of the Chief Commissioner. In 1905, when his brother, a student of class 10, died he left the job as he had no liking for the British administration and did not want in any way to be involved with it. But since he was later involved in property litigation by some better off relatives, he perforce could not avoid contact with the government and therefore off and on met British officials only to protect his interests. Later, he also became a council (Jirga) member and a courtier of the British commissioner. He would only attend the Jirga mostly to protect his own interests. Whenever he participated in the Jirga proceedings, which was rarely and reluctantly, he would endeavour to award a verdict keeping with the Sharia (Muslim jurisprudence) and if he did not succeed in securing a verdict based on the Sharia, he would record a note of dissent in the light of the Sharia. Whenever rewards were distributed in the Darbar (court), he would not bring it home as he regarded it profane and would give it to someone else. He would spend the winter months visiting India and came to know the country well. He gave up this practice in later years. He initiated us into education and better living and had higher plans for the future which his early death did not permit. He died in the year 1917 when I was 10 years of age and my elder brother was 13 years. Although I was too young to appreciate fully the wise and righteous ways of my father, people to this day talk of his piety and wisdom. I

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personally regard three of his stands exceptionally wise and principled, which greatly differed from the conduct of other Pashtoons of the time. When Amir Abdul Rehman Khan[45] subdued and re-subjugated the Hazara tribe, the clergy issued religious edicts, legitimising their enslavement. Hazara men and women were then attacked and captured at a large scale and sold as slaves and concubines. There was hardly a person or family of means in all of Kandahar and Pishin that did not participate in this human trade and purchase these people of God as slaves, except for my father, who did not approve of it and did not regard it religiously correct, the edicts of the clergy notwithstanding. Secondly, having no male issue after 12 years of married life or a living brother, he did not enter into a second marriage although he was coerced and advised by his relatives. He Argued that though permitted by religion, the children of stepmothers remained hostile to one another and a second marriage was not a good practice. When I compare this act of his with those of the present day Pashtoon Khans, I am reassured of his wisdom and truthful ways. In those days every Pashtoon village had a religious faith healer claiming to possess extra-terrestrial powers. Every layperson was

the follower of one or the other of these self-proclaimed sages. The dust of their houses and graves was used as medicines to cure the sick. People would swear by their beards to lend credibility to their statements. Their help would be invoked in troubled times. They would prescribe all kinds of rituals to cure barrenness of women and such ailments as jaundice and even tuberculosis. They went by such holy sounding titles as Sahibzada, Akhundzada, Baba, and Babak (Holy Father) etc. In our own village, there was a mulberry tree called the Faqir's (beggar's) Mulberry. Pieces of its branches were worn as talisman (*tawiz*) around the neck to cure malaria. Jaundice was to be cured by wearing a blessed onion around the neck. There were different shrines for the cure of different diseases. Each remedy came with a price shrouded in the title of offerings. Every cemetery had a tomb of a holy man. Every happening was regarded as the miracle or curse of one or the other of these so, called holy men. Such was the hold and charm of those self-styled holy men that even the conquest of that land by the British was propagated as the will and wish of a holy man, Shahbaz Qalandar, whose shrine is in Sindh, rather than the consequence of Pashtoon cowardice

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and ignorance and the British superior might and covert use of bribery.

When the British were laying the railway track to Chaman, the Afghan border town, it was initially planned to pass through Spina Thiza valley of the Khawaja Imran mountains that lay to the west of our village. The railway track, that passed by the village graveyard, was laid till our village bazaar. At that point, it was decided to change the alignment and direction of the track and instead pass it through the Kojak Pass by digging a tunnel through the mountain at Shila Bagh. The people, however, were made to believe that the direction of the rail track was changed because the engine could not cross the tomb of such and such sage buried in the graveyard. Some others would say that it was blocked by the mad priest of the adjoining village, while others still Argued that it was the doing of their village guy, Babak. People had lost faith in God and every event of consequence was the doing of one or the other of these charlatans till as late as 1914.

My father, however, in accordance with the sayings of the Holy Quran did not ascribe to those beliefs nor did he have faith in those ignorant self-acclaimed holy men and their icons, or evil and good spirits. On the contrary, he would Argue with the priests and laymen against such beliefs. Between Kandahar and Quetta, he was perhaps the only one of standing who did not believe in the frivolous claims of those charlatans and because of it I regard him to be wise and knowledgeable. Later some scholars of the Sanatia Kakar tribe too refuted those beliefs. One of those scholars was the follower of Abdul Wahab of Hejaz, Saudi Arabia. These beliefs are still held by the people but to a lesser extent.

My father had a sizeable collection of Arabic and Persian books on the subjects of theology, logic and Islamic jurisprudence that he would freely lend to scholars and students, in the style of the present day library. Unfortunately some of these books were nev er returned in his lifetime and others were stolen after his death.

I should have written here, along with the other family members, about my elder brother as well. He is the living support and inspiration behind my contribution to national struggle. But for him and his continuous support I would not have been able to devote my life to the service of the nation to begin with. My story is indeed his story. My father had in his will appointed our maternal uncle Muhammad Ali Khan as our guardian but soon

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enough our mother took charge of all affairs. She not only very bravely took in hand our upbringing and control of our property but also saved enough to add to our lands and water ownership. She also arranged the marriages of my elder sister and brother.

My mother had studied Pashto language. She was born in Kandahar and was given in marriage to my father without bridal dowry. This was the first ever marriage in our family without dowry payment. In those days, the social standing of a person was measured by the amount of dowry he received for the hand of his daughter. Even today, the custom of dowry is widely prevalent and highly esteemed socially among the traditional tribal Pashtoons. The prevailing rate of dowry currently varies between Rs 5,000 to Rs 25,000 amongst the tribesmen. Our family, however, has given up the practice and looks down upon the custom. Like my father, my mother was also a religious and pious person. During my father's lifetime and even after, she would bring home orphaned children and raise them as her own. At times she would arrange to suckle babies, whose mother had died, with some women of the village, whom she would pay. Apart from the compulsory prayers, she would offer voluntary prayers at times throughout the night. I was often her companion in those additional prayers as at that time I equated belief with the ritual of offering prayers. I have benefited from those long and late hours of prayers and these have strengthened my tolerance level and I am not afraid of facing hardships. She was so keen on acquiring new skills and knowledge that she ventured to do so even when her age was in the 70s. She was strong nerved and brave. When my brother and I joined the national freedom movement against the British which entailed imprisonment causing her a lot of difficulties in her day to day life in addition to separation from her children, she understood the cause and willingly endured the suffering along with us without ever dissuading us from the path of the national freedom movement. She would willingly bid us farewell whenever imprisonment came and emotionally welcome us when we came back home.

After independence, I was put under house arrest by the government of independent Pakistan and was later in the month of August, 1948 sent to prison. A large contingent of the police and Levies, accompanied by the extra assistant commissioner[46] (EAC) Pishin and other officials, had come to the village to take me to prison. When at the time of departure I went to take leave

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of her and seek her blessings this brave 76-year-old woman said, "I trust you to the care of God. I do not have long to live and by your return I would not be here nor will I be able to see you again. This business of house arrest appears effeminate and unbecoming of men to which imprisonment is preferable." She then kissed me and I left her for the prison. We did not meet again.

I was in prison when in March 1949, this brave hearted woman, my mother, died. My relatives requested my release on parole which was not an exceptional request and was in practice and still is, but was denied to me by our independent Muslim government. It is still felt as a heart aching episode in our family. The lifestyle of our family was designed on the style of the gentry of Kandahar. Our eating habits, clothes, mannerism and interaction with others were different from that of the people of Pishin. Children were subjected to strict discipline. In the presence of elders, for example, youngsters were required to sit erect without changing position or stretching their limbs. Children were neither to roam around the village nor go to the market place unattended. No one was to be absent from home after nightfall, nor indulge in loose and abusive talk. Likewise, the life of women besides the practiced seclusion followed a strict form and routine.

Childhood

As a child, the only thing exceptional that I remember about myself is my sharp sense of memory. I would often recall events from my early childhood to the astonishment of my mother, who would often remark in disbelief that I must have heard about these events from others as I would be just about a year-and-half or two then.

I was not yet four years of age when my elder brother started learning the reading of the Holy Quran at the village mosque. I too joined him and started learning the Holy Quran as well and was quite good at it. Our teacher was a well-qualified acknowledge teacher Mullah Mohammad Azeem. My parents looked upon my attending the mosque for lessons as a good distraction that would become habit forming for later age. I felt quite offended by their casual attitude towards my attendance of lessons and discontinued taking them.

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tribe of Barshore was hired for a monthly salary of ten rupees plus board and lodge. He was an accomplished calligrapher and painter but extremely bad tempered with a sadistic streak. Besides slaps and fists, he would beat us with canes. His temper was volatile and beyond his control once aroused. One day he beat me for so long that I fell unconscious twice. He was a master of cruelty and cruel ways. He himself was following higher studies at another village about two miles away from our own. As a routine, after conducting our lessons he would leave for his own study leaving us sitting in a stiff position till his return. To make sure that we maintain the sitting posture, he would deposit a pinch of dust at the bottom of our necks noting it after his return journey that took three to four hours. Since we were small and terribly scared of him, we would maintain this position till his return. Another favourite of this beast was caning on the sole and calves with the legs in the upraised position.

Besides this specific cruelty, he arranged that we say the dawn prayers with him which was followed by the daily routine that lasted till late after dusk. Thus, we remained with this cruel beast that we hated and feared like a mad wolf from dawn till late after dusk. We used to look forward to Fridays, which we would spend in the company of our loving mother, sisters and other relatives. We were so scared of the teacher that we could not even dare to complain to our father, mother or even sisters.

My brother and Isa Khan could tolerate these circumstances, but I spent the days in deep depression, cursing the need of study and lessons. I used to wonder why my so loving a father had abandoned me to this animal and what the worth and value of those words and writings was. I would be lost in these thoughts with the book open in front of me. I could not learn anything, which was followed by merciless beating of the tutor.

My father would occasionally test my knowledge of the book which I did not know. He would repeat the lesson with me but to no avail. Prior to this tutor, I could master two pages of Zolaikha but now I could not even learn a verse. Father was quite worried as to what would become of me in the future. Fortunately, one Friday, when my sister was changing my clothes she noticed the blue and red markings and blisters of the previous day's beating and asked me what had caused them. I told her they were the marks from the tutor's beating whereupon she started weeping

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and took me to my mother. My mother too was grieved and shocked but was not sure that our father would dismiss the teacher as in those days beating by teachers was taken for granted. The Persian classic master, Sheikh Saadi[50] used to be quoted who had written, "A beating of the teacher is better than the love of the father." My mother, therefore, took me to the elder sister of my father, who was widowed and issueless and lived with us. Her recommendations my father could not turn down. She summoned our father reprimanding him in these words, "Are you blind that you trust these two little boys to this uncouth beast, who beats them thus. Cursed be such learning." Mullah Abdul Rehman is still alive. After being dismissed by us, he became an informer of the British. In 1937, when I was well-entrenched into national politics, he came to Quetta and stayed with me for nearly two months. I was warned to be aware of him as he was an informer of the government but I did not mind or care for it. He continued to visit me till recently.

My father engaged another tutor the reverend Mullah Sher Mohammad Sakzai (Ishaqzai), who was well-versed and familiar with the tutoring of children. Instead of threats and beatings, he would use tolerance and encouragement. He would teach us with understanding. He would initiate the day's lessons by lecturing in Pashto on the subject matter of the lesson like a college lecturer of today bringing out the central theme of the lesson, explain the difficult points and would then proceed to teach us the relevant Persian or Arabic text. As a result of this technique we not only progressed in our studies but also developed a liking for books and studies.

I would read books even on holidays and even on Fridays and Eid holidays. Over a span of six to seven years I studied almost all the classic Persian and Arabic texts of those days. Another advantage of this tutor was that he had specializeds in Persian and Arabic works of the renowned Imam Ghazali[51]. He taught me the books of the reverend Imam on the topics of Muslim jurisprudence (Fiqa), the sayings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) (Hadith), and interpretation (Tafseer) of the Holy Quran.

The only hardship that I endured during my boyhood was that inflicted by Mullah Abdul Rehman. We were loved by our father, who gave us the best of clothes, toys and sufficient pocket money. A cousin of his, Sher Mohammad Khan, once said to him, "Your

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excessive love and care may make these children extravagant and unruly and you may die at their hands like Iqbal Khan of Kandahar."

Our food consumption standard was generally very good because our father routinely entertained a large number of guests for whom it is customary to arrange especially rich food. Even then the family kitchen was run according to my wishes. Like all children, I was fond of good food irrespective of the cost and labour that went into it. As was our custom, the cooking was done by my mother and sisters, who would plead with me for a limited menu, sometimes strongly chiding me for my excessive demands. I was slightly tanned complexioned and my sister would in feigned anger tease me by calling me black or darky. My mother would in my defense retort, "Black is better as it stands by the sword while yellow by the damsels." I am, to date greatly moved by the remembrance and pampering of my parents. Between April and September, we would accompany our father to Quetta on some festive occasions like the *falooda* (icecream) festival in April, flower festival in June, the *Mash Melon* harvesting and the mourning procession in memory of the martyrdom of the grandson of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Although we were mainly confined to the guest quarters and the adjoining gardens for the purpose of studying and guest catering, we did not feel deprived or burdened. The guesthouse was busy with the coming and going of people during and after our father's death.

Since the Kandahar days, my father and the rest of the extended family followed homeopathic medication. Hakim (doctor) Gopal Das of Quetta and his father Hakim Tola Ram were our preferred medics. I do not recall Tola Ram but I have met Gopal Das. He sported a thick white beard and was a scholar of Arabic and Persian. He would enter into discussion with my father regarding the teachings of the Holy Quran and the philosophy of the most revered Imam Ghazali. This Gopal Das would subject us all to two or three days of medication of very heavy smelling thick herbal mixture every year with the coming of spring. The consequential aftermath, a painful process of stomach wash verging on dysentery followed by a week of dieting, is one of the very exceptional hardships of my boyhood that I recall. Secondly, bloodletting every autumn was generally regarded as a healthy practice. There were two Tajik families in the village specialising in this trade. The process involved bloodletting from between the

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shoulders and the lower back. This too was a trying ordeal to endure.

Father would often discuss our future education plans with us. He would suggest that after gaining proficiency in Arabic and Persian, we would join the government middle school to learn Urdu to be subsequently followed by going to Quetta to learn english. For travelling to the government school, which was at a distance of a mile and a half, he had promised to buy us bicycles that were rare in those days like motorcars of today. Only a few persons in the village had bicycles and people would come to look at them. I was healthy in childhood whereas my elder brother was slightly sickly. I was, therefore, better than him at sports.

During the lifetime of our father, I slept by his side. He would often lull me to sleep by narrating interesting stories. In those days, story telling was a popular art especially during the winter nights. Storytelling and listening to stories were a popular and liked indulgence. Often well-known story tellers would entertain a sizeable crowd for a whole night. Usually these gatherings would take place in winters at the guesthouse of a Khan or hospitable person. The host would ensure the supply of tea and hookah. The stories recounted at these gatherings were often the national chronicles of Pashtoons, a collection of which has been published by the Pashto Academy Kabul titled *"Milli Hindara* (National Mirror)". As far as I recall the language of the story tellers was much smoother and purer than that of the publication. Such gatherings of womenfolk were also common. So effective were the story tellers that they would leave many a listener in tears. Like- wise, there were other indoor games to while away the long winter evenings. One such game was *khaleskai*. A member of one team would hide a small item, usually a ring, in their hand after which the whole team would put forward their enclosed palms. A member or two of the other team then had to guess which palm held the object. It would then be the turn of the other team to hide the object. There were also popular local outdoor seasonal games like playing with marbles and *badai* in the winter and more rigorous games demanding physical strength like wrestling, *henda* and *khusai* in the spring time. In *khusai* the players hold one leg behind their back and while hopping on the other leg try to unbalance the opposing player. Our father would sometimes send us to these games with Abdul Qader Lala.

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Repentance from Malevolent Acquaintances

My father did not indulge in the use of intoxicants. He did not smoke or chew tobacco. One evening father brought our younger sister to the guesthouse, who while being playfully cuddled, pulled out the wallet from father's pocket thereby dispersing the coins on the floor. We collected the coins and put them back in the wallet. A four anna (quarter rupee) bit went undetected and was found the next morning. We had no use for it as our purchases were made for us by others. Meanwhile, a servant named Dadan Hassanzai came by. He asked for the coin and said he would purchase sweets with it for us. On his return, he brought us a packet of candy and eight packets of Lamp cigarettes. He taught us how to smoke and hid the cigarette packets at an appointed spot in the garden where we could go to smoke whenever safe. Ever since, I am stuck with this undesirable habit. I have given up smoking over extended periods of time on several occasions in prison and even when free but always pick it up again on one pretext or the other. The same is the case of my elder brother and cousin Isa Khan. I do not recall being excessively naughty and menacing as a child. One thing I, however, distinctly remember is that I had no patience for undue insults and reprimands, be they even from my parents or our guardian, who was my mother's brother. These two incidences are still remembered by the elderly women of the family. Once when I was about nine-year-old my father brought us two turbans of Mashed make that were highly priced and liked. I started using the turban in place of the Turkish felt cap. During the summer on one occasion my father suggested to my brother to use the cap rather than the turban in view of the weather conditions. My brother protested as to why I was not asked to make the change as well. My father reportedly called me an upstart and lacking in form. I took offence and returned the turban to my mother. I am not certain whether the incident was brought to the notice of my father but he did not bring up the subject.

On another occasion at the age of 12 or 13 years, I let my hair grow to form locks in the style of teenage youth which was regarded as out of form at my age. My maternal uncle asked me to have the hair locks clipped short which I did not. Subsequently,

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I was overpowered and my hair was clipped short without my consent. I felt saddened and rejected, and to avenge myself, had my uncle's daughter's hair locks clipped. Though the women of the family were highly agitated, my uncle did not make an issue of it nor took any offence.

Mutton broth is a preferred national dish of the Pashtoon for which I had no particular liking. Whenever, and it was often, it was served, I used to partake a little bread with the meat and withdraw semi hungry. The family later voluntarily gave up the dish whenever I was at home. This was probably my first resistance movement that I succeeded in.

Father's Demise

Life was happily passing when in 1918 towards the end of the First World War, father contracted dysentery. Hakim Gopal Das from Quetta and a Christian doctor from Chaman were summoned but to no avail. On the twentieth day of contracting the disease, his soul departed for the hereafter as willed by his creator. His end came peacefully.

I was 10 years of age, unaware of the loss nor fully understanding the concept of death. However, I do recall that children whose fathers had died were called orphans, regarded as abandoned, helpless and deserving sympathy. Therefore, when in the early hours of that day I was awakened by the wailing cries of the household ladies, I was overcome by a sense of abandonment and helplessness relegated to the protection and sympathy of others. My father's burial was attended by hundreds from near and far villages and mountain hamlets. Some regarded the crowd at the funeral unprecedented. I followed the bier of my father aside from the funeral procession in the company of a village orphan Mohammad Rahim Sakzai as if to announce my relegation to his status. Later in life I was repulsed by those, who would show me kindness and excessive visible sympathy. I have since not looked upon orphans in that tradition, avoiding open sympathy towards them lest they feel belittled as I had. After father's death, our lives, however, did not change in any way. Our mother and her brother, our guardian, continued to cater to our needs and education as it used to be during the lifetime of our father. As I progressed in my studies, my liking and desire to learn increased as well. Except for grammar, I went through the core curriculum

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of Arabic readings in vogue in those days. I enjoyed and mastered the art of learning, often studying by myself and referring to the tutor Mullah Sher Mamad Sakzai only that which I could not comprehend.

Learning Pashto

I cannot put an exact date to it but as a child, after the demise of my father, I recall witnessing the conversation between our tutor and manager Abdul Qader, who lamented that people did not follow the study of Pashto any more. I remember my tutor remarking "Pashto study is difficult, in the whole of Kandahar only two persons were ever proficient in it, one the reverend Mullah Qutab Tokhae and the other Governor Fateh Khan Achakzai (my father's uncle)." My father used to teach Pashto to our mother and sisters at home. The general impression then was that Pashto learning was meant for women. I too took it at that and did not think of studying Pashto, but when I recalled that statement of yonder years that Pashto study was difficult and could not be mastered by everyone, I was attracted towards it, probably as a challenge.

I, therefore, requested my tutor to introduce me to Pashto study. He procured a few books for me that I went through quickly. There was nothing attractive in them. Most of the subject matter was either related to religion which I had studied better in Arabic or to stories of *'Tasawwuf'* (mysticism) much lower in form and content to those of Hafiz, Rumi[52] and Ghazali. I have included Hafiz[53] of Shiraz as an exponent of mysticism since the Kandahar Mullahs of those days used to explain his writings in the light of the sufi school of thought. For example, "I of two years while my beloved of 14 years", the first part was interpreted to refer to the Holy Quran since it was revealed in two cities, Makkah and Madinah, two eras and in two manners as compared to *Hadith* (Sayings of the Prophet), gradually at one time by verse and completely at another time. "Beloved 14 years" was taken to mean the Prophet Muhammad. After *hijrat* (Prophet's migration) when *jihad* (struggle) and *jaza* (reward) were introduced to the religion, it was taken to mean 13 years of life in Makkah and the 14 in Madinah. I could not appreciate Khushal Khan Khattak as I was not then aware of the national historical perspective and background to his works. However, there was one book, 'The

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Select Works of Mirza' that I liked very much and have since not laid my hands on another copy, as my own was stolen by someone. The book was published by an Afghan trader in Bombay and was procured by my tutor from Kandahar.

I have since taken an immense liking for Pashto study and have not missed going through any written work in Pashto that came my way. Presently, Pashto has become the raison d'etre of my life. It is my conviction that if the Pashtoon adopt Pashto and perform all their official and personal work in it; speak and read and write Pashto, 80 percent if not all of their problems will be over. This will also bind them close amongst themselves and free them of dependence on others and even lead to a better understanding with other communities as well.

Illness

During the winter holidays that year, I fell severely ill. The ailment was not fully diagnosed and was the toughest illness of my life. With the onset of fever, I fell unconscious for the duration of 33 days and came to my own three days after the fever had gone. By then I had become so weak that 10 days after gaining consciousness, I was insisting for more food, which my mother denied me on the ground that I was too weak to digest it. Meanwhile, my maternal uncle came along and promised me more food if only I would rise without any help. Thereupon I tried my best but could not even sit up. It was then that I realised that I had become very weak.

I recall two exceptional aspects of this illness which neither someone else nor I have seen since. Firstly, during the unconscious period instead of being in pain and discomfort my mind was occupied by joyful and happy feelings, while my attending relatives had spent the period in agonising expectations. Secondly, I had become so weak that for 20 days after recovery, I was not quite my own self and would sometimes talk in an inconsistent manner.

I enjoyed schooling; reading and writing did not present any difficulty because of my past education in Arabic and Persian at home. Such was my proficiency that I could fluently relate the meaning of the Holy Quran in Persian and Pashto initially and later in Urdu as well. This was quite a novel experience for my teachers, who patronised and encouraged me. Whenever the

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school was visited by Indian or British officials, the school headmaster would present me to them. They would question me in Persian and Arabic and appreciate my knowledge. The school headmaster, Maulvi Fazal Din was an accomplished scholar and devoted teacher. He belonged to Maqsudpur Kapoor Thala state, Punjab. Most of the other teachers too came from Punjab. Soon officials of the education department of the district and the province (British Balochistan) came to know about me and started taking interest in my study and future plans. The late Qazi Abdul Aziz, who belonged to the Punjab and was posted as Tehsildarr[54] at Pishin, regularly sent me copies of Hamayoun and Shabab magazines published from Lahore in the post bag of the assistant Tehsildar, Gulistan. The current assistant director industries at Quetta, Mr Iqbal Saeed, is the son of that Tehsildar.

Competitive Departmental Examination

In those days, grade IV was the last class of primary schooling, after that the students would enter middle level schooling. A provincial level competitive examination used to be held by the education department for the award of three scholarships for the duration of the next four years. It was a comprehensive examination spread over five days based on the process of elimination. I was nominated for this competitive examination from my school. There were 60 competitors in all from all over the province of British Balochistan. Maulvi Najmuddin, inspector of schools, was the examiner. By the end of the third day, four students were still in the run; Mr Azeem Khan, who is currently a revenue officer, Sardar Mann Singh, his younger brother and I. At the end of the process, I was awarded first position, Mr Azeem Khan second position, and Sardar Mann Singh third position. My success was celebrated by speeches at the school assembly and a holiday.

Interest in National Affairs

Probably under the influence of my upbringing in the tradition of our ancestors, who were at the centre of Pashtoon national affairs for four generations, I was attracted to public affairs early in life. In the beginning I would take interest in the problems of the needy and assist them in any way I could. Following my success in the departmental examination, I was granted a monthly

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scholarship of Rs 12, which I would donate to the headmaster for the purchase of books, pens, pencils etc. of the poor students. There were two poor boys of the village, Khair Mohammad and Tor Saleh Mohammad *Mezhai* (Ant) whom I used to assist financially during their schooling. While Saleh Mohammad follows an independent business these days, Khair Mohammad is employed by the government as a Qanoon Goh, (judicial reader at the tehsil level) a respectable position.

At that time, I was not aware of our own national status and condition, and equated nationalism like the other Pashtoons and Muslims of India with the affairs of other Muslim kingdoms. The welfare and wellbeing of the king and kingdom of Kabul and the independence of Turkey were to me a lifetime mission in the service of Islam. Even at that early age, I contributed towards a Pro-Turkish collection secretly being collected by our school headmaster. On the occasion of the defeat of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks, I led a delegation of other school boys to the headmaster requesting a holiday. Though he was overjoyed and praised our spirit, the headmaster explained at length to us that as an employee of the government and incharge of the government institution he could not possibly close the school to celebrate the occasion. Subsequently, taking the other teachers in confidence the school was closed on the pretext of 'official school recreation'.

The Afghan War of Independence (1919)

The Afghanistan War of Independence had a profound and lasting influence on my life, although I was quite young at that time. This war lasted only a few months but it was in our vicinity, indeed in our backyard. We were fully aware of every event. The fervour and enthusiasm generated in the Pashtoons on the British India side of the border was evident and known to all. People left daily as individuals or in groups from the nearby villages and mountain valleys to join the war as volunteers. They were mainly the ordinary poor people. No known and wealthy Khan, religious scholar or priest joined in, despite everyone's sympathy being with the Afghan king and government.

The Achakzai and Kakar tribes of the mountains were in open rebellion. The Achakzai tribe being in close proximity to the battleground, joined the war in large numbers as volunteers. Even

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covetesness, attributes which in the past have stained the name, gains albeit even the kingdoms of Pashtoons, were at play in this conflict. As per pattern, all the informers of the British too were Pashtoons. They performed, for very little, deeds that would put the very devil to shame. They had become so lowly that they took pride for their deeds of treachery and national betrayal even after the war. They unabashedly sought and accepted minor titles and awards from the British and proclaimed their rendered services proudly. There were also amongst these favour seekers those, who would deceive the British and would not do anything damaging to the national cause. Others still would use their links with the British to gain uninterrupted travel access to and from Afghanistan and would be working for the Afghan government. Some would enter as spies but join the national warriors. One of such a kind was a maternal uncle, Mohammad Yousaf Khan, who to his bad luck was not trusted by General Ghulam Nabi Khan (he had some relations with us through marriage), who had him arrested and handed over to the British. The British had him imprisoned and confiscated his property. He was later forgiven.

Our guardian and elder maternal uncle Mohammad Ali Khan, the father of Mohammad Azam Khan, who was also the official headman (Malik) of the village, together with Abdul Wahid Khan, the headman of Gulistan Karez, were dispatched to Toba with the mission to pacify the Achakzai tribesmen. They, however, contacted the Afghan leadership, who asked them to wait for their call before jumping into the fray.

There were also the usual double agents, who played both sides and it could not be ascertained with certainty which side they were truly with. These two-faced individuals believed that they were fooling one side to the benefit of the other. They, however, did not realise that the patrons they believed they were outwitting were aware of their duplicity and making full use of it. In this way they would at times be sent on tasks, which were not the real objective yet on their return they would be quizzed in a manner by which useful information would be inveigled from them. For example, they might be sent ostensibly to check on the enemy's numbers at a particular place but on their return would be asked about the activities of a certain Khan they had met while on this mission, the real objective. At other times, they might make true individuals controversial by sending them money and letters

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hire, crops and orchards were unattended. My brother, tutor and I had to attend to the herd of our domestic animals for about two months.

Drought

The epidemic was followed by a severe drought and famine. Hundreds of families descended on our village in search of food and water. Famine was widespread, affecting humans and animals alike. There was no grain and grazing grounds as there had been no rain and snow that winter. Water springs and Karez channels dried or had a much reduced flow. To top it all, fruit orchards were damaged by frost. Irrigated grain fields, however, did produce some grain.

That year, our wheat and fruit crops were hardly sufficient to support our family needs. The barley crop, which we had sown fortunately, more than usual that year did better. My mother would make small and big loaves from the barley flour and distribute it amongst the younger and grown up needy, who came asking. We too in the family were put on reduced rations as whenever at late night meal time if someone called for food at the house gate, we would all contribute a bit from our share for the caller.

Cholera

While we were still recovering from the after effects of drought and famine, the village of Gulistan Karez was afflicted by cholera and 150 persons died of it in that small village. Ayub Khan would jokingly remark later in life, "I have survived the cholera and therefore I am immune to death."

The government did become active during the cholera epidemic and adopted several ameliorating measures. To begin with, Gulistan village was quarantined and the government hospital reinforced with staff and medicine for treatment of the afflicted. The people, however, did not fully trust the medication of the government and some would keep the sick in hiding at home rather than taking them to the government hospital for treatment. Some believed that government doctors would purposely hasten the death of the sick rather than cure them. They, therefore, depended upon the usual home medication and of course the

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study easy and never scored lower than 90 percent in the examination. Except once, when my brother managed higher marks than me, over which I was in tears, I was always at the top of the class. Urdu reading and understanding was easily acquired. I had a sharp memory and therefore good in learning history and geography. Mathematics too came easily. However, because of deficient ways of teaching I was puzzled by mathematical tables that we learnt by rote.

It was two years later when suddenly one day I deciphered that five x five mean adding five, five times. I still relish the joy of this discovery. Much later in life when I read in a book that a mathematician while taking a bath solved a mathematical problem and oblivious of his state of nakedness came out to the market place proclaiming, "I have solved it, I have solved it." It was natural for me to believe in this occurrence as true because I was appreciative of the joy of learning and discovery. I experienced similar joy when I learnt to ride a bicycle and went for a ride on the road for the first time. I still cannot understand how without understanding mathematical tables I managed to solve mathematical sums. I often wonder how much more easy would mathematics have been had I understood the logic of mathematical tables. I am convinced if initial schooling is imparted in the mother tongue, students would be saved from such natural difficulties and therefore, attracted towards the process of schooling.

I had no need to revise lessons in the class which others did and in the meanwhile I completed my homework. The only school work that I did at home was writing essays, which I enjoyed and would write an extended essay spread over several pages on the assigned topics.

One day the headmaster asked me to write an essay on the subject of trade. Since I was not familiar with the subject matter, I requested that he refer me to a book on the subject. The headmaster recommended a collection of essays, *'Guldasta Mazamin* (Boquet of Essays)', from the library. I took the book and read the essay at school and later at home wrote some 40 pages on the subject and showed it to the teacher the next morning. He went through it, signed it and set it aside, noting on it that it was copied verbatim. I took offence and requested the teacher to explain the reason for these remarks. He said that his remarks

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my late afternoon prayer, the Quranic Surah (chapter) Al-Fil (The Elephant:105) came to me involuntarily in the very first part of the prayer, which says, "And did you not witness what your protector did. And did not He destroy them and send Ababeel who threw hot heavy stones of hell on them turning them into trampled grass?[64]" With the recitation of these verses all my worries and apprehensions vanished. I am well composed to this day as I write these lines and strong in my faith that all will be well by the end of the day.

The modern and the sceptic may interpret it as they will. But one thing is clear, I was freed by my belief from the worries and the dark expectations of imprisoned life and have the strength to endure it with a calm conscience and courage. Is not this sufficient and valuable gain and reward in itself?

At school, the books mostly contained information like *father is sitting smoking a hookah, the chicken is pecking seeds* and so on and generally lacked information that could prove useful in life. Two things though had an impact on my life. One was respected Dr Mohammad Iqbal's[65] poem "The Child's Invocation[66]" which starts thus:

My longing comes to my lips as supplication of mine
O God!
May like the candle be the life of mine!

I had learnt it by heart and for many years would often repeat it once or twice a day, desiring for a life modelled on that poem.

I also remember another piece of writing but cannot recall the author. Our fourth grade was good in studies due to the presence of my elder brother and I. Our headteacher Maulvi Fazal Din would sometimes combine our class with the higher classes of sixth, seventh and eighth grade and assign us the same work which could be dictation, Persian or mathematics. Often our work would be better than that of our senior schoolmates and the teacher would shame them by citing our example. During one such examination, the teacher assigned to us the dictation from the seventh grade syllabus which related to the character requirements of a good leader and speaker. It went like this, "A good leader and a speaker needs to lead a clean and straight life as the mirror needs light and cleanliness" Furthermore, it stated that if a crook preached the people would wink at one another implying that while he preached one thing he practiced another.

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the lower strata of the poor and disliked by the educated elite and civil servants, but I continue to be bound by that oath of early teens.

One day, the British Political Agent, Quetta Mr Bremner[68] visited our village. During the course of our meeting, he lit a cigarette and by way of courtesy offered me one as well, which I politely declined. He probably got the impression that I did not smoke. But he took note of my smoking *biri* during the same sitting. He was deeply offended but did not mention it then. Our ways crossed again sometime later and he told me to my face that he had felt offended by my rejection of his offer of the cigarette. When I related the background for the rejection of his cigarette, he was relieved and overjoyed at my standing by my oath. I am still not clear yet as to why the headmaster bound us by that oath as the soaking of tobacco in alcohol is not correct. Maybe that was his way of telling us not to patronise foreign products and foreign ways in preference to local products and customs. Around the same time, I resolved on my own not to enter British government service. It so happened that my brother used to receive the newspaper, 'Hamdard'[69], Delhi, edited by Maulana Mohammad Ali[70] which I used to read keenly. Those were the days when the Khilafat Movement[71] was at its peak. The Maulana wrote extensively against serving the British. Partly under the influence of the writings in 'Hamdard' and partly due to my religious inclinations and ancestral history, I vowed not to join the British government service, which was a major if not the only aim of gaining education. Later in life, I was tested and tempted in numerous ways by alluring offers. Despite the fact that we were not rich by any standard, just managing to make ends meet and were often in debt, I stood by my word notwithstanding the exceptionally high offers made to me. While others, the descendants of Nawabs and heads of states like the Jam of Lasbella[72], Khan of Kalat[73] or Bugti whether educated or not, relentlessly sought petty services and were recruited at most as junior Tehsildars, I was offered the post of Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), Chaman, in 1936-37. At that time Colonel Parson[74] was the agent to the governor general[75] (AGG) and Captain Shah[76] was the political agent, Quetta. This latter officer told me on one occasion that they were removing Mr Mian Nasiruddin EAC, Chaman and would like me to take his place so that I could serve my own tribe, the Achakzai. I am thankful that

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which revived the friendship my father had with his father Qazi Jalaluddin and continued till his death, despite each of us choosing a different path in politics.

Our Teachers

Our teachers were generally well qualified in their field of studies, industrious and caring. Besides teaching, they provided guidance in character building, and therefore, looked after all aspects of our lives as expected of a scholar and literate person. Our school was by the village marketplace but we were not allowed to loiter there during the school break or recreation hours. Even when the school was over, our teachers would escort us well past the marketplace. Therefore, they were well respected not just by the students but the whole society. I respected my two headmasters Maulvi Fazal Din and Maulvi Barkat Ali like I would my father. Maulvi Barkat Ali's son, Mr Saeed, currently the inspector of schools, I continued to tolerate and protect from harm not withstanding his personal and official waywardness and antagonism towards Pashtoon interests.

There was no physical punishment or use of abusive language in the school. Even though occasionally some younger undisciplined teachers would indulge in these undesirable attitudes, they too would be disciplined by the headmaster. Besides us, the seniors were an effective check on such individuals as well. These days the schools present an altogether different picture. Teenagers with no scholastic achievement and behaviour characteristics of a teacher are recruited on the recommendations of favour seekers. They have neither the ability to teach nor are inclined towards the profession; their salary is their only interest. The education department administration is likewise rotten to the core, confined to the cities making big schemes with a view to better their own service prospects. The system has completely broken down, especially after independence. Gone are the days when a few highly qualified British or Indian Muslim school inspectors would tour the rugged province on horseback to identify sites for new schools and to supervise and evaluate the performance of the old ones. Now, there are hundreds of administrators enjoying access to official vehicles and telephones but they remain confined to the provincial capital and district headquarters without bothering to

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directorate after attending college for the day. His relatives considered his salary of Rs100 low and arranged to have him posted as senior English teacher at the Gulistan Middle School for Rs150 while still continuing to study at Quetta. I brought this matter to the notice of the Agent to the Governor General (AGG), Sardar Bahadur Khan[77] in 1954, who had both the teacher and the director removed.

1. Two teachers were posted to our village primary school having an enrolment of 60 students. One of the teachers seldom attended duty; at the most a day or two in a month just to draw his salary. He lived at Quetta and followed a personal business. He was a relative of the schools director and was transferred from our school to somewhere else following our complaints.

2. During the winter months, the school building of the Roghani village collapsed. When the holidays were over, the returning teachers reported the matter to the directorate of education requesting further orders. Nothing happened for months and after six months the school was closed instead of being reconstructed, with the education department blaming the district administration for the delay.

3. The Girls School Kuchlak, located at a distance of 18 miles from Quetta, had just five students. The inspector of schools recommended its closure which the education directorate did not approve. After further correspondence, the inspector transferred the teaching staff which was within her powers but the school continued for over a year with the other staff receiving their salaries.

While I was in class five, I started reading Arabic books with a tutor at home. When the tutor left for Kandahar, I continued my study of Arabic with the village cleric Mullah Baran Kakozai. My brother, another relative Mohammad Ismail Jan and I then started Arabic study with Mullah Baran Kakozai. He advised us to start the study of Arabic grammar, which involved a lot of memorising by rote. Two of us would recite our lessons to the teacher with one part being recited by me followed by another recited by Ismail Jan while the Mullah followed the text in the book. We did not benefit from this learning by rote without understanding and practicing and therefore gave it up.

Mullah Baran was a knowledgeable teacher and a Ghazi. At the time of the Afghan War of Independence, he was stationed at

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Punjab origin education department officials, who misguided the British by telling them that these tribal people were averse to studying English language. This attitude of the employees from the Punjab, they said, was a ploy to defend their stay on choice positions against the local educated people.

It is, however, a fact that our elders were literate and valued the acquisition of education and were keen to acquire command over western education and many of our boys were sent to study in educational institutions at Quetta. One paternal and two of my maternal uncles, two cousins and another relative Abdul Rehman Khan were the first batch that joined English teaching school at Quetta. Later, when a school was established in Gulistan, children were stopped from going to Quetta to save on expenses. Though Gulistan school benefited people by the hundreds, nevertheless it provided limited access to higher studies especially of the English language. My friend Ismail Jan was also of the opinion that since most of the teachers and education department administrators came from the district of Jalandhar and were mostly trained vernacular middle school teachers, it was not in their interest that English be taught at the school. One exceptional person from Jalandhar was Sheikh Abdul Samad, who was the superintendent education department, Balochistan. He was a person of good standing but was too courteous and could easily be swayed by others.

The people soon realised the limitations of vernacular Urdu Middle School and while it was being considered to convert it to Anglo Vernacular School, they lost interest in the education of their children. Soon the number of students in the seventh and eighth class dwindled to as low as 28 and the department did not raise the status of the school to Anglo Vernacular. Instead the middle classes were shifted to Pishin where they initiated agricultural studies as well and started English language classes for those, who would elect to study it. In this way, the Jalandhar[st] mafia continued its hold on the education set up of the province.

The devastating earthquake of 1935 razed Quetta city to the ground, including the high school. The government perforce shifted the school to Pishin, removed the headmaster and in his place appointed Mr Wilson, an Englishman, as its head. Instructions in English language thus started in the school at Pishin. When the middle school was shifted to Pishin, special

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own would undertake such decisions otherwise, the situation would worsen progressively. This discovery later became the aim of my life by way of joining the national struggle for freedom.

Love for Hunting

I developed a liking for hunting at a very early age. I am not clear about the cause behind the motivation because our father did not indulge in the sport nor did he possess any guns or ammunition. All that he owned was a muzzle loading gun of ancient times and an old sword be queathed to him by his elder brother. My maternal grandfather, however, like the other families of the clan, enjoyed the sport and maintained a number of guns of various bores and make. He had imported from Australia a 303 bore rifle, a number of pistols and shotguns that were not known in the region at that time. There were all kinds of stories in circulation about the technical capabilities of his guns. Some would say that their bullets seek out its target and it could be aimed at things even from behind a wall. However, more popular amongst the family was hunting with hounds which I had not much liking for. At a very young age, I would borrow the gun of some relative and take aim at small prey in the fields, so young was I that most would not trust me with the weapon fearing an accident because of my age and some would even refuse me its use.

My elder brother, Abdul Salaam Khan, who discontinued school after class six and took to looking after our lands, orchards and crops, was fond of hunting with hounds and maintained a prized pack of Saluki hounds that was expensive and demanding to retain. I was not inclined towards hunting with hounds and preferred sport with shotguns and rifles that I purchased while still at school. In the hillocks to the west and north of the village, one would find in plenty a species of small partridge called, sissi[82]. The Khawaja Imran and Kojak Ranges that were at a distance of six to seven miles were inhabited by the chakor[83], partridges and mountain sheep. Beyond these ranges and between Raig (desert) for about 20 miles were the plain stretches of Daman where deer and rabbit were in plenty. The people of our village are not rich landlords with large land holdings. They have just sufficient land holdings and orchards and at that time the yield from these lands and orchards is not like at present where people have purchased cars and other means of transport. Few

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the travel to and from the hunting grounds but it would wear us out as it would be a rigorous schedule spread over several days. Whenever the fasting months fell during the winter, we would go hunting observing the discipline of the dawn to dusk fast. I doubt if professional army exercises anywhere in the world would be as tough as hunting while fasting and carrying the kit that goes with it. At times, unexpected and unplanned ventures would add to the rigor of the trip. On one occasion, Ismail Jan and I walked the whole night to reach a spot in *Skam Karn* for shooting of grouse. We stayed up till the afternoon and then took a nap. That day we bagged so many birds at *Shin Hod* that we ran out of cartridges and our shotguns got heated. The birds came to the water to quench their thirst where we kept on shooting them. A person was standing for them and cutting their necks.

During this time, a Levies sepoy Mamad Laal Shamshozai arrived. He told us that a person coming behind him had a very large sheep with him which he suspected was stolen. The Levies sepoy wanted to impound the sheep but we did not like the suggestion since neither of us knew if it was stolen or not. It was just a suspicion and we had come with the intention of hunting. We did not want to get involved in a dispute and furthermore, we did not even have any cartridges left. We called upon this person when he emerged upon the path. He must have thought that we were the owners of the sheep and seeing our guns, abandoned the animal and ran away. We took possession of the sheep and returned to camp along with the Levies sepoy. The sepoy feared taking the sheep on his own. When we arose from our afternoon nap, the lady of the house informed us that a crowd of people had travelled along the path. They acted as if tracking footprints. We guessed that they must be looking for the sheep, which might not have been stolen after all. We then complained to the sepoy that he had needlessly involved us in a dispute.

In the evening, around the time of dinner, there was the sound of men in the gully below the camp. When asked by the man of the house, they answered that it was Habo Jan and his companions, who wanted some food. The man was afraid of the sepoy and offered to bring dinner to Habo Jan and his companions down in the gully. They refused, pointing out that it was not a good place and started for the house. The sepoy became very afraid. Habo Jan and his companions were from the village of Daroo Khan Ghabizai and were mostly thieves and outlaws. He must have

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break our fast with him and have a meal, stay for the night and proceed the next morning well rested. We turned down his offer on the grounds that the food offered by him was profane, bought with looted resources and would hence spoil our fast. We then walked that ascending distance, reaching camp at around 10 pm and then had our first meal of the day. The next day while still fasting, we did some hunting and then set out for home. We must have walked around 30-35 miles that day of which about 20 miles was at a fast pace, while still keeping a fast.

Though I must state that Ismail Jan and I were middling when it came to the effort expended while hunting. There were others, who expended much more effort. Ayub Khan, who is now in Kabul, was the fastest on foot as no one else from amongst us could keep up with him. Though I never observed as to how long he could maintain that pace, the whole day or just a while?

Benefits of Hunting

I benefited from the hobby of hunting in a number of ways, firstly by spending my leisure time in this neutral. Secondly, I benefited from the good company of educated and intelligent relatives, which strengthened our companionship and relationship. Thirdly, it made my body strong and bettered my health. My endurance and stamina improved with the result that I could bear physical difficulties, harsh weather, thirst and fatigue. Once we spent a very cold night in the open without any room or tent. We lit a big fire and lay around it. The side, which would face the fire, would get unbearably hot while the other side of our body would get extremely cold. I thus spent the whole night turning from side to side, sometimes turning my face to the fire and sometimes my back.

Another time, as an adolescent, I experienced nocturnal emissions while out hunting. In our area, it was the custom that adolescent boys would, out of shame, bathe to purify themselves surreptitiously and without the knowledge of people, relatives and elders. So in the morning, I went to the water tank of *Karwarai* (village of Osmanzai Achakzai) that was at a distance from the camp. It was very cold and the water was iced over. I lifted a large stone over my head and smashed it on the ice which just broke and allowed me access to the water. I bathed in this cold water, dried myself, returned to camp and commenced with the hunt.

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marbles and other local games one of them 'badae'84, a peculiar bone in the joint of the hind legs of sheep and goats. The training and rearing of quails was also a popular and common hobby. These games were played purely as a pastime without much gambling, although it involved losing and winning and buying and selling of 'badae'at a nominal price which did not amount to gambling in any way.

Badge could be won, lost and even purchased from others. Its price varied, at one time we could purchase 20 for a paisa then the price increased till five were for a paisa. In games like "even and odd[85]" gains and losses of a rupee or two could occur. These games were played jointly as well as in groups by the young, adolescents and the elderly alike. Some games were on the basis of winning and losing while on others (mostly played on the ground and resembling billiards) bets could be placed. On one round, which took up to an hour to complete, four annas were waged. In this way the total waged for the day would amount to a rupee or two.

Quail rearing was tedious and demanding; we used to purchase or trap quails and then exercise them for strength and stamina for fighting which was a tiresome job. Just prior to the appointed day of the quail fight, the birds would be kept awake for 24 hours which required that we remain awake as well and cajole and exercise the birds during the whole of the night.

The trapping of quails was also a whole night affair of dragging the trapping net over wheat and barley fields and of the quails trapped only the larger male birds were kept and reared for fighting.

I was fully into all these phases of quail rearing and good at it as well, without really enjoying the sport or the effort that it required since every stage of the sport entailed some elements or detriments, which I did not like. Besides the physical fatigue and sleepless nights, it entailed keeping the company of wayward and otherwise lowly persons given to the use of drugs and other bad habits. It also involved keeping late night hours, whereas I was and am still in the habit of sleeping early and rising early for the dawn prayer. If I ever miss the morning prayer, I feel lazy throughout the day. Quail rearing entailed the formation of groups, both friendly and antagonistic. In addition, the activity also lent itself to drug use and pederasty. My elder brother, who

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occasion a dancing girl performed in the village. Marriages and seasonal events were celebrated by folk dancing and singing or at most coupled with dancing of boys. Ever since we expelled the dancing musicians from our village even this practice has come to an end.

Theatre/ Drama

In the cities of India and in Quetta I perchance frequented the theatre and still do so. Similarly, I visited the cinema mostly for the sake of my friends and still view it though for the past 10 to 15 years I have not visited it with anyone else apart from Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi[91], who would sometimes take me along with him in Karachi. Likewise, I did witness musical performances and have nothing against them and regard them as an entertainment but do not seek or crave them. I listen to the news on the radio regularly and only occasionally in two to three months to musical broadcasts. I am mostly involved with work or sitting in company, therefore, I switch off the radio when the news comes to an end. Strangely enough, the newly educated youth and youngsters mostly prefer the music and songs of India, some even prefer the music of London and America. Personally I hold Pashto music and songs in higher regard and sometimes the Arabic music of Egypt, atanr[92] and the dhol[93] and sorna[94], which accompany atanr I enjoy, the most. And in other instruments I enjoy the sarangi[95]. Once in a cinema of Bombay, a trailer of Khattak atanr and sorna suddenly commenced at the beginning of a film, once in Hyderabad the sarangi of a beggar and once the sarangi play of the musician Ghani Peshawari in Gulistan had a trance like effect on me. Due to that experience, I believe the reverie that music induces in some people otherwise I would never have believed it. At other times music is simply a means to pass the time.

I am told the national anthem when played by the army band is very melodious though I have yet to hear it. The British Army was not our national force and most of my time now is spent in jail, therefore, I have not yet chanced upon this enjoyment. In addition, the musical tunes of military bands are still British and only recently have some national tunes been introduced. Maybe someday I will enjoy the tunes of a national song in the music of a military band. If I had been able to recall it, I would have noted

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My nation's honour, pride;
I should in fact be a proud Pashtoon
Concerned with my honour, pride;
And for this let me by martyred,
In my heart this be inscribed;
God! Bless me with such a life
That my heart's solely concern,
With the nation's each concern;
Let my eyes be ever moist-
Every morning, noon and night-
With each one of these concerns,
In my soul a yearning create
That my body is all restless,
In these concerns I am insane,
And this obsession ever
Is companion of my heart!

Pashtoon national sports; atanr, henda, khusai[97] and ghaizh[98], I played very little and in my childhood. Once I started studying with a Mullah, my participation in these games came to an end, though till date it gives me great pleasure when I see youth engaged in these activities. I have played western games like football, volleyball, cricket, badminton and tennis only as an exercise, not quite enjoying them and therefore, did not excel at them.

Giving Up Higher Education

After clearing class eight in the year 1924-25, I was finished with education at the middle level. My elder brother and other relatives were of the view that I continue education at the higher level, leaving the final decision to my own inclinations. My brother was willing to finance my higher education at any institution of my choice. More keen than my relatives were my teachers and officials of the education department including the British education superintendent as well as the school inspector Maulvi Najmuddin. The tehsil, district and provincial officials were adamant that I continue my higher studies. Perhaps since I

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the fields. Our landholdings are small, a few hundred acres, nothing compared to the estates and large holdings of the Punjab, Sindh and of the Baloch chieftains. Except for the four or five houses of the Lohani Sardars of Tehsil Duki, District Loralai, I do not know of even 10 Pashtoon individuals, who own 200 acres of irrigated land. Arid lands are abundant but uncultivated due to lack of water. Because of limited irrigation, our lands mostly remain fallow. We two brothers between us own 100 acres of irrigated land of which nearly 25 to 30 acres are under orchards.

Share Holding Tenancy

In our area, only grain crops (wheat and barley) are cultivated by shareholding tenants, the owner providing land, water, seed, draft animals for plough and the tenant his labour against one fifth share of the crop. Land revenue is paid by the owner. Likewise, limited vegetables and annual seasonal fruits, melons and water melons are cultivated on shared basis of 50 percent. Orchards are managed through daily and monthly wage labourers with the owner generally confined to supervision. However, since I did not like being idle, I would often join in the work of the labourers as well. Till date, I have this attribute that I cannot sit idle. If I am not in conversation with someone or socialising, I often take to reading or writing and have therefore read a large number of books on many subjects and continue to read. Since besides Pashto I am proficient in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sindhi, Balochi and English speaking, reading and writing, I keep rotating my study between these languages so as to relax and avoid fatigue of continuously studying one subject. The regular habit of reading once adopted is a great source of relaxation physical as well as mental.

Another useful and rewarding habit that I have is that of thinking or even day dreaming. During my life, that I have mostly spent in isolation, away from others, I have greatly benefited and I am still benefiting from these two habits, while I write these lines at about 11: 30 am at Central Jail, Haripur after having read a book since 7 am and gone through three newspapers. After having exhausted myself of these readings, there is still some time to pass since there is an hour and a half till the time for lunch and the afternoon nap. Since there is no other recreation and socialising,

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to Hyderabad the following year, I picked up Sindhi speaking in a few weeks by talking in Sindhi with our commission agents and other people and suggesting to them that they too talk to me in Sindhi. After acquiring the spoken vocabulary, I turned to reading Sindhi newspapers and learnt its reading as well. At the same time, I started learning English language from a Guajarati doctor, an employee of Hyderabad municipality. The doctor was not fluent in Urdu and Sindhi and therefore taught me English language in English, which I did not find difficult to follow if given some time

and attention. During the second year's stay at Hyderabad, I learnt enough to be able to write a simple telegram and likewise to read those sent by the commission agents. But when I returned, my study of the English language ended as there was no one to coach me.

A Brush with Untouchability

At Hyderabad I was staying with Hindu commission agents. There were three to four of the firm owning family, a few servants and myself. Their midday meal used to be sent cooked from their homes. While the night meal of vegetables and rice would be prepared in the commission agency compound. For a week or so, being a stranger, I quietly observed their ways and they mine. I was quite unaware of the daily life of the Hindus and their religious principles of untouchability. I did, however, observe that they would give me food and water rather than let me take it myself. Once during the first week, I was even asked not to touch the water pitcher and when thirsty I should ask for water. I did not like this discriminatory attitude but did not make an issue of it at that point. When we became a little familiar, I called them together one day and said to them that living together in this segregated way would make life quite uncomfortable for me as well as for them and that if they had noticed any shortcomings or uncleanliness in my ways it should be pointed out. If, however, there was nothing amiss in my behaviour and ways, to discriminate against me to the extent of segregation purely because I was a Musalman, went against my grit and was insulting, though I had nothing against their religious beliefs. Therefore, this segregation be given up and us living like equals or then our ways would part and I would make my own

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"No," he retorted and kept quiet but I persisted to know what he thought to be the truth. Much later in the evening, he said, "When a Pashtoon child is born, his parents kidnap a Hindu child of the same age and bring up the two together for seven years. After the seventh year, the Hindu child is slaughtered, his fat is melted and preserved and later fed to the real son which makes him so strong and fair complexioned."

Apparently, it was a firm belief with them but over time I explained to them on many occasions that contrary to their belief the Pashtoon were very kind and God fearing people putting very high value on human as well as animal life; so much so that they abstained from eating the meat of many birds and animals. Later on, I would even show them Pashtoon babies that had fair rosy cheeks and were strong sturdy even at a small age. On one occasion, a commission agent, who had at one time purchased orchards around Chaman and had also spent a few days there, was talking about the people of Chaman to a group of youngsters, who appeared to be college students. These college boys would ask questions in Sindhi implying as if the residents of the area were very wild, uncivilised and cruel people. I talked to them at length pointing out that while they seemed to be well informed about the people of Europe and America, they were ignorant about the people of their own country and advised them to travel in the country and see things for themselves.

On another occasion, a social and cultural event of Hindus was being held at Hyderabad which also included some plays and dramas. Hindus could attend this event by purchasing a ticket for one rupee, however, muslims were not allowed to attend. Four to five of us companions went there but could not locate any hindu that was known to us. We, therefore, approached an official and expressed our interest in attending the event. He informed us that muslims had been barred from attending. I talked to him for a little while, pointing out that such exclusion was bound to increase the distance between the two communities. He answered that hindu women attended this event and some uncouth muslims only attended with the intention of misbehaving with them. After discussing this for a little while he finally relented and let us attend. We witnessed the show and offered our evening prayers there.

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"I heard in Kandahar that your faith has weakened and therefore for old times' sake I came here to find out for myself and if true to help you regain your faith. I have no other business," he said quite frankly.

I was taken aback and surprised by the speed and distance that rumours travelled, but was very pleased to note his sincerity and concern both for me and his duty to his faith and belief, and his truthfulness.

Smilingly, I said to him, "Rest assured I have faith in the oneness of God, all his attributes, His prophets and the prophethood of our prophet, peace be upon him, the truthfulness of the Holy Book, the Day of Judgment and the hereafter. I differ with others on issues that do not lead to ex-communications; on such subjects as what are angels, what is heaven and hell, what is the nature of miracles of the prophets, what are the difficulties that one faces in the grave? Like the most reverend Imam Ghazali, it is hard for me to believe in the stories related in the commentary of the Holy Quran by the likes of Hussaini[103], wherein it is related that a she camel came out of the rock and immediately gave birth to a grown up camel etc, and in support of my views I refer to the Holy Quran which you do not know of, such as you once used to say that you have not opened it in years."

May he be blessed; he understood my point of view and then we did not talk on the issue any further. We then discussed in great detail the education, courses of study, and the method of study of the Pashtoon priests. He agreed with most of what I had to say particularly that if all of us studied and lived like the leading priest, how and who would run the affairs of God's creations on this earth? And suppose for a minute if all of those acclaimed authorities of religious scholarship suddenly died would the world come to an end or would faith be lost? To both the queries, he replied in the negative. We agreed that we ought to review our attitudes towards life as we were a useless lot as we did not study all that existed on this earth that we could use to our advantage. He stayed the night and took leave the next morning at peace with himself in these words, "I now understand why the people particularly the priests talk maliciously of you. You expect the clergy to lead and better the life of the nation, a mission that we have given up long ago. All that we aspire for is that a student should come with an open book and we with the assistance of

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Although I was engaged in the business of selling and buying fruits, it was not much to my liking as even in those days one would have to cheat and under invoice one's goods as without doing so the margin of profit would be low and thus one would have to bribe government officials. The working hours and procedures of the railway were not to the advantage of the farmers. For example, all goods had to be booked by 5 pm in the evening or else wait till the next morning in which case fresh fruits would be damaged, in addition it would need to be guarded overnight at extra expenses. Likewise, goods were charged at certain fixed weight units rather than at the actual weight thus allowing the station master discretionary powers that could increase or decrease the charges substantially. The railway department had established the system of bribery all over India.

Ghosts, Apparitions and the Exorcist Priests

For the purpose of our studies with the English tutor, we had reserved a room in the guesthouse of Mohammad Aslam Khan. We would study there during the day. In the evening too we would sometimes study there or else gather together and chat or spend the time playing cards. One such evening, I came to the study room and started reading and writing practice, expecting that like in the past, the others would join me soon. I was so engaged in my study that I did not notice the time. Much later, when I checked the time it was well past 11 pm in the night. Realising that it was late and there was no hope of the others joining me and that I was alone in the room, I was overtaken by the fear of the unknown and evil spirits and witches, despite that neither I, nor my father believed in such things. But the topic was much discussed in the village and such was the general belief that I could not feel comfortable alone in that room. I got up and with much haste and trepidation, put out the lights and decided to leave for home which was at a distance of two to three furlongs. It was a dark winter night and the narrow, twisted village streets were deserted. When I turned the first corner, some 70 to 80 steps away, I suddenly observed that a railway engine was standing in the street making the usual noises. I was shocked as to what is this? A railway engine cannot travel without railway sleepers and a railway track, how did it get here?

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head and ears and making snoring sounds. I helped her escape from her trap.

My father said that on another evening he was returning home from the mosque late at night. Large mulberry trees were in his way and when he arrived under them he heard the sound of bells tinkling. He could not see anything when he looked around but the sound was there. The sound would stop when he stopped moving but it would resume when he started to move again. He became frightened and was convinced that this was the work of spirits. He reached home and in the morning he learnt that a hunting falcon of a relative in the village that had small bells tied around its talons had flown free last night and spent the night in the mulberry trees. The owner found and captured it in the morning.

He once related a story that there was a cleric, who had a huge following and was famous for exorcism and freeing those possessed by demons. My father befriended him and when he gained his confidence he asked him about his exorcist powers. After some persuasion, he confided two events to my father on the promise that he would not reveal these stories in his lifetime. My father would relate both the stories yet I only remember one which is as follows. He had told my father that on one occasion he was presented with the case of a newlywed woman, who had fallen unconscious on the camel back that was carrying her to her husband's home on the day of the wedding and remained in that state for several days and he was called to cure the patient. As was his practice he would exorcise the demons only when alone with the patient.

When alone he said to her, "I know you are not unwell but pretending, so tell me why are you doing so?" He had promised that he would help in achieving what she wanted. After a while she confided in him and said that her in-laws were said to be staunch in their ways and regarded any woman that was not a virgin as an adulteress to be instantly put to death. Since she was not a virgin, so for fear of being killed she adopted this course of sham unconsciousness. (In our region this tradition exists amongst some Brahvi, Baloch and certain Pashtoon sub-tribes. The test of virginity of the bride is that once the wedding is solemnised, the groom cleans himself with a clean, white handkerchief. In the morning this soiled cloth is given to the

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women of the household. If the signs of virginity are present then this handkerchief is proudly presented to the women of the village. If not, then the bride is in trouble. She is asked questions, beaten and sometimes even killed.) The cleric then asked her to go back into the state of trance and that in the meanwhile he would think of something. Later on, he told her in-laws in confidence that as a baby the unfortunate girl had swallowed seven demons along with the milk of her mother that were now nested in the womb of the girl as that was the only pure and free spot in her body and now that she was married that place would be occupied by her fetus to be. The demons now felt it was time for them to leave and since they had spent a long, comfortable time with this woman, therefore, they did not want any harm to come to her as they left. However, they could only leave through an orifice of her body and would necessarily cause some harm to her. If they left through the mouth she would go mute and lose all her teeth, if they left through the nose then she would either lose her nose or it would become flattened, if they left through her ears she would go deaf, if they left through her eyes she would go blind and if they left through her vagina her hymen would break. That is why they made her ill so that some learned man came and through him they could communi cate with her in-laws to determine which harm was acceptable to them. The in-laws held a council and as I had thought, accepted the loss of the hymen. When I returned and told the woman that her problem was solved, she got up to the joy of her in-laws. They gave me my fee with gratitude and I returned. The other story that my father had narrated but which I do not remember was also along these lines.

My own experiences and those of my relatives and my father show that most of the stories are made up by priests claiming superpowers for their own benefit. While at times, some persons carry on false propaganda on behalf of these false sages. I present some examples below. Some of these stories, however, are based on true observations like that of my own and of my father and the tricks we played on our other contemporaries, who believed that they had witnessed evil spirits roaming around with lanterns in the graveyard. Sometimes these stories are figments of one's own imagination and confusion of the mind brought about by the combination of darkness and fear of the unknown as the camel turning into a railway engine in my case. If a person is afraid and faint hearted and fails to check on what he has seen and runs

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away or at times overcome by fear even faints and the next morning swears that he has witnessed such supernatural and evil sightings then he will be right because at that time what he has seen is the railway engine and not a camel. One could have only ascertained the truth if one had stood one's ground, gone forward and checked for one's self, like my brother, my father, our relative Abdul Kudoos and myself.

The Lies of Self-Proclaimed Sages and False Propaganda of their Agents

1. An elderly relative of mine Abdul Ghafoor Khan states that he was by the death bed of his father-in-law, who lived in the village of Gulistan Karez, the next morning the uncle of the deceased confided in him as to how fortunate they were to have had the Mad Sahibzada, the famous spiritual leader of a nearby village, with them and when he had asked for the reason of this thankfulness, he was told that at the time of the death of the father-in-law the angels of torture were sent to take away his soul. On seeing these undesirable angels, the Sahibzada had picked up a quarrel with them, telling them that the dying man was a very righteous person; therefore they were to go back and ask Allah to send the righteous and kind angels. After pleading with Him several times, God accepted the Sahibzada's pleas and sent kind angels to take the soul of the deceased.

2. At Quetta, in the village of the Kasi, which in the past was encircled by a fortification wall, a mendicant used to live in the door of this fortification. The man gave a very dirty look and would be surrounded by the stray dogs of the village. His name was Faizo. My mother's sister was married to someone in Kasi Kalla and so was the daughter of our village holy man Babak (holy father), in reverence to whom his daughter used to be addressed as Bibi. As a child whenever my mother or grandmother would take me to visit my aunt, they would visit Bibi and at one time I also accompanied them. After the usual greetings and exchange of pleasantries she spoke, "I wonder if you noticed it or not, last night was a particularly cursed night. A whole lot of demons were on the march, which were first stopped for a while by Saint Faizo, but they overcame him. As I was awake and meditating, I confronted the

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demons with the recitation of holy verses. It was a long and tough fight and I was almost overcome when I called the younger Bibi, (her daughter) for assistance and together we fought them till the early morning call for prayer was sounded at the mosque at which the demons fled. Believe me I was most concerned for you, and feared that you may be harmed if they succeeded in passing me."

1. In the vicinity of our village, in the hamlet of Syed Lajwar is a man by the name of Syed Raiz Mohammad, who is still alive. Amongst the people, he is known for a bad character, lying, gambling and pederasty. A few years ago this Raiz Mohammad along with two or three men of his village went to Sindh in the winter and had proclaimed himself a Peer (holy man) and his companions his devotees. He had made a good deal of money there. When they returned, his companions confessed that in Sindh they had spread fibs about the spiritual powers of Syed Raiz. The people there would pay them money and feast them. This Syed Raiz later found the job of a mechanic in MES[111] department Gulistan. He had a good pay and would also obtain extra funds for himself in the name of his workers and maintenance.

2. There lived in our village one Syed Mohammad Din, who was raving mad. Suddenly, Syed Raiz started associating all sorts of miraculous deeds to the mad Mohammad Din. He would take strong oaths about the various miracles and extraordinary deeds of Mohammad Din. One such miraculous performance he related to me went thus, "Mohammad Din and I passed a dead dog that was in advanced stage of decay. Mohammad Din directed me to pick up the carcass which I did and wrapped it in a cloth and carried it on my shoulder. A little while later the dog came to life, I set it down and it walked away." When Mohammad Din the mad died, Syed Raiz had him buried by the roadside that runs between Gulistan and Qilla Abdullah and had two rooms and a boundary wall constructed around the grave. In no time, it became a shrine and is being visited by a large number of men and women with the donations and offerings going to Syed Raiz, who is still around and an employee of the road maintenance department. Mullah Naeem was a student (Talib) of the Sahibzada of village Abdul Rehmanzai. He was known to our tutor Mullah Sher Muhammad. One day, he said, "Uncle Sher this family of Sahibzada has been empowered by

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there are supernatural beings that can harm them, claim them and possess them and are beyond their grasp and strength to confront, they collectively succumb to lower level of being not in control of their destiny and are led astray from the rightful path, which requires strong will and sacrifice even of life at times. Such people then look up to false saints and their devilish ways for relief, and rely on the dust of their homes and their chants for the cure of all their ills, temporal as well as spiritual. Such people are then exposed to all kinds of exploitation by these self-proclaimed saints and incapable of pursuing their collective national aspirations. I have seen and witnessed the exploits of these false saints in league with their followers and the harm done by them to the nation and individuals.

I have observed many a debauch, who would commit extreme excesses taking bribes, claiming the property of others, spying for alien governments, indulging in usury, wrongly condemning people at times for life as members of judicial councils (Jirgas), but they would enjoy the patronage of an established demonic sage and thus stand absolved of the committed social evils. This vicious circle of exploitation and national degradation is perpetuated and expanded by the collusion of the clergy.

I have also witnessed individuals, who would live a sinful life of a criminal but would also offer all the five prayers in the congregation at the mosque. To top it all, they would linger back in the mosque chanting a reverie prescribed by some equally debauched faith healer and then pass their hands all over the body in the belief that he thus stands absolved of all the bad deeds that are disapproved by society as well as God. They would travel far and wide, seeking the blessings of saints like Kalander Shabaz[120] of Sindh, the Saint of Taunsa[121] and the Shrine at Golra, Rawalpindi, thus seeking relief from the haunting of a guilty conscience but would not be deterred. While next to their homes in their own villages, people would be dying of hunger, men and women would be living without clothes and abode.

These people would not give these needy neighbours anything to the extent that they would even retain parts of the wages due for their labour. Some of these wayward social elite would go several times for the performance of Hajj, the visit to Mecca, in the belief that each visit cleanses them of all the sins. A peer would tell them that they would be absolved of all their sins if they recited a

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particular name of God this many times in a particular fashion. And if a particular peer of some shrine blessed them with his breath then no matter what they have done in life, God could not judge them.

It is a common practice of the Pashtoons even today to take their sick to the shrines of these saints rather than the hospital and when they do turn for treatment to the hospital, the ailment of the patient is in such advanced stages that medication is of no help. Some clerics, who practice faith healing, are so callous that they forbid the patient from seeking any other remedy while under their treatment. Such is the hold of ignorance and these cursed deities living as well as dead that the Pashtoons seek the treatment of such delicate part of the body as the eye at these shrines.

The Syeds of Yaroo in the vicinity of Pishin are especially blessed with the powers of treating the eyes. When the wounded eye turns cancerous they then turn to the Christian surgeon, Dr Henry Holland[122], at the Mission Hospital Quetta. It is thus that we have hundreds of blind people living the miserable life of beggars.

In Pishin district, which is generally dry, people widely believe that a tree in the house becomes the abode of the demons that then enchant and possess or sicken the inmates of the house.

The belief is strictly upheld with the result that the villages of Pishin district present a stark deserted look. If each house had only one tree, which can easily be supported by the water of the daily ablution for prayer, the villages would have a greener look besides the benefit of the fruits from the tree. In the year 1944-45, my brother Abdul Salaam Khan persuaded an otherwise enlightened and literate friend Master Abdul Hakim to plant a few mulberry trees in his house.

The trees took root and were progressing in growth much to the disapproval of the fellow villagers, who would regularly forecast the occurrence of the curse of the demons. As luck would have it, after some time his son fell ill, soon followed by he himself falling sick as well. This chance happening further strengthened the belief of the village folk, who pressurised him to such an extent that he too became superstitious and had the trees uprooted. This superstitious belief about trees in the house compound is widely spread amongst the Pashtoons especially in the dry rain-fed lands.

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It is a common observed behaviour amongst the Pashtoon youth that they do not venture out of their home alone at night nor sleep in a room alone for fear of fiends and demons. I have observed amongst my grown up relatives such behaviour. My uncle, Issa Khan, could not go home alone from our house late in the evening. I used to insist on his going alone so that he overcame this fear but my brother would help him out by sending a servant with him or at times performing the task himself.

How can a nation, whose youth have no self-confidence and are haunted by the fear of the unknown, prosper and develop? This crippling of the senses and sinews is due to the scourge of these superstitious beliefs, perpetuated by exploitative clerics. The vicious circle gives birth to many malicious habits, crimes and vices. Often young women observed wandering at night would take the plea that they were not in their senses but were rather under the influence of evil spirits. These spirits are a category by themselves in the region of Pishin and Kandahar that are exclusive to enticing young women. The prescribed cure in practice was that the front teeth of the girl would be broken, so as to disfigure her to be classified as aged and also as a warning to her of the ultimate consequences if caught a second time.

Recently, I read in the newspaper of October 4, 1959 that a young woman had accused her father-in-law of rape, which the accused did not deny. Instead he took the plea that at that particular night he had been chanting the name of Allah till late in the night, which angered the demon, who as a punishment possessed him and made him perform the act of rape.

Those, who believe that demons can appear in the form of a person and can have sexual relations with women, as do the majority of muslims and Pashtoon, surely cannot deny the truthfulness of such a plea. What will be the consequence of such beliefs for all contracted deeds, court witnesses and even marriages? All would lose their sanctity under the plea of being possessed or impersonated by the demons. May Allah give the muslims in general and the Pashtoons in particular the understanding that the causes of their ruinous existence are these false beliefs that have roots in those misstatements recorded in the name of the statements of the Holy Prophet PBUH (*Hadith*) hundreds of years ago and are duplicated in many a good religious books.

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valuable properties there and the prospects of highly placed status and state responsibilities.

My decision was motivated by love and loyalty to the land and people that were placed on the British side of the Afghan-Indian border and the trust that we would manage and survive here as well.

Since then, despite a troubled life involving imprisonment and other harassments by the government, deserting my land and my people has not occurred to me ever. At the time of partition of India, fully knowing that the Muslim League[124] government in Pakistan and the British officers of the new country enjoying the trust of its leadership would not tolerate us the Pashtoons and definitely persecute us, the option of living a better life in India did not lure me. During the first year of the partition of India,

I visited India twice on the invitation of the nationalist Muslim organisation Jamiat-e-Ulema[125], during which such suggestion and offers were made to me, but at no time the thought of leaving my country and living in India occurred to me. Having decided to make this country my homeland willingly and after a lot of consideration, the lure and love of Pashto and Pashtoons has always been the closest to my heart. I have, however, always sought to help the Afghans whenever the need arises.

I was always willing and ready to go to Afghanistan if convinced that my going there could be of any help to the people there, as at the time of the battles of Amir Amanullah Khan and later that of respected Nadir Khan and his brothers for the freedom of Afghanistan, but would be prevented either by the British or by some other happenings, the details of which will come later.

King (Ghazi) Amanullah Khan[126]

While I am having a second look at my writings at Haripur[127] Jail this day April 28, 1960, there is an item in the newspaper that Ghazi Amanullah Khan, may God bless him, joined his creator in a foreign country. I was much grieved by the news and spent the day with a heavy heart thinking that since after the time of the Caliph Omar (RA)[128] this unfortunate people the muslims have always persecuted, killed, exiled, or imprisoned all those, who have served them by their sword and wisdom. And those, who have betrayed and suppressed them, they have appointed as their kings and leaders.

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I have earlier stated that the Afghan War of Independence under the leadership of Ghazi Amanullah Khan aroused and mobilised the Pashtoon people. The short-lived rule of Amanullah Khan gave the people some hope that the freedom of Afghanistan and its prosperity would also bring them freedom from the slavery of the British. They did not realise that freedom is won with the force of determination, the sacrifice of one's children and the youth of the nation. Nor did they realise that although we share with our Afghan brothers our religion, genealogy and language, our land stands divided due to the power, connivance and bribes of the British and the treachery and ignorance of the Pashtoons, and therefore the freedom of Afghanistan cannot be our freedom which we have yet to snatch from the British with our own strength.

The European Tour of Ghazi Amanullah Khan

Amir Amanullah Khan on his way to Europe came by way of Chaman, passed through Pishin and set out on his European tour via Karachi. His single day travel through our land deeply affected the people; thousands thronged Chaman the day he was to reach there while some had even travelled further to Spin Boldak in Afghanistan. I too reached Chaman. It was said that he would arrive at Chaman at about 7 am in the morning; people with special clearance passes would be admitted to the railway station, wherefrom he would depart by a special train for Quetta without stopping on the way.

Many of us reached Chaman and spent the night there. It rained throughout the night. In the morning it was cold and muddy with a slight drizzle. The excitement and the enthusiasm of the public were at its peak. My brother, who was away at Quetta and thus could not accompany us, started from there, along with some companions, for Chaman in a truck that broke down in the Kojak Pass mountains. Despite the rain, cold and mud, they had pushed the truck through the night over the slopes of the Kojak Pass and reached Chaman early in the morning. Since we could not procure another visitor's pass, I gave mine to him. I entered the station compound without a pass in the company of late Qazi Abdul Aziz Khan, EAC, may he be blessed.

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respected Shakoor Khan though their married lives were blissful. Looks, character and upbringing should be chosen of which the elders can be more discerning than the youth. But today when times have changed, the young men and women are educated and exposed to the ways of the world, their consent must be taken. New traditions, different from the strict impersonal conservative ones followed by the Pashtoons, short of the excessive freedom of the west, need to be adopted. Both the girls and the boys should have a say such as in Arabic it is called *kafoofat*[129] (siyali) and the proposed marriage must additionally take into consideration the lifestyle, upbringing and material status of the two. Obviously, a liberal person would find it difficult to adjust in a conservative environment and likewise an educated person and an illiterate are a mismatch.

I had made my choice on the basis of the ancestry and upbringing of the family and had given an early indication to my mother and brother. I had also seen the girl some years ago when I had gone to their village, seeking her aunt's hand for my elder brother. Though the betrothal of my brother did not go through, my desire of early youth materialised. Obviously, my choice at that tender age could not be motivated by looks and sexuality alone, rather it was based on the general atmosphere and going about of that family.

Our people used to take a bridal price (*walwar*) for the betrothal of their daughters and sisters. This too seems to have a rational origin in that most people were poor and would use the money to give household utensils, bedding and clothing to the bride. Just like in the tradition of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), on the occasion of his daughter Hazrat Fatima's[130] marriage with the revered Hazrat Ali[131], the groom was obliged to sell his armour so as to meet the costs of the marriage and household necessities.

This tradition of the Prophet (PBUH) was later perverted by muslims and has taken the present day cursed form of dowry having its origins in the Hindu custom of giving a lot of gifts to their women on the occasion of their marriage. When adopted, this custom economically ruined the Muslims of India, Sindh and Punjab. The bridal price would also be a test to set the groom on the path of a responsible working life and providing for the family and to see if he was not just after fulfilling his sexual desire by betrothing the sisters and daughters of others. This custom

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daughter and I decide this matter. Praise be to him that he agreed to this proposal and his daughter only asked for a couple of traditional items.

It was also the tradition to undertake the marriage vows at the time of the betrothal. Later, the groom would take presents for the bride chaperoned by a few women of the family and assume conjugal rites at the in-law's, eventually to be followed by the formal departure of the bride to the groom's house. It was like a courtship period that is practiced in the west. These courtship visits would then be undertaken off and on till the departure of the bride for her own home.

This custom too had advantages. For one, like the Prophet Moses since the payment of the bridal price would take some time the custom facilitated the purpose of marriage in the interim period. Secondly, it facilitates the bride to be familiarised with the groom, his ways and relatives on her home grounds and in familiar circumstances.

I was not in favour of this latter custom as in my case I was in a position of providing for the bridal price and the marriage expenses and as to the advantage of familiarisation it was beyond my understanding. I was keen to get married and bring the bride home at the earliest which my father-in-law resisted, since he was a widower and my wife was his eldest daughter with three other very young siblings, two girls and a boy. In case of my early marriage, there would be none to tend to the household affairs. He also pointed out that besides facilitating him, the courtship would be to the mutual benefit of the two of us. My father-in-law was already engaged to be married for the second time and was in the process of getting the marriage arranged. I, therefore, delayed my marriage. My visits to the in-laws off and on, in the interim period facilitated a lifelong relationship lasting to date. I found a very special friend in late Lal Mohammad Khan, may his soul rest in peace, the younger brother of my father-in-law. After my marriage, despite being very fond of my wife, there remained a strange kind of reserve between us. Since my understanding of marriage was primarily limited to conjugal rites, despite wanting I could not overcome the shy reserve only because I did not fully realise the wholesomeness of marriage.

In the spring of 1930, we were blessed with a son, whom I named Saifuddin after the famous Indian National Congress leader, Dr

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Saifuddin Kitchlew[132]. I had attended the 1929 Congress gathering at Lahore, wherein the resolution of Indian Independence was adopted, as one of the crowd and found Dr Kitchlew's speech the best. The baby boy lived only for a few days. A few months later, my brother, a few others and I were imprisoned by the government. This reserve between my wife and I persisted as I did not expect her to keep up with my political life and participate there in as I had not looked at her as an independent individual and probably because of her inherent pride and self-respect, she did not wish to take the initiative.

After a few years, interrupted by off and on imprisonment and prolonged consequential separations, somehow I realised that my wife was not only not against my politics and the difficulties that it entailed, but instead gave me active support in the freedom struggle and appreciated it and understood the difficulties to be faced in this struggle. She actually donned the homespun cloth uniform of the nationalists and worked amongst the womenfolk of the village. This is how that shy reserve gave way to fuller understanding and our love and respect for one another was strengthened further by the bond of comradeship. I was convinced that if ever the need arose, this brave and committed woman would lead the womenfolk into active politics and the consequential trials for the freedom struggle.

Much to my anguish and sorrow, my wife contracted tuberculosis in the summer of 1940. In the spring of 1942, despite all my efforts and the available medication of the day, this brave person died leaving me alone, after a full life of togetherness of 14 years. She left me a daughter Wali Ahad Begum and two sons Ahmed Khan and Mohammad Khan[133] as a token of our love and life together.

Much of my married life was spent away from her in prison or in pursuit of national political objectives. Our most intimate times were those two years while I was at Quetta editing the weekly newspaper Istaqlal and she was confined to the TB sanatorium. Often, after my daily engagements, I would go to the sanatorium and spend the night with her. In the morning, I would take a ride back to the city with the children of Dr Koro Padnum, who were driven to the school in the city. The sanatorium was at a distance of five miles from the city. Our newspaper was running at a loss which I was meeting from my own pocket. A horse carriage would charge Rs 3 for the journey which I could not afford so

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therefore, almost daily between 6pm and 10 pm in the evening, depending on my engagements, I would walk the uphill five miles to be by her bedside. The exuberance, joy and encouragement that she showed during these two short evening and morning meetings would more than compensate for the routine and fatigue of the long walk.

Except for two occasions, no disagreement marred our blissful married life of 14 years. Once when I came home I found my mother baking the family bread, a task normally carried out by a maid servant, while my wife had washed her hair and was combing it in the room. I censured her for letting mother do the baking rather than do it herself.

On another occasion, it so happened that a person known to me had betrothed his young daughter to an elderly person of Mastung. The bridegroom delayed marriage for an exceptionally long time, nor did he concede to divorce her. The father of the girl requested me to intervene with the Khan of Kalat[134] as his groom was in the Khan's pay, which I did. Since I did the requested favour without any reward or vested interest, a rumour was construed alleging that I was interested in marrying the engaged girl myself. Sabira had heard of the rumour too and when I came home after a lengthy absence, I found the Begum, the name I used to address her with, greatly sullen and withdrawn. I asked her for the reason of the annoyance. She then reluctantly but sternly said, "I heard you are planning on another marriage."

I have not witnessed such anger and indignation ever before or after in my life. It was difficult to cool her down. In extreme anger she gave a long lecture on the disadvantages of polygamy, much to my surprise worthy of an expert sociologist. After giving full vent to her feelings and my insistent denial, she cooled down but ended her agitation by sternly warning me in these words, "Do not you take me for granted or expect that like other women I would take the event of your second marriage calmly and be reconciled. Be warned I would make your life miserable day in and day out."

I was never in favour of polygamy and regarded it sinful but having witnessed the passionate outrage and anger of my wife, I was reaffirmed in my views against the custom and had a fresh understanding of the repulsion and disgust that women rightly have for it.

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My elder brother Abdul Salaam Khan suggested that I stay back to look after the family which I did not agree to and as he too was insisting on enlisting in the forces of the king, we perforce left our family in the care of God. Likewise, all those, who got wind of the planned outward journey started preparations. The whole community and the village were soon in an enthusiastic fervour. Finally, we called on another elder of the family whose one son was a Tehsildar in the service of the British and had come on leave at that time to the village, to seek his blessing and permission for the second, son who had volunteered to join us. The elder of the family suggested that since the government was neutral between the factions and did not stop those of Chaman joining in, there was no need to take the journey secretly which might offend the British, who may create problems for those of us left behind. "Even Abdul Ghaffar Khan[136] of Peshawar is reaching Quetta tomorrow on his way to Kandahar and has not been stopped by the government," he told us.

We did not know at that time that Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan) had been detained at Sibi that morning and sent back to Jacobabad.

I was not familiar with the working of the government and its ways. Seeing the enthusiasm of the community and the possibility of many more joining, I went along with the suggestion. We then went to the assistant Tehsildar, Gulistan and informed him that we would be leaving for Kandahar the next morning. At dawn the next morning, the Tehsildar summoned us to discuss the issue with the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) Pishin, who had come to Gulistan for the purpose. Sixteen of our family, of whom four were in their 70s, went for parleys with the EAC.

The EAC had brought along with him three senior members of the judicial council (Jirga) and advised us not to undertake the journey as the British government did not favour it. He emphasised that following our precedent hordes of thousands would volunteer to join the war on the king's side which went against the neutral stance of the government. However, we remained resolute in our resolve to depart for the fray. Thereupon, the EAC asked us to accompany him to Quetta for further parleys with the Political Agent (PA). A truck was arranged which we boarded voluntarily. On our way to Quetta, at Yaro station, the train had stopped on its way to Chaman, I checked every

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do not desist from your intent then I have no choice but to detain you at the police lines. I leave the choice to you." We told him that we too had no choice, detain us if he must.

He then summoned Khan Bahadur Baz Gul Khan, the police inspector, who took us to his home for the night and had us shifted to the police line lockup the next morning. We were allocated a separate barrack, were given one rupee as daily expenses per head and were allowed visitors. We could also go to the city alone or in groups of two to three. The next day, we were joined in detention voluntarily by Abdul Rehman Khan of Qilla Abdullah.We remained in detention for 28 days. Ghazi Amanullah Khan left Kandahar and marched towards Kabul at the head of a nearly 40,000 strong tribal horde but was ineffective as none of the organising tribal leaders and elite were with him. A few days later, near Ghazni, the Ghilzai tribe fighters of the royal forces revolted and blocked the forward march. The Achakzai and Pishin groupings led by Lame Nazar Mohammad Malaizai were besieged and confined to a fort. Seeing the goings of the campaign of Amanullah Khan, we too realised that the English PA was better informed and asked for release on bail. While we were still in detention, Sardar Ali Ahmed Jan reached Quetta from Peshawar on his way to Kandahar. He was subsequently apprehended in Kandahar by the rebellious forces and executed.

Soon after the collapse of his forces, Ghazi Amanullah Khan retreated to a life of exile by way of Chaman. Hundreds of us were at the Gulistan railway station to have a glimpse of him. The police used force and disbursed the waiting crowd. But when the train stopped and the people saw Amanullah Khan dressed in a bluish dress sitting by his son in a locked carriage, the crowd surged forward, crossed the station fencing to the platform and surrounded the king's compartment. Amanullah Khan, however, made no movement nor did he speak.

Many in the crowd were weeping while others were raising disjointed incoherent slogans. Some soldiers disembarked from another carriage, cordoned off the train, loaded their rifles, fixed their bayonets and under the instructions of their English commanding officer marched towards the crowd. No one was hurt but the crowd was pushed out of the station.

Meanwhile, Amanullah Khan observed this disorganised enthusiasm and helplessness of the Pashtoons with a withdrawn

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quiet without showing any feelings. One wonders what his thoughts were at that moment. Was he sad and dejected or was he thinking that a coward people who remain inactive at the needed hour and later weep like women deserve this degrading treatment.

Battles of Ghazi Mohammad Nadir Khan[138]

The sympathy of the people of the region in general and those of the Achakzais in particular were with the exiled Amanullah Khan. They were convinced that in case of the victory of Ghazi Nadir Khan, the return of Amanullah Khan to the throne was neither possible nor desirable as the persecution of those, who had betrayed him, would plunge the country into a prolonged anarchic instability to the utter detriment of the country and its people. The Pashtoons also suspected that Nadir Khan enjoyed the trust and support of the British which was generally resented. But in the face of the wrongdoings and illegitimacy of the Saka[139] rule, they realised the need for stability under an able acceptable personality that could rally the nation around it. The royalist supporters of Amanullah Khan were thus faced with a dilemma; the choice between the return of Amanullah Khan a next to impossible event in itself, with difficult consequences thereof or the acceptance of Nadir Khan as the king of Afghanistan. Therefore, when Nadir Khan and his valiant brothers secured a foothold in Afghanistan and readied to advance on Kabul, the Achakzais too became restive and on their own or was it with the blessing of the British rebelled against the rule of Saka. The tribal force in connivance with the commander at Spin Boldak, Mirdill Khan and his men took control of the town of Boldak. The forces that Saka dispatched from Kandahar were defeated at Mail and Kandahar was besieged which fell to them after some resistance. The city of Kandahar was then handed over to Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan, a brother of Ghazi Mohammad Nadir Khan, who had arrived from Peshawar via Chaman after the fall of Kandahar. The leaders of the Achakzai tribal force on this occasion were Mohammad Anwar Khan of the Arzbaig family of Gulistan, the uncle of Mohammad Ayub Khan; the renowned Achakzai Badinzai tribal chief, Malik Zaqoom Khan, and my tutor

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was at the discretion of government officials without any laid out criteria of education or social status. Members would be either appointed on the basis of heritage or on the recommendations of the administrative officials which required cringing to all the low and high government officials. Some would bribe the officials or become their brokers collecting bribes from others, while others would fall even lower in pursuit of their pleasing the officials. There were also among the councillors the occasional God fearing and self-respecting individuals of status and social standing.

These councillors were not paid for their services despite the heavy and prolonged demand on their time and resources, and the neglect of their regular means of livelihood. Every month at least for a week, the councillors were to stay at the tehsil at their own expense. At times, they were required to proceed to other distant districts in connection with joint and special meetings of the council. Most councillors were, therefore, obliged to meet their expenses from the litigants in the form of bribes or more commonly as gifts on the occasion of marriages, engagement etc. Their agents would also create quarrels between some parties of the village and then fleece them on account of reconciliation or as adjudicators of disputes in the Jirga.

When involved in litigation, the parties were required to submit two bails, one for the purpose of attending the Jirga when summoned and another bail for remaining peaceful at least for three years during which the case would be adjudicated by the council (Jirga). These bail bonds were required to be attested by the village headman, who would charge a fee for the services rendered, besides the Jirga members and Maliks would use their powers for harassing and suppressing people on flimsy charges. The councillors, their agents and the office clerks would charge each litigant for their services of attestation and processing of the case. The system was one of exploitation and detrimental to justice and civic living.

The administration of the province was supposedly run under the universally infamous Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR)[142]. But in practice even that evil system was ignored by the rulers and things were run unabashedly according to the will and whims of the official of the day and their touts, the Jirga members. Under the system of FCR, all disputes were to be settled with the mutual consent of litigants and hence the officials would have no

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not my practice and job, nevertheless I called my assistant and directed him to pay the Malik his allowances. But he kept waiting where upon I asked again whether he had anything else to say. To my surprise the Malik responded, that when he would visit the English officers in addition to his regular allowance he would be paid Rs10 extra. And when I asked the reason for the extra allowance, he replied as an allowance for his moustache. I was much angered by his impunity but remained calm and quietly asked him to leave as I had no money for his whiskers of which he sported a noticeable size."

6. Mr Moizuddin had notified a number of developmental work committees from amongst the Jirga councillors; the usual government patronised corrupt personalities. The commissioner had asked the Irrigation Works Committee to identify some schemes of public utilisation as he had a surplus amount of Rs 85,000. The committee members, six well off socialites, put up an application saying that the said amount be equally divided amongst the six so that they could install their own tube wells.

7. Sometime in 1936, an English PA Mr Gastrell[145] advised me not to go through the trouble of political work as Balochistan was too backward to manage its own affairs. To emphasise his point he said, "During our last meeting you identified six projects for implementation by the government. Since then a number of Maliks and councillors came to me asking for one thing or the other. I have noted in my diary the purpose of the visit which in each case is recorded as personal."

In reply I said, "You only confirm my point of view, those that you patronise and bribe are not representative of the public so they cannot be interested in public welfare."

8. In 1941-42, a friend of mine was the EAC at Sibi who was opposed and disliked by a known senior Jirga member of the area who had even involved the EAC in a criminal case. I reprimanded the councillor for this act and praised the EAC. Later, they patched up; the Malik was also interested in public affairs and was the printer of a newspaper at Sibi. One day he came along and complained that my EAC friend had wronged him. I asked, "How did he wrong you and what happened?"

In reply he said, "The labourers at the cantonment at Sibi had gone on strike and the police had reported me as responsible for it, so to clear myself of the allegation I went to Sibi to meet the PA.

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law I know is the action and intent of the AGG whereas you were daring to point out rules and laws to him. During my 60 years of life I have never heard anyone tell an officer what the law is and that too to the AGG."

Public Works Department

Like the judicial system and political administration the public works departments was there only in name without doing anything for the welfare of the people. Although various departments of public utilities like irrigation, agriculture, animal husbandry and forest departments were there with tens of thousands of rupees being spent on the salaries of their employees, none of these departments contributed anything worthwhile from which the people could benefit. On the contrary, the depletion and erosion of agricultural lands and forests occurred at a large scale. According to an estimate from the times of the British and the last 12 years of the rule of the government of Pakistan, at least

5000,000 trees in the ranges of the Kojak Pass and Khawaja Imran were felled to meet the fuel needs of the cities. The trees would produce a wild nut related to the pistachio nut that was used as food in various forms by the inhabitants of the area and its leaves were the fodder of their livestock. The seed called *"shinae*[148]*"* by the locals is still used by the Achakzai tribesmen. Each tree would yield fruit from a few pounds to hundreds of kilograms (kg). These days a kg of *shinae* costs one rupee in the mountains and Rs 2 in the cities. Likewise, the forests of the Kakar and Baloch tribes were depleted, despite the presence of an established forest department having a reasonably large budget and a large number of employees. The cutting of the forests was forbidden on paper but the forest department turned a blind eye to the large scale depletion of the forests only to meet the fuel needs of the cities, ignoring the loss occurring to the fauna and flora of the province.

The population of the area depended for their livelihood on agriculture and animal husbandry, particularly the raising of goats and sheep. There were hundreds of thousands of square miles of fertile cultivable lands, enough snowfall and rains and seasonal and perennials streams. The British, during their rule, did not do anything substantial for the development of agriculture. The people, however, on their own, using primitive

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projects as well, including the hundred acres grape vineyard at Malizai Pishin, despite hurdles created by the civil administration officials of Pishin. The officials would even instigate the local population against the vineyard. As a result, instead of being planted in a modern way, it was planted in the old defective style of long ago. The contractor, some Miankhel from Peshawar, was appointed by the EAC who misused the budget damaging the project, which took years to correct.

The State of the Livestock Department

As a child, I remember many families in our village that depended for their livelihood on raising sheep and goats. The shepherds would own hundreds of animals. They would graze them the whole year round in a radius of five miles around the village that had rich supportive grazing pasture land. The mountains and valleys also had sufficient grass where the shepherds would take their flocks after grazing them near the villages late in the year. In the years of drought, these flocks would be taken even further to Reg Afghanistan and even to Loralai and Zhob. In spring time, every household in the village would raise a few sheep for their milk, lambs and wool and when the lambs were grown and the milking season was over, these would be entrusted for grazing to the shepherds for the rest of the year. Therefore, every village had hundreds of sheep that would provide milk during the spring months, the lambs would be used for mutton at home or sold in the market and the wool would be used to make a number of articles, such as warm water resistant wool felt coats called "*cosay*" a close relative of the English word cozy. Likewise, from wool they would make floor matting, ropes, bags and various other articles. Mattresses, pillows and quilts would also be filled with the wool. The village community, therefore, lived a contented self-supporting agricultural life.

With the coming of the British, this life of self-sustenance started declining and by the time I grew up, it was in complete disarray as the British disrupted the traditional way of life of the people without providing an alternative. Before the British time, the people of Pishin and those of Afghanistan were the citizens of the same country with the same customs and government, therefore, nobody could openly transgress against others. Every tribe had its own pastures and drinking water springs that could not be used

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without its consent. But when the British came, to begin with, the civilians were disarmed in the annexed territories, thus denying them their traditional strength and security and instead became dependent on the judicial system and officialdom of aliens.

The tribes across the border in Afghanistan were, however, armed and the British government used to patronise them as well, the Tarakai and Achakzai tribes used to come across the border with their flocks without any hindrance and still do but would not allow the shepherds from the British side of the border to graze their stock in Afghanistan. They would be attacked and robbed and if anyone in his turn, as revenge, attacked and took their live stock, the government would arrest the local people and ask for a collective bail of peaceful behaviour from the whole tribe but they would say nothing to the people of Afghanistan. The grazing lands, therefore, were over, grazed and the people became tired of continuous fighting and quarrels and gave up sheep rearing. There was also a veterinary department with a hospital at Quetta, but it had nothing to offer to the rural shepherds and livestock holders. Its activities were limited to the treatment of the pet dogs of the officers, race horses and the horses used in horse carriages in the city.

Trade and Government Service

Prior to the alien British rule, trade and government services were in the hands of the local Pashtoon population. Most of the Pishin people were traders. In our own village, there was a settlement of traders that had trading ventures and storehouses. The inhabitants of the settlement were well off traders trading by land and sea with Central Asia, India, China, and Sri Lanka and even beyond.

With the coming of the British, trade was further facilitated. The Bolan Pass was secured and the traders were safe from waylaying by the Baloch Marri and Kurd tribes. The mode of trading however, changed to the disadvantage of the local traders. Camel caravans were replaced by train and personal contacts by agents of the trading agencies.

Monetary transactions were undertaken through banks and post offices. The local Pashtoons, who were strangers to the ways of the alien rulers, were thus at a disadvantage in dealing through these impersonal trade houses and institutions. At the trading

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I adopted a frugal lifestyle not attending to the comforts of self and family. One day, while my brother was away, my nose started bleeding that would not stop so a relative Mohammad Tahir Khan was called to fetch the doctor. When he came, he was astonished to see me lying on rough straw matting, dressed in rough hand woven clothes and covered by an equally rough cloth counterpane. The room was barren and devoid of carpets, resting pillows and silken cushions contrary to the custom in our family homes.

A few days later, when I was better, my relative told me not to be so harsh on myself. "This life of frugality in the tradition of the companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was not for our times and likes," he advised. I told him that it was not my wilful doing as I had lost all interest in the comforts of life. Likewise were my mother, wife and brother in anguish at my abstinence and were concerned.

During this formative period, I gave up hunting and set aside my guns and ammunition. I would for most of the time sit alone in the garden or roam the nearby hillocks, contemplating over the harsh times imposed on my land and my people, searching for remedies. When in company, I would point towards our national existence of servitude and probe those present for solutions.

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Balochistan, Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi Baloch[161] had also come to this convention.

We departed from Lahore for our first ever visit to Peshawar. We were complete strangers there and did not know anyone, not even a fruit commission agent. The horse carriage driver took us to a caravan *sarai*, tavern, in the Afghan building where we took living quarters on the second, or was it the third floor? In the morning, we managed to get some substandard tea from a samovar in the tavern and went out to visit the city. It was raining and the city was awfully muddy so we spent most of the time at the museum. At lunch time, we looked all around for a suitably clean place to eat but could not find any to our liking. The city at that time did not have clean and attractive cafes like those at Quetta and those that were there did not appear clean enough and to our taste. The carriage driver told us that there were better places at the cantonment and drove us there but there too we did not find any acceptable eating place and had to be content with some food of sorts. In the evening, we found an average eating place by the singer's street. We were served food on the first floor but by the time the food was brought up, it would be ice cold; we sent it for warming three times but to no avail. We did not find any food to our liking the next day either. While sightseeing, we came across a footwear trader, who had come to our village bazaar in connection with his business. He greeted us warmly and invited us to dinner at his house. His food was good, specially made for guests in tradition of Pashtoon hospitality to which we did justice, hungry as we were. After dinner, we went straight to the railway station and took the train for Delhi, returning home by the end of January1930. During this trip that year I met two young men at Lahore, Malik Niaz Muhammed of Lyallpur and Mr Abdul Rahim of Jalandhar, who remain very dear and close friends to this day. I wonder if I was of any assistance to them whereas they have been helpful to me in several ways ever since which I sincerely value and appreciate. During that trip I also met two well informed educated enthusiastic young men at the political parties' camp. This acquaintance then developed into a regular correspondence spread over several years during which we would exchange banned political literature, which educated me in the problems and difficulties faced by political parties and political workers. This literature also showed me the political and economic damage

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information would take place on this occasion. On Eid that year the talk of the gatherings was our concern with the social welfare of the people and the need for an organisation which gave wide publicity to our call.

Not many days after the Eid feast, Mullah Syed Ayub Shah, my teacher at one time, agreed to lead the Friday prayer congregation at the Gulistan marketplace mosque where, in addition to the religious sermon, speeches on the subject of public welfare and difficulties would be delivered. All the young Khans and people of village Gulistan were enthusiastically looking ahead to the appointed Friday and were planning to bring many villagers along with them in addition to those, who would be at the marketplace pursuing their own business.

Second Incarceration

While we were all preparing to attend the planned Friday congregation, a few days before the planned event the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) Pishin Mr Murtaza Khan, a Tareen of Duki, came to Gulistan tehsil and summoned my elder brother, Ayub Khan and I to the tehsil. He informed us that we were summoned by the PA and therefore to go along him to Quetta. We asked him the purpose of the summons but he pretended ignorance. We further told him that if we were to be detained we needed to take some clothes and bedding with us. This too he denied saying that we had been called just for an interview.

On that day, May 15, 1930 we departed for Quetta with the EAC for a meeting with the PA. At the time of our departure, Ayub Khan said to the EAC, "We hear that the PA is short tempered and loose of tongue and verbally abuses people. You had better ask him to behave or else he would only have himself to blame." Murtaza Khan was a simple minded Pashtoon with not much education and had recently taken to western dress, a symbol of authority for him, in which he was dressed at that time, he said by way of a reply and expression of solidarity with us, "How dare he insult you in my presence? I would throw these trousers of mine (a symbol of authority to him) at his face there and then."

The gentleman had served under Ayub Khan's father, who was also a magistrate and was therefore frank and known to Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan said, "No sir, the trousers are your own why

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for prayer ablution and seeing his father approaching he came in hurriedly to announce his arrival. After the usual greeting he said, "What is this I heard you fellows becoming Gandhians?"

"Gandhians! What is that?" I asked.

"I do not know but that is what the PA told me," he said, adding, "The PA also said that such activities cannot be permitted here as the Magsi Nawab's son Mr Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi is already under detention for such activity at Mastung. He too had gone to the Congress meeting at Lahore."

In response to the queries of Yaqoob Khan and allegations of the PA, I said to him, "Irrespective of what the PA thinks or accuses us of we have done nothing to deserve detention nor do we intend to do any such thing in the future."

He too was at a loss in the face of our denial and the detention by the PA. Finally he left, saying that he would visit the village, investigate the matter further and then discuss it with us and the PA.

The news of Yousaf Ali Khan's arrest was good tidings for us. It gave us strength to know that others were also willing to take up the call of national betterment and liberation. Later on, Yousaf Ali Khan became a steadfast colleague and dear personal friend in the struggle of national liberation. He was a bold, forthcoming, educated and enlightened person of outstanding character, besides he was also an Urdu and Persian poet. He had also come to know of our detention at Mastung Jail from the jailer and had composed a poem on the occasion. It is most unfortunate that this leader of status and strength died at an early age in the 1935 earthquake of Quetta and is buried at the Kasi cemetery, Quetta.

After two or three days, uncle Yaqoob Khan returned and said, "True you people have not done anything wrong. You have neither held a meeting nor have you delivered any speeches. That Friday prayer affair, however, has become very popular with people from all the surrounding villages coming to the congregation. Besides, you have fired the imagination of the youth of the Khans who are all your supporters and talk of things that they did not know of prior to this time."

This report from the village and the enthusiasm of the people gladdened our hearts and gave us courage. We told him that without any gathering or public speeches if people realised the

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state of affairs and were asking for a change, it augured of changing times which he should realise and also impress upon his British bosses. The government, instead of resisting and blocking the change, should contribute towards its spread. Besides, the Friday congregations are enjoined upon us by our faith and are therefore a welcome development.

Before leaving us he said, "What I have to tell the government is not for you, that is my concern and let it be at that. However, tell me what is that you want me to tell the government on your behalf?"

In response to his query I said, "Since you have not come with any proposal from the government so what reply can we give to your query? However, let the government give us in writing its terms and conditions and the do's and don't s that the government wishes us to follow, we will sign them without any hesitation and give them to you." This reply we had agreed upon amongst ourselves while he was away investigating in the village. We intended to stay by our statement as we had not thought of anything else nor were we intending to take the law in our hands and violate it. Besides, working on religious lines was difficult for the government to stop without arousing public anger.

We later came to know that the government too was at a loss what to do with us and had convened several meetings on the question. They were convinced that we would be propagating national liberation in one form or the other which would soon take the shape of an organised movement. During the official meetings, it was considered to give us government jobs as *Tehsildars*, a suggestion that was turned down by the AGG on the grounds that it would set a bad precedence of rewarding those, who agitate to which there will be no end.

When uncle Yaqoob Khan related our condition to the PA, he is reported to have said, "These fellows want to take me for a ride and deceive me into a trap of my own. The terms and conditions that I give them in writing they would readily take to Gandhi, who would use it to blame the government and propagate it to the world. No, I cannot do this. They would have to learn to live quietly like you and other tribal respectables of Balochistan."

Uncle Yaqoob Khan said, "I too was at a loss as to the intent of the government but kept quiet at that time hoping to tell the government on another occasion that if that is its unilateral

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decision then why involve me? The trio is willing to compromise on any condition but what you are saying does not make sense to me so let me off as a negotiator. Do what you will; imprison them if you so want."

The Kidnapping of Two British Officers and a Lady and Award of Punishment to Us

On the afternoon of June 4, 1930, while Uncle Yaqoob Khan was still on his mission, there was an unusual commotion at the police lines where we were being detained. Many police officers, British as well as Indian, came and loaded the constables, except the Achakzai, with heavy ammunition in trucks and departed in a hurry without anyone knowing where and why they were going. We tried our best to know the reason for the unusual hustle and bustle but to no avail. The police line constables had some time back contributed to a feast of offering that was prepared that day, and were waiting for the return of the constables that had gone two days ago but had not returned to join in the feast. After some time without waiting any further, they started the distribution of the eatables of the offering. Meanwhile, the constables that were awaited also arrived and proceeded straight to the distribution point of the eatables that was in our view. A Hazara constable passed by and we asked him where they had gone. He told us that a few miles out of Chaman, on the Chaman-Quetta Road, a party of Achakzais led by Mullah Khair Mohammad had blocked the road and kidnapped two English officers namely; Major Farley, Capt Frere and Mrs Frere, who were on their way from Chaman to Quetta. The kidnapped were being held at Mullah Khair Muhammad's village in Raig Afghanistan who demanded in exchange the release of three Achakzai Khans presently detained by the British at Quetta. The constable related the story to us with relish, ignoring the calls of the line officers till completing the narration.

We then started analysing the pros and cons of the incident amongst ourselves. My two colleagues approved of the incident and were happy that the people had responded to our mission on their own and with quick speed, hoping that it would have a positive effect on the relationship of the government with the

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From amongst these people a middle aged man, well-built and tan complexioned, warmly embraced me. He introduced himself as Mullah Khair Muhammad, who was in exile and declared an absconder by the British for the past 30 years for the abduction of the three British persons. A sister of Mullah Khair Mohammad was married to Abdul Ali, a nephew of Malik Mohammad Ayub Peeralizai, living near Qilla Abdullah. This Abdul Ali has also since left for Afghanistan with his family. They wanted to marry another sister to my elder brother but he did not propose to her.

Unlike most Indians, Pashtoons treat their captives, especially women, well. The police line barracks mostly occupied by single, unmarried constables from Punjab was abuzz with all kinds of rumours regarding the bad treatment and insults meted out to the abducted English lady and officers. Some would even go so far to conjecture that the lady had died in the hospital because of excessive sexual abuse. I was most apprehensive on this account, fearing for our standing in civilised society, if any of the things said turned out to be true.

Mullah Khair Mohammad and his party after capturing the two British officers and the lady while forced marching them, waylaid another person on the way and took away his camel by force for the lady to ride on and thus saved her the hardship of the long stressful march under duress. After reaching his abode the abductees were lodged in a separate tent and were offered, by way of hospitality eatables such as bread, butter, eggs, chicken meat and cheese with the choice if they wished to prepare the food for themselves. Maj Farley, however, was struck with a rifle butt as he would deliberately not keep pace with the others hoping that the pursuing party would catch up and rescue them. These events were related to me by Maj Farley himself a few years later when he was on a bustard hunting trip to Gulistan on the invitation of a relative. By the next morning, the messengers of the British too had arrived and it was arranged that the abductees would be sent ready meals from Chaman. Mullah Khair Mohammad had left a letter at the spot of the abduction and had also said to the messenger, "We are resorting to this action of abduction as you, the British, have arrested and detained three of our Khans namely, Abdul Salaam Khan, Abdul Samad Khan and Mohammad Ayub Khan without any wrong done by them, therefore, you release our Khans and in return we will release your three persons or we will detain them till you detain ours."

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he British had also sent Mullah Abdul Mutlib, Mullah Khair Muhammad's teacher, with the offer of money which too was urned down. The government could not use force because for ne the abductees were in Afghan territory and besides they did ot want to risk any physical harm to befall the abductees which ould even be fatal. They, however, pressurised the Afghan overnment that in its turn forced Mullah Khair Mohammad into eleasing the abductees. Mullah Khair Mohammad was paid s20,000 by the British and was later awarded a Karez worth Rs 0,000 as fief near Kandahar by the Afghan government where he till resides along with his brother-in-law Mohammad Ali eeralizai.

hairak Ashezai, one of the party of Mullah Khair Muhammad, as some years later arrested by the British. Col Shah, the then PA t Quetta, charged him with the abduction of the British and some ther charges. He was tried by the Jirga (judicial council) that warded him imprisonment of 20 years and I believe he died in etention.

Vhen the British abductees were released, the government nitiated an inquiry into the incident. This gave the police an pportunity to prove their loyalty and Pashtoon DSP Khan ahadur Baz Gul Khan, whom I have mentioned earlier, set out rresting Achakzai elders particularly our relatives. From mongst our relatives Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Rasaldar Hafeezullah han, Mohammad Ayub Khan (he was another cousin who is ow dead), Mohammad Isa Khan and Abdul Rahim Khan were etained besides Mohammad Yakub Peer Alizai and Mullah bdul Mutlib who were also arrested. Besides these names, undreds of Achakzais were detained in the jails of Quetta-Pishin.

Ve three were a few days later removed from the police barracks the police lockup and were meted out the treatment due to etainees there. The use of our own beds and newspapers was ithdrawn. The daily allowance and the attendant, however, ere allowed to continue. We would be locked up at night with a ot in the corner of the room to be used for relieving ourselves in. rom then onward, we changed our eating practice, taking tea nd milk during the day and a meal in the evening thus avoiding he call of nature at night.

Ve were, however, faced with an ugly, intolerable and dirty roblem in the lockup by the presence of another detainee, a

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police captain at great length and even a dictionary was called for with the captain Arguing that the condition can be called "strict" but not "obscene", but we stuck to the treatment being obscene. Finally he asked, "How do you expect to be treated?" We demanded that we should not be confined to the lockup during the night, should have access to newspapers and be allowed to exercise two hours daily and that we should not be forced to use our living quarters (lockup) as a latrine as well and that no one else be lodged with us.

The captain took note of our demands and left. Within three days, the response of the AGG came, ordering that we be presented to a tribal judicial council (Jirga) to be constituted by the PA and that in the meanwhile we should be allowed all the demanded facilities. It was thus that we were spared the obscenity that we were subjected to by the presence of the detained police constable. The despicable treatment experienced during those two days, I have not experienced again during all those other years of imprisonment.

After a few more days in the police lockup, one morning we were marched to the residence of Sardar Noor Ahmed Khan, the city magistrate Quetta, surrounded by 10 or 12 armed police constables. Here we met another cousin Muhammed Ayub Khan, who had been arrested at our village and was to record his statement in the presence of the magistrate. He was handcuffed and in chains that he covered with his shoulder cloth.

Many others of our relatives were arrested and put in police lockups in different police stations of the city with other prisoners in difficult conditions. They were given insufficient and bad quality food, and were handcuffed and chained when required to be moved from one place to another. They were all honourable men of high social status that the British too respected. They would not have been meted out such lowly treatment even if they had committed murder under ordinary circumstances. Things, however, were different now, an English lady and two officers had been kidnapped which was the unthinkable; an ultimate challenge and insult to British rule.

Mohammed Ayub Khan had gone to Kandahar to meet Mohammed Anwar Khan Kaka, who had at the head of the Achakzai horde, during the Afghan Civil War, liberated Kandahar from rebellious forces. Ayub Khan wanted to explore if the

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whole party consisting of 18 persons absconded to Afghanistan with the help of the local Achakzais.

Presentation to the Jirga and Imprisonment

One day in July, we were marched, surrounded by a strong contingent of the police, to the garden of the grand Sandaman Hall[166]. The Shahi Jirga (Grand Judicial Council) was in session in the hall. The lawns of the garden were full of our relations and companions brought in groups from various police stations of the city. Each group sat separate from the others as was then the custom of the police. The police had also brought along their false witnesses. Each group was presented to the Jirga separately and the process continued till late afternoon. Since we were not presented to the Jirga that day, we were taken back to the police lines and brought back to the Jirga hall the next day.

It was tea break and the Jirga members were being served cakes and pastries instead of the usual two sips of green tea as this was a big day with high stakes for the government. The Jirga bench had all the Pashtoon Jirga members, who were also the members of the Shahi Jirga (Grand Judicial Council). Four of the Jirga bench were the leading official Achakzai Maliks chiefs) and similarly the rest the leading chiefs of other clans. The prosecution was presented by Sardar Noor Ahmed Khan, the city magistrate, and the two police officers Khan Bahadur (KB) Baz Gul Khan and Sardar Dildar Singh, who had recorded our statements a couple of months ago. Besides them and us three, none other were in the hall as the crowds waiting outside were not allowed inside. As soon as we entered the hall, the Jirga was impressed with our lookalike attire, caps and more so by our carefree and well composed attitude. Those, who knew us, rose and greeted us, so did others including government officials. When we took our seats, we were first served with tea before the start of the proceedings.

I had not seen this hall from inside previously as it would be unlocked only on such special occasions as the one that day. While taking tea, I surveyed the architecture and interior décor of the hall which was grand and appealing. On the wall in front of

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me was inscribed in golden calligraphy this verse of the great Pashtoon poet, Rehman Baba[167],

Pa dunya ki badi nasta
ka badi na wi la ta

"There is no evil than that created by you."

There were also other such writings that I do not recall presently. After tea, Sardar Noor Ahmed Khan initiated the proceeding of the court (Jirga) in these words, "These young men are from Gulistan named so and so. They are the followers and companions of Gandhi. At the outset police inspector Sardar Jee (Sardar Dildar Singh), would read out the statement of Abdul Samad Khan that he had recorded a few months ago in the presence of KB Baz Gul Khan."

At this stage I asked, "At the outset and before further proceedings let us know what are the charges against us?" This query of mine sounded an unexpected and unusual interjection by us to the Jirga members but they too agreed and said, "Oh yes! The question is relevant."

Sardar Noor Mohammad Khan, however, did not reply and continued saying, "Have patience, in due course you will know the charges." Sardar Dildar Singh then started reading my lengthy detailed statement with simultaneous translation by the magistrate Noor Ahmed for the understanding of the councillors.

Midway, Ayub Khan interrupted the proceedings by saying, "That statement is in difficult worded English whereas Abdul Samad Khan does not know English of such high standard."

The Sardar Jee became nervous and said, "It is my translation of what he stated in Pashto and Urdu."

"Then it is your statement and not his," remarked Ayub Khan.
"The Khan Bahadur was also present at the time," said the inspector police.

"The Khan Bahadur is not literate in English either so how would he know what you recorded," Ayub Khan continued with his interruptions.

The magistrate then said, "We cannot call these big officers of police lines liars."

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into the muddy ground and were therefore inconvenient to sleep on. In the middle of the barracks room, in a hearth like depression, stood a rusty iron drum containing drinking water that was also used for washing and bathing. At the other end was another door that opened onto the night latrine. The latrine had privacy from the barracks side but had an open iron bar railing on the other side so that the prisoner could be observed by the night guard. The barracks also had two fireplaces for use in the winter. As Quetta had no electricity at that time, the barracks were lit by two lanterns so that the guard could observe inside through the peepholes in the gate. When we went in, the in charge warder prisoner of the barracks assigned us our sleeping places. He shifted other prisoners and allotted us space for three beds in a row. Since the barracks were crowded, not all could be accommodated in the sleeping lines, some were to occupy the space at the foot of those in the sleeping row otherwise used for movement at night. Mohammad Ayub Khan volunteered to occupy the space at the foot end as that was even to lie on.

Once inside, Takur Das, and his companion Noor Mohammad Babu, who were in prison for defrauding the Peoples' Bank of Rs 30,000, sat chatting with us till late in the night. They offered to share their food and milk that they had brought from outside, courtesy of the warder, with us but we did not partake of the food as we had no appetite. Later on, they called two persons, one Hazara and one Mushtaq Punjabi, who sang songs for us. They also had playing cards with which we whiled away some time and indulged in introductory talk. A Bengali prisoner entertained the company with some amusing card tricks. After the night prayer, we returned to our allotted sleeping places, there I consulted my companions on the unbearable current situation, the food, the bedding and the lack of privacy and future plan of action.

I suggested that we give a notice of hunger strike from tomorrow, saying that we were not criminals to be punished as such but instead were political prisoners and should be treated as such. I was convinced that as in the police lines, the government would accept our demands and in case our demands were not accepted, then death was preferable to this degrading life. My companions did not appear to accept the proposed plan immediately, instead Ayub Khan suggested that we lodge an appeal with the government and seek an interview with our relatives, who would

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soon the other food as well which was not all that bad, only we were not used to it.

At that time, the ex-officio jail superintendent was the civil surgeon, a British army colonel, who strictly followed the food allowance for the prisoners and took care of their health. The lower Indian staff was scared of him and therefore did not dare rob the prison rations. He would listen to the complaints of mistreatment made by the prisoners and take visible action by scolding the concerned official in front of the prisoners.

Likewise, the superintendent was strict about the treatment meted out to the prisoners, who were free to report to him any mistreatment during his daily morning inspection rounds. On a Sunday morning, a prisoner was slapped by a Sikh doctor as a result of which his nose started bleeding. The matter was hushed up then but the next morning the prisoner showed his blood stained shirt to the superintendent during the inspection at which the doctor was given quite a scolding there and then. Therefore, unlike other prisons, this prison was thought to be rather easy with better food and no physical punishment. The administration's healthcare in particular was good, whatever the hour of the day a sick prisoner was attended to by the prison doctor.

The jail doctor was the regular employee of the Civil Hospital but attended the prisoners as well for which he was paid an extra allowance of Rs 50 per month and was allotted a house in the jail colony. Although he lived in the city, whenever summoned by telephone he would reach the jail in 20 minutes or at most half an hour by his motorcycle. Sometimes, he would take more than one trip during the night but come he must.

When I compare medical care in the prison hospital of those days to that of our country jails of today, I am flabbergasted at the deterioration. In those days, when there would at most be only one departmental British head in the whole district, all the Muslim and Hindu employees of the district would perform their duty with care and in time. While our government is trying to revise the jail administrative rules for the better and has allocated substantial sums for its budget, the administration is deteriorating day by day.

Even during the current martial law rule that claims to have come to correct the governing of the country, while I do not know of

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for the jail at 4 pm On the way back the prisoners would beg for money from the well to do passersby, some of whom would pay and those that did not would be showered with a barrage of abuses. The money thus collected would be shared with the guarding police. Whenever we passed by a heap of water melons and melons kept at a roadside, some of the prisoners would take freely from it without being prevented by the police.

We were surprised at the uselessness of forced labour by the prisoners and the expenses that the government incurred on it in the form of the police guard. Besides, instead of being a punishment for reforming the prisoners this practice encouraged stealing and that too under police patronage and at the houses of the officials that normally even robbers would avoid for fear of being caught.

On one occasion, our party was assigned to the bungalow of a civil surgeon besides which was the bungalow of the Police Superintendent (SP). The SP's gardens had a peach tree that was almost ripe. To protect the fruit from the birds, it was covered by a fine mesh. Every afternoon the wife of the superintendent police would collect five to six peaches and go into the house. Soon after her going inside, one of our group Pehlwan Lohri, son of the famous thief Bashan Lohri notorious in Quetta, Mastung and Kachi in those days, would tie his shackles in such a way that it would not cling, put on the socks of the sepoy to cover his footprints, cross the wall and pluck a peach each for the party and the sepoy. I would plead with him against the practice Arguing that given the limited number of peaches the stealing would be noticed but he cared less for my advice and looked upon it as a recreation. Throughout our week of assignment to the bungalows, he continued with the plucking as did the English lady without noticing anything unusual.

Ghulam Mohammad the Gardener

On day while we were assigned to work in the garden of the PA, a middle aged gardener named Ghulam Muhammad, a Baraich tribesman, approached us and said with apology that although he knew all along that the four Khans, who were condemned to imprisonment, were amongst the prisoners that came for labour to the bungalows, someone had just pointed us to him and told him of our identity. He was sympathetic to our cause and

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statement was factually true. He further went on to record, "I asked him about the talk at Abdul Salaam Khan's guesthouse and whether anything specific was said, to which Mullah Khair Mohammad replied that they were consolidating their program me to deal with the British." It was a blatant lie! Some others had stated that Mohammad Anwar Khan Kaka and Mullah Khair Muhammad and a few others were gathered at the Shalimar Gardens, Kandahar and were talking about the arrest of Abdul Salaam Khan and three of his relatives by the British and then decided on a plan to abduct some British officials and bring them to Afghanistan so as to put pressure on the British for the release of the arrested Khans which was not a correct statement.

The Jirga had recommended different punishments for different people. We four were sentenced to two years imprisonment and submission of surety of good behaviour for three years after undergoing the imprisonment. Our two villages of Inayatullah Karez and Gulistan Karez were fined a collective fine of Rs 2,000 each. All the landed property of Mohammad Anwar Khan Kaka at Gulistan Karez, which was worth around Rs 560,000, was confiscated. Mohammad Ayub Khan was fined additional Rs 1,000 and all the other relatives of ours were required to submit sureties of good behaviour. Mullah Mutalib was externed from Pishin and exiled to Loralai. Even the clans of Achakzai Maliks Pakar Khan Malaezai, Ali Jan Khan Ashaizi, Mahmood Khan Alizai and Malik Baiak Badenzai, who were members of the Jirga, were recommended for a collective tribal fine by the Presiding Officer, the Political Agent. The PA had noted that the whole affair was a well-planned conspiracy hatched at Gulistan and enacted at Kandahar. He had discussed each recommendation of the Jirga and statements of the witnesses, agreeing with its findings and upholding the recommended punishments. Till that day, I had great faith in the judgments of the Jirgas, the tribal judicial councils, and their decisions as it was a matter of faith not to tell lies on oath and even murderers and highwaymen would confess their abominable crimes under oath.

Besides, the Pashtoon social conduct severely condemns false witness with or without an oath. It was, therefore, that I had great faith in the judicial council courts, its proceedings and judgment till the time that I read the detailed judgment and the statements of the witnesses which were loaded with lies to condemn us. In light of this first experience and later events, I lost total faith in

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vegetables that he would steal while on labour assignment in the bungalows. Whenever he was without his daily dose of opium, there was no stopping him. One day he took the bayonet from the gun of the sepoy that would not let him steal the fruit and would in all probability have killed him but for our intervention. On another occasion, he thinking us to be rich and moneyed asked me for money that I did not have and told him so.

He then resorted to verbally abusing us which my companion took badly too but I got up, took him aside and told him that we really were without money or else we would give it to him which calmed him down. The next day he came around apologising for his rudeness. He had aged by then and was physically weak but from his looks I imagined him to be a ruthless dacoit in his youth. He had probably completed his term of imprisonment as well.

At Quetta Jail we were in the company of all kinds of prisoners; Pashtoon and Baloch villagers and city Hazaras, Punjabis, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians literate as well as illiterate. One of the difficulties that we felt, most was their loose abusive talk and behaviour. From amongst the lot, those, who were not loose tongued, were preferable and tolerable company. At one stage our company was with one Kashmiri Rehman Dar and Abdul Rehman, two pimps of the brothel, because they were not loose tongued and of cheap habits. The only conversation besides cheap and vulgar jokes that one heard were the doings of these hardened prisoners, their only life experience. At night, 30 to 40 persons were huddled together and each was free to talk of what he wished. Such atmosphere would be hard on every decent person but Ayub Khan was highly sensitive and averse to it and he would complain that in this company our habits and deeds would be completely spoiled. The only reading material available was the Holy Scriptures but there was no quiet place where one could read and study them.

One day while out working as labour in the bungalows, Abdul Ghaffar Khan came visiting and amongst other things told Ayub Khan that his father was not attending to the needs of his family after joining his posting. Such behaviour on the part of Yaqoob Khan was not unexpected, however, Ghaffar Khan assured Ayub Khan that his family was being well looked after by him and that he should have no cause to worry.

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us and Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi, there were no other prisoners nor was there any sign of the national movement.

Suddenly, one day a few Indian Punjabi prisoners were brought to Quetta Jail. They were secluded from the rest of us and were kept under guard. No one was allowed to contact them. There were special instructions to keep us away from them. We guessed that they were probably political prisoners but despite trying we could not find out anything about them or get in touch with them. They too were divided in two groups and kept apart from one another. Whenever we sent them word through other prisoners, they would not respond suspecting the messenger to be a government informer or one of the other party. They had been tried by a Punjabi Jirga (Panchayat) that had recommended that they be expelled from Balochistan but had sentenced one of them, probably named Mohammad Yousuf, to be imprisoned. Later, he was sent to Mach Jail after our shifting there.

I met their leader Mr Mohammad Shafi, who was one of the people working for the committee of Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Hind[182] on the occasion of its annual conference. He belonged to Sialkot and had played an active role in the establishment of the Ahrar in Kashmir. The mosque that stands in memory of the Kashmiri martyrs at the boundary between Sialkot and Jammu was built by this Mohammad Shafi and is called the Shafi Mosque. Another of their leaders was Mr Feroz, who still resides at Quetta and works as a mason contractor. At that time the national movement was going on all over India except at Quetta.

Shafi and his eight or 10 companions, masons by profession and originally coming from Sialkot, had decided amongst themselves to initiate the national movement at Quetta as well. They did succeed in stirring some young Hindu and Muslim youth which was a praiseworthy and timely initiative. Their plan was that one of them would go every evening to the Sandaman Park where there would be hundreds of men and women of the city and address them regarding the national liberation movement. Telling them that all over India people were up in revolt against the British and so should be the residents of Quetta. Unfortunately, two members of the group had bad blood against one another and one of them to spite the other had gone and reported the programme to the police, hoping that his rival would be imprisoned. He had told the police that his rival was planning to

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our clothes and other personal belongings that we had deposited at the time of arrival at Quetta Jail. The head constable told us that we would, in addition to fetters, have to be handcuffed in pairs of two. My brother vehemently protested at this absurd extra inconvenience but the police would not give in. At the end my brother said that in that case we would refuse to go and instead they would have to carry us. They finally relented after this threat and agreed to walk us without handcuffs. On the way to the railway station, while passing by the police captain's residence, the police once again wanted to handcuff us. Once again we reverted to our initial threat and they gave in again. At the station the issue was raised once more which we resisted and thus boarded the train for Mach. We reached Mach Jail later in the evening.

Solitary Cell

The atmosphere at Mach was one of complete oppression. Everyone looked frightened or frightening. Some of the prisoners wore red, black and orange uniforms and were addressed by others as numberdar sahib. As it was late in the evening our names were entered hurriedly and we were taken to one side of the compound called No 11 and No 12. Each of us was locked separately in a very small cell, these were the solitary cells.

The cells were made of baked bricks and had levelled, even cemented floors. The bedding was better than that at Quetta as the blankets were new. There was a raised sort of platform for sleeping at one corner of the cell. Each cell had one electric bulb that remained lit the whole night. The food was well-cooked and the bread was made of wheat flour. The morning routine was the same as that at Quetta but slightly more restricted. We were given bread and grams early in the morning and were locked up once again.

At around noon, we were brought out to work and were asked to collect the stones and pebbles in the courtyard in a sack and deposit them at the back of the cell. Since the prison was recently constructed at the foot of the hills, its courtyard was full of huge stones that were being collected by the prisoners. A tall big Marri Baloch numberdar called Janda and an equally tall Sikh sepoy named Awal Santh Singh assigned us the work which we started

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doing. While collecting stones, we were chatting with one another and laughed at something.

The numberdar shouted angrily at us saying, "Are you here to work or make merry?"

His uncalled for burst of anger made us laugh more at which he stared angrily at us and threateningly said, "Watch out don't you laugh or else!"

I submitted very humbly and politely, "We are doing work so if we do it laughing why should you be bothered? We do not feel like crying otherwise we would have done that."

Thanks to the fellow he left things at that, otherwise at Mach such cross talk was enough to bring about physical punishment on one. The fellow got irritated and reported the matter to the warder, who came and said by way of warning, "You are not to laugh, concentrate on the assigned labour. It is jail labour and not school or college picnic." Once again, very politely and humbly, I said in reply, "We have not come here from school or college but from another prison and are willing to follow due restrictions. But we have not heard of any restriction on laughing and talking nor will we observe it. Besides, what harm does it do to you anyway?"

The warder thought for a while and then said something to the numberdar, who went away and came back after a while in the company of another short statured, well-built person with trimmed whiskers and a stylish gait. He was carrying a number of batches of keys around his neck that made a resounding jingle while he walked. After consultation with the warder, he came to me and asked rudely, "Why have you been disobedient and impolite to this warder?"

I got up and said to him calmly and politely, "I have not done or said anything offensive. It is he who is asking us not to talk and laugh amongst ourselves, a restriction that was not there in the jail at Quetta."

The numberdar came by and ordering me said, "Keep your eyes down, you are not to talk and stare at the jamadar." The jamadar was a Hindu from Kangra named Basant Singh. I do not know why but just as well the jamadar cooled down and calmly said, "Do your job and cause no trouble, remember it is a jail." He said something to the other two and left. The others did not bother us

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anymore after the encounter either. I suspect they were wary of facing four healthy young men.

The next morning, the numberdar handed us a bucket like drum and told us to sprinkle water in the courtyard. We were busy sprinkling water and observed a group of people marching towards us in multi-coloured uniforms from the compound wall side. They were dressed in black, orange and other colourful clothes. One person was even carrying an open umbrella while others were waving coloured handkerchiefs. This was a strange sight as if a group of dancers while walking in dance formation was coming towards us. I called Ayub Khan and pointing towards the approaching crowd of dancers asked him, "What is all this?"

While we were still gazing at this unusual happening the numberdar observed us and he too came by and said, "What are you fellows watching? You should be working."

When he saw the strange group, he became nervous and said to us, "Sahib is coming, go and enter your cells." We rushed towards our cells and he got busy clearing the way for the approaching boss.

When the crowd came, by I observed that there was a short statured Englishman, with his hat in hand, surrounded by a number of warders amongst whom one was holding an umbrella over his head and the others were shooing off the flies with the help of coloured towel pieces. The doctor, Gopal Das of Chaman, was also amongst them. The Englishman asked me my name and place of residence in English and then added why we fled on seeing him approach. I told him that we were working when the numberdar saw him approaching, he asked us to hurry up and go to our cells which we did.

"What work were you doing," he asked. "We were sprinkling water," I replied "Since when were you working," he asked.

"For an hour or two," I replied. He then angrily called for the numberdar. An old Sikh came forward and saluted.

"I have ordered that no new prisoner under quarantine was to perform labour, then why do not you follow my orders," he asked angrily. "Master I have conveyed your orders to the warder and the numberdar on duty as my own duty was not here," the numberdar explained.

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way of life required a lifetime. I do not know anyone, who has travelled throughout Balochistan, leave alone knowing its people and their living conditions in detail. Jail is the one place that offered me the opportunity of meeting and knowing the people of entire Balochistan.

Contrary to the general belief that prisons are housed by hardened criminals, I came across some well-informed, intelligent and balanced persons of Balochistan in Mach prison. The jail officials that are responsible for the reformation and education of the prisoners are, however, a bad lot, indisciplined, cruel and corrupt. The great majority of the Baloch and Pashtoon prisoners were imprisoned for protecting the values and norms of their code of behaviour contrary to those from the cities, who were involved in petty robberies, pick pocketing, fraud, and other wayward behaviour.

Most cases involved transgression against the honour of female relatives that had not been patched up according to the customs of the tribal Pashtoon and Baloch, forcing the person to commit murder in return and face the consequential long jail term for violating the British law. Some would be wronged by others in the form of a murder of a relative and again not given the appropriate customary tribal award and would in reaction become dacoits and absconders. Many honourable, bold, outspoken, clean Pashtoon and Baloch tribesman were thus imprisoned due to the combined wrong of the British imposed law and the corrupt, favour-seeking Jirga members. These prisoners were generally calm, content, upright and bore their burden of imprisonment with dignity, secure in the belief that this life was better than that of dishonour outside.

There were also some cases of crimes of passion involving eloping and relations with women with consent. Even in these cases, in contrast to the urbanised, there was no case of rape or exploitation due to poverty. These cases were deviations from the customary path, with mutual consent between adult men and women motivated by the natural attraction between the sexes which were either discovered and not approved by society and thus resulted in imprisonment if not death. Even in imprisonment ,they would pine for their beloved, hoping of rejoining them at the end of the strenuous trial of jail life.

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Jail at the time of our release. The deputy asked me if we knew so and so of Amritsar, then posted at Shimla as district magistrate. He said that he had not met the person either but long before our transfer to Mach, he had told one of the family of the deputy superintendent's that we should be treated well as we were national leaders. None of us knew the said magistrate nor did we know anyone telling him on our behalf. So, when we came to Mach the deputy had told his subordinates to be lenient with us and not to assign us hard tasks. I suspect that the Sikh numberdar, Master Aisher Singh, must have conveyed the directives of the deputy to the weaving master on that occasion.

From this experience one can get a fairly good idea of the concerted effort made by the Hindu Indian nationalists to get rid of the foreign British yoke. Each and every one of them whether a tradesman, high official civil or in the army would at his own station weaken the British and give support to the call of the Indian National Congress. Traders would give them funds and all government employees would help national workers in their own way, teachers would educate their students in the ways of national movement. It is only with such complete and concerted national effort that foreign forces could be defeated in a peaceful, non-violent way. On the eve of the Second World War, on the occasion of the All Parties Conference at Delhi, I was surprised to see that Mr Jawahar Lal Nehru was putting up with an Indian Civil Service (ICS) officer, Mr RK Nehru[188]. Likewise the head of the Communist Party, Mr Joshi[189], was staying with another ICS officer at his official residence.

One of those days, I was led by the numberdar for an interview with the head warden, Babu Baili Ram. I was instructed to stand at attention when talking to the head warden. The warder started his conversation with a long introductory preamble and said at the end, "I expect that you give the correct replies to my queries for which you would be recommended for reward but in case of lies you would be severely punished as is the rule in the prison." In reply I said, "Do not worry, there is no need of warning me, I will only tell the truth provided you ask the question." He then asked me in which barracks I slept to which I replied that I was allotted to the barracks of Bangul. He asked then, "Who sleeps besides you?" I replied, "On my one side was Bangul and on the other side was Agha Muhammad." Agha Mohammad was a

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had agreed to. We were still on our way to our workplaces when we were called back to the superintendent's office. This time, we were taken upstairs to the warrant office. There, waiting for us, were two of our family elders accompanied by two younger relatives Mohammad Tahir Khan and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Along with them was a Kashmiri clerk of the jail, Babu Abdul Rehman. When we sat down, one of our elders threw his turban at my feet and sat down saying, "By God! I swear that I will not take my head off your feet till you agree to what we say."

These were the most trying moments of my life. What option does a Pashtoon youth in his 20s have when an elder falls at his feet!

"Please sit up and put on your turban, I am willing to obey all you have to say even if it means our death but I only request that you listen to me for a moment and consider what I have to say, after which I will do whatever you command," I said.

I am thankful to God that at that moment I came out instantly with something worthy of their consideration and I am much obliged to Babu Abdul Rehman for the help that he gave during that moment of trial and saved us from a lifelong shame with all my options foreclosed.

"We are not imprisoned for national political causes that the government can set aside but are instead imprisoned for criminally abducting the British lady and two officers for which they had no proof and hence the light imprisonment of two years only whereas the punishment for such acts is life imprisonment or even the gallows. The police officer has sent you here not for the purpose of setting us free but perhaps to have us confess the abduction charges after which we can be sent even to the gallows or sentenced to a much longer imprisonment. Asking for forgiveness assumes confessing the crime. To confirm my point you may ask the Babu, who is aware of the record," I explained.

Thanks to Babu Abdul Rehman, who said, "He is right, they are not imprisoned for indulging in national political work but are condemned for the alleged abduction of the three British and asking for forgiveness by implication amounts to confessing the charge. The application brought by you states that they have done wrong, which they regret and ask for forgiveness. It is also correct that after this confession and plea of forgiveness, it is unto the government to accept the plea or reject it, revising the condemnation to a higher award."

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addition, there was an oversized loose cap. Anyone wearing it, would look more like a wild animal than a human being.

For the night each barrack that had two stoves would be allotted 15 kg wood for burning, half of which was stolen by the jail employees and the remaining given for burning. While a few of the senior and influential prisoners would sit around the warm stoves, the others would be just watching from a distance. During daytime, there was no heating, however, on a very cold day the superintendent would telephone that the prisoners be made to run a few rounds of the compound and then left on their own. We, who had come from the new open and well-kept Mach prison, felt very much troubled and uncomfortable there.

After a long wait of many days, on Christmas day we were marched to the AGG's residence in fetters. There, in the sunshine, we sat on the lawn of the residency. Mullah Mutalib was also brought some time later.

At around noon, Mullah Mutalib was taken in to meet the AGG, he came out after some time and was led away. Then each of my companions was summoned one by one and when back they would be seated separately. I was taken in at the end and presented to the AGG, who was sitting all by himself.

Colonel Bruce spoke fluent Pashto. He had a few papers lying in front of him and kept asking me all sorts of non-substantial questions without ever looking up and noting my replies. Apart from personal questions of name, address, family and children etc, he asked, "What places have you been to in India?"

I said, "I have travelled extensively throughout north India."
"Name all the places you have been to," he asked.

I said, "There are many small places." "Does not matter, name them all," he said.

I started with Jacobabad to Karachi and at the mention of Hyderabad he looked up for the first time and said, "You learnt of this madness there?"

"What madness, I know of no madness. You would not regard the love of country as madness," I retorted.

He looked up again and said, "What other places?"

I must have named near a hundred small and big places between Peshawar and Delhi. After a few more irrelevant questions, he suddenly asked, "How would you feel if the government gives

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been crying which was not unusual as many prisoners after being punished or abused by the jail warders would cry. I asked him, "Why have you been crying?" He started weeping again and said, "May she be cursed by Allah, this woman whenever we go to the women wing for weighing my day is spent weeping."

I asked, "Why, what is the matter and what woman?"

He said, "Why that Bakhat Naama whenever she sees this weighing machine she starts weeping and kissing it saying my Amir Jan must have also stood on this machine as if Amir Jan had died at that very moment. Hearing her cry, other Pashtoon prisoners and I also started weeping in pain with her."

I regard this true saga of never dying true love between Amir Jan and Bakhat Nama, both of whom I have seen and met, much superior to the folklore that the Pashtoons tell and recite in gatherings from generation to generation throughout Pashtoon lands such as Adam Khan and Dur Khanai, Fateh Khan and Rabia or even Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet.

Whenever I have the time, I hope to write a novel around this true story but if I cannot, maybe someone else will. This true story of true and lasting love will remain unfinished if I do not record that despite long years of imprisonment amongst criminals and at the mercy of officials, who do not hesitate to rape and dishonour these helpless wards as a routine, Bakhat Naama remained chaste at Mach Jail.

Much later when Abdul Qadir Khan Kasi was detained at Mach Jail in solitary confinement and had gone on a hunger strike, it was this brave Pashtoon woman of honour, who informed the outside world of it. She remained the contact between Arbab Qadir and us purely due to her national pride. She was ultimately released when she was old and well beyond marriageable age.

Annoyance of British Superintendent

On our return to Mach, the superintendent asked us what had happened at Quetta. I told him that the AGG offered us detention of house arrest which we declined. He did not react at that time and had me assigned to the washing lot and the others to the factory.

The next day when on his inspection round the superintendent called me and asked, "Can you work?"

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saying, "It is a difficult demand, why do you want to go to the trouble unnecessarily?" He, however, went and informed the superintendent of our intention who did not approve of our scheme of things at all.

He tried his best to dissuade us from the plan but we told him firmly that he better give us the permission to apply or else we go on strike anyway after a fortnight from that date. Finally he said, "Okay I will inform you later."

While we were still on the way to the factory, the head constable sent a messenger telling us that the head constable had called for us. We turned back and found the head constable waiting by the barracks near the gate with his gang of constables and numberdars. Whenever the jail authorities wanted to beat and physically insult a prisoner, he was brought to this compound, which stood away from the other jail compounds and was specifically constructed for that purpose. We, therefore, decided amongst ourselves that in case of physical assault we would go on a hunger strike immediately till such time that we were allowed contact and visitors from the outside. In case we were separated from one another, we would stop eating till we were brought together again.

When we reached, the head constable asked us where our bedding, utensils and books etc were and deputed some constables to collect them from our usual barracks. He ordered us into the compound, following us alone and laughingly said, "Congratulations! You have already won half the battle. Now onward you would remain assigned to this compound and do whatever little you are asked to." This compound had eight or nine small cells in it. The compound would be locked at night and opened in the morning with no one bothering us. Meals were served at the appointed time. In the meanwhile, the jail authorities did not give us the right of application which we demanded daily. After a few days, the administration relented and allowed us to write the application in which we requested for good and appropriate treatment due to political prisoners and in case of its denial by the government we would protest by going on a hunger strike after two weeks.

Since the government did not respond to our application, we stopped eating at the end of the two weeks, deciding amongst ourselves that we would break the hunger strike only when we

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were given a higher class of the political prisoners or when brought together to collectively decide on another action in case we were separated.

On the second day of our hunger strike, we were separated, Ayub Khan and Isa Khan were shifted to other barracks but housed in separate cells, my brother was shifted to cells of the death row and I was left where we were. A warder was assigned to do the rounds over us each day and night. Food was brought at the appointed hour and placed in front of the cell. After three days, the superintendent and the head warder started visiting us daily, sympathetically urging us to eat and the doctor also came regularly. After the 12th day, the head constable, who was sympathetic and sincere to us, said to me, "Do not kill yourself and your companions by starvation. Nothing happens as a consequence of hunger strike alone in prison, unless accompanied by pressure and propaganda from the outside. People on the outside are not even aware of your hunger strike and none is, therefore, propagating your cause. Only your relatives are aware of your protest as some had come for a visit and I told them about your hunger strike but even they are quiet and not doing anything." In reply I said, "You are right to the extent that you believe in the effectiveness of the propaganda, which I do not. Instead I trust in God, our truthfulness and determination. Sooner or later the government will realise that our demand is just and concede to it."

I felt hungry for the first three days but after that I was not aware of the feeling of hunger anymore. For the first few days, I had the desire to get up and walk around but after that I felt comfortable just lying back. Whenever feeling uncomfortable or exhausted I would take a drink of water, which had a soothing effect. My thoughts and concentration increasingly became clearer and sharper by every passing day. I could read for about half an hour at a time with better understanding and absorption. Sleep took the pattern of that of a child, sleeping and wakening in short spells. After each drink of water, I would urinate which also provided a sense of relief. The need for relieving myself did not arise from day one till soon after the first drink of milk 16 days later. On the 11th day, I was awakened at night by a sentry. He told me that my brother Abdul Salaam Khan had lost his senses and he had been visited by the doctor several times. He keeps repeating that our relatives in the company of an EAC had come to the

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movement, until then although I was committed to doing something I was not clear on the line of action. That night I decided to work for the freedom of the country, the opposition and oppression of the government notwithstanding. The next day, we met our relatives and gave them the signed four pages of conditions. After a few days on June 9, 1931, a car was sent for us and we were released from jail after nearly 11 months of imprisonment. We spent the night at Quetta and went home the next morning.

After a few days of stay at home, I started acquainting myself with the happenings in the country and the state of the national freedom movement. The Balochistan government was in a hurry to release us because a few days ago the newspaper, 'Zamindar'[195], Lahore had demanded the release of the four of us imprisoned in Balochistan by name, following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This news item was arranged by a Punjabi Mohammad Sharif, who owned a shoe shop, the American Boot Shop at Suranjganj Bazaar, Quetta from where we used to buy shoes and thus he knew us.

Sharif was known to Maulana Akhtar Ali Khan,[196] the editor of the 'Zamindar', who had published the news item. The second big news was that all the known national leaders, including those of the Congress, were soon proceeding to London for the Second Round Table Conference (RTC), where a new constitution was to be adopted for India.

Compact with My Elder Brother

On one of those days, my brother said to me, "It appears that the struggle for freedom is going to be a tough fight spreading over a long time entailing imprisonment and other difficulties. Given our Pashtoon setup, the family affairs necessarily require someone's presence and supervision. Even during the past one year the family, our aged widowed mother and other relatives, went through a lot of tough times. For how long will our relatives look after our family affairs for us? Therefore, given the circumstances we both cannot follow the national political path, one of us per force has to sit back and look after the family affairs. If you wish to look after the family, I will take up the national struggle or I will sit back and you do political work."

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immediate cause. After a discussion of three days and many comments, Gandhi's proposal was accepted in total.

On another occasion, after the Congress Working Committee's meeting, a delegation of Muslim clerics, who were members of the Congress from Punjab, including Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari[223] and Maulana Obaidullah Ludhianvi, called on Gandhi Ji. They proposed that the Congress should settle the issues concerning muslims with them as the representatives of the muslims and not discuss them with any other party so that the muslims stand by them. Otherwise, they would be counted in the Congress and the muslims would look for resolving their problems to other parties thus isolating them from the muslim community and would not be able to work with them. The gist of Gandhi's response though not in so many clear words was that they had neither worked with the muslims nor had the will to do so and therefore could not claim to be their representatives. Since they were a part of the Congress and thus shared the same point of view. If, however, they had anything else to say they should have it adopted by the Congress committee on their behalf. If, however, the Muslims agreed to what they stood for and joined the Congress there will automatically be unanimity of view between the Congress and the Muslims just like the Muslims of the NWFP and the Congress. But if the muslims had something different to say, the Congress had to listen to them whatever their platform. These Muslims clerics later then left the Congress party.

One day, I read a news item regarding the immigration of Magsi tribesmen from Balochistan because of the harsh and cruel ways of the chief minister of Kalat State, Mir Shams Shah. That day while walking by the seaside, I observed a small gathering of labourers that recognised me and invited me to address the gathering. I agreed, provided that the gathering adopts a resolution condemning the migration of the Magsis and the cruel ways of the Kalat State government. A resolution to that affect was drafted and approved by the gathering and reported by the press the following day.

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did not arise as the government might tomorrow also demand payment for our one year's stay in prison. I was hoping that he would either give up the claim or auction some property of ours to recover the claimed expenses. The next day, he came back and told some of our relatives that the government did not pay for the upkeep of under-trial prisoners, therefore, the demand for reimbursement was made. This practice is still in vogue in Balochistan, with those, who do not have the resources, beg for food in the bazaar.

He came back after a few days and urged some of our relatives to pay the small amount or he would pay it from his own pocket, because the recovery through auction of property was a hassle not worth going through. The fine has been imposed by the previous EAC, who has now left and bequeathed this problem to me. Much to my regret, the relatives were deceived into paying the money by his pleading and begging. I did not like it but in Pashtoon society, and particularly in our house, the life of relatives, comrades and groups is so intertwined that personal choices and preferences have to be sacrificed especially by younger members such as I was then. I, therefore, remained silent on the issue.

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me a message saying that his brother did not want to be the proctor of the volunteers; therefore, I should choose someone else instead. I, therefore, appointed the elder son of my maternal uncle, Mohammad Aslam Khan, who recruited a small group of his friends as well. They were to leave for Jacobabad 10 days prior to the conference and do their training there.

Mohammad Aslam Khan, however, could not attend the conference because of an untoward incident in the village. Aslam Khan was later that year externed from Balochistan and he took residence in exile at Jacobabad. In 1932, while I was imprisoned at Mach, he came over and took residence in Mach Bazaar but was externed from there as well under the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR). He went back to Jacobabad and started working for the Indian National Congress there. He also started printing a weekly newspaper, Kamal-e-Hind, from Jacobabad that contained fiery patriotic articles concerning the affairs of Balochistan. In 1938 when we formed the Anjuman-e-Watan Party, he came to Quetta but was once again externed from there as well. In 1942, he was arrested during the Quit India Movement[255] and detained at Sukkur Jail where he contracted tuberculosis (TB). The government was willing to release him provided he disowned working for the national freedom movement. His colleagues of Sindh Congress advised him to give the undertaking of good conduct and after release treat his ailment but he did not accept the proposal. He soon became very sick and weak and by the time of his release one-and-a-half-year later, he was just a living skeleton. We sent him to the TB sanatorium Shimla for treatment as he could not come to the Quetta sanatorium. Later on, he was permitted to come to Quetta for treatment and he did come but died after three months. His funeral was held at our ancestral village where he lies buried. His friends at Jacobabad established the Aslam Shaheed Memorial Library in his honour. The district Congress Committee also planned a public hall in his memory towards which Mr Nehru contributed Rs 5,000 during his last tour as a minister of United India to Sindh. By the time work started on the memorial, independence and partition of India occurred.

Nawab Mir Ali Nawaz Talpur of Khairpur State accepted to chair the Jacobabad Conference and donated his court tents and silver chairs for use in the conference. The landlords around Jacobabad, who had houses there, vacated them for use of conference participants. One of the houses was that of the famous nationalist

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them, who would say that Mian Sahib had talked to them and they were ready to follow the suggestions but that I should meet so and so. The majority of them referred me to Sir Mohammad Yakub[274], who was a very obedient and conscious government supporter but frank and not mean. Very frankly, he said in words to these effects, "Mr Mian is an outspoken person, this is a tough task falling under the home secretary which we cannot undertake. You should better lobby Sir Sultan Mohammad Agha Khan[275] on his return from London after a few months and request Mian Sahib to send him with us as well. If Sir Agha Khan is agreeable then he would call us all and none of us can refuse him. As regarding your newspaper, I and Sir Mohammad Shafi would talk to the Foreign Secretary Metcalfe about it."

I contacted Sir Mohammad Shafi, the two of them then met Mr Metcalfe, who had assured them that since the two leading Muslim legislators recommend it, he would discuss it with the AGG Balochistan and request him to adopt the Press and Publication Act there. A year-and-a-half later while I was in prison, the Press Act was extended to Balochistan. Almost 10 years later when Mr Metcalfe was then the AGG Balochistan and the publication of my newspaper 'Istaqlal' was suspended, for which purpose I met him with a press delegation he said to me, "I have stopped the publication as a last resort and I am not pleased by it as it is my own plant. You do not know that after meeting Sir Shafi and Sir Yakub, whom you had sent to me in Delhi, I had to persuade with great difficulty Mr Cater[276], the then AGG, to allow the publication of papers and to extend the Press Act to Balochistan."

Joining the Muslim Conference

Later that year, at the invitation of Sir Maulavi Shafi Daudi and Sir Syed Murtaza Bahadur, I joined their party the Muslim Conference. The Conference had a unique constitution; all the elected muslim members of the central and provincial assemblies were its ex-officio members, besides it also had some members from the public. The Conference had a huge fund at its disposal. I later came to know that all these members were only members in name, seldom attending any meetings or doing party work. All its activities and working were in the hands of Maulavi Shafi Daudi, the secretary general of the Conference.

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The unjust distribution of land has divided society there in two classes and the labour of one is the source of power of the other. Each one of the misappropriated, the economically independent middle class and the educated minority saw in the destruction of the Khans and the government their betterment, personal freedom, self-respect and equality of status and were, therefore, supporting the freedom movement in hoards.

But fortunately Col Sandaman could not create a land-based feudal class in Balochistan as most of the land there is cultivable waste. It was not a paying proposition for the government to have ownership rights settled and recorded. Except for the limited irrigated lands by the privately owned Karez water channel, the tribal ownership rights were settled by the national government of Ahmed Shah Baba 200 years ago. Therefore, every Pashtoon without any exception owns some land somewhere in his tribal land. We, therefore, do not have the two classes of landlord Khans and landless peasants amongst the Pashtoons in Balochistan.

In Balochistan, before the advent of the British and even now, to be a Khan (leader) one has to have the traits of hospitality, bravery and leadership; leading the people in times of adversity. The Khan would be facilitating and advancing social welfare and justice throughout his life to justify the claim of being a Khan. He would represent the people in the public and tribal and intra tribal gatherings and would be well versed in the traditions and ways of the people.

The British intervened in the leadership pattern of the Pashtoons, imposing upon the Khan subservience and obedience to the alien government and its representatives, foreign as well as locally recruited. Over time, Jirga membership, Levies services and touting for government officials became a trait of the Khans. The official Khans started suppressing their people and even depriving them of their lands, especially fertile lands. These British appointed Khans and Maliks have fallen so low that they would do nothing for public benefit without some gratification, including such tasks in which they themselves were stakeholders like the cleaning and maintenance of commonly owned subterranean water channel, the Karez.

The second difficulty in the way of forming a mass based party is that the well-off landlords enjoying the patronage of the government are anti-people and their compatriots, the educated

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poor teachers could not join in the national movement without financial assistance.

Except for Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi and a few other well-off government servants, I was the only one, who had independent income that too amounting to about Rs 5,000 a year. Therefore, while I paid my own expenses and at times assisted others, I used to collect public donations for the party. Collecting donations was also difficult because for one, the people were mostly poor and the rich were afraid and shy of anti-government organisations. Except for me, they would not trust anyone else for fear lest the government came to know about their helping hand, which was justified as only a few could keep such a secret.

Even as late as 1957, on the occasion of Maulana Bashani's visit to Quetta, I approached a few select people for monetary contribution and took along with me one of the most experienced and learned of the party, the secretary of the party, Mr Hashim Khan BA, so that he would learn how to go about collecting contributions and secondly, as a witness so that as the party secretary he would also know the total amount collected.

One person, who was totally dependent for his business on the government, gave a contribution of Rs 500. The next day we called on a Punjabi trader and Hashim Khan bluntly said to him that so and so paid Rs500, he too should pay the same amount. We visited another, who said that he would never contribute to such a cause but put his hand in my pocket delivering Rs 500.

I faced these difficulties as the party needed funds and fund collection raised suspicions. I am not certain whether collecting donations was worth the suspicions of misappropriation by party members that would be propagated at the behest of the government in the newspapers. But then even Bacha Khan faces such accusations, who has never ever asked for donations from anyone.

A Sample of Collecting Donations from the Pashtoons in those Days of the 1930s

One day, without any prior information, Maulana Abdul Baqi, editor of the 'Azad' Lahore, came to Quetta to Mr Magsi, seeking financial assistance for his newspaper that had incurred losses. The next morning Magsi suggested that we raise a collection for

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government at London. We worked over the draft at Jam Noorullah Khan's house at night as both Mr Jam and Mr Babar were government servants attending office during the day. Nawabzada Mir Shahbaz Khan Nausherwani had a special contribution to these meetings as he would play rubab for us that would keep us awake and refreshed.

Mir Shahbaz Khan Nausherwani

Mir Shahbaz Khan Nausherwani was the estranged younger brother of Sardar Habibullah Khan of Kharan, who had left Kharan State in his early youth and had taken residence at Quetta. He was an intelligent and engaging conversationalist. His brother was all out against him, confiscating his property, refusing a stipend or maintenance allowance and his entry into Kharan. But all the same, he was a gifted person and besides meeting his expenses, he extended hospitality to visitors from Kharan on a daily basis. When leaving Kharan, he was barely literate in Persian but later he acquired education and turned out to be well-read and informed. He was the brother-in-law of Jam Noorullah Khan and was hence known to me as well. Over time he became a close friend and a trusted colleague. At one time, he was elected the president of the Quetta City branch of the party and was a member of its working committee. But since he was pursuing his property claims at Kharan, he could not openly come out in opposition to the government and when in 1940-41 the party decided to join in the individual civil disobedience call of Gandhi Ji, with my consent and the permission of Jam, he left the party. He was all for the people of Kharan and not even against his brother, who however, very staunchly opposed him. Despite our close contacts with him and the wish of the government, he did not agree to restore his property rights. Shahbaz Khan, however, did not give up his claim either and pursued it in an upright and dignified manner. Only recently, after the death of Sardar Habibullah Khan, his son Mustafa Khan, who sided with Shahbaz Khan against his father, has been appointed the Sardar who would probably give him his share of property at Kharan.

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lengthy discussion about the Holy Quran and also about Balochistan. His knowledge and understanding of the Holy Quran was vast and deep. He explained many a passages that I did not grasp well. But on the question of miracles, despite the lengthy discussion, I was not fully satisfied. Although he regarded most of the miracles related in the Old Testament as exaggerations and did not regard all the quoted sayings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) as correct, he nevertheless believed in miracles. His Argument was that since the belief preceded the Holy Quran and as it was the last revealed book of God, it should have clearly stated the contrary, calling it incorrect and would not have stated it in the form that it could be interpreted as such. He did not accept my position that the Quran was basically a religious book and it did not have to uphold historical events as a matter of religion and faith.

We left the matter at that after a lengthy discussion. He appreciated my knowledge of the Holy Quran and the effort that I made in understanding it. He said, "I take you into my tutorship. Whenever you have any queries regarding the understanding of the Holy Quran send me the queries in writing and I will send you a written reply. But because of my busy schedule, you should write me only one letter in a month and raise only one question in it and if I delay in replying you, you should not be discouraged or offended." While still under his tutorship, when I translated his commentary of the Holy Quran (*Tafseer*) into Pashto and asked his permission to have it published, he willingly granted me the permission which he did not grant in his life time to anyone else.

Later on, we discussed the Balochistan situation. He particularly asked about Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan and gave me this message for him, "The aim of political work and struggle is to be free as a person or a party to serve and guide one's people without any one stopping him from this pursuit. Now that you have gained this freedom and ability on becoming the Sardar, you should devote yourself and your wealth and the powers of the Sardar to the service and guidance and welfare of your tribe rather than pursue politics. The British cannot be chased out by slogans alone. If you devote yourself to the service of your people, then you will get such companions and believers, who will help you attain this objective." I conveyed this message to him and as I myself was of the view that he give up politics and instead serve his people in a constructive way and convince the

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British, as their ally, for the need of reforms in the Kalat State and Balochistan. He agreed with me and together we made a plan for the development of Jhal Magsi in which we gave priority to education and established a school there called Jamia Yousafia. But he was distracted from fully following the development Programme as he did not want to give up politics abruptly, besides his colleagues and party did not want to lose the support that he gave them as a Sardar in Baloch society. In Baloch society then and even now, the Sardar is highly influential so much so that except for him and his family others have no influence on the people nor can anyone claim any standing and influence. No party could work in Baloch society unless it had a Sardar heading it. Besides, the British also became alarmed and lost nerves in the presence of the Balochistan Conference, an all-India based political organisation with an active branch in Balochistan. Abdul Aziz Kurd and I were arrested and Yousaf Ali Khan was pressurised to give up politics and since it was expected that he may also be arrested, therefore, after our arrest he went to London and the British had him removed from the Magsi chieftainship during his absence.

Experience of Baloch Society and the Difficult Life at Jhal Magsi

On one occasion, to discuss and plan the Jhal Magsi future development with Nawab Magsi, I set out for Jhal Magsi in the company of two relatives in the car of one of our relatives, Arz Mohammad Khan who was a contractor. We set off from Quetta for Jhal Magsi involving a journey of some 250 miles.

We left Quetta in the afternoon and planned to stay the night at Sibi where Arz Mohammad Khan had contract work going on and expected to reach Jhal the next afternoon or by the evening at the most. On the way to Sibi, the car tires punctured six times and we reached Sibi late in the night and stayed with a friend who was posted as a schoolteacher there. The next morning we started off for Jhal. Not far from Sibi, our car got stuck in the mud as there was no metalled road between Sibi and Jacobabad at that time. Later, the car got stuck in the mud at Bail Pat. We went to seek help at a camp settlement of Jats. There we hired a person and his bullocks for Rs5 but when we came to the car the bullock would not go near the vehicle being shy of it. Then we went to the

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nearby railway station where some railway employees were working and requested them to help us. But since they were expecting railway officials, they asked us to wait till 4 pm when their official working day would end. We made it to Nathal station by nightfall from where the way to Jhal, an unmarked dirt road, diverged from the main road. We, therefore, we stopped there for the night. It was a small railway station with the station master, two policemen and three porters. The station master was kind enough to accommodate us in the official rest house. There was no place from where we could procure food. The station people had some spare rations and a chicken, which we purchased from them and spent the night there.

In the morning, we took directions from the station master and set off on the unmarked road that passed through the Kachi plain. Since the place was very sparsely populated, there was no one to be seen for miles. Whenever we did come across someone and asked for directions, he would say that we proceed till we came across such and such city and then ask there for more directions. We realised much later that what they called a city was just a few mud houses. We soon lost our way but even then we kept following the ox cart tracks hoping that it would lead us to Jhal Magsi but soon realised that we were lost.

In the heat of the Kachi Plain, that also has mirages, we saw a city at a distance hoping that it would be Jhal but when we reached there it was a collection of a few houses. All the settlement, men, women and children came out on seeing the car. We were told that it was the city of Gandawa that had a resident of the Kalat State titled "Mastoofi", who turned out to be an acquaintance named Dr Peer Mohammad, previously a veterinary assistant at Quetta. In his office, he was seated on a broken chair in front of a table with a huge wooden chest. Besides him were a number of people squatting on the floor. This was his court and the people were the dignitaries of the surrounding area whom he addressed as "Rais", a title used for dignitaries. The people that we saw there gave an impression of extreme poverty. When we entered the office of the Mastoofi, one of the squatting persons was pleading with him that he was being harshly treated and that it was beyond his means etc. The Mastoofi, while addressing him as Rais, was telling him that waiving the fine was not within his powers as it was the demand of the law. I later found out that all the pleading was for half a rupee.

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and cope with such a situation, every member should be vigilant to enforce organisational principles of accepting the majority and adhering to the norms of the movement wherein position only means to serve and achieve the movement's objectives. Lest, several powerful political organisations around the world succumbed to such internal rivalries, another addition to a list of failed movements would rest upon us.

We should also deliberate over the existence of numerous tiny states, fiefdoms and their different nature and system that contradict the needs and wants of their residents. The demand of some tribes to replace their present chieftains with better ones can confuse the resident of the non-tribal British settled areas. But it is a core issue for the tribal, as getting employment or transfer is for the resident of the settled areas. Separation of one area from the other or unification of regions might be viewed as difference of opinion and priority but the relations among the people of such regions divided by the colonial power cannot separate the people of these divided areas. They are interwoven in historical, social and political relations and cannot remain oblivious to each other. The usurper colonial power has given them different names or artificial identities or applied different tactics for their colonisation. Certainly, we want our brethren, separated through colonial duress, to be independent and prosperous.

Therefore, in the given political circumstances, it is the duty of the movement of 'Anjuman-e-Watan' to strive morally and politically to highlight their plight by articulating and supporting their demands, if physical presence and political activities are not feasible at the moment.

Some elements falsely assume that they can divert attention and antagonise public opinion by painting 'Anjuman-e-Watan' as the Congress of Balochistan and dub the [Indian] Congress as a Hindu party. The objective of the 'Anjuman-e-Watan' is the well-being of the downtrodden, labourers and peasants. However, neither do I need to contradict nor to waste time on clarification whether the [Indian] Congress is a Hindu party or not. If the 'Anjuman-e-Watan' becomes a part of the [Indian] Congress, I would have no qualms and objection.

However, at the moment, it is a fact that the 'Anjuman-e-Watan' is not the extension of the [Indian] Congress which is spread in all of India except Balochistan. The Indian Congress has its own specific

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would spread. This is not the case and the causes of this hatred are different and I will refer to these later.

I am hopeful, and I invite you to participate in this hope, that a day will soon dawn when this law, which is an insult to global law, will be removed from the face of this world due to its inefficacy.

I admit that the prosecution's case that I made speeches at Hyderabad and Karachi or wrote all these newspaper articles presented here, is true and that these were penned by me. It is a fact that I did all this. While I will discuss the weaknesses of the prosecution's witnesses later, at this time I admit that I wrote each word of these articles and uttered every word of these speeches. I have only referred to absolutely true facts in these speeches and writings. These are pointing out only a few of Balochistan government's weaknesses. Undoubtedly, I have called Balochistan a poor government, needing improvement.

Apart from these occasions, I have discussed and unmasked ever since I was mature enough, various atrocities inflicted on me and others. For the last five years, I have confined myself essentially to such revelations; whether at home, or outside; in Balochistan or elsewhere in India, on platforms of the subjects in addition to interaction with government officials, members of the assembly, through newspapers or otherwise. I have hardly written, or spoken, on any other subject than identifying the weaknesses of the government and need for its improvement.

The government is so repressive towards its subjects that it even wants to curb their valid voice. So much so, that if in Gulistan, one person demands recitation of the translation of the Holy Quran, the Superintendent of Police immediately reaches the venue and calls the people of the area, requiring them for three consecutive days to record their statements. With use of carrot and stick, he directs them to desist from a repetition in future of asking for, or reciting, a translation of the Holy Quran.

The government is so repressive that a young Nawabzada is fined Rs 1,000 and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for publishing a valid article in a newspaper. During this reign, due to misdeeds of some criminals from across the border, the government fines various tribes of the Achakzai people, a grand sum of Rs 9,000. The fines are imposed even on orphans and widows. This is the land where if some criminals from across the border even pass

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villages of a peaceful tribe within a one mile distance, the people of these villages, whether rich or poor, are fined different amounts. And if such people are unable to pay the fines, they are put in jail, though they are innocent. In the twentieth century, the evil of slavery and slave trade has been abolished the world over, but this government, under covenants with some people, has accepted this unnatural right. These people are allowed to hold male and female slaves. Under this government the chastity of thousands of women is at the mercy of their masters, as they are female slaves.

Not only this, but the chastity of a Muslim slave-woman is the property of even non-Muslim owners. These are times when, on occasions of visits of officials for hunting and other entertainments, poor farmers are commonly subjected to illegal, unpaid labour Under the present rule, an unfortunate farmer is also obliged to protect electricity poles and the overhead wires over these poles, even if his lands are miles away from his residence. If these installations are harmed and even if the offender's identity is known, the poor farmer is liable to pay damages. Under the present rule, a person already in jail could be punished, under the law, for the misdeeds of those, who are free and outside jail. Under this government, instead of one uniform law, there may be a new law for each case; where customs and traditions are also accepted as law. Under this government a 'Jirga' (a government appointed tribal council) is accepted as court where members are not elected according to community rules, nor are educationally qualified as per court rules. Suffice for them to be merely favourites of the local government officer. Here there are no rules or regulations for the guidance of these members of Jirga.

In these courts, the evidence of a police informer is sufficient as proof even for serious crimes. And even if unreliable evidence is available, it is considered more than sufficient for proof of guilt. Often times innocent persons are given grave punishments that later result in border and tribal disputes, which cause other crimes. These so-called judges receive no compensation.

Under this government, women are accepted as property of their relatives, like other items of assets. This is a government where a widow is considered part of her late husband's bequest. A few days back, a case was decided in this very court, in my presence,

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me, even if it is for the feeblest of reasons. In view of my beliefs, as presented earlier, this diagnosis and prescription are both wrong. It is not possible for me to correct the diagnosis at this stage.

I can amend the prescription to the extent that some restrictions placed on me will be ineffective, as I cannot change my views and beliefs about the government, whatever the cost. Though I do not care much of depositing any monies with the government, yet this will be no honest cooperation that I pay for bail bonds only for confiscation. And as Mahatma Gandhi says, this is not a cat and mouse game either. Is it appropriate that I deposit guarantees and the government confiscates these?

It may be better (as I had written to the present AGG in 1932 when government agents were making life impossible for me) that I happily suggest that you may cancel my bail and keep me imprisoned till such time that the Balochistan government's fears are allayed to the extent that I can feel the difference between life within, or life outside jail. Or Balochistan may permit a free Abdul Samad to reside in its precincts and I should gracefully remain under the government's oversight and surveillance for as long as it wishes. I should then peacefully wait for good times, when passage of time or the effects of my sacrifices prove to the government that it is really because of the latter. Only under this situation will I have a satisfied spirit. It will be so satisfied, Mr Magistrate, that if I had not known that the prosecution has already limited your discretions in this case – that you can only demand guarantees or in lieu thereof propose a sentence of a limited imprisonment – I would urge you to punish me with the hardest sentence in your powers, without reservations. And believe me that I will be least disturbed by the punishment, far less than the anxiety you will go through while sentencing me.

I must thank the government that unlike its previous habit and my earlier experience, it did not resort to any false excuses or cosmetic proofs against me, and after analysis of its earlier faults, it did not make unsuccessful attempts at fabrication.

Perhaps for the first time in Balochistan's history, a case against a native was not sent to an irregular Jirga tribunal, but the case has been heard by a legally constituted court of law. For reasons of not prolonging the case, I did not participate in the proceedings. This example accepts, by implication, that the youth of

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Hindu, what they were to do was for them to choose. After a long chat he said to me, "You give us the authority and we will bring about a compromise between you and the PA. We will go and meet him in this regard."

I said, "I am willing to accept every legitimate compromise that is in keeping with the ways of Pashtoons but I cannot compromise on my objective which is the freedom of this country and the demand of people all over the country nor am I going to accept anything dishonourable. It is for you to decide whether you wish to talk to the PA or proceed with the trial and recommend a sentence."

My brother told me at that time that those were worthless people and I should not have talked to them on those lines. In reply I said that they were talking of a conciliation from which one must never turn away. Let them come out with whatever they proposed.

I was sent to jail while the Jirga met again. After a few days, I was again produced before the Jirga and the order of the PA was read out to me in words to this affect, "The Jirga has recommended to me that he (Abdul Samad) repented his doings and the government should also not imprison him. I agree with the recommendations provided he gives it in writing that he is repentant along with a surety of good behaviour, otherwise the Jirga should give other recommendations."

I laughed at this order of the PA and turned to the Jirga and said to them, "What is this? You said you were going to work out conciliation."

In reply I was told, "That is all we could do."

They made a second recommendation stating, "He deserves to be sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment at the end of which he would give a surety of Rs 3,000 of good behaviour for another three years. We hope he would be meted out better treatment in prison being an educated young man from a good family of social standing." Through this move, the Jirga members wanted to absolve themselves in the eyes of the public, giving the impression that they tried their best to help me but that I was not willing to accept their proposal and hence they were rendered helpless and without any other choice. When I went to prison, I was deeply saddened by the lowly and disparaging expectations these Jirga members had of me. My ready acceptance of the offer

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of conciliation with the PA had probably emboldened them to believe that I would accept their proposal of repentance. I spent a sleepless night thinking of how to atone for this slackness on my part. I then immediately wrote to the PA that I would undertake a 21 day fast from a nominated day to purify my soul and that I would undertake the fast wherever I was. Currently, I was informing him of my decision as prisoner so that it would not cause him unnecessary anxiety.

The next day, the EAC drove me to Quetta in his own car and instead of the prison he took me to the residence of the PA[346]. He went in alone first and later sent for me. The Englishman said, "Well Abdul Samad!" and then waited for my response.

I said, "I do not understand, why am I here?"

"I thought you may wish to say something," the Englishman continued.

I said, "No thank you. I have nothing to say."

He then said, "We have hardly met as you were away in India during most of my tenure. I wonder how you can afford so much travelling which appears to be well beyond your personal means."

Then looking at the EAC he continued, "What do you think sardar, can he afford all the expenses?"

Sardar Jaffar replied, "No Sahib Bahadur, his expenses are well beyond his income. His other relatives can hardly afford to make ends meet and are often in debt." The Englishman quickly continued with a cynical smile on his face saying, "It does not bother me if others cannot spend their money and instead give it to you."

I said, "Pardon me for saying so, you and your EAC are ill informed and have miscalculated my expenses on the basis of your own. You always travel at the expense of others by first class accompanied by one or two attendants. Then you live in high class hotels paying Rs20 rent and travel all over the city by taxis. Each trip of yours to Delhi and Karachi costs the government nearly Rs 1,000 and you probably spend some money out of your pocket as well. Mine is not like that as I travel third class that costs Rs 12 till Delhi and Rs 8 to Karachi. I mostly put up with others and do not indulge in any extra spending. Compared to your Rs 1,000 of others, I spend just Rs 30 or so of my own. As for

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the proposition that my relatives live in debt and I spend on national work from my pocket, an example of that is in front of you. My relatives, like this Sardar, dress in expensive turbans tied around expensive caps, put on a coat and an overcoat, silk shirts and imported English shoes and socks. Such dress would cost at least Rs 500 whereas I am dressed in this hand-woven cloth with a shoulder cloth and Pashtoon slippers that would cost no more than Rs 30. Even if I have four pairs a year you can calculate the savings on this item alone. Likewise are my other personal expenses."

He laughed and said, "You know your economics well, now you can leave." Sardar Jaffar Khan had me delivered at the jail. There I was kept in C class but in separate quarters called political ward. I was not allowed visitors. A few days later, the PA awarded me three years rigorous imprisonment and the usual surety of Rs 3,000 for good behaviour for three years thereafter. I was not given a higher class in the prison as it was not adopted in Balochistan prisons at that time. Like the previous time, I was given the shameful uniform and put in fetters and sent to Mach Jail the next day. There I was put in ward No15, separate from other prisoners. The superintendent of the jail was the usual English doctor named Dr Thomson. The assistant was one Sheikh Ikram Ali, the current Inspector General Prisons, West Pakistan. It was customary to keep new entrants to the prison in quarantine for 10 days for fear of carrying any infectious disease. While I was still in quarantine, the appointed day for my twenty one-day fast arrived and I stopped taking food. I was kept there for three to four days and weighed daily. I was losing weight on an average of five pounds per day in the initial days. I was then shifted to the prison hospital. My fetters were removed and I was kept in a separate room and three persons were allotted to do my work for me. All my books except for the Holy Quran were taken away from me. I used to be issued one book written in English and one in Urdu from the Jail library, reading which would keep me occupied. I would be visited by the jail administration and doctor several times a day. The orders were to call them even during the night if the need arose and my condition deteriorated, a practice that was followed then for all sick prisoners. The jail medical compounder used to be on duty round the clock but when the case was beyond him to handle, the assistant doctor and the English doctors would be sent for. These days in our prisons, the

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medical staff and doctors only make an occasional appearance during the day for a short while and during the night there is no medical help for the prison inmates. Col Bashir, a onetime intelligence chief at Quetta now a prisoner at Haripur Jail, warned me by saying, "You would not have to fall sick before 10 am and after 9 pm or then you would not be calling for medical help."

The Mach Jail doctors were convinced that after a few days I would be unable to move as was expected in such cases of hunger strike. But for some reason I remained mobile and in full control of my senses without needing assistance till the end, nor did I fall sick. It was probably due to my strong, young and healthy body. The jail superintendent was of the opinion that it was all due to my strength of conviction and determination. Amongst the jail inmates, it was rumoured that I was a holy being fed by celestial powers and fairies, otherwise how could I survive without eating for so long and rise by myself to take a drink of water, urinate, and say my prayers as well?

Many people, who went on hunger strike in prison, used to eat on the sly which could not go undetected by the medics as one either did not lose weight or started gaining fast towards the end, besides attending to the call of nature as a result of eating. The jail administration would even send them food on the sly to keep their situation from deteriorating. The jail authorities, particularly Col Syed Bashir[347], the former Inspector General Prisons, used to tell me stories of such leaders, especially Allama Mashraqi. I used to be weighed daily. My weight loss to begin with was 5 lbs per day which fell to less than one pound towards the end. I used to take about 13 large glasses of water during the day that was nearly 13 lbs in weight and used to take a daily bath under tap in closed quarters. The roof fan used to be on most of the time and sleep was like that of a child, in small doses at a time, falling asleep whenever I felt tired and waking at the slightest noise. I could read for a short while but my sense of understanding sharpened. The jail administration gave me no trouble rather extended me all care. Therefore, I kept my temper and humour. All the prisoners and jail authorities, especially Sheikh Ikram, were sympathetic and caring. The Sheikh would even say at times, "My wife was asking about your welfare and wished you well and prayed for your health." During the duration of the fast (21 days), I lost about 70 lbs weight. On the last day, I took a bath at the usual hour, offered prayers of thanksgiving, read a few

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verses of the Holy Book and broke my fast with sweetened milk. After half-an-hour, I felt the call of nature which I did not feel during the fasting period. Then I went into a deep sleep. Even after the atonement fast, I was kept in the hospital for another two months and was later shifted back to Ward 15, away from other inmates.

Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd

A few days prior to my imprisonment sentence, I came to know through the press that Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd was sentenced to three years imprisonment by the Kalat Jirga and sent to Mach Jail. Although we were both at Mach jail, we remained unaware of one another for quite some time even after my coming to Mach. When I came, he was assigned to the hospital and while I was shifted to the hospital, he was moved to Ward No 8. Even so, within Mach Jail the wards are surrounded by compound walls and if the jail authorities so wish some prisoners cannot meet for years despite being in close proximity in the same institution. The jail authorities then and even now try to keep prisoners out of contact with one another which is an impossible task as the prisoners establish channels of communication in the presence of such severe restrictions. While I was in the hospital, he knew where I was and so did I know of him. When I was shifted to Ward No 15, a sepoy brought me a letter from Kurd, who was in the nearby Ward No 8. He had written something about himself and similarly had asked about me. I sent my verbal reply through the sepoy as I did not have any writing material. The next day, he sent me some paper and pencils but I informed him that I did not write letters in prison and when the superintendent would came on visit, I would ask him to put the two of us together and then there would be no need of writing letters secretly.

When the superintendent came on the visit I asked him to put us together. He refused it although it was not prohibited by the rules nor was such a condition laid in the prison sentence. When I failed to convince him, I said to him that given his attitude he left us no choice but to correspond with one another on the sly. In response, he said that if we were caught in the act he would punish us for it. I told him that the subsequent action was his discretion.

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whatever they could of the available discretionary privileges from the prison administration.

In those days, the use of tobacco in prison was prohibited. Addiction to tobacco is such a curse that the users would go to any length to procure it. In the jail black market, however, tobacco was available at double the price and is even so these days, with half the price going to the procurer, who often is an agent of some official of the prison. Money is brought to the prisoner at 25 percent commission plus the risk that all of it may be appropriated by the carriers. In that eventuality, the prisoners cannot even complain because they would surely be punished for confessing to keeping money while the accused may or may not be questioned regarding it. It also happened often that after the delivery of money or some other things, an official was informed who would recover it from the person during personal search. Under the circumstances, the money would be taken by the official and with the consent of the prisoner so that he was saved the extra punishment because of the discovery. Besides, tobacco procured by this channel was often shared by the numberdar and other prisoners, who came to know of it otherwise they would report it and the prisoner would be punished. The punishment in prison is either physically very harsh or deduction from the good conduct remissions earned.

Despite all the hazards, the prisoners could not give up the use of tobacco. Some would even smuggle in opium, cannabis and even alcoholic spirits, duly paying the jail officials and carriers for it. Despite this illicit traffic in tobacco, the prisoners were off and on punished for it. Tobacco based punishments would outweigh by far all others on the annual average because due to their dire need, the prisoners would persist in its procurement irrespective of the danger involved. I have observed penniless prisoners perform the labour of others in return for as little as two native rolled cigars (*biri*) or a small amount of ground tobacco (*naswar*), enough for just two doses at the most.

Even currently in jails, the use of tobacco is allowed and so is keeping small amounts of eatables like butter oil and lumped brown sugar (*gur*). But even so the authorities have left many loopholes in the rules to exploit the prisoners at will. For example, keeping a match box is forbidden although cigarettes are allowed.

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toilet at night. Another thing that I could not get used to was eating millet bread. Millet bread provision was stopped while I was in the hospital and the same discretionary facility was continued even afterwards. The third thing that I detested the most was body frisking, from which I was exempted all along. Therefore, there were no unbearable difficulties and I gave up the thought of asking for a better class.

In the meanwhile, the Inspector General Prisons came for a visit. I made two complaints to him, one that I was feeling lonely and be put with other prisoners and secondly, about the rusted iron eating and drinking utensils. He took my hands in his and said in connection to my first request, "Your hands are even more deli cate than mine. The other prisoners have to perform hard labour and I do not want that you should perform rigorous labour neither can you perform it, therefore, you are well off here by yourself."

I said, "There are other literate and cultured prisoners around, so put me with them." He smiled but did not respond any further. About the utensils he said, "You have been given the utensils of the hospital what better do you want?"

I said, "If I cannot be provided porcelain chinaware and glass utensils then at least I should be provided brass glass and plates as those of the hospital can be withdrawn any time."

He said, "I will see whatever can be done." After some time, I started being regularly visited by the jail superintendent. He would stroll with me for an hour or two at a time. He was a cultured Englishman and like all Englishmen, as an individual, he did not grudge us our national struggle nor did he regard us as criminals or ridicule our national struggle for freedom. He soon provided me chinaware plates and cups on his own authority. "We will see if anyone inquires of me," he said.

Besides that, he arranged that I be locked up two hours later than the others and unlocked earlier in the morning. My English improved by talking to him. The reason for his visits, I later learnt, was that he did not get along well with his assistants, who had ganged up against him under the leadership of Sheikh Ikram Ali, who later replaced him as jail superintendent. During those days, I also planted flowers in my compound which was an added interest for time spent well.

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Balochi alone. Thus within three weeks, I picked up Balochi which I continued to practice asking for guidance whenever in difficulty and soon became proficient at it. Not long after, Mr Thomson was transferred and was replaced by Mr Raleigh, who had gone on leave to London.

When Wazir Khan was posted with me again, I told him that along with reading I would teach him writing as well. He again became nervous because he did not trust himself but I encouraged him all along. After three months, I told him to write a letter home by himself rather than having it written by the jail clerks. He could not believe that a letter written by him would be delivered. He was afraid that it would waste his letter entitlement card and when he did write it he had it checked by me and the jail clerk several times before posting it. He went quite berserk with disbelief and happiness the day he received the reply to the letter that he had written. He came jumping to me continuously shouting, "Khan I have received a reply to my letter." I tried to calm him down lest he comes to harm from too much excitement but to no avail. He kept repeating that sentence and kept on jumping and dancing with excitement for quite some time and when quite exhausted, he sat down to read the letter and would every now and then shout with excitement that they understood what he had written, including the sentence that he himself had written the letter. I have yet to see anyone as excited as Wazir Khan at that time. I am convinced that if an untrained teacher like myself could teach a layman to read and write in six months, and that too in a medium that was not his mother tongue and without any facilities, then a trained teacher with better facilities would easily teach the same to a class in a year or so in his or her mother tongue. I did not get the time to try the experiment myself. I always taught something to others while in prison.

Testing My English Knowledge

My study of English continued and I was aware of my progress because I came across fewer words that I did not know in a page of a new book. There would just be a word or two that I did not know but I was not sure whether I had sufficient working knowledge of English language especially writing. One day, however, Nizami sent me some complicated and detailed appeal letters of the children of the Kurd Sardar regarding the

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distribution of his inheritance, for translation into English. He had also sent me paper and pencil along with the papers to be translated. I managed to do what I was asked in a few days and showed them to the assistant superintendent, Sheikh Ikram, for my own satisfaction. By then Mr Sheikh knew of my writing on the cell wall and would sometimes even bring me his personal newspaper, 'The Tribune'. Once he even provided me paper, pen and an envelope as a gesture of goodwill because he was fond of a good Karakul lamb cap which my brother had procured for him from Kabul, for which however he paid. On reading my translation of the appeal papers, he said to me, "This translation cannot be yours as you say you have studied only up to the eighth class whereas this translation is not only correct but rather very good." This assessment of his encouraged me and I continued the practice of writing on the ground and the cell walls, translating Urdu, Persian and Pashto sentences into English and vice-versa.

Statements of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) – Hadith

When young, I had studied the statements of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) especially the *Mushqat*[355] collections with Maulana Sher Mohammad Sagzai. But when I read six books at the same time and compared the commentators, who were not in agreement on the authority of the sayings and examined the efforts of Allama Nowi[356] and Hajr Askalani[357] at bringing together contradictory statements, I tended to fall back on the approach of Imam Abu Hanifa[358], who regarded only 70 statements as authentic.

I also tended to agree with the approach of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that all statements are questionable, especially on observing that in the face of the fear of the 8th century seminarians (*Wahizeens*), even a philosopher like Imam Ghazali did not separate the authentic from the doubtful, reproducing all despite saying himself on many occasions that, "If related correctly this statement would be read like this." I became doubtful of the authenticity of the books of those days and tended to accept the standards laid by Ibn-e-Jawzi[359] according to whom, "Any statement that is not in keeping with the Holy Book, contradictory to the common sense and which rewards a small good excessively

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or which punishes a small fault exceedingly or which is derogatory is not worthy of believing."

Quarrel Between Mr Thomson and Mr Kurd

Mr Aziz Kurd had on one occasion requested Mr Thomson to put the two of us together. In reply he had said that it was not allowed and added by way of curse these words, "you bloody pair", which Kurd did not grasp at that time and later wrote to me asking its meaning.

Mr Kurd sent a note to the superintendent protesting the remarks and in response, Mr Thomson and Mr Sheikh visited Kurd and apologised to him. One day, I received word from the outside that my brother, Khan Abdul Salaam Khan, had come to visit me. The next morning, I was called to the visiting area of the jail. When I went to the meeting place, after a long wait, no one came and the jail constable said to me, "Let us go back, your visitors have not come. The office people had made a mistake."

He was telling a lie, because in prison the authorities try their best to keep the prisoners in the dark about the happenings of the outside and other unrelated jail affairs, although there are no secrets in prison and every event is well-known by all. While still in the visiting area, I heard the voice of my brother, he was talking loudly with someone, in fact having a quarrel with someone, but it was not clear what or with whom he was fighting. The next day, my brother came to visit, when I asked him about yesterday, he said, "Yes, I came to visit you yesterday but the gate guard (constable) insisted on my body search. I told him that I was not his prisoner and refused the search, telling him that he had no right to insult me, whereupon the guard reported the matter to the assistant superintendent, who supported the demand of the guard and when I started to quarrel with him the jail superintendent came along and he too supported the demand of body search and added that if I wished, the deputy or he himself would search me instead of the constable. He also said that it was a necessary requirement without implying insult and that if it pleased me, I could search him and let him search me in return. Whereupon I said that you may not be regarding body search an insult whereas I do and left without seeing you. I then sent a

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telegram to the government, stating that I was being refused an interview with my brother without a body search. The government then sent them a message forbidding my body search. Hence, I am here to visit you today."

It appears that visitors usually smuggled money to the prisoners which would be recovered during the search, from which the guard would take some as bribe, distributing the collection amongst his superiors. Since we did not indulge in such activities, my brother was not obliged to curry favour with the jail authorities by bribing them, so they insisted on the search which my brother refused.

Coming Together with Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd

Prior to his transfer, Mr Thomson brought Mr Kurd and me together at Ward No 8. Kurd had not been allowed the privilege of wheat bread, half a kg of milk in the morning and evening and the use of chinaware utensils. After a few days, I requested the superintendent that since we lived and ate together, either the privileges be extended to him or withdrawn from me as well. He insisted that I was ill and needed better food, whereas he was not ill. But after a little persuasion, he agreed to give him the same privileges as medical requirement for his bad teeth and we spent our time together well.

Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, however, remained withdrawn and quiet at times and would be annoyed if I tried to humour him. I later came to know from our outside contacts that he suffered occasional body pain and spasms, for which he was taking some local medication and was sad and withdrawn when the medicine supplies were late in coming. In those days, people did not probe their friends and well-wishers unnecessarily nor did they display their bad habits in public. Although I knew Aziz Kurd for three years and we were in prison for one year, I remained unaware of his ailment. We were companions with a common goal and that was the bond between us.

Later, because of their stay and experience at Karachi, some of our friends did not bother to hide their weaknesses and took pleasure in exposing those of others in the name of being progressive or communists, especially the two brothers Nizami and Unqa used

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More of these I will write. In a press statement on his return, he had said, "Although it is for Abdul Samad and Abdul Aziz Kurd, presently in prison, to give direction to the national movement in Balochistan, in my view, however, the freedom of the country without the economic freedom and prosperity of the people is meaningless. Had the Indian nationalists paid sufficient attention to the economic prosperity of the public along with political freedom, the British rulers of India would not have dared to say about us that, "when caravans pass dogs do bark."

This statement of his indicated that he too, like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had been swayed by the apparent prosperity and imperial wealth of England. He too was probably of the opinion that we could not gain national freedom without first becoming an educated, prosperous society. Someone related to me that Yousaf Ali Khan had said, "When he met Sir Agha Khan in England and talked about Balochistan, the Agha Khan had asked him about the number of lawyers, doctors, engineers and international traders from Balochistan and when he was told that these categories of persons did not exist in Balochistan, nor could they be there for many years to come in the face of current British policy, the Agha Khan had then advised him to produce such people as these are the pre-requisites of freedom and then come to him." Yousaf Ali Khan is reported to have said that he was much impressed by this advice of Agha Khan and that is what he meant by the earlier quoted press statement.

Given his mercurial personality and his ready acceptance of truthful ground realities, I am not surprised by his statement but I am convinced that this change in attitude was neither permanent nor induced by any fear. All that was needed was a knowledgeable and trusted friend to analyse and discuss his findings with him and impress upon him that no small plants can prosper in the shadow of big trees, especially when the big plant feeds on the smaller ones like a parasite. It is with great difficulty that a few plants may manage to grow and survive with the larger parasite sucking their life line, which was the state of our current national movement and surge for self-rule under British imperial rule. In his recent book, 'The History of Balochistan', Mir Gul Khan Naseer Mengal[360] notes that his trip to London was at the suggestion of the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, to work for the cause of Kalat State in London. There is that possibility but

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Gul Khan does not cite his sources, which therefore leaves his claim open to doubt.

Soon after his trip to London, the helpless Khan of Kalat had Yousaf Ali Khan removed from the chieftainship of the Magsi tribe at the behest of a Jirga and had him replaced by his younger brother, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan. On his return from London, I am told he wanted to migrate to London for good. His intent to migrate to London does make sense in that he divorced two women that he was engaged to but had not brought home, which is a taboo in Baloch society. He was busy collecting his assets for the intended journey to London when Quetta was destroyed by the 1935 earthquake. Yousaf Ali Khan was buried under the rubble of the Quetta Dak-Bungalow causing his death. Some friends and well-wishers had him buried in the Kasi graveyard at Quetta. His tomb was later cast in white marble by his relatives. His tombstone was engraved with some of his verses.

Unforgivable Act of Excess of an English Officer and the Loss of His Writings

I am not sure why or how but probably to avoid future blame, Mir Shahbaz Khan Nowsherwani, after excavating his body and its burial in the morning of the earthquake, had deposited his remaining belongings with the PA Kalat, Mr Skrine[361]. His belongings also contained the hand written collection of his poems. This officer, who was a scholar of Persian and known for his literary activities, when returning his things to the relatives told them, "I burnt the books as they had a lot of anti-government stuff." Although I am not sure of this incident, which does not go well with the character of a literary person like Mr Skrine, it is not beyond an English PA. Whatever the facts, we were deprived of these literary works of a national diamond and monument. Only a few of his poems survived. Likewise, his cash and precious belonging were also lost. They were not to be found in his belongings nor his bank. It was also said that he had them deposited at a bank in London or had purchased a hotel in London. It was also said that a hefty life insurance of his was in London and some Dur Mohammad Magsi (who was later caught in a fraud case in Karachi) had deceitfully collected his life insurance. In short, much of his last days remained obscure.

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Soon after our arrest and sentencing, the declaration of the paper, 'Al-Baloch', Karachi was cancelled by the government. Yousaf Ali Khan had then sent Mohammad Nasim Talvi to Karachi to start another paper in its place with Mr Unqa, which they did. They did so with the assistance of dedicated friends and companions in Karachi. They lived in Karachi, where they ran the paper. It extensively publicised the cause of Balochistan. The people of the province read it with joy and provided it with financial assistance. Alas these two youth were affected by the life of Karachi and became involved in such activities that were not approved of by the people of Balochistan.

After some time, the government demanded a cash security from the newspaper and caused its management financial difficulties. The newspaper soon stopped publication as well and the two publishers fell out of favour with one another. For running the paper, Mr Yousaf Ali Khan had sent them sterling pounds through the bank from London, which for some reason they did not collect in time. A few months later, the bank informed Yousaf Ali that the money had not been collected so he contacted them again. However, by this time the paper had been closed and they lived off the money for a while in Karachi.

Refusal of Mr Ayub Khan to Work with the Organisation

Mohammad Ayub Khan, who did not get along with his father, was at that time living at Quetta. To meet his expenses, he was running a small retail shop in partnership with our relative Abdul Qadoos Khan. He had with difficulty and secretly, since at the time all political work was banned in Balochistan, collected Rs 1,100 to meet the cash surety needed for the Karachi newspaper. He used to travel on bicycle from Quetta to Chaman[362] and had raised the collection with donations from sympathetic well-off supporters. In those days, the police would even pester the readers of the Punjab papers, specially 'Zamindar', let alone anyone buying or reading a nationalist newspaper.

By then Mr Nasim and Unqa had lost the trust of their onetime companions and Abdul Qadoos Khan was deputed to go to Karachi to investigate their activities, who on return confirmed their moral slippages and deviation from the party line. Ayub

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other. One such person had come to Ayub Khan, saying he was a relative of Bacha Khan and was here to meet me on a very secret mission and now that I was away at Delhi he would wait for me but not at Ayub Khan's guesthouse because that would unnecessarily put him in danger, so he had requested that he be put up in a small hotel till my arrival and Ayub Khan had put him in a hotel. After a few days, the fellow had come by and said, "Since he has not come yet and I cannot risk being discovered, so I must leave. We have received at Peshawar Rs 1000,000 from Russia and I was sent to tell Abdul Samad Khan to come and collect his share. In his absence, since the two of you must be in the know of this arrangement, you come instead and collect your share." Ayub Khan had said to him that neither was he in the know of any monetary transactions nor was he willing to go with him and therefore he must leave and be off and that whenever I came he would relate the whole story to me. The chap had then swindled him of Rs50, saying that his money had finished. On my return Mr Ayub Khan related the story to me.

I laughed and asked, "I hope he did not swindle you of any money."

He in turn responded, "How do you know that he took money from me? He borrowed Rs50 which he would be returning soon." I said, "You can wait for the return of the money but I suspect that he is that character that keeps swindling people in the name of Bacha Khan all over India." Once I received a message from Aslam Khan, who was at Jacobabad, saying, "A person came looking for you from NWFP and will be coming back in a few days. He seemed to have an important message, which he did not divulge to me so maybe you should come to meet him."

In reply, I sent him a telegram saying, "Be careful that he does not swindle you of money. I will be writing on the subject in a day or two to you."

He sent me a return message, "I had given him Rs200 but fortunately met him at Rohri station and took back the money from him. But he will not be coming to see you so do not come." I have doubts about the claim of recovery of money, which he probably made up for face saving. I used to tease him about the matter at times.

While I was still at Mach Jail, Aslam Khan came and took residence at Mach with Nizami. He would do our work for us

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whenever Nizami was away. Prior to that, in the absence of Nizami, our work used to be attended to by Unqa. He remained there for some time but soon the government had him externed from Mach under Section 36[364] of the FCR and so he went and took up residence at Jacobabad and worked for the national movement there. For a time, he worked in the paper 'Al-Hanif' and later started his own paper, 'Kamal-e-Hind'.

The winter of 1934-35 was rather severe with exceptionally high rainfall combined with the gushing winds of Mach. Water would often freeze for days, indicating below freezing temperatures. We had no fire arrangements and even the doors of our cell would not close tightly. The only source of heat was the sun, whenever the sky was clear, and the rough blankets of prison. Often we spent days wrapped in blankets indoors. There were no arrangement of hot water for bathing nor was there a closed room to bathe. Many prisoners, who took a bath early in the morning under the tap in the open, fell ill or fainted.

The Earthquake of 1935

On May 30, 1935, we went to sleep as usual, not suspecting that during the night Balochistan would be hit by a natural catastrophe killing thousands and rendering tens of thousands homeless.

Sometime during the night, I suddenly woke up. The earth was shaking with a loud grinding sound. The earthquake appeared rather long, the cell doors were locked after us and there was no way to get out. I called out to Mr Kurd, who was lying nearby me.

"What is it, he asked. "Get ready," I said.

"What for," he asked. "For death," I said.

"God forbid, you joke even at this hour!" he said.

At that instant the earth shook more violently. The lights went off and we heard the sound of something heavy falling and the earth stopped trembling. It was just past 3 am After 10 to 15 minutes, the jail superintendent and his staff came about. They inspected the jail and said that there was not much damage. There were still two hours left for the official unlocking time of the cell doors, therefore, the doors were not unlocked. By then the earth shook twice but with less intensity. I did not take much notice of it as we had no other option. From the barracks around us, we heard the

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We told the Sikh guard to take shelter in open space and not to take the trouble of coming in case of earthquake. During the night, several tremors were felt but we continued to be in and slept. We were kept locked in for three nights. On the fourth night, probably at the behest of the higher authorities or out of personal shame, we were allowed to sleep in the open without any chains. After a few days, it rained heavily during the night and since it was not possible and convenient to count all the prisoners, unchaining them and then locking them in barracks they all spent the night in the rain. By then the jail authorities decided that there was no further danger of earthquake and the prisoners were sent back to the barracks at night. This was the attitude of the British rulers and their native subordinates towards helpless prisoners.

It is regrettable that this attitude and concept of law and order still prevails in Pakistani prisons, with just marginal changes in regulations. Presently, there are open and semi-open prisons in Pakistan, but in practice there are none. Because power has only been transferred from the British to their trusted and trained native lackeys. Haripur Jail, where I ma writing these lines, is a semi-open jail but the administration does not give the permission to sleep in the open during the hot summer months. True to the ways of their former masters, they deny a privilege and facility granted to the inmates by law.

Discussion with a Ruling Class Englishman

Sometime during the winter of the year 1935, the Inspector General Prisons, Mr Rogers, came for inspection to Mach Jail. He was reputed to be a mean, selfish and greedy individual. It was cold and I was sitting in the warmth of the sun. He came by me and on his own asked, "Do you have any complaints?"

I replied, "No thank you, I have none."

He continued the conversation and said, "If you have any difficulty or need anything do tell me."

I was surprised at his insistence and said, "Jail is not supposed to be a comfortable place, it is supposed to be difficult and uncomfortable. If you mean any difficulty, because of the jail rules there is none or I would have told you about it."

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had experienced only nominal damage. He was sure now that Quetta had been razed to the ground Mach must also be devastated; and I was at Mach. He had reached Quetta in the afternoon and having seen the destruction and the deaths, he was further worried. There was no way to communicate with Mach so perforce he had spent the night at Quetta in agonising expectations and set out for Mach, reaching there by dusk time and after being assured by the superintendent, he had set back for home as the earthquake tremors still occurred and there was the possibility that other places away from Quetta may also collapse.

National calamities like earthquakes, floods and tornadoes occur occasionally throughout the world. Free nations use these occasions to avoid further losses by better planning, rescue and rehabilitation work and helping one another during the calamity so as to give the community and individuals physical and psychological assistance. They show solidarity during such natural calamities. However, the unlucky and unfortunate nations of which the biggest sign is slavery and subservience, as said in the Quran "Allah sets forth a parable: a slave who lacks all means, compared to a 'free' man to whom We granted a good provision, of which he donates 'freely,' openly and secretly. Are they equal? Praise be to Allah. In fact, most of them do not know[370]", add to their own misery. Let alone themselves, it becomes a source of shame for the whole nation. This is what came to pass in Quetta.

The enslaved, wretched nations of the world only add to the miserable situation and indulge in shameful activities, and that was what also happened at Quetta. There was no organised effort to motivate the people. No effort was made to organise the volunteers of the nearby villages for the rescue effort but even then individuals from the nearby villages had gone to render help to their acquaintances or those, who had asked them for help.

A relative of ours, Aminullah Khan and his little son, who were at Quetta that night but had escaped said, "By early dawn we saw people from around the villages coming to the city and when I asked them to help me release the trapped, they did and hence we freed Mohammad Saleem Khan and the owner of the house where they were staying and when the sun rose and it was daylight I carried my son on my back and set out for the telegraph office to call for others from Gulistan to come and look after the wounded. I was quite oblivious of the reality that the telegraph office would

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greedy army and police constables. Those familiar with the ways of these people can imagine the plunder that must have occurred at the hand of these official custodians.

I have witnessed the occurrences of the year 1947. Following the Hindu Muslim riots, on the eve of partition, all Hindus and Sikhs were taken away to camps and their homes were sealed and put under the custody of the police and a curfew was imposed. The sealed houses were looted and set alight overnight. Therefore, on the occasion of this natural calamity, leaving aside the incalculable loss of wealth of the citizens of the city at the hands of official custodians, it is estimated that of the 35,000 dead more than half died because of suffocation and lack of help, which was delayed for days. If the public had been involved, another 10,000 lives could easily have been saved besides there would have been minimal loss of property.

These lax arrangements and the huge loss of life and property were condemned and agitated against throughout the whole of India, as the people of every part of India had suffered at Quetta. The British, however, stuck to their stand because they did not want India to participate in the affairs of Balochistan. They wanted to keep Balochistan isolated, so that their black deeds and evil ways meted out to the people were not publicised and exposed. It was only after a year, in the face of Indian public opinion and worldwide pressure, that the Indian government agreed to set up a parliamentary delegation that would visit Quetta and see for itself the destruction caused by the earthquake and the rehabilitation work of the government.

My Letter to the Government Offering Assistance at the Time of the Earthquake(1935)

On the third day of the earthquake, by which time we had come to know about the destruction caused by it, I wrote to the Agent to the Governor General (AGG)[372], Balochistan saying, "It appears that due to the devastating earthquake hundreds of thousands of people are in deep agony and in need of immediate help. I am therefore of the opinion that both for the government and me, the most important thing at the moment is to arrange for assisting the people in this terrible hour of need. Therefore, keeping me at prison does not serve any purpose. The government should,

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therefore, set me free so that I can help it in this out-of-proportion emergency."

But the government did not wish that I or others should help the people in their hour of need and thus become close to them. They did not wish the world to see that the people were of better help and assistance than the government. The AGG, therefore, after a long delay of four months, replied to my letter saying, "The government would willingly release you if you undertake that for three years you would not criticise the British government, its appointed tribal chiefs, the Sardars and Nawabs of Balochistan." Although it was a well thought, clear reply, in that hour of need my urge for helping the people was supreme, and thus I was willing to undertake any conditions but for the fact that much time had lapsed and therefore I was not sure of the conditions outside and the help that I could render. Besides, I was not sure whether the government would give me a free hand. I summoned my elder brother and Ayub Khan for consultations. Since the direct route between Mach and Quetta was still blocked, they came via Bostan, Harnai and Sibi reaching Mach after several days. They had also consulted Jam Noorullah Khan and some other companions.

They were of the opinion that under the circumstances there was no place for organised volunteer help. Besides, the dead and the injured had mostly on their own shifted to Sindh and Punjab for treatment, all that the people were waiting for at that moment was their belongings and valuables to be dug out of the rubble and handed over to them and that they be allowed to reconstruct their houses at the old spots or in exchange of that at other places. This work the government was undertaking by its own organizations, disallowing any private initiative and turn by turn each locality was being cleared in the presence of the surviving claimants. In most cases, there were no claimants and whatever of the salvaged valuables reached the government it was sealed and secured. Had the government allowed it, one could have helped in that work.

Even so I wrote to the AGG, "It is clear from your response that you are not willing to release me because asking for surety regarding my behaviour with the Sardars and the Nawabs with whom I have no concern anyway, indicates your ulterior intents. Are not the current laws between me and them sufficient

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protection? I do hope that you reconsider your orders." I did not want to give a strong and direct reply as I did not wish to close the negotiations.

Visit by Haji Abdullah Haroon

After a long delay, a delegation of the Indian Legislature visited Quetta to see for themselves the post-earthquake relief and reconstruction work. One of the members of the delegation Haji Abdullah Haroon accompanied by his elder son Yousaf Haroon[373] came to meet us at Mach. Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and I met with him in the office of Sheikh Ikram Ali Khan, the Assistant Superintendent. He started the conversation by saying, "The government had awarded the title of Sir to all of its supporters except for me[374]. I was a member of the assembly delegation sent to review the post-earthquake rehabilitation work which we did. Tonight was the concluding dinner hosted for the delegates by the AGG. Since the government has conferred upon most of my colleagues the title of Sir following the Ottawa Pact[375] and not even given me the lower title of Khan Sahib[376], I thought instead of attending the dinner I would visit you at Mach".

He said all this in so many words probably with the intent that it should reach the government over night in which he succeeded. The next morning, when the superintendent jail came he said, "Your guest of yesterday grudges the government for its inability to grant him the title of 'Sir'." He made this statement without being present in the meeting and indeed he was not even at Mach that day. I, therefore, guessed that he must have picked up this complaint of Abdullah Haroon from the official brief sent by Sheikh Ikram Ali Khan. We talked with Abdullah Haroon for a while about non-issues including our latest communications with the government and the AGG's response, he left saying that he would write to the AGG about it.

The Grace of God and My Face Saving

I am much thankful to Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd for his counsel at that time. He said, "These government supporters are not trustworthy persons. I suggest that we send a record of our conversation with Haji Abdullah Haroon to him through the AGG." I therefore recorded the minutes of our conversation with Haji Haroon and sent them to him through the AGG. After a few

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days I received a letter from the AGG which said, "I am reproducing the following from the letter of Haji Haroon and want to know if it is acceptable to you: Abdul Samad Khan is repentant of his doings and is begging to be pardoned. He is ready to satisfy you on whatever terms you wish, I hope you will release him." I was stunned and saddened by this correspondence of Abdullah Haroon and wrote in reply, "The minutes of the meeting with Mr Haroon that I sent through you to him are clear on the subject. It records all that transpired between us to which the jail authorities are witness." It is thus that providence saved me the degradation and slight resulting from the sympathy of such toadies. The government too did not publicise the recommendations made by Abdullah Haroon, in those days they would normally do so in such cases. Mr Haroon had also sent a copy of his recommendations to my dear friend Mr Mohammad Amin Khoso, who had shown it to two other friends. Naturally, they were much saddened by the implications of the false claims and were duly disturbed. Later, they were delighted to know the truth.

Threat of Hunger Strike and Release from Prison

Probably as a demand for better class and facilities in prison, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and I, sometime later, served a 15 day notice on the government at the end of which if our conditions were not met, we would go on hunger strike. We informed Mr Nizami and others on the outside of our notice. The news was picked up by the Sindh and Punjab newspapers that wrote a number of articles on it.

The Harsh Statement of Seth Abdullah Haroon

On that occasion, the above mentioned Abdullah Haroon gave a very strong statement to the press in our favour, most unusual and unexpected of a government supporting socialite.

When I think over these two contradictory aspects of Mr Abdullah Haroon's character, I can only conclude that he and his likes were well-meaning and did not intend demeaning or

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slighting us nor were they opposed to our struggle and demands and genuinely wanted our release. The conditions of release, however, were not important to them. They probably contented themselves in the belief that all was fair in love and war, just like many a weak and half-educated clerics misinterpret the saying of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) that "war is deceit[377]", interpreting it to mean that deceit is allowed in war. These clerics also believe and cite the incident that at the time of the first and tough Badar[378] Gaza (Holy War), when the Muslims were under pressure and were in need of all manpower, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) did not allow the joining in the battle of those two trusted companions, who had been captured by the Quraish just a few days before the battle and released on the condition that they would not join in the fight. The Prophet did not induct them in his force, telling them that they were to keep their word. If deceit were permitted in war then where else was a better test for it?

May the Lord forgive our clerics, who take the line of least resistance and thereby weaken the character of muslims. They at times regard deceit permissible and at other times resort to the line of least resistance in the wake of confrontation, citing the Holy verses that translate, "Do not push yourselves in the way of death[379]" and disregard the other part of the verse, "And sacrifice in the way of Allah[380]". Because when the two verses are read together, as they should be, then the verse would mean, "Sacrifice in the way of Allah (yourself and your property) or you will be destroyed by your own doings.[381]" They fail to realise that if the verses were to be interpreted to mean to protect one self from death at any cost, then there is always the danger of death in every battle, especially when fighting a strong opponent like in the Battle of Badar or the martyrdom of Imam Hussein[382]. To further weaken the resolve and grit of muslims, these clerics explain success in strife and battle in terms of celestial help and the armies of angels.

Therefore, while all people the world over defend their freedom, at the ultimate cost of sacrifice of self, from alien as well as their own rulers and are progressing under democracy, the muslims alone are subjugated by foreign powers or enslaved by dictators and warlords from amongst them and deprived of peoples' rule and democracy. And when any from amongst them or an alien takes the country and government by force, they accept the subjugation as divine will and wait for the help of Allah without

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Daulatana[388] by Khawaja Nazimuddin[389] and appointment of Malik Noon in his place, an act that was much appreciated by the Punjab press and the Muslim League leadership, giving him the title of "Naji-e-Millat[390]". And a few days later, when Mr Ghulam Mohammad dismissed the elected government of Nazimuddin, appointing another on his own in his place[391], the same League leaders acclaimed Ghulam Mohammad Zindabad (Long Live Ghulam Mohammad) without realising that this sounded the death knell of the limited peoples' representative rule bequeathed by the British to the nascent state of Pakistan. This is the current state of affairs in the Muslim world and no one has thought of and encouraged the people to rise against the totalitarian rule of individuals, which of course entails sacrifices.

Very early on in Muslim history whether the rulers were Umayyad[392], Abbasids[393] or of other dynasties, the people were kept suppressed and crushed and thus deterred from uprising and the demand of rights. On the other hand, in collusion with the rulers, the clergy had declared as forbidden by divine authority all those acts of bravery and grit demanding representative peoples' government. They regard challenging the might of the rulers with truth, an act which the blessed Prophet (PBUH) termed the most valued struggle (Afzal-ul-Jihad[394]), attempting suicide. They have duped the people, making them forget that it is binding to claim authority whether it is from traitors, the British or any dictator from amongst us. The people have been duped by the clergy into submitting to those in power, giving the rulers the glorified title of the Shadow of God and the absolute authority (Ool-ul-Amar[395]). Whereas other people of the world rise in rebellion at the imposition of an unacceptable tax or any other act disapproved by the people, sacrificing themselves and their children for a government in accordance with the wishes of the people, the Muslims willingly acquiesce to the worst excesses of their rulers.

Muslim rulers, therefore, regard their acts as ordained by providence, and those, who question their doings, are regarded not just the enemies of the government but of the state, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and indeed even of God, be these dissenters Imam Abu Hanifa or Imam Ahmed Hambal[396], may they be blessed, and such persons are given exemplary punishment that others may heed. It is, therefore, that throughout the non-Muslim

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world, side by side with the government party, there is a party of the opposition that is free to follow its own programme, which is often radically different from that of the governing party. In the Muslim world, however, the ruling junta tolerates no opposition, whether it is from within its ranks or outside of it. Even today in India, a number of individuals and organised political parties are working in opposition to the Congress and the Nehru government. The parties in opposition have their own political agendas, some demanding a separate Punjabi state, some are for friendship with Pakistan and some pro-American defence assistance, some anti-China, some for autonomous Kashmir, some even demanding an independent Nagaland. But from Morocco to Lahore, no Muslim country tolerates an active free opposition party in the name of national solidarity and Muslim brotherhood.

The truth, however, is the opposite. The people of Muslim states, plagued by the denial of individual freedom and daring, are weak, ignorant and suspicious of one another. The non-muslim nations, because of their individual freedom, are one in the love of their country. The muslim populations, while apparently danc ing to the tune of the government out of fear and expressing apparent dislike for the external and internal opponents of the government, but when the moment of truth comes the people do not stand with the government in the face of its internal and at times even external adversaries. Therefore, all the Muslim governments are the lackeys of one or the other foreign power or scared of them because foreign powers can always seek supporters and agents amongst the people to destabilise and even overthrow them.

Not long ago, difference arose between Afghanistan and Iran on the use of Helmand River water and both mobilised their armies. We knew of the Afghan army mobilisation because of their outward movement from Kandahar, which is in close proximity to us. In those days, on one occasion while on my way to Quetta, at Gulistan Railway Station I came cross a well-known Syed from Pishin, who had a substantial spiritual following in Kandahar. During the journey to Quetta, I asked him of the commotion in Afghanistan and its causes, hoping that he would probably be more informed about the events there.

After looking around cautiously he whispered to me, "There is no problem with Iran, the main target is Amir Amanullah Khan. Iran is only a ploy so that the people do not react".

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for the night, the Jail officials came to visit me. I was asked some very surprising and irrelevant questions.

The superintendent asked, "Do you have a home in Chaman?"

"No," I said.

"Are you from Afghanistan," he asked.

"No, come out with it why are you asking such obviously irrelevant questions," I asked.

I was then told, "We just received a telegram from the PA Quetta, asking us to dispatch you by train to Chaman early the next morning. Since we do not take action on telegraphic communications nor give a prisoner in police custody during the night, we thought you may be aware of any development in this regard. But if the PA insists, we will hand you over to the police by 4 am to be in time for the train. Meanwhile, you make ready for the journey." In those days, there was no telephonic connection between Mach and Quetta nor were there taxis for hiring at reasonable rates. The only link was by rail and telegram.

I said, "Getting ready will be difficult as I have hundreds of books in your care. How will I carry those? You must then let me free now so that I can pack them all".

He said, "We cannot do this either. You can go in the morning, leaving your things behind as it is not clear as to why you are being summoned. It is not clear whether they want to detain you there, release you or send you back. If you are sent back, your things will be here, but in case of any other arrangement, we will officially send you your things."

I kept thinking the whole night about the purpose of this unexpected and unusual summons to Chaman. There was nothing that concerned me there as all the officials were at Quetta. Did they intend to keep me at Chaman during the fast month or did they want to release me at Chaman, I wondered. In either case,

Chaman did not make any sense to me. At the end, it occurred to me that the Joint Border Commission of India and Afghanistan was meeting at Chaman to settle current and ongoing small matters involving the citizens of the two countries and probably it was relating to that quarrel and fight with Daroo Khan to which I was a witness and therefore summoned to Chaman. During the night, the jail authorities visited me once again, informing me that

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I was to go early in the morning and was handed over to the police long before dawn. The head of the police party was the same Abdul Aziz Khan Panezai, who I have mentioned in connection with the Muslim Conference meeting of Delhi. I spent the time waiting for the train in his company. Mirza Faizullah Khan, who was a junior clerk at the jail but did not ever meet me there, not even for simple greetings due to fear of his local bosses, had also come to see me off, this being our first meeting during my stay at Mach Jail. He and some others, who I do not recall, came till the railway station to see me off.

At Quetta Railway Station, Qazi Dad Mohammad, God bless his soul, was there to meet me. When he came to know that I was being taken to Chaman, he also came along to keep me company. He brought me the paper of the day in which, amongst other things, I also read that blatant lie of the government-sponsored API news saying, that I was in prison for the crime of abduction. I came to know from Qazi Dad Mohammad about the happenings of the outside world and the earthquake etc. No one knew, however, as to why I was being taken to Chaman. Whatever I could see of Quetta and the nearby villages from the railway carriage, presented a picture of destruction even thirteen months after the earthquake. It appeared as if the earthquake had occurred just the night before. I also saw the few railway-owned earthquake resistant bungalows that were constructed after the 1931 Mach earthquake standing undamaged. The vast devastation and the few non-damaged railway houses saddened me, I was reminded of how free and independent nations repair their losses and even quickly construct whole new cities hit by calamity that resist any future expected natural upheaval. Had we had a government of our own, it would have either reconstructed the whole city like the few earthquake resistant railway bungalows, saving 35,000 lives or at least during these past thirteen months the thousands of displaced would have been rehabilitated. At that time I was firm in the belief that freedom from alien rule was the sure remedy of all the evils that we faced. Little did I realise that after independence Quetta would remain devastated and un rehabilitated for 13 years instead of 13 months.

Lost in these sad thoughts, we reached Gulistan Railway Station. My brother and many others had come to meet me. My brother also joined us on the journey to Chaman and told me that the government had unexpectedly and on its own, taken a surety

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between an individual would be called to give his opinion. During the proceedings, if any delegate was to speak, he would address his own head of the delegation. Such interventions were limited to the Afghan side with our councillors keeping quiet all along, unconcerned and hesitant, looking up to the officials as usual. The Afghan head of the delegation, besides putting forward the official position, would often appeal to the councillors on our side as well, emphasising several times that those on the other side were also their blood relatives, friends, kith and kin.

On one occasion, Tamil Khan Malaezai was presented to the commission, led by the police in fetters and hand cuffed with chains. As soon as the accused prisoner entered the Commission tent, the Afghan head of the delegation said, "A Pashtoon cannot be degraded in such a manner under the national flag of Afghanistan. The freedom of Afghanistan is that of all Pashtoons and independent Afghanistan is the guardian of the honour of all Pashtoons." Despite the strong and persistent pleading of our officials that the prisoner was a dangerous person and that this was a desolate spot, the Afghan delegation did not give in. He replied, "If the place is desolate and the accused dangerous then bring the police and the army for protection, however, treat him humanely. You cannot present him to us in such a degrading manner."

A lot of discussion followed but the Afghans held to their point of view. In the end he said, "Even if the Commission was to pack up we cannot tolerate this insulting attitude. If you do not agree with our principled stand then we would rather walk out from the Commission meeting" and actually rose to leave. At the end, our officials gave in and had the fetters and chains removed from the accused. He was presented to the Commission in a decent manner.

This stance of the Afghan officials impressed all the Pashtoons present, including me. But our delegates remained mute without betraying any impression as usual. Tamil Khan Malaezai is still alive and working for the cause of Pashtoonistan in Afghanistan. Who knows how much of his current patriotism is due to the happenings of that day? During the proceedings, the Afghan head delegate started talking to me asking questions now and then. Whenever we talked the PA would ask, "What is he saying?" and

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I would relate the exchange between us to him in English. On one occasion he asked whether the delegates on our side were elected. I told him that we had no procedure of elections in Balochistan and that all the delegates were appointed by the government. Later, he asked me about the identity of each individual and his business. When I told him that Mohammad Rafiq Khan was the Levies Risaldar at Chaman, he asked as to what was a Risaldar. In reply I told him that it was a paid policing post. He was taken aback and asked in surprise, "You mean they have brought government servants to the proceeding of the Commission. Are the others also in the pay of the government?" I told him that some others like Ghaffar Khan and the Chaman Maliks also get Levies salaries.

He said with disgust, "All these are the paid servants of the British; hence they have no respect for the Pashtoon way of life, national interest and word of honour and sheepishly accept the dictates of the alien rulers." And when I asked about the composition of his delegation; two were the elected members of the Grand Council at Kabul, one was an honorary brigadier and the others known tribal leaders. He said with emphasis, "None of them is a government employee or a paid Malik." The Englishman did not like this a bit and remarked, "We know the kind of elections they hold."

After a while, the PA said to the Afghan delegation head, "I have some work to attend to, so I will go to my camp. In the meanwhile you have a chat with Abdul Samad, but do not interfere in the proceedings of the Commission till my return. If there is a problem, please send for me." He left and we had a long chat. What I liked the most was the enthusiasm with which he would relate the small achievements of the Afghan government, for example the construction of a thirty miles road, two bridges or that year 10 persons had mastered the technique of sending telegraphic messages etc. All along I kept musing with myself that these attainments and construction works were far less than those in our country where these public works were undertaken on a continuous basis but yet it did not touch our hearts and souls nor did it give us any sense of pride or sense of achievement because none of it belonged to us but belonged to the British and therefore did not make us happy. What they had was relatively little and probably not as good as well but because it was their own, the

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sense of ownership gave them a sense of pride and achievement. In such a state of mind Maulana Makhfi has said:

Khudaya hagha wraz ba ham wi Chi zmugh ba jahaz khapal wi
Will there ever dawn the day When our own aircraft we'll own?

Later, when considering a case, some difficulties arose in the way of its settlement. The Englishman came in at that point. On that occasion the Afghan delegation's chief very enthusiastically said to him, "Well this Khan is from amongst you and your subject, his feet still have the rust of your chains, we are willing to accept his verdict, let him decide whether our stand is right or yours."

I thus spent an enjoyable time till noon at the Joint Commission Meeting and then left. While I was leaving, the Afghan officials sincerely pleaded with me to come over the next day as the Joint Session was to be held at their camp. In reply I said to him, "It is enough that we met, one cannot, however, have his fill of meeting friends and visiting new places. I have just been released from prison and people from far off places are coming to greet me. I must return home lest visitors from far away be waiting." When I left, I thought over the experience of the Joint Commission Meeting. Contrary to the expectations of the PA, I preferred the free ways of the Afghans with all their poverty and backwardness compared to the relatively comfortable but slavish life under the British. The contrast refuelled my quest and zeal for freedom, agreeing with the poet, "Trade not the dying hiccups for years of life in chains."

Na kalona da ghulam pa ghulami ki Na yao sat da azadai ka zakandan wi

Of the years that a slave spends in his slavery
Is but equal to one moment of freedom even if the throes of death

My Application to the AGG

Before leaving Chaman, I learnt that the Joint Commission settled individual grievances against one another and grievances against the government were not presented to it. Even so, before returning to Chaman I wrote to the AGG from the village, that my companions and I regarded our inclusion in the abduction case of

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surrounding outskirts of the city, there were small settlements like Balochi Street, Shahdara and Nachari where houses were small and simple, mostly inhibited by Baloch and Pashtoons, who had cleared the rubble on their own and constructed new houses observing the new quake proof building code. These were strange looking hut type buildings called seven and eight type. These were temporary constructions supposed to be pulled down after four to five years but are still standing because of non-affordability of permanent construction due to high prices and non-availability of material during the Second World War years and also because those quarters were still functional and not damaged. Even these days, most of the Quetta city houses are those that were erected in the first year after the earthquake for temporary housing.

The huts had a very peculiar construction. To begin with, a cage would be constructed from new or old bamboo or other light sticks. Using minimum amount of wood, these would be tied or nailed together. The vertical wooden planks, around which the walls would be constructed, would also be set some three feet deep in to the ground. The door and windows would likewise be stuck in place in the wood structure. Thus in case of an earthquake this wooden cage like structure would shake in its totality without allowing any parts to fall apart. This is the basic safety principle of earthquake resistant buildings made of mud or of concrete and bricks. In the latter case, the structure is tied with steel bars with the corner pillars three feet deep in the ground. For the roof, some would put sheets woven from thin sticks and nail it to the wooden frame and then plaster it with mud, while others would use corrugated iron sheets. The walls of the room would be constructed with mud up to about three feet and the rest of the height to the roof would be of wooden planks or iron sheets nailed to the wooden structure. The walls would also be plastered with mud from inside and outside. The structures did not provide much protection from the vagaries of weather but were sufficient to provide privacy. I spent a few days in one such structure with relatives, meeting friends and well-wishers and observing the difficulties of the people in the destroyed city.

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A Strange Coincidence

I have mentioned it earlier that from the time of our area coming under the rule of the British and thus being cut off from Afghanistan, the British in their discretion wrote off the land revenues of all our family heads. The concession was only valid till the lifetime of the original family head and later it could be extended in return for declared loyalty to British rule. When our father died, our maternal uncle got the exemption concession extended for us with the assistance of Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) Pishin Dewan Lala Ram, who was also a good friend of my father. The EAC sported a long beard in the tradition of local Pashtoons as a sign of piety and righteousness but he had taken a bribe of three hundred rupees from our uncle in return for the exemption from land revenue.

When coming to Quetta, my brother gave me some money to buy some construction material in scrap which was available in plenty at Quetta. He had started constructing a small earthquake resistant house at Gulistan, as a future precautionary measure because some buildings in Gulistan had cracked due to the Quetta earthquake. When I started looking around for the material that I wanted, I met a Hindu from Gulistan who said that he had bought a standing but damaged house at Quetta with all its material in working condition and undamaged. He, therefore, invited me to select what I needed and that he would have it extracted while still held in place standing.

I went with him, chose what I wanted, settled the price and Mr Thakur Das had it extracted for me. I came to know then that the property belonged to Dewan Lala Ram. I then recollected the Rs 300 bribe that he had taken from us and called my gain a return of that. But when I compared the cost that I had paid, and the gain accruing to me, my gain was less than Rs300. Much later a carpenter told me that the main gate of the house, which I had calculated at a lower rate, was made of teak wood. The recalculation on that account made up the amount of Rs300 and thus we got our full compensation. Nature thus made up for what we had been swindled of years ago.

Based on the above and a few other incidences that I have experienced, I tend to support that along with the obvious laws of cause and effect perhaps there is also the natural process of reward and punishment. Our misdeeds catch up with us, sooner

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or later, in much unexpected ways extracting from us in equal term what we had illegally and unfairly appropriated from others. Although all my observations relate to monetary dealings, I trust it must be true in terms of other dealings as God is consistent in his ways and laws as witnessed by some revealed verses that say "God's deeds and statements do not change[399]." And that 'you would not find a change in the doings and ways of Allah[400]' Yet, I do not understand and indeed it is hard to understand whether the above is true for everyone or a few people. Whether the return of every deed is unexpectedly received here or do some receive it here and others in the afterlife; or that some return is received here and also in the afterlife; or that the return of wealth and other things is received here and the good and bad of actions and intentions of the heart is received in the other life. As God says in the Quran that whoever is blind in this world (in loss) will also be blind (in loss) in the next world[401].

Other Such Experiences

In 1932, my brother and some companions left by road in a private vehicle for performing Hajj[402], the pilgrimage to Mecca via Iran, Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Before leaving, he asked me to examine the books regarding the sale of our agricultural produce and to settle accounts with all. At the time, I had little faith in his book keeping as he was quite casual about it. When I sat to check the books most balanced except that for a Pashtoon commission agent to whom we were indebted by Rs115, which did not appear to be correct in my thinking. I therefore left it at that, hoping that if correct the commission agent would himself demand it, which he did not. I, however, kept it in mind and was continuously aware of it. Some years later, I started a publishing business at Quetta. I set up a press at which besides my newspaper, I would also undertake commercial publications for private and public firms and institutions. One day, the fruit commission agent in question, came and gave us a large printing order on his account. I gave him the minimum quotations myself, charging only the break even rate. After the work was done, he came and started raising objections to the quotations, pleading that those were too high. To support his claim, he produced the bills of another press that were slightly lower than ours on all items. Although he had placed the bulk of work order with us, he

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had also given some small portion of all items to the other press that was aware of his orders with us. So as to wean him away from our clientele, that press had under quoted his actual cost of printing. When he recalculated his orders at the rate of the other press, he deducted Rs 115 from our bill. I believe that in that way his previous balance of Rs 115 went from me to him.

A Hindu manager of mine in the press had secured a work order from Lala Wazir Chand, representative of the Caltex Oil Company, for printing a large sized tricolour poster. He had then realised that it was a losing proposition and tampered with the work order, changing the figures 3 to 2 and had charged them an extra Rs 100 for the use of the third colour. He told me of this tampering incident much later, claiming that he had forgotten the agreed price and since the other party was not willing to pay the agreed price he had resorted to the practice of tampering.

A few years later, the same Lala Wazir Chand telephoned saying that I send him someone so that he explains to him the specifications of another work order. Mr Saleem, a Punjabi manager well-versed in quoting prices, went there and secured the work order against quoted prices. A few days later when the printing of the work order was well-advanced, Saleem came to me. He was visibly nervous and said, "I have caused a substantial loss,"

I asked, "What loss?"

He said, "I have quoted Rs 100 less in Wazir Chand's work order."

I then remembered the incident of three years ago and laughingly said to him, "Do not worry it happens." He was quite surprised by my casual attitude and a few days later he said, "Since the loss of Rs 100 was due to my carelessness I should be charged to compensate for it."

I said, "There is no need." He asked, "Why?"

I replied, "His Rs 100 was outstanding against us in another account, which stands returned, there has been no loss." I related to him the background of the incident. This hidden principle of quid pro quo in nature has been related in the Holy book in the incident concerning the dream of Moses, may he be blessed, in which his companions broke the boat of the orphan boys, repaired an old wall and later killed a boy[403]. In the words of Maulana

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Rumi, the great mystic, "You will reap what you sow. Beware the laws of nature."

Az makafate amal ghafil ma sho Gandam az gandum bi raweed,
jau az jau Har yao kaar pora badla lari tay gora
Da ghanuma kar orbashy nakri wrora

Every action has its recompense Wheat begets wheat and barley begets barley

Ever since I have realised this law of quid pro quo in nature, I have benefited from it tremendously. I have never thought of cheating others as I am firm in the belief that it would be extracted of me sooner or later. Besides, I am not perturbed by small losses and petty thefts by others from me, convinced that if it was rightly mine it would be returned to me like the dues of others from me. Besides, despite being pressed for resources and often in debt whenever anyone borrows of me, I have never asked for it back and others owe me in thousands. Many, despite being in a position to return the debt, do not do so. Some probably think that I have forgotten it or that I do not need it or else I would have demanded its return. There was a time when I used to maintain a record of the money loaned out but have given it up since some 20 years now. I am not perturbed by any losses caused to me by others as long as it is that of money alone and not of property like the felling of green trees or the grazing of standing crops.

In 1958, I was going to Lahore for a meeting of the National Awami Party, accompanying me was my son Mohammad Khan[404] who was in need of medical surgery. His maternal uncle Ismatullah Khan had gone earlier to Lahore for his tonsils surgery and was waiting for us there. I had an idea of the expenses at Mayo Hospital, Lahore and hence borrowed Rs 2,000 from someone in Quetta. I took them along, if needed I would use them otherwise I would come back and return the amount. When we arrived at the station the train was full to capacity with passengers. However, we managed seating space in the large inter-class compartment booked by the Abbottabad Forest College students, who had come on a study tour. With much difficulty, we managed to adjust ourselves with them. Thanks to the foresters they even gave me a berth to sleep on during the night. I have never lost any money or was ever pickpocketed during all my travels. My money was in a notebook in my shirt pocket and I sat

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them. Most did the collection voluntarily on their own, like Gul Mohammad Khan Kakar BA, an assistant Tehsildar at that time. He was promoted recently as Tehsildar after 25 years of service because of the antagonistic attitudes of his bosses from Punjab and not because he was unqualified, incompetent or because of any misconduct. In between, he worked as the Deputy Director Cooperatives for eight years against a class one post but was not promoted to that post nor absorbed in the Cooperative Department during all these years despite excellent performance. In 1957, he was released from the Cooperative Department on the pretext that he was not yet confirmed against his earlier post of Tehsildar. It was just an excuse as they wanted another immigrant to be posted in his place. He was ordered to take the temporary charge of the EAC instead. Gul Mohammad Khan, however, instead took leave and went to Lahore to pursue his case there with the One Unit Government of West Pakistan.

In the meanwhile, his father formed a delegation of the elite of Quetta along with Abdul Khaliq Khan, our Member Provincial Assembly (MPA) at that time in the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly, to plead his case with Sardar Abdul Rashid Khan[407], the then Chief Minister of West Pakistan. As Sardar Rashid had the support of our party, Abdul Khaliq Khan invited me to accompany them to the meeting with the Chief Minister. I told him that I would because Gul Mohammad Khan was not only a Pashtoon but also a friend of mine since our boyhood days, but that I would go with the delegation in my personal capacity and not as a representative of National Awami Party. There at Lahore, we met Chief Minister Sardar Rashid Khan, Minister for Cooperatives Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur and the Departmental Secretary Shehzada Alamgir as well. It was kind of the minister and the department to suspend his transfer orders till the final decision but while the decision was still pending the Sardar Rashid government fell and Mr Kizilbash[408] formed the government instead. The new government also did not reach a decision and the case was overtaken by the 1958 Martial Law[409]. Gul Mohammad Khan was removed from the post of the Deputy Registrar and sent back as EAC. He was replaced by a non-local from somewhere else, as we had suspected all along. There were others like Gul Mohammad Khan that collected for the press on their own whom I would send at times to others like Mr Abdul Rahim Khan Matherzai and Wadera Ibrahim Khan.

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collections that the state or the Sardars used to collect from the peasants in addition to crop sharing were cancelled and forced labour, especially practiced in Makran, was abolished. These reforms were brought about as a demand by the enlightened Baloch youth enjoying the tacit support of the Khan and announced on the occasion of tours undertaken by the Khan during which thousands of applications would be collected from ordinary tribesmen demanding changes. On one such tour, he took along as his secretary our companion Mir Shahbaz Khan to Makran. He would collect and write applications for the people besides encouraging them to apply. I also wrote in my report that the reporting in the British press of the proceedings and decisions of the county councils and courts had a positive effect on their working and thus recommended that the proceedings and decisions of the Kalat Council should also be opened for reporting in the press which would lead to its improvement.

My unexpected visit along with a few friends to the Jirga meetings at Mastung and Kalat had an instant effect on the working and the quality of decisions of those meetings and the Khan did not receive a single appeal against the verdicts given on that occa sion. In each case, both the parties had willingly accepted the Jirga awards. But these and some other such recommendations did not find the support of the British administration and its installed Sardars.

The Sardars were visibly shaken by the few marginal changes that the Khan brought about and openly threatened saying, "The Khan and Sardars go hand in hand in Kalat State. The Khan cannot exist without the Sardars or weak Sardars; one cannot exist without the other; if one is to be abolished or weakened so would be the other." Such threats used to deter the Khan and he would then withdraw his patronage from the enlightened Baloch youth and start persecuting them instead so as to calm down the sardars.

He failed to appreciate, despite our pleading, that educated enlightened youth were not machines to be started, stopped and abandoned at will like the cars in his use. He failed to realise that these young men were motivated by higher values of human dignity and equality and national pride than the love for his person and his wealth and that they were not expendable articles to be discarded after use. Even those, who were working for his person, would demand loyalty in return from him. He would

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justify his actions by citing the wavered ways and habits of bribery of certain young officials or the annoyance of the British or some other such excuses.

In the beginning, he chose to achieve certain ends purely as a business deal, paying for what he wanted as a onetime contract. He was so confident of this method that he would encourage his ministers, who were often in the pay of the British and loyal to them, to bribe the British for him. Secondly, he believed in instigating his opponents, one against the other, hoping in that process to weaken them for him to use and exploit for his own ends. He would thus pitch the Sardars against the British, his agents, ministers and officials against the Sardars, the people against the Sardars or national youth against the Sardars and the ministers. So much so that he would connive to create two opposing camps amongst the Sardars, the ministers and the nationalist youth throwing his weight and money alternately behind each group. He thought that this state of manipulation would secure him against the British, the Sardars and the nationalist youth, each group he feared individually. I warned him against this policy, telling him that he would have to own one of the groups so that it stand by him. But he felt insecure and therefore unable to trust anyone especially the nationalist youth, who were his best natural allies. He had planted his men in every group, especially so in the nationalist camp, who would inform him of their doings and plans.

Jam Noorullah Khan, who was his finance minister at the time, used to live alone in the Mastung Shahi Bagh for lack of a house.

Since his house in Quetta was destroyed in the earthquake, his family used to reside at Karachi. At that time, an official residence was under-construction at Mastung Miri, the official residential estate of the Khan. Jam requested me to ask the Khan to allot that house to him. I asked the Khan, who agreed to the proposal. I informed Jam of the consent of the Khan in the presence of a few other young men, one of whom jokingly remarked, "Give us youth the Miri of Mastung (the official residential estate) today, God willing someday the Miri of Kalat would also be vacated for us." The implication being that since the Miri was the residential area of the Khans of Kalat, with its occupation by the youth, the rule of Kalat would also come into their hands. There was nothing wrong with the statement especially when it was said in jest. The

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spit and then wash his mouth with medicine. He remained under treatment for a while in the village and later we shifted him to the Government Hospital at Quetta. Col Rogers was the civil surgeon there at that time. I knew him from Mach jail when he was Inspector General Prisons (IGP). Besides being the civil surgeon, he was also the Chief Executive of the Provincial Health Department, Health Officer of the Quetta Municipality, Surgeon to the AGG, Superintendent Quetta Prison and the IG Prisons of the Province. He received regular salaries and allowance for all these assignments but could not do justice to any of the jobs even if he wanted to. My brother, therefore, lay in the hospital for many days without any specialised care. Nizami and some other friends would visit him, which kept him entertained for which I am thankful to them to this day.

I then took him to Major Davis, a dentist at the Military Hospital (MH). He examined him and recommended immediate surgery or else there was the danger that his jaw may rot away. I talked to the civil surgeon but he did not pay attention to the urgency of the case. I went back to the dentist at the MH who agreed to undertake the surgery at the Civil Hospital, provided the Civil Surgeon Col Roger consented. He was kind enough to come with me and request the civil surgeon for permission. Maj Davis said to him, "I suppose you know him."

Col Roger replied, "Yes I have seen him at the prison."

Major Davis, like all Englishmen, disliked convicts and was thus much alarmed at hearing this and said to me, "I thought you were a decent person. I did not know you had spent time in prison."

I said to him, "Yes some time ago I was a political detainee."

After this statement of mine he changed his attitude and said, "Oh! You were a political detainee," and Col Roger added, "Yes he is a politician."

Major Davis then said to the civil surgeon, "If I have your permission I will perform the surgery of his brother in your hospital." Col Roger replied, "No, I cannot allow that."

Major Davis was much offended by this pointblank refusal and we left together. On the way, he started talking to me about politics. He was an enlightened and informed person but was firm in the view that we should not be anti-British as without them it was not possible to administer this country. But when I

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him, telling him that treatment anywhere would require expenses. At Lahore it may be a little more expensive but the treatment would be satisfactory and at one place instead of in small instalments over a longer period elsewhere without any guarantee of success. In the morning, I then telegraphically informed a cousin Hafiz Khan, who was then at Lahore, to arrange accommodations at Mayo Hospital and we set out by train for Lahore in the evening. An attendant and I accompanied my brother. The treatment was extended over six months involving four surgeries. I remained with him for over a month and later left him in the care of an attendant. Col Barucha charged us Rs300, which was a substantial amount at that time. I asked him if the amount was too much but he replied that I would see that it was worth it. This ailment is long and will require surgery a number of times. Afterwards, I realised that he was right since the private ward charged Rs500 for a single operation in addition to charges for lodge and eating. But once my brother was healed, the expenses were not remembered by anyone.

The Year 1937

In the year 1937, Sir Parsons[413], an intelligent straightforward person, was appointed the Agent to the Governor General (AGG), Balochistan. He wanted to reform the Sardari and Jirga system of Sir Robert Sandaman; not that he wanted to replace it by another system, on the contrary he was convinced of its necessity for continued British rule but because the system had degenerated and everyone was complaining about it. The extortions and bribery of the Jirga members, Sardars and officials had crossed all limits and the public felt suppressed and persecuted to the extreme. They were on the brink of revolt from the system. Our association and the press supported and publicised the hue and cry of the populace.

The Bugti and Rind tribes were up in revolt against their chiefs. The Magsi tribe forced a change of the tribal Sardar. The Kakars of Zhob and Loralai were complaining loudly. In Pishin, the official clique, especially that headed by the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC,) Mian Nasiruddin, used to officially charge both the litigating parties hundreds of rupees as investigation expenses of the Jirga members. The favoured members would thus earn hundreds and thousands of rupees a week. Sir Parsons

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I was saddened and surprised by these meaningless objections and issued a press statement. The headline of which was Nizami Ganjavi[421]'s couplet:

Ba saf dil mujadila khes dushmani ist
Har kas kashad ba aina khanjar ba khud kashad

Ghalimi da spinzArzi da zaan badi da Wa indaara ta chara wa zan ta kshal wi

To oppose the heart is to antagonise one's self,
He who the mirror stabs
Into his heart the dagger plunges

I tried to convince them that there was no other mechanism available for appointing the Board of Directors as the people had entrusted me with the donations for the press but when the hearts and minds are closed how can reason enter it? To counter my statement some of them issued another statement and many started commenting on the issue. Some of the comments being pointed and exceptional in their own right, for instance Amin Khoso's lines were quite enjoyable, "Even as willed by these dissenters, if one was to ask the opinion of the people of Balochistan on the issue they may be assured that they would probably recommend that we erect for Mr Cater (the former AGG Balochistan, who had imprisoned some of us and banished others) a statue and have it placed in the centre of the courtyard of the central mosque at Quetta." There was another statement of Ayub Khan indicating that he also did not approve of this line of attack and counter attack and was ready to stand aside from the board membership.

After my return from Bombay, I came to know that Aziz Kurd and the two brothers Nizami and Unqa were at the back of all this controversy. The three had expended a lot of efforts in the affair, shuttling between Mach and Sibi and had even gone to Karachi and after many meetings succeeded in forming the dissenting group of five. I, therefore, decided not to make this press a public trust and property of the people and run it as my own. The accounts of the collected donations would be presented to a managing committee comprising Mohammad Amin Khoso, Mir

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all the account books were maintained and were in order but I did not get to see them. Another great loss was that the type of the press was sold to Albert Press for Rs 1,000 without my permission whereas its worth at the time was Rs 7,000 – 8,000, the replacement of which later cost me nearly Rs 10,000. It was a crime but when the Parsi owner of Albert Press[422] confronted Mr Durrani if the sale was with his consent, I had no moral justification for persecuting him in court.

I am recording all this only to bring out the position that had the press been a trust, as was my intention, then the government would have been involved and this kind of mismanagement and misappropriation would have given the government and its police the excuse to constitute cases of criminal misappropriation against me and my associates. Imagine the scandal that it would have led to! Under the present circumstances, if the loss was great or small it was my own and I had the right to ignore it. This experience kept me away from entering other profit making endeavours. If I had not had this experience, I would have commenced other such projects with trust in them.

When the press was short of running expenses in the initial days and my colleagues were not willing to collect donations, as a last resort I went to my financier, my elder brother, and requested him for funds as loan to the press. The blessed soul promised to arrange it in a few days' time as he had no funds with him then. He then managed to mortgage his water flour mill for Rs 2,500 and helped me out once again as he would always do. The press has yet to return his money. As written above, in the beginning of the year 1938 I went at its invitation to the Anjuman-e-Afghania annual conference in Bombay. This was the association of the Balochistan Pashtoon usurers that had come to India as the push effect of the poverty of their homeland, the details of which I have related earlier in the book.

With the advent of the inauspicious British rule in the Pashtoon land in Balochistan, government services and trade were taken by outside immigrants from other provinces who came in the wake of British rule and were encouraged by them. They were acquainted with the working of British rule and familiar with the new official languages of Urdu and English as a result of their enslavement earlier than us and the consequent contact with the British. Likewise, because of the neglect of the alien British

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Therefore, all of you should wind up your business before it gets late. It is better to leave on your own terms as opposed to leaving under duress. To return home and commence activities that can sustain you or take it forcibly from the government. Our homeland is endowed with everything: employment, business opportunities and lands. On the one hand men want to find employment and work hard but are absent, you know that most of the villages of Pishin are devoid of young men. Most of them are in India pursuing their business of usury. Only women and very old men are left behind. And the lands that are lying barren, year by year their quality is deteriorating and they are being eroded. The other alternative is that we force the government to create some avenues for the development of this land.

Most of them, however, did not appreciate what I said against the justification of usury (money lending) and their harsh ways of recovery. They were highly critical of the Congress government's initiative of prohibiting usury. They were of the view that either they be allowed to do their business or the government should give them all their loans lump sum. Some would even say that the British were better than the Congress as their government at least did not prohibit their business.

Some, on the other hand, grasped the implications of what I said, realising the illegitimacy of their business and its anti-social effects and were willing to give it up for something else. Others understood the point that sooner or later India would be free and free India would not tolerate this extremely exploitative business. Such persons would then talk to us about alternative business opportunities and employment in Balochistan. I would tell them that there were small scale businesses requiring limited capital which others were following successfully and enjoying the comforts of being home with their families. I suggested that there were ample opportunities in the wholesale business of vegetables and fruits that were currently being run by the people of Kandahar and other immigrants. The retail shop businesses in the villages, currently run by poor Hindus from Sindh, who became rich in no time. And they deprive you of your entire earnings from here accrued over years in a few month's entertainments, weddings and other events. Another business opportunity is the fruit and vegetable shops of Quetta city. I related to them the working of the potato seed commission agent Pana Lal Marwari, which I have witnessed and has been experienced by Maulvi

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Ghulam Haider, who sold his seed potatoes to the farmers for twice its cash price for a seasonal loan of five to six months which nearly equaled the rate of interest that they charged and then sold the potatoes for a high commission or purchased it himself at much less than the market price, thus earning Rs 3-4 for every one rupee of credit sale of seed potatoes. Despite all this Pana Lal was a respectable citizen of Quetta, dealing with respectable land owners whereas they were looked down upon as usurers and dealt with the lowly outcasts of society. Besides, I suggested there was small government contract work in the city that provided the opportunity of a decent living in addition to urban education opportunities for their children. Likewise, the agriculture sector had ample opportunities by digging wells for irrigation while others afford the opportunity for the construction of Karezaat either with the assistance of the government or with the mutual assistance of the people or with partnership (Khatkashi[424]) of a wealthy person.

Many of them followed our advice and started new livelihoods with all of them prospering to date. Some that came back soon after included Abdul Wahid Bazai and his two partners, who came and started potato commission agency in the fruit market in competition to Pana Lal and are extremely well off these days. Another person of Kuchlak, Jan Mohammad Sanzarkhel, who returned immediately after us and is today employed on a good position in the anti-malaria department. A similar example is that of Syed Mir Ahmad and his brothers from Karbala, who now do well. There is also Haji Fateh Khan and his brother Musa Khan, who are multi-millionaires these days along with Syed Salahuddin and Ali Mohammad of Karbala. These are some of the names that I can recall from the Bombay meeting. We spent many days with them in Bombay and went to Poona for a night as well and held a public meeting there and met many persons, mostly Achakzais. Most of our time was taken by the efforts of convincing those from Pishin to join the association without much success.

The main cause for their failure of joining one association was the differentiation created by the British among the various Pashtoon tribes and sub-tribes through their institutions of Jirga (judicial council), a practice that is still followed and adhered to by the government of Pakistan. Just like the British, through the seemingly innocent ploy of separate electorate, eventually

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divided the Indian nation into two nations and two countries, on the same pattern they had divided the Pashtoon into various big and small tribes and sub-tribes in the Jirga system with separate members for each tribe and sub-tribe giving the impression that these were not the constituents of a single nation rather tribes constituted of entirely different people. The nominated Jirga members, for their own vested interests, continued to emphasise this separation and distinction that created rivalries amongst them. And like the former Arab peoples are creating enmity between the sub-tribes. This division of the Pashtoons is the worst form of enmity of the British against the Pashtoon people. With regards to this topic, tribes generally tend to be biased towards their own members but the Kakar tribes are particularly so because most of the major tribes of Pishin were under the rule of the Durrani dynasty of Afghanistan, who call themselves Durranis in the tradition of Ahmed Shah Abdali, the recognised king of all Pashtoons. These tribes of Pishin, like the Durranis of Afghanistan, display some urban characteristics and tolerate people of other tribes living amongst them as equals. The Kakars, because of their isolated living in mountains and valleys, only loosely remained under the national government of Afghanistan. This is especially true of the Zhob and Bori Kakars and this relationship weakened further following court infighting of the successors to the throne of Kabul. They were thus cut off from the mainstream and lived an isolated nomadic tribal life. Kakar tribes, let alone other tribes do not even regard other Kakars that live amongst them as their equal. One would find no Sanatia Kakar living amongst the Sanzarkhel Kakars and vice-versa. So the detrimental rift created by the British existed amongst them in foreign lands as well. The Achakzais and the Tareens of Pishin regarded the Anjuman-e-Afghania useless and undesirable and hence shunned it.

Although I was aware of the difficult life that these usurers lived and their undesirable practices, my prolonged stay with them on this occasion gave me a better insight into their lowly and disgusting practices. These poor fellows would be away from their families over a long period of time ranging from three to 20 years, leaving their women and children behind. In India no decent persons would be seen in their company. Talking or socialising with them was unthinkable!. Their business dealings were with extremely lowly criminals and wayward types and

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ensure labour output without unnecessary force, favour or spying on them. I was inclined towards labour organisations and trade unionism and studied its literature but I could not take active part in it as I did not have the time for it nor could I identify others that would do the job satisfactorily. I, therefore, used to take relief in the belief that once India gained freedom, its own government amongst other social welfare activities would look into the difficulties of labour as well and encourage healthy trade unionism. In the wake of my enthusiastic struggle for freedom, I did not expect that 14 years after independence the country would be ruled under martial law, I would be writing these lines and helplessly watching from behind bars the degeneration of poor into poorer, forcing their minds into a state of nostalgia for the time of unwanted British rule.

This morning July 15, 1960, a well-placed employee of the prison came and complained to me with tearful eyes, "In the days of the British, one would buy four kilograms (kg) of vegetables and four kg of wheat flour for one rupee and would live comfortably for Rs 40 to Rs 50 a month salary. Today "shakar" (brown sugar) sells for Rs 2 a kg and 2 kg of wheat flour for a rupee whereas our salary is just Rs80 per month." At Quetta, at that time, there was a union of Quetta Municipality Sweepers whom I used to help and there was another Railway Workers Union about whose activities I would be kept informed by Mr Miller, a railway guard.

The Annual Convention of the Railway Union at Quetta

In the summer of 1937, the Railway Workers Union decided to hold its annual convention at Quetta to which, along with other high officials of Balochistan government, they invited me as well and chose me a member of the welcoming committee. I was asked to address the gathering on the topic of dignity of labour. Some known and active members of the union had come to the meeting from Lahore, including the chairman of the union. The welcoming committee was headed by a frivolous railway contractor, who read out his statement in English indirectly criticising labour strike in these words, "Labour strike often damages the interest of labour, therefore, strikes that damage the labour interests should always be discouraged." When I rose to address the meeting, I

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government the population of Haripur Jail stood at 1,700 of which 800 were set free and the sentences of the remaining was reduced by two months. But today, in the beginning of August, the number of prisoners is back at the earlier level of 1,700 and would exceed it by the month of October, the anniversary month of the Martial Law government. This despite that during this period all the prisoners from the districts of Punjab were relocated to that province. Despite the fact that for the past 23 years and even 10 years before independence, the government of this province was native and prior to independence mostly that of the Khudai Khidmatgars.

I suspect that the state of widespread lawlessness cannot be explained in terms of alien British rule and its maladministration alone. It is instead indicative of a structural social maladjustment, especially the inequitable distribution of agricultural land and the consequential widespread poverty. The unjust land distribution has created a numerically small class of landholders that have so much wealth and income that they cannot think of ways of spending it. Side by side, there are hundreds of thousands of landless agricultural workers that have no food or shelter. All of them and their children are at the mercy of their landlords for half a meal of cornbread and shelter. Therefore, if someone likes it or not, he and his family have to tolerate all the wrongs of the landlord and must fulfil every illegitimate order be it that of committing murder or destroying another person's house. That is why hired assassins are available in every village of this area who are ever ready to murder someone for very little money. Such hired assassins do not exist anywhere else in Pashtoonkhwa.

In this vast earth, every living being whether it be animal, bird or fish, is not constrained by anyone in their search for a living and abode such as a nest, cave or hole. Of their own volition and capacity, they find themselves a living wherever they find it. And they find an abode, cave or nest of their own accord. They live in there by themselves and rear their young. Similarly, in all of Pashtoonkhwa Pashtoons have this authority that everyone in some place such as a mountain, valley, desert or steppe can return to land owned by him or collectively by his tribe.

In every NWFP village, there live a few Pashtoon families called "Dam" whose profession is to make their wives, sisters and daughters perform dance for the pleasure of others and fulfil their

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with no discrimination between the rich and the poor. He would declare in his public meetings, that ownership of land amongst the Pashtoons was not like at the present time imposed by the British, who allotted it to a few Khans. Prior to the British, land belonged to all the people, who would cultivate it collectively. It was only the British that allotted the village lands to a few Khans.

After independence, it was expected that the provincial government would remedy the situation particularly the government of Abdul Qayyum Khan because it was all powerful and enjoyed the support and backing of the central government. Besides Qayyum Khan and his colleagues were also from the Khudai Khidmatgars, who had changed sides for the sake of gaining power or because of the fear of the Muslim League they had joined hands with it. They too wasted their time in government in persecuting, defaming and killing Khudai Khidmatgars either at the behest of the central government as Qayyum Khan claimed or because of the fear that Khudai Khidmatgars may stage a comeback in the future. Whatever the reason, they did not remedy this difficult life of the poor and only initiated some marginal reforms for self propaganda or to threaten some opponents like reforming the laws regarding mortgaged lands.

The Muslim League provincial government was soon taken over by that of the rule of bureaucracy under the One Unit scheme of West Pakistan that deprived the province even of the limited control that it had over its affairs, followed by the current Martial Law government. I was hoping and expecting that the Martial Law government would remedy the situation but its land reform scheme was on the pattern identified many years ago by the Daultana government of Punjab.

The land reforms of the Martial Law regime benefited some landless of Punjab and Sindh but did not have much effect on the land distribution and tenancy in NWFP, because there very few people had cultivable land in excess of 650 acres. Only a handful lost some non-cultivable lands and forests. Some even benefited on account of the consolidation of landholdings by exchanging their unproductive lands for the fertile land left behind by Hindus. A landlord of Hazara district acquired at a price of Rs 125 an acre of fertile orchard land in return for his waste mountainous ownership.

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In my opinion, the problem of inequitable distribution of land in NWFP did not get resolved because in post-independence Pakistan, particularly during the One Unit days of West Pakistan, no one examined the collective problems of Pashtoons nor sought a solution. Every issue was looked at from the point of view of either the whole country or that of the bigger provinces, particularly Punjab.

The problems and difficulties of the Pashtoons were ignored because of our small population of just 8,000,000 that was divided by the British for their own evil designs into various administrative units of Tribal Areas, agencies, states, settled districts, and British Balochistan. Secondly, prior to independence or rather during the years of independence struggle, the Pashtoons supported United Independent India, the point of view of the Indian National Congress.

In post-independence Pakistan, the politics, political parties and political leaders of the Pashtoons were not only suspects, but were persecuted as the enemies of the state and were virtually debarred from participating in national politics despite the formal and public allegiance of Bacha Khan to the state of Pakistan from the floor of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan[443].

Within eight years of independence, to counter the majority of East Bengal, under the scheme of Parity the West Pakistan Province[444] was created, depriving the Pashtoons of minimal say in their affairs by amalgamating NWFP in the province of West Pakistan instead of joining of all the contiguous Pashtoon populated lands into a single province of Pashtoonistan. The proxy pro-Muslim League leadership at the division level of the former NWFP, that did the bidding of the Muslim League government at the centre, was not just incapable of doing anything for the public but was a mere appendage to the ruling party.

Solemnising Second Marriage in 1946

It appears that as a full time political worker, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was reluctant to marry again after the demise of his wife from tuberculosis in 1942 but by 1946 his mother and elder brother Haji Khan Abdul Salaam Khan coerced him into marrying again. He thus married a close relative, daughter of Abdul Karim Khan of his village. Unlike the normal Pashtoon marriage, the

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bride was brought home on the same day on the insistence of the bride's father, in the convertible motorcar of his close companion Mohammad Ayub Khan of village Gulistan.

Mahmood Khan was born in March 1948 and in the same year in August Khan Shaheed, who was under house arrest, was sent to prison under the Safety Act Ordinance promulgated by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's government. The second son Dr Hamid and a twin girl that lived only a few days were born on 26th February 1949 while Mr Achakzai was in prison. The two boys met their father for the first time on his release on 19th January 1954 in the welcoming gathering when he came back to the village.

As was expected, Khan Shaheed plunged into active politics. Within a short period of two months, he founded the Wror Pashtoon (Pashtoon Brotherhood) in April 1954 and from then onwards he was either under house arrest or in prison or propagating his political programme specifically for the unity of the Pashtoon under one province Pashtoonistan and doing away with One Unit province of West Pakistan formed in 1955. In November 1958, under the Martial Law imposed by General Mohammad Ayub Khan, he was sentenced to 14 years rigorous imprisonment. After his release on 23rd April 1968 by the West Pakistan High Court, he was again arrested on 19th May 1968. His case along with nine other party members was handed over to a tribunal under a special ordinance in 1968 and he was again sentenced to 14 years imprisonment but was released in February/March 1969 when the special ordinance was withdrawn on the insistence of General Mohammad Azam Khan, who had been invited by the then struggling President Ayub Khan to a meeting with the Democratic Alliance Committee that consisted of the joint opposition under Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan. During these 14 years, the brave woman looked after his five children without ever complaining and praying for his success, often repeating the Pashto proverb *"Mla di mazaki la mazha* (may you never be a loser)".

In December 1970, he was elected to the Balochistan Provincial Assembly under the first ever elections to be held in Balochistan He was assassinated on the night of 2nd December 1973. After his martyrdom the brave woman, his wife, with great courage

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lamented that he was destined to achieve much more. May Allah rest his soul in peace.

Events Around Independence

When Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai realised that the departure of the British from the Indian sub-continent was imminent, at the beginning of 1947 he wrote a letter to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. At this time Bacha Khan was the leader of the biggest movement Khudai Khidmatgar of NWFP. In the letter, he stated, "It seems that the British are leaving while it is not clear if British India will remain united or be divided. As the leader of the largest Pashtoon movement, it is incumbent upon you to focus on the matter that the Pashtoon remains divided amongst various contiguous administrative units (NWFP, Punjab, Tribal Areas, British Balochistan). Even if an independent India, be it united or partitioned, is a paradise, in this divided state we will be in trouble because Punjabis, Sindhis and Bengalis each have a province of their own. A solution to this predicament is required ahead of time". This letter was published in Bacha Khan's newspaper Pashtoon in April 1947.

Unluckily, the Pashtoon nation that sacrificed most for the freedom of India was not able to take advantage of India's independence nor was it able to chart a course for its future, the detriments of which it is dealing with till date.

Immediately after independence in March 1948, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, GM Syed[466] and other political leaders, who had been in favour of a united India, formed the People's Party of Pakistan at Karachi. This was the first non-communal opposition party of Pakistan. Bacha Khan was elected president of the new party and GM Syed, general secretary. Membership was opened to all communities. Its objectives included the following:

(i) Full autonomy for all linguistic groups

(ii) Stabilisation and security of Pakistan as a union of socialist republics drawing all its authority and sanction from the people

(iii) Cultural relations with neighbouring states, particularly with the Indian Union

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POST-PARTITION PERIOD

Letters to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Dated: 27-06-1948

Honourable Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister
Pakistan, Karachi.

السلام و علیکم!

I am well and wish you good health.

I hope you will consider the following few lines in light of the spirit in which they are written; that is the desire to clear all the suspicions of the government about me and the desire to create an atmosphere of brotherly cooperation.

You must be aware of the fact that on March 14, 1948 by order of the Political Agent (PA) District Quetta/Pishin under the safety ordinance clause (3), I was arrested and jailed. Subsequently I was released on May 13, 1948 and ordered to remain within a radius of five miles of my house, under the vigilance of two Levies. The order was passed under clause (4) of the safety ordinance.

It goes without saying that the present condition is worse and more degrading than that of a jailed prisoner and cannot be tolerated for a minute by a self-respecting person, and I too would not have tolerated it if not told by the PA and the Agent to the Governor General (AGG)[467] that it was done on the orders of the Central Government. Therefore, I decided not to defy this unnecessary, undemocratic and degrading order till I bring it to the notice of your kind self and Quaid-e-Azam, Governor General of Pakistan. From jail, I contacted the concerned PA and the AGG to know the reason of this hasty and utterly non-judicious decision and the same was demanded by the local press and some sensible local people but to no avail. Neither I nor the public was informed about it. After persistent silence on part of the government, I

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who were present during your visit, were hesitant to appear before you.

You may have heard that Samad Durrani, Shorash and others have been arrested in Quetta. Likewise, some politically active persons have also been held in Kalat State. These acts have scared the people so much so that even politically aware persons avoid meeting you let alone discussing political matters with you.

One such personal instance would surprise you. Recently I went to Jacobabad for some personal work and when I came to Quetta, I planned to stay there for two or three days. I, therefore, stayed with Nizami Sahib, the editor of Tanzeem newspaper. Some common friends were alarmed when they met me at Nizami's place on the first day. Later, they scared Nizami sahib to the extent that he told me that if I stayed with him he was likely to be externed from Quetta because of my stay with him. I tried my level best to explain to him that I was not a foreigner travelling on a passport from a foreign country, and Quetta was as much my city as Karachi was, neither was I a fugitive or an absconder. Further I told him that I was not in Quetta to arrange public meetings or processions then why should my stay be troublesome to him? And even if I was arrested why should he be in trouble as we had personal association of more than 15 to 20 years. But he did not agree and I had to leave his place the next day. When two editors of newspapers are scared to such an extent in the current atmosphere of Balochistan one can imagine the position of the ordinary citizens there.

The oldest newspaper of the province was Istiqlal, Quetta. The moderate policy of the newspaper can be judged from the fact that it remained intact during the last three years. Despite its independent policy, all of a sudden its editor Abdul Samad Durrani was arrested under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). The magistrate of Quetta refuses to renew its declaration whenever submitted by some other person. Resultantly, the newspaper was closed and is still closed. How can it be justified for a legitimate or civilised government in a sovereign and democratic country to terrorise and make hapless the residents of a specific area to such an extent? It is not unknown to you that it can result in what kind of reaction, especially in the border areas. It is clear that under this atmosphere of fear and distrust, it will be difficult for you to know the views of enlightened, educated

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The demand and actions of the present Muslim League party and its government in NWFP regarding the merger of Pashtoon states, agencies and tribal area in to the province are proof of this fact. Therefore, the states of Amb[470] and Phulra[471] have been merged into the province and the merger of Dir[472] State is being demanded. Only recently on 5th February Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, the Chief Minister of NWFP, said in a speech in Darband (Amb State), "Today some people in Karachi think that NWFP and the tribal areas will remain as separate units but they are wrong. The most vibrant and lively part of the Pakistani nation exists in these plains and mountains. Our nation living in the tribal areas are our brethren. Being the Chief Minister, I announce that we cannot leave them alone. They and we will ultimately become united. These agencies and political agents will be uprooted soon. The Karachi politicians don't understand it, they are witless" published in Daily Jamhuriat February 11, 1951.

I, therefore, impress upon you that if the people in Balochistan have not proposed the unification of all Pashtoon areas, it doesn't imply that they don't desire it. It is because that currently such a demand has been declared by officialdom as causing rift among muslims, enmity with Pakistan, racism, provincialism, bidding of foreign spy agencies and treason. Several educated, patriotic and outspoken young men have been imprisoned or released on heavy sureties, some of whom have also gone into self-exile, for the crime of demanding a single province of the Pashtoons in Pakistan.

The spirit of unity and desire of living together amongst people of common culture and language exist not only amongst Pashtoons but in every corner of the world and every individual considers it his natural right. That is why the refugees coming from different districts of East Punjab demand of the government to settle them together in the districts of West Punjab. The government considers this demand legitimate and promised its best to fulfil it. Likewise, the Baloch living in Dera Ghazi Khan opted for merger with the poor, backward and deprived of reforms Baloch States Union[473] instead of Punjab when they were asked about it despite the fact that they had been living away from their motherland in the developed and fertile Punjab for centuries. The Baloch of Balochistan have lauded their decision with historic delight. Likewise, the issue of language is the main cause of annoyance for the East Pakistan[474] province against the report of the Basic

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people and the literate residents of their wards should be alert that their votes are registered in their place of work and residence. They must understand that unlike previous years, the vote this time is not for village based Basic Democracy[488] that can benefit a relative in their village but that this time their votes are being used for provincial and national assemblies.

6. The use of their names and other particulars by females for voter registration is neither against Sharia nor is it a sin. It is also not against personal honour and there is no chance that any woman casting her vote in this area could be harassed or insulted. Their vote is as important in selecting appropriate candidates for the nation as yours. Therefore, female votes must be registered.

Sponsor
Abdul Samad Achakzai
1968

Visit to Afghanistan (August 1969)

On 22 August 1969 on the invitation of the Pashto Adabi Tolana (Pashto Literary Circle) Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, along with his son Dr Hamid Khan Achakzai and daughter Ms Wali Ahad (Khor Bibi) commenced his visit to Afghanistan. On the insistence of Khan Sahib, during this trip instead of a "Burka", Khor Bibi used a simple white shawl, laying the foundation for ending the practice of wearing a "Burka" in British Balochistan province. About this trip, his son Dr Hamid Khan says the following:

"My cousin Saeed Khan drove us from our village Inayatullah Karez to the border with Afghanistan (Wesh) in Chaman. Since we were state guests, at the border we were received by Afghan officials and our first stop was the border town of Spin Boldak. At Spin Boldak we were warmly received by a multitude of political leaders, tribal elders, students, state officials and the general public. The Afghan officials presented a welcoming address to Khan Sahib. Khan Samad Khan Achakzai gave a speech to the assembled crowd in reply and thereafter along with officials and elders visited the cemetery of the martyrs of the Third Anglo

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Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai leading a procession in Pishin after formation of Pashtunkhwa National Awami Party



Around 1969-1970, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai with Pashtun students at Dow Medical College Karachi

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1970, during the campaign for general elections in Chaman. Except two parties, all others withdrew their candidates in favour of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and presented him a traditional turban



Muhammad Yousaf Palawan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Maulvi Abdul Haleem, Yar Muhammad Shah and Nazar Muhammad Shimakzai

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(Left to Right) Mir Gul Khan Naseer Mengal , Mir Nabi Baksh Zehri and Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai



(Left to Right) Yousuf Ali Khan Magsi, Saifullah Paracha, Abdul samad Khan Achakzai, Nawab Ghous Baksh Raisani & Dr. Adbul Jaffar

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(Left to Right) Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Sardar Anwar Jan Khetran, Maulvi Hassan Shah, Yousuf Ali Khan Magsi receiving the Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto at Quetta Airport



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mian Saifullah Paracha

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Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai addressing the session of Balochistan Assembly after completion of the process of election for the slot of Speaker



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai addressing the ceremony wherein Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo took oath as the first governor of Balochistan province

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1970, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai presiding over the first session of the provincial First elected assembly of the newly formed Balochistan province



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai with journalists addressing a press conference, Arbab Abdul nadir Shah Kasi is also present

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Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Balochistan Chief Minister Jam Ghulam Qadir during a visit to China



(Left to Right) Sher Mohammad Khan Ghilzai (wearing turban), Abdul Wahid Kurd, Malak Mohammad Usman Khan Kasi, Shahzada Karim, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Mahmood Aziz Kurd, Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti.
Second row: (L to R) second Malik Saddiq Khan Kasi,

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336 The Inquisition was a powerful office set up within the Catholic Church to root
out and punish heresy throughout Europe and the Americas. Beginning in the 12th century and continuing for hundreds of years, the Inquisition is infamous for the severity of its tortures and its persecution of Jews and Muslims. Its worst manifestation was in Spain, where the Spanish Inquisition was a dominant force for more than 200 years, resulting in some 32,000 executions.

337 The French Revolution was a watershed event in modern European history
that began in 1789 and ended in the late 1790s with the ascent of Napoleon Bona- parte. During this period, French citizens razed and redesigned their country's political landscape, uprooting centuries-old institutions such as absolute monar- chy and the feudal system. The upheaval was caused by widespread discontent with the French monarchy and the poor economic policies of King Louis XVI, who met his death by guillotine, as did his wife Marie Antoinette. Although it failed to achieve all of its goals and at times degenerated into a chaotic bloodbath, the French Revolution played a critical role in shaping modern nations by showing the world the power inherent in the will of the people.

338 The revolutionary period in Irish history was the period in the 1910s and early
1920s when Irish nationalist opinion shifted from the Home Rule-supporting Irish Parliamentary Party to the republican Sinn Féin movement. There were several waves of civil unrest linked to Ulster loyalism, trade unionism, and physi- cal force republicanism, leading to the Irish War of Independence, the creation of the Irish Free State, the Partition of Ireland, and the Irish Civil War.

339 Russian Revolution, also called Russian Revolution of 1917, two revolutions in
1917, the first of which, in February (March, New Style), overthrew the imperial government and the second of which, in October (November), placed the Bolshe- viks in power. The Bolsheviks would later become the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

340 Eamon de Valera, original name Edward de Valera, (born Oct. 14, 1882, New York, N.Y., U.S.—died Aug. 29, 1975, Dublin, Ire.), Irish politician and patriot, who served as taoiseach (prime minister; 1932–48, 1951–54, 1957–59) and president (1959–73) of Ireland. An active revolutionary from 1913, he became president of Sinn Féin in 1917 and founded the Fianna Fáil party in 1926. In 1937 he made his country a "sovereign" state, renamed Ireland, or Éire. His academic attainments also inspired wide respect; he became chancellor of the National University of Ireland in 1921.

341 trivial or very small.

342 Sir Alfred Hamilton Grant, 12th Baronet KCSI KCIE (12 June 1872 – 23 Jan- uary 1937), known as Hamilton Grant, and from 1918 as Sir Hamilton Grant, was a British diplomat who served primarily in India. He was also briefly a Liberal Party politician.

343 Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

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19) and of Madras presidency (1919–24) and as governor-general of Canada (1926–31). As viceroy and governor-general of India (1931–36) he repressed passive-resistance campaigns of the Indian National Congress. He was created baron in 1910 and marquess in 1936.

419 Marie Adelaide Freeman-Thomas, Marchioness of Willingdon, GBE, CI, DStJ
(née Brassey; 24 March 1875 – 30 January 1960) was a daughter of Thomas Brassey, 1st Earl Brassey. On 20 July 1892, she married Freeman Freeman- Thomas, 1st Marquess of Willingdon.

420 This is an Urdu proverb. Banmati nay kumba jora, kaheen ki aint kaheen ka rora

421 Neẓāmī, in full Elyās Yūsof Neẓāmī Ganjavī, Neẓāmī also spelled Niẓāmī, (born
c. 1141, Ganja, Seljuq empire [now Ganca, Azerbaijan]—died 1209, Ganja), great- est romantic epic poet in Persian literature, who brought a colloquial and realistic style to the Persian epic.

422 Established by Dadabhai Golwala in 1891. Renovated by Shawak Rustomji after the 1935 earthquake.

423 Jairamdas Daulatram (21 July 1891 Karachi, Bombay Presidency, British India
– 1 March 1979 Delhi, India) He joined the Congress Party as a young man, and later was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council. From 1935-38, he was appointed as a member of various Committees and Sub-Committees on labour rights and issues. Daulatram developed a good relationship with Mahatma Gand- hi, and resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council in 1930 to join Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha. At Gandhi's request, he became a member of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee and travelled to several different provinces to convince local administrations to support the boycott. At the time of independence, Daulatram was appointed the Governor of Bihar. He resigned from this position in 1948 due to conflict with the Chief Minister, after which he ran for re-election to the Constituent Assembly. Daulatram won the election from East Punjab on a Congress party ticket. He did not actively participate in the debates, although he was a member of three important Committees and two Sub-Committees. From 1948 until 1950, he held the position of Union Minister for Food and Agriculture (1948–50). Later, he was appointed as the Governor of Assam (1949–56). In 1951, he commissioned the Assam Rifles regiment, led by Major Ralengnao Khathing, to capture Tawang, then part of the Tibetan autonomous region under Chinese control. This brought him into conflict with Nehru, who had not authorized the action. As a major proponent of the Sindhi language and literature, Daulatram was one of the founding members of the Akhil Bharat Sindhi Boli Ain Sahit Sabha (All India Sindhi Language and Literature Congress). In 1957, he chaired a Con- vention to demand the recognition of Sindhi under the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

424 A practice whereby a wealthy person loans money to a landowner for the construction of a karez. The lender would then become a shareholder of the karez and its attendant lands.

425 Slogan of God is Greatest

426 Free Balochistan

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I was formally inducted into the learning process at the age of five. By then another priest had taken over at the mosque, the well known Mullah Mohammad Yaqoob, who belonged to a known family of respected peers (faith healers) from the adjoining village of Abdul Rehmanzai. Mullah Mohammad Yaqoob, however, did not practice his family trade. Later, he entrusted our learning to his younger brother Mullah Ayub Shah, who used to reside in the mosque with him pursuing higher religious learning. He did not claim or practice extra spiritual powers either but instead worked for a livelihood in various mosques as the prayer leader and a teacher of the Holy Scriptures. In the year 1930, when we entered the national freedom movement, he was in the village of Gulistan Karez and was the only religious scholar, who supported us. Later, my father engaged a full time resident tutor, the reverend Mullah Agha Muhammad. My father would impart the main lesson to my brother, myself and a half-brother of my mother, who was our age, Mohammad Isa Khan and we would revise the lesson with the tutor till such time that we learnt it well.

There is nothing exceptional of those early days that I recall. We were, however, dearly loved by our parents and I feel I was more so than my brother and sisters. We were better dressed and cared for than our other relatives, possessing in plenty things to play with like football and marbles. Every Friday, we received regular pocket money but were not allowed to visit the market place. Instead, we would send for whatever we needed. If a visit to a hospital or for some other purpose to the market place was necessary, we would be chaperoned by our father's manager Abdul Qader Lala. Apart from the morning and evening lessons, the time was spent at play or at home and visits to the house of our maternal uncle. We did not go anywhere else though there were no specific restrictions as such. Our teacher would instruct us in the pronunciation of Arabic alphabets and then proceed to teach other students the Holy Quran by way of words spelling. We, however, did not proceed with the verbal study of the Holy Quran as my father regarded it a futile exercise. He was of the view that after the study of the other books, reading the holy Quran would come to us automatically. I proceeded with the study of such Persian classics as Gulistan[47], Bostan[48], Panjkitab and Zolaikha[49].

As we progressed in our study, we were introduced to writing. For this purpose a full-time tutor Mullah Abdul Rehman of Kakar

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amongst the tribes, the rich Maliks and the so-called tribal leaders did not join the war with the exception of these three prominent personalities namely; Mullah Walo Hamidzai, headman of the Achakzais of Toba, famous holy warrior and hunter lame Nazar Mohammad Malezai and Khairo Jan Badinzai. The Khans and elders of our villages would gather every evening in our *Hujra* (male guesthouse) for exchange of views on the events of the day and consultation with our tutor Mullah Sher Mohammad Sakzai about the future line of action.

The Afghan national fighting forces were at a distance of Seven to Eight miles from the Durand Line[55] which is a distance of 20 to 25 miles from our village. Our elders were in touch with their leaders, Chief Minister Sardar Abdul Qadoos Khan and General Ghulam Nabi Khan. Probably these leaders did not wish that a large population from across the British areas should join them, besides the crops were ready and people were waiting to harvest them after which they would join the war.

Some of those, who had already joined the Afghan forces as volunteers, would come across during the night and attack government property, cut telephone and telegraph wires and blow bridges. On several occasions, trains carrying troops were derailed and ambushed, leading to heavy losses and causalities. There was general lawlessness and insecurity; looting, dacoity and killings were aplenty. Our village bazaar was attacked, looted, and set alight. It was said that this attack was at the instigation of the government and its forces, who tactically wanted to divert attention from government institutions and property to private property.

The Zhob and Loralai Kakar tribes were at a longer distance from the battlefield, so they started attacking British interests and personnel there. Likewise, the Wazir tribes joined battle with the British forces at Gomal[56] inflicting heavy losses on them. The city of Fort Sandaman[57] was taken over. The government forces were besieged and the city remained under the Pashtoon tribes for Seven days. Since it was not an organised battle, led and supported by a unified national command, these gains proved temporary ending in looting, robbery and arson.

Despite the chaos, it is my belief that if the uprising had lasted a while longer, the British would have lost control over this region forever. Along with this national passion, the love of money and

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through these double agents, knowing well that the money would be delivered to the government and not to the addressed per sons. In this way distrust is created between a government and its supporters. It is, therefore, not advisable to be a double agent, because besides the danger of discovery, it can also encourage spying for the enemy. In such grave matters one should be straight and forthcoming.

Khapala khawra da doshman
pa zaro war na kay Pashtoona[58]
Ma farosh khak millat ba tillay mulk gheray[59]

This is our own precious land, Pashtoon! Exchange it not for the gold of the foe

Another detriment of this activity is that it encourages others to become agents. A few might play this game of two-facedness but it is not possible for everyone. It is, therefore, advisable that if one cannot resist the enemy, he should then quietly step aside. In short, these were bad times and these were good times.

The Influenza Epidemic

The years around the independence war of Afghanistan were unusually harsh. The region was affected by three devastating natural calamities, causing widespread destruction and loss of human life.

First to strike was the influenza epidemic[60], which had engulfed the whole world. It took a heavy toll on human lives and sufferings as the local population was ignorant, resourceless and unorganised. In our small village of some 200 households, 110 persons died because of the influenza, despite having access to a government-run hospital and its inhabitants being relatively enlightened and imbibed with the spirit of cooperation. In scores of isolated hamlets, in the mountain valleys and plains, the whole population was wiped out. There was none to attend to the sick and the dead. It was everyone for himself. All the members of our family were afflicted by the sickness except for my mother, who alone was there to attend to all the needs of the stricken. After getting well for over a week, I could not eat anything except barbecued meat because of lack of saliva formation in my mouth. The whole system came to a standstill. There was no labour to

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blessings and drinking of blessed water by the so-called religious conmen and mosque priests. The Peers and Mullahs did not relent in their trickery at this time since they were afraid that the people would lose faith in them if their blessings did not alleviate the suffering of the people. The religious leaders would, therefore, throughout the day and night give calls for heavenly help from the pinnacles of the village mosques. To make it more visible and appealing to the simple villagers, they would often roam the streets of the village at the head of a procession called *Sadra*, chanting in Pashto and Arabic for heavenly help. I am not aware of the benefits or origins of such processions but they are practiced throughout the Pashtoon land at times of a calamity. I suppose it is a pagan ritual of pre-Islamic days in the same vein as "*Lado*[61] and *Spin Zheri*[62]" It is also practiced by the Hindus when afflicted by the small pox epidemic. I do not understand the benefits of this baseless, nay detrimental activity that has become part of the culture. The detriments are obvious as the healthy and sick mingle in these processions and therefore the affliction spreads. Perhaps this leads to some sort of homogeneity and trust between the people.

The government did not allow the people of the village to leave nor did they allow outsiders to enter the village. This barring of movement is called "*Coramtale*" by Pashtoons, a corruption of the English word "Quarantine". Human ties and attachments to the dear and near proved stronger than the rationality of the imposed quarantine and people continued to visit Gulistan village to enquire after their afflicted relatives and to participate in the last rites of the dead albeit in smaller numbers. The sister of my mother's father (she was the daughter of Fateh Mohammad Khan, former Governor of Kandahar, who was married in that village, fell ill and since there was no one to look after her, she called for my mother. Many pleaded against her going Arguing that she may fall ill herself and bring back the disease germs endangering the lives of her children. She, however, was not deterred and departed for Gulistan saying, "I leave my children in the care of God." She came the fourth day after the death of the aunt, changed and burnt her clothes and washed and burnt some local seeds believed to be disinfectants.

When I joined school, because I had spent a restricted and supervised life, I was ignorant of the ways of the outside world. Unaware even of the near surrounding villages. I found school

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were based on the fact that the essay had no grammatical mistakes, whereas no Pashtoon could write without mixing the verbs used for masculine and feminine of Urdu grammar. I was surprised and said, "Maybe the essay has been committed to my memory."

"I do not believe it," he replied.

"What if I recite the writing in the exercise book verbatim," I suggested. He then picked up the essay and I started reciting it. Midway through the essay he stopped me and erased his remarks and replaced them with "*Afareen*" meaning well done.

The only thing I did not appreciate at school was the drill period. I did not feel comfortable with turning left and right and halting at the order of others. As I did not appreciate the desired discipline, I therefore skipped the parade hour for which our drill master, thanks to him, would not insist. Other games I enjoyed and willingly took part in. I also took liberties with the school timetable. The school started with the first class devoted to the study of the Holy Quran, which I knew and therefore did not attend and came to the school half an hour later. Likewise, I would take a longer break for the afternoon prayer that I chose to offer by the Karez water channel at a distance from the school. The latter deviation was later picked up by some of the other senior boys of the school as well. These were the little harmless mischiefs that we indulged in.

Probably under the influence of the reverend Imam Ghazali, I looked upon education as a means to practical life and not as an end in itself. Therefore, early in life I acquired some good personal habits and was saved from many bad habits such as the use of abusive language[63], narcotics and the telling of lies. There was a time when I practiced over extended period of time additional prayers and long and hard reveries inscribed in the reverend Imam's books. Much later, I realised that the righteous path was something else than mere prayers. At that time I read the Holy Quran as if it had been revealed to me and even now I am studying it regularly for guidance and spiritual satisfaction. Its study has stood me in good stead in hard and trying times. Even when I was sentenced by the martial law court in 1958 to 14 years of rigorous imprisonment, heard the false evidence of the state and read the mean and baseless propaganda in some papers, I was deeply saddened. When I reached the prison and stood for

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Certainly, had I not come across these two rather simple readings early in life, I would have been anything but what I am.

Keeping My Word

Even at that time, in light of my religious education, I considered keeping one's word a religious obligation and the sign of character. I still hold this belief. I am of the conviction that without keeping one's word, collective and individual lives cannot prosper. Without trust, humans would be just another species of wild animals. I uphold my word not just with others but with myself as well as my creator. Therefore, when I adopt a line of action, I stick to it unless I realise its shortcomings myself or are identified by others. I have never changed an adopted principle for personal convenience, fear or pleasure of others and greed of material gain or loss.

Na mi zaan kala khars karai dai por
khudai Pa jannat na pa sra spin por chabadai[67]

I never sold myself to God for heaven
Neither did I sell myself to a wealthy person for gold or silver

I do not recall the first trial of my life but when I was still in class four or five, the headmaster Maulvi Fazal Din one day called an assembly of the senior boys of the school. He told us that he knew that most of the senior boys were given to the bad habit of smoking and advised us to give it up as it was injurious to health and a waste of money. Those, who could not give up the habit, he suggested, should desist from smoking cigarettes as its tobacco was soaked in alcohol which was forbidden for Muslims. He himself used to smoke the Indian hubble bubble. He made us promise under an oath that we would not smoke cigarettes. All of us changed to other substitutes but most soon came back to smoking cigarettes. I switched to smoking *"biris"* an inexpensive hand rolled Indian cigar and do so up to this date. There are many in conveniences connected to this form of smoking; for one the unavailability of my preferred brand at most places while all brands of cigarettes are conveniently available. I have often been pressed to change to cigarettes as *biri* smoking is associated with

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by the grace of God I withstood my ground and rejected the offer. I often shudder at the thought of what deeds would I have had to perform in return had I fallen into that trap.

School

Our school was a vernacular middle school with Urdu as the medium of instruction. I went through grade three and four in one year and three months as the study was easy for me due to my command over Arabic and Persian. The remaining four grades too I could cover in two years but my teachers were of the view that I should follow the courses like the others, one grade at a time. Therefore, I took two years to cover fifth and sixth classes. When I was in class seven, our headmaster was replaced by another one, Syed Mir Mohammad Shah. This person was not as proficient and tactful in manner as were Maulvi Fazal Din and Maulvi Barkat Ali. Secondly, he laid claims to extra-celestial powers and would relate to me all kinds of personal experiences that I could not accept and would refute as irrational and illusionary. For example, he would say that he would sometimes converse with spirits, who would playfully hide some of this belongings which they would later reveal to him. I, therefore, decided to cut short my school by taking class eight examination in place of grade seven. There were just about four months left for the examination. The headmaster suggested that he would recommend the proposed course of action to the education department provided I engaged him as a tutor for Rs 40 a month. I accepted his offer and the education department granted me the request. Since I could cover the other subjects by myself, it was decided that the headmaster would tutor me in the subjects of mathematics, geometry and algebra alone. For this purpose, he decided to stay back during the winter holidays as the teacher incharge expecting to earn an additional Rs200 to Rs 300. But when we started tuition, it turned out that I covered the whole course in the first month.

The examination was held at the Government Sandaman High School. Since the Punjab University matriculation examination was also being held in the school hall at the same time, there was shortage of space and two examinees shared one desk. I shared the desk with Qazi Mohammad Musa, who took my help in all the papers except for English. This was my first meeting with him

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visit even those sites that are accessible by road what to speak of those inaccessible remote rural schools.

The government budgetary allocation has swelled manifold and there is great public demand for schools. Private lands are donated free of cost for school buildings and at many places communities maintain higher classes at their own expense for years. The departmental administration has been so corrupted and deteriorated that despite a large number of schools and students, the output and utility of the system is probably far less than that of the limited education of the British days. Hundreds of thousands of students are wasted as a large number drop out and others fail to pass the examinations. Those, who do secure a degree, look for employment that is not there. The poor state of school administration can be judged by the following few personal observations during the decade of the 1950s.

1. The headmaster of a primary school was a person that could not fill the money order for himself nor could he write a letter home. He belonged to the district of Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab. He used to work as a helping hand at the house of another teacher, who was a distant relative, and in addition to food and clothing, he taught him some reading and writing and showed him as having passed primary level schooling. Later, he made him take the middle level departmental examination, which he failed. His qualification nevertheless improved to that of middle failed. In those days, middle failed were admitted to the vernacular teacher training schools but were required to stay there for two years instead of the usual one year. At the end of the two years, he was certified to be a trained primary schoolteacher. The fellow was also foul of mouth and had bad character. I brought the case to the notice of school inspector, Mr Mian Saeed, who replied that the person was a certified teacher and was fit for the post. Later, parents withdrew their children from the school, which was closed for lack of students and the said teacher was posted somewhere else.

2. A distant relative of the Pakistan high commissioner at London lived at Quetta, whose son was studying in premedical classes there. He failed to clear the pre-medical twelfth class (F.Sc) examination twice. The director education was approached to have the boy employed at Quetta where he could study and hence he was appointed as primary schoolteacher but worked in the

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Delhi following scholarly pursuits, which he gave up and joined the freedom fighters at Kandahar. When the Afghan freedom fighters under the leadership of Ghazi Nadir Khan[78] liberated Kabul from Bacha Saka[79] (son of the water carrier), some 10 years later, at the end of the Afghan civil war of the year 1929, he was amongst the leaders, who liberated Kandahar and performed the duties of chief cleric of Kandahar for a while. Later, he was appointed as the organiser of a religious party Jamiat-e-Ulema, a role which he carries out to this day.

Mohammad Ismail Jan, a close relative, was my friend since the days of our boyhood. We used to go to school together and stay there together most of the time. He was older than me in years but junior to me in studies. Though our paths separated in adult life, I still cherish his friendship from which I have benefited as it kept me away from joining bad company.

Our school

Our village school is a historical monument of the British rule in British Balochistan, distinguished in many ways. To begin with, contrary to the practice then, this school was in a rural area rather than the preferred urban centres. Secondly, I was told by the late Maulvi Abdul Kabir, may he rest in peace, that in the beginning, to enlarge attendance every student would be presented a sizeable portion of dry fruit, dates or raisins by the end of the day. Thirdly, the day at the school began with religious studies that are the teaching of reading of the Holy Quran. Fourthly, those students, who cleared the primary level and were promoted to the middle classes, would each be awarded a Rs10 stipend per month if they and their guardians gave an undertaking that they would join government service for at least three years, failing which they would have to refund the total amount of the stipend. The school, therefore, attracted students from all over the province. Lastly, attached to the school was a teacher training school and hence a large number of the province's teachers were graduates of the teacher's training school Gulistan. Since both the school and the teachers training institute were vernacular with Urdu as a medium of instruction, its graduates could not secure high posts, mostly being employed as primary teachers, veterinary assistants, or *patwaris*[80]. I have no evidence of it but many, amongst them my friend Ismail Jan, insist that this shortcoming was due to the

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efforts were made to increase enrolment at the primary school in the expectation that the status of the school would be raised to Anglo Vernacular Middle School. As a result of this effort, the enrolment at the school went up to 60. The superintendent schools Sheikh

Abdul Samad, came to inspect our village school and was impressed with the numbers of enrolment, contrary to the negative information given to him by his Jalandhar colleagues. He was informed of my contribution to this change and although I had by then joined the national political movement and was even imprisoned once in the year 1930, this straight forward and well meaning officer made special mention of my effort in his official report. I continued my efforts on the one hand at popularising schooling and increasing admissions to the school and on the other hand continued to persuade the government to award stipends to those students, who had passed the primary level and were willing to continue study at Quetta. I paid a personal stipend to those, who could not manage to secure government financial help, so that students did not become disheartened or lose time. I do not recall the exact date but within a year or two Mr Wilson first raised the status of the school initially to lower middle level and subsequently to higher middle level.

When the school was downgraded to the primary level and higher classes were shifted to Pishin, some part of its buildings and teachers' quarters were taken over by other departments. So, one difficulty in the way of raising the status of the school was the unavailability of extra space on its premises. Much later, a new building was constructed for the school on four acres of land of which half (2 acres) was sold by my brother at a concessionary rate, one-fourth (1 acre) was donated by Mohammad Azam Khan and his paternal uncles, and the remainder one- fourth (1 acre) was purchased for a thousand rupees by our relatives through collection of contributions. Later, the school was semi-officially raised to the status of matriculation. The school would prepare students for the Punjab University matriculation examination which, however, the students took as private candidates.

A younger cousin Mohammad Zaman Khan played an active role in this latter development. The school is currently officially a high school and could have been raised to the status of a college but for the official's urban biased policy. If not for this bias, then Gulistan

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was a better location than Quetta for a college. It has all the facilities of a city in a rural setting. The Gulistan sub-tehsil has a population of above 20,000, covering an area of some 20 to 30 square miles. In this area, the population is spread out in small settlements. The biggest settlement is that of our village, which has 250 houses with a population of nearly 1,500. It has a good network of rural roads with linkage to the main Quetta-Chaman Highway. Gulisan itself has a jail, small tehsil hospital, post and telegraph office and even a railway station. Even though the facilities are limited, they presently suffice and can easily be built upon.

Benefits of Attending School

As stated earlier at the time of joining school, despite being well versed in Arabic and Persian, I did not know anything about life in our surroundings, not even that of our close relatives. I only knew the life of my family that was mainly limited to observing the family imposed discipline and religious strictures or then the study of religious books. During the years at school, I came in contact with outside life and noticed that the daily life of the people had drifted far away from the ethics and code of Pashtoon living. Two bad habits were widely spread in society. Firstly, the use of drugs, such as *charas, bhang* and opium; *charas* in particular but alcohol had not yet become popular. The use of drugs especially marijuana and cannabis was widespread, although the use of opium was limited to smaller number of users. During the lifetime of our father, when we were young, the use of drugs was limited to a few wayward delinquents and the menial classes such as gypsies and blacksmiths. It would seldom be used by members of the upper gentry. Only two young men of our clan were known to use drugs. By the time we finished school, drug use was rampant, nearly 10 percent of the population was that of regular addicts and another 20 percent used it casually. Presently, I am told that most of the youth use drugs and those, who do not indulge in them, are an exception.

Another rampant evil was the practice of pederasty. This evil originating from the single male artisans of the working class homeless delinquents had spread enveloping places like schools and even mosques. Like plague, the evil had spread from the

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market places and villages to the simple folks living in the secluded mountain valleys.

The biggest benefit I gained at school is as follows. During my last year at school the headmaster initiated a monthly literary declamation contest that would be held on the last day of every month. I was appointed the secretary of the declamation contest forum with the headmaster as the chairman. In these gatherings, the students would recite poetry, present small skits or read out research papers on assigned topics. By the end of every assembly, the secretary would announce the programme for the coming assembly with specific assignments for the nominated participants. On one occasion, I was assigned a write-up on the Jirga, or tribal council, which has a central position in Pashtoon social life. I started my preparations late and finally realised that I did not know enough about the topic.

There was not much written material available nor were the teachers of much help, therefore, instead of writing things irrelevant I decided to postpone my presentation, so when on the appointed occasion I was asked to present my paper, I asked for more time. The president of the assembly, the headmaster reprimanded me by saying that if there was no faith in Makkah then where could faith be found? If the very secretary did not deliver how could we expect others to perform? I was fined one rupee which I paid but felt very much belittled and put to shame. Following that incident, I started in earnest search for material about the Jirga. In due course I learnt about its functions, advantages and disadvantages. I learnt to differentiate between the original tribal Jirga or council and that adopted by the British and in the process also learnt about the misdeeds and harmful ways of the British administration. By the end of it all, I realised that the cause of all Pashtoon suffering, our poverty, ignorance, greed, helplessness and shameful living was due to our subjugation by the British.

I reached the conclusion that the rot could only be reversed if the Pashtoon nation was freed from the oppressive alien subjugation of the British, otherwise things will progressively keep going from bad to worse. The undesirable state of affairs would only be changed for the better when we were free of British rule. Since all the acts of social good and public benefits are initiated and implemented by the rulers of the day, only a government of our

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people had horses and that too one per household. Although we always had horses, if all companions of the party did not possess one then I would leave ours at home and travel on foot. Our hunting season was the cool autumn, winter and early spring. The weather during the season would mostly be cold, wet and windy. The hunting kit in addition to the shotgun, rifle and ammunition required strong heavy boots and thick weather resistant clothing. Each of us carried his own stock including some food to chew during the day; but when out for a longer hunting campaign of a few days, we would take along a servant or two and beasts of burden carry ing tents and sleeping beddings.

It was a tough schedule. Starting at about 4 am in the morning well before dawn, we would reach the hunting grounds by about 7 am, offer our morning prayers and go in search of the birds at about 8 am. by which time the birds would be coming out seeking the winter sun. We would chase the birds up and down the gorges each managing between 10 to 12 shots, reach an appointed spot for lunch, wash and offer prayers, take tea and chase the birds again till about 5 pm in the evening. After evening prayers, we would set back for home reaching at about 8 or 9 pm carrying a bag of fifteen to twenty birds. We would thus spend nine to 10 hours with pack and guns and with heavy boots and clothing chasing birds up and down in the mountains. I imagine the distance covered would easily be around 30 to 35 miles of hilly journey. I doubt if any army would undertake such exercises.

The spirit of competition and companionship along with the joys of hunting coupled with the zeal and zest of youth made it a voluntary and joyous routine for us. Similarly, the hunting of the spring birds, bustard and grouse lasted from early dawn, wading and walking through ploughed land the whole day was no easy feat either. Likewise, duck hunting was not for the weak and frail. Sometimes, a few of us would camp out for a few days of hunting. On these occasions, we would take along one or two servants, tents and bedding for sleeping and some essential utilities and food rations. The camp would either be in the Khawaja Imran val ley or across it at Daman in Reg Afghanistan. It would be a routine of dawn to dusk hunt spread over several days. Sometimes, we would go exclusively for a partridge hunt and at others combine it with hunting the mountain goats. At times, in Daman, it would be a combined hunt of hounds and guns involving rabbits, birds and deer. Camping would save us

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informed on them a number of times. He asked the lady to put heavy blankets on top of him and say that it was a sick person.

Habo Jan and his companions were about 18 to 20 people. They were in good spirits since they had just avenged themselves upon Hasil Malaizai by going to his house and beating him, together with some other persons. In narrating the events, Habo Jan boasted that he had bested the Gujan today. Gujan is the branch of the Achakzai tribe which includes my branch of Hameedzai. Habo Jan and his companions were Ghabizai, which is a branch of the Badin sub-division of Achakzai. I did not appreciate this insult directed at the honour of my tribe and responded that Habo Jan, Gujan consisted of many people while he had only beaten poor Hasil. His companions arose and asked who was this defender of Gujan? The host informed them that I was a Khan of Inayatullah Karez. Hearing this Habo's companions backed down. They ate their meal and left.

At times, one would get separated from his companions and miss the meeting place and thus go without food for the day. At times, we would as a necessity carry additional heavy weight as the donkeys would get lost or be too few. On one occasion, Ismail Jan, Quddus Jan and I had to carry a heavy full grown mountain goat over a distance of four to five miles. On another occasion, I carried two guns, one of which was a hunting rifle, from morning till evening along with their cartridges. In addition, I also had to carry four to five quails which I shot during the course of the day. Once it so happened that in the month of *Ramazan* (fasting month) we had camped, in pursuit of deer, across the border in Daman, Afghanistan near the water ponds of Janu *Kahol* (a Ghabizai sub tribe). On the last day when the hunting party set out in pursuit of game, the servants were asked to shift camp to another spot at *Shadiyen Shamshozai*, where we planned to meet them in the evening. When we reached the camp at 3 pm, we were informed that the camp had been attacked by a highwayman Nasir Ghabizai (may he rest in peace) of the Sharipay *Kahol* (tribe) who had decamped with the hunting rifle of Ismail Jan. This Nasir resided at the top of *Pothi*, which was a return journey of 12 miles from where we had just come.

When Ismail Jan and I reached his house, we admonished him and made him return the rifle. It was about 6:30 - 7 pm and the time of breaking the fast was near. Nasir pleaded that we stop and

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The fourth benefit was that I became acquainted with the people of my tribe, their land, way of life, simplicity, hospitality and sincerity. I spent countless nights in the tents and hunting camps of my tribesmen and partook of their sincere, full-of-love company and hospitality. I could not help noting their harsh living conditions, their poverty, ignorance and squalor and thought over its causes. I became cognisant of the hardships and tough life afflicting Pashtoons.

Once, in the cool autumn, Ismail Jan and I were camped in the village of *Shadiano Shamshozai*. It was so cold that we could not sleep in one blanket and a quilt. We, therefore, slept together and put both the blankets and quilts on top of us. The villagers had not yet set up their *kizhdai* (traditional Afghan tent) and the men, women and children were sleeping in the open.

These occasions were helpful in initiating lasting friendships that persist to this day. Although due to the imprisonment by the British, I could not hunt between the years 1930 and 1958 and could not visit this area and meet these people, when in 1958 I visited these areas, after 28 years, in connection with national affairs, I was not a stranger or unfamiliar in any area. In every village, I had friends and acquaintances from my hunting days. Many became my comrades and helped me greatly.

My brother Abdul Salaam Khan and other relatives remained in touch with them all these years, entertaining many of them every day in the guesthouses (Hujra) and helping them with their affairs with the officials at the tehsil. The fifth benefit was that I discharged thousands of cartridges and bullets. I gained proficiency in the use of guns and ammunition which is a commended achievement of the Pashtoon way of life. I gave up the sport in the year 1930 when I joined the nation al freedom movement which was based on forbearance and non- violence.

Freedom, Bad Company and God's Assistance

Childhood spent in the lap of mother was heavenly yet my troubles began when I left it, so goes a Pashto couplet. When I finished my religious studies and joined school, I invariably encountered people from the village and nearby areas and per force joined their games and leisure. These included playing

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managed our lands and was the head of our family, was given to hunting with hounds. He maintained a pack of prized Saluki hounds for whose caring and training he had a retinue of servants that included persons given to drug use and who were foul mouthed. Since he had left his studies and also partook in these activities, for this reason alone I could not altogether avoid joining in the sport of quail rearing to begin with. Later, I got fully involved in it. I would take two quails one in each hand dipping their claws in water at regular intervals and exercising them on two pillows while others could only work with one bird at a time.

Keeping awake night after night could not be done without supportive entertainment and rich food. The continuous rounds of marijuana smoking and drinking tea would keep the company lively throughout the night. During these sessions of night vigils, those around would stealthily suggest to me the benefits of being doped by marijuana. Praising being doped, they would suggest that it helped keep sleep away and brightened the spirit ushering merry feelings. It was during these vigils that I smoked dope in a hookah for the first time. After smoking it I kept thinking of what effect it would have upon me but I did not enjoy it. Afterwards these same companions under various pretexts made me smoke marijuana in a hookah. Sometimes on the pretext that it heightened the appreciation of music, kept the tiredness of walking at bay, improved the mood but whenever I reflected about its effect upon me, I would realise that the pretexts of my friends were false and I would feel depressed and saddened. Apart from this, I might have smoked marijuana of my own accord four times with Ismail Jan, Qudoos Jan and other relatives of my age. On those occasions too, it caused me sadness. It was thus the kindness and assistance of Almighty God that I gave up its use and have never smoked up since.

My experience with cannabis (*bhang*[86]) juice drinking was no different. An elder relative was a habitual drug user. He had been informed that some youngsters of the family indulged in the making and taking of bhang. During summers, he therefore invited us once or twice for a cannabis juice drinking party along with his sons and other related youngsters. The whole party got quite intoxicated. As is its peculiarity, cannabis intoxication makes one giggle senselessly and gives one a feeling of being hungry. From late afternoon till we went to sleep, God knows how much we had laughed and eaten. The next morning, I felt exhausted,

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dehydrated, extremely saddened and depressed; such that I had never before experienced in my life. I detested the whole episode yet I still joined around eight of these parties during a few summers, the preferred season for this indulgence, in the company of friends and companions but each time ended with the same disgusting consequences.

One day when we were under the influence of cannabis juice drink, our English language tutor came by, I was so frightened by his presence that I hid away and sent a servant to tell him that I was ill and thus not available for studies. The next morning when I recalled the incident, I felt extremely ashamed and realised that when under the influence of drugs one lost command over one's faculties and behaviour and was unable to distinguish between the good and the bad. I realised that the use of drugs oppressed the good traits of bravery, boldness, truth and good manners leaving hardly any margin that separated humans from animals. With this realization, I gave up the use of drugs, the sport of quail fight ing and the associated wrong company, in spite of being in the prime of youth and having the supporting resources. I am thankful to providence for its guidance. Likewise, my elder brother and most close relatives gave up these demeaning habits over time. Though much to my regret and sorrow, some stuck to the habit and still indulge in it.

I, therefore, persistently advise my descendants and friends that do what they may but stay away from drugs and drinks since I have witnessed that not everyone can escape after using them. Some even become addicted during their use. For a lesson look at the multitude of Pashtoons that have lost their senses and substantial properties due to these habits and currently live a life of poverty and have fallen out of social grace. I tell them not to look at the western example. For one our lifestyle is very different and secondly because we have not been able to see and compare the life of addicts and teetotallers of the western society and furthermore their medical experts clearly point out the health related and other social problems directly related to drug abuse and alcohol addiction. May God help the elders and particularly rulers of the Pashtoon nation understand this and act to save their nation from the evils of charas[87], bhang and opium otherwise soon this civilised people and peer in the comity of nations may fall to the state of the people of Iran and China when those populations were addicted to opium.

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Adolescence

Despite good health, I attained adolescence rather late at the age of 18. Perhaps even more than other conservative Pashtoon house- holds, sex education of the youth was a taboo to be avoided and regarded as vulgar and shameful. I knew more than others though since it had been long in coming for me and due to my study of Arabic books on fiqh. By the study of certain books, I was even aware of the fact that sexual abstinence was the sign of strong character and a necessary requirement of good health and social standing. To this end, social taboos, religious studies and the Pashtoon civic code stood me in good stead.

Even more than all of this, I learnt most from the suffering of a relative, who had contracted gonorrhea from visiting brothel prostitutes. At the time the treatment of the disease was not as simple as now and he had also not sought treatment on time either due to false shame or to avoid the stigma of admitting his deeds. As a result, he got severely ill and was bedridden for years. The lymph nodes of his groin became greatly enlarged, matured and then holes appeared on them. Nearby about eight to ten inches wide wounds appeared. A large expenditure was done on his treatment. For his entertainment some other relatives and us two brothers would spend three to four hours with him during the day and the same amount of time in the evening often playing cards. After some years, he narrowly escaped death even though he lost some of his eyesight. Even after convalescing for years his health never truly returned and even though he is alive now he is not fully healthy. I learnt a great deal from the travails of this per son that despite being a youth with a good body, an abundance of money and the freedom to roam the cities of the entire India at times with company and at other times on my own; till this day I was never tempted by brothels, which are the easiest and most accessible path to indulge in lechery. Neither have I ever entered the home of a prostitute. Regardless of my own volition, friends and associates would force me, plead with me, provide me with a good amount of money yet I have still never entered such establishments even to enjoy the music.

Once in Hyderabad, Sindh, some Hindu fruit-commission agents deceived me and on some other pretext took me to the street of a brothel. We entered a house they claimed was the home of a

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respected person and it even appeared to be so as there was no sign outside to indicate otherwise but once I crossed the threshold of this house and saw three dancing-girl prostitutes I fled back in horror as if from the nest of a snake or the den of a dangerous animal. My companions did not bother me and I returned to my liv ing quarters. On another occasion, before the earthquake[58] some youth of the village (Shakur Mezai and others) lifted me up and took me to the base of the ladder leading up to the quarters of a dancing girl. By the grace of God at that time in Quetta prostitutes lived on upper story's accessed through ladders that only admitted a single person at a time and a single person could not force me to climb it. However, we did struggle for 10 to 15 minutes before I was able to free myself.

My fear and shame were also the grace and assistance of providence since in British times and even till now there is not an easier place than brothels to indulge in lechery particularly when one is a youth, possesses wealth, independence and is goaded by others. Normally if a person pursued evil others would hold him back, in my case evil pursued me and I was able to avoid it. This was not due to my chivalry alone but rather God's grace.

And I do not seek to free myself from blame, for indeed the soul is ever inclined to evil, except those shown mercy by my Lord. Surely my Lord is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

(Surah Joseph 12, Verse 53)

I am not absolving myself; all are tempted especially given the freedom, occasion and assets which I had. All around me was the wayward life of the Pashtoons. Such waywardness, pederasty and adultery was indulged in by groups for boasting and as a fashion. The only friend that I could share such events with was my relative Ismail Jan in whose company I spent all my free time. Since Ismail Jan himself was a pious, highly moral, well-versed religious person; we would mutually restrain one another from wicked ways and places. I am, therefore, still thankful to him and hold him and his friendship in the highest esteem till this day.

The Curse of Widespread Pederasty

The wicked institution of pederasty, which is currently rampant in the whole of the Pashtoon region, was not as widespread in the days of our childhood. It has since widely engulfed and damaged our society and continues to do so. I have noted the occurrence of

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this shameful immoral act in all the areas inhibited by Pashtoons namely; Quetta, Mastung, Sibi, Bori, Zhob, Bannu, Mardan, Peshawar and even in far off secluded villages. It is frightening to notice that it is common amongst the youth of schools, bachelor schoolteachers and mosque priests. Children are sent to attend these institutions in pursuit of religious studies at a young and tender age by their parents and guardians secure in the belief that the religious study teachers are God fearing persons. These so called religious teachers instead subject these young boys to unnatural sexual exploitation. They then in their own turn when grown and accomplished priests subject their wards and students to similar unnatural exploitation thus perpetuating the vicious circle. There are very few exceptions amongst the single resident priests at the mosques that do not indulge in this horrible practice and are looked upon by their innocent flock as religious scholars deserving reverence. Whenever the rare exceptional child brings his physical abuse to the notice of the parents, they in turn quietly withdraw the child rather than confront the culprit lest it bring them a bad name while the so-called reverend continues unabated with his evil doings. In our own mosque, four prayer leading priests were involved in this criminal act. One of them was caught fighting another colleague at the railway station for having estranged his favourite student by keeping him away from him. He was arrested and kept behind bars for a while.

On one occasion, immediately after offering my prayer, while I was leaving the mosque I noticed that another resident priest, who was the prayer leader's brother, was offering his prayer alone which occurred strange and exceptional to me. Later I investigated this act of praying alone. When I asked the other resident students for the cause of his offering prayers alone, I was told that this was the norm as the two brothers did not get along with one another. My curiosity was aroused and further investigation revealed that the two brothers were not even on talking terms with one another because of their rivalry over another younger student from amongst the four at the mosque. I was deeply enraged and concerned but could not think of a cure. Dismissal of the two and their replacement by another married priest was the easiest but what of the goings between the older and younger students? I summoned them one morning and scolded them warning them to desist from these evil ways and told them that I would not dismiss them because that would not

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cure the institution or them, who would pursue their exploits elsewhere.

Society will only be cured of this evil if a general social awakening is brought about that would bring about institutional reforms so that the need for these unnatural practices does not arise.

After having observed the state of moral degradation in the mosques and seminaries, I go to the mosque for prayer only occasionally. I do not send my children to the mosque for learning the reading of Arabic and instead prefer to coach them at home and at the school. In addition to the bachelor seminarians and schoolteachers, this vice is widespread amongst the grown up bachelors of society. Men remain unmarried for a number of reasons for one because the ratio of females to males in Pashtoon society is lower and women are strictly secluded, adultery is punished by death besides there are no brothels and prostitutes. Secondly, marriages involve the payment of huge bridal dowry to the bride's parents in addition to the unnecessary high expenses on these occasions. The total cost of a marriage is so high that it can seldom be met through the honest labour of earning with two hands. Being poor, the single young men are therefore prone to indulge in illegal activities like robbery, dacoity and usury in Indian cities and the trade of narcotics as these have the prospects of instant high rewards.

Forms of Pederastry

Pederasty is probably one of the oldest primary social evils in human history. It is practiced at a large scale in Central Asia, Bokhara, Turkestan, Iran and the Pashtoon lands since millennia even gaining some social acceptance at places. The courts of Bokhara, Ghazni of the days of Emperor Mehmood[89] and Sheraz of the days of Sheikh Saaddi[90], the poet, were acclaimed centres of homosexuality having wide social acceptance. It has many forms and types, each having its own inviolable rules and usages. The major forms of this institution are:-

1. Sexual relationship of unmarried males with other males mostly pederasty.

2. Maintain and treat a boy like a girl playing with and even sharing the same bed but without any sexual relationship.

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Keeping a boy as a companion, caring for him and keeping him in company all the time without any other relationship, more like a valet.

3. Keeping boys only for the purpose of dancing and singing. This form has two categories; one being when the house of musicians teaches one of their family dancing and singing that he performs for a fee to a private or public gathering. This form of dancing boys is in usage at Kabul, Kandahar, Pishin, Bannu, Mardan and Peshawar. The second form of dancing boys is in practice at Quetta, Sibi and Mastung and is a very cruel form of it. In this case, a professional or amateur musician kidnaps a good looking boy, keeps him captive at an isolated place, usually a basement, and makes him dance at night. This life of captivity and confinement lasts till he attains adolescence and appearance of a beard. He is then set free on the condition that he would not report the matter to anyone. At times, these unfortunate captives are eliminated. A few years ago, a boy of the blacksmiths of the nearby village of Abdurrehmanzai was lost. He returned after several years as a grown up person but would not tell where or with whom he had spent all those years. I interviewed him several times and pressed him for the identity of the kidnappers but to no avail. He would say that those people had done a great favour by setting him free alive against the promise of not disclosing their identity.

Musical Gatherings

We had two families of musicians in the village that would now and then arrange public musical performances of singing songs and the dancing of boys. They would perform for Rs20 and a quota of marijuana to smoke with the rounds of music and some food and tea. In addition, some among the gathering would also offer money during the dance performance. We used to witness these performances even as children in the guesthouses of our uncles and other relatives. It was a popular entertainment though I have not myself ever hosted such a gathering but did not avoid it either. It used to be good fun like an artistic play or ballet. The performance of dancing girls too I have witnessed but only twice in early childhood on the occasion of two marriages, one at Quetta and another in the village. Dancing women are looked down upon as immoral and are not patronised. Only on one

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the song of Maulana Fazal Mahmood Makhfi and once I find it I intend to note it down here, of which some of the couplets are as follows:

Oh God there will be that day
When we have our own plane
And follow our own general

The complete poem is presented below[96]:

I now live just for my people
In their concerns always immersed;
And from these the body charred,
Flames of passion in my head;
Will there ever dawn the day,
When our own aircraft we'll own,
Which shall like a falcon soar
Over land and over the sea;
Will we have our own trains too,
Our own telegraph as well
Within easy reach of all;
I shall follow my own general,
Put to flight enemies, foes;
Oh my people full of honour,
It is time to prove your worth,
So that your nation's not dishonoured,
And your own mettle displayed;
This world today in every field
Is progressing by the day;
Better dead yesterday than now
If my head is to be bowed;
Each drop of my own blood
Be dyed in the nation's blood,
And my skin and all my flesh,
Be in actual fact made of

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excelled at my studies, they were of the view that I would be good at higher studies too. They were even prepared to offer me a government stipend and were even willing to provide me separate accommodation in the hostel at Quetta. They were even prepared to send me to an educational institution in Punjab where in two years they would teach me the English syllabus up-till class eight. There were two classes for this purpose termed Junior and Senior. At that time these classes existed in many cities of Punjab of which Jhelum was one. A doctor from Jhelum, Dr Ahmad Hussain, was posted in Gulistan. He even offered to lodge me in their home in Jhelum.

The education department officials and the headmaster of the Government High School, Sheikh Abdul Samad and the British principal of the Government High School even suggested that I could sit in the staff room of the school so that every teacher that was free would coach me individually in the learning of English and then proceed with the studies of matriculation. I much appreciated and still do their efforts and interest in my studies but whenever I asked them as to what was the use and the benefit of the study they would say it would facilitate my entry into a respectable government job. Since I had no intention of serving the British, I did not pursue my studies any further. None of my teachers and well-wishers told me that English language was not only the official language of the country but rather of the world and that it would introduce me to higher level of learning of many other subjects. Since government service was the only objective behind higher studies, I did not pursue them any further. In retrospect when I compare my life with those of my contemporaries, who did attain higher education and joined government services, I have no regrets. I feel thankful to be protected from the wrong ways that most of the educated people of the day fell into. Most of all by not joining government service, I was saved from being the agent of foreigners compromising my national interests, collecting bribes for them and performing other mean and shameful deeds that most British government employees of those days performed for their bosses.

Fruit Farming and Marketing

After finishing my middle level schooling, I joined my brother at managing our lands and at times would even perform labour in

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therefore, I am forced to commence writing and in the process my tiredness leaves me.

Picking the threads again, as I was saying that our holdings were small and therefore not sufficient to maintain a decent comfortable life, since some time some family members started marketing their own farm products, especially fruits to the markets of India where commission agents would sell them in the consumer markets for a certain percentage of the price as commission. In this way, they sought to replace the middle man contractor between us and the commission agents. Sometimes, we would, in addition to our own produce, also buy some small orchards of others. On the one hand some of these Khans, who are my contemporaries and initial political comrades made, huge profits and on the other hand their success encouraged people of the village and area to join in this business. Today the fruit and vegetable business of Balochistan and Kandahar including the commission agency of Sindh is in the hands of the people of Gulistan. Thousands of people are employed in this business and I also joined it. This occupation kept me well occupied over the four monthly season of fruit marketing involving pruning of grapevines, plucking of fruits, sorting and grading them, packing them, keeping books, and finally dispatching them by railway to destinations all over India, including Calcutta and Bombay. It was a good 15 to 16 hours of work a day.

Hyderabad Sindh – 1925

In August, 1925, my brother sent me to Hyderabad where a Hindu commission agent, Bolchand Das, was selling our and our other relatives' fruit. While the agent would do bidding in the market, I was there only to keep an eye on his doings and would telegraphically send home information about the market. After about four months of stay in Hyderabad at the end of the marketing season, I moved to Karachi and other cities in turn to check the accounts with our other sales agents there and by mid-December, I was home for the winter hunting season.

Early in the business of fruit marketing, I realised the importance of knowing English language, because telegrams, railway bookings and sales receipts were all recorded in English. I, therefore, decided to learn English language at least to the level that I could manage our own business needs with it. When I came

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arrangements. I do not know whether it was the straight forward way I put the proposition to them that appealed to the head of the family, Mr Bolchand Das, or was it the fear of losing business but they did away with the practice of segregation and the principle of untouchability. I learnt much later that untouchability was a basic principle of their faith. Not long after they engaged a Muslim cook and whenever there would be some guests, the cook would be addressed as Piroo to give the impression of him being a Hindu. The change in the ways of our commission agents could not be kept a secret for long and soon other commission agents followed in their footsteps.

Fruit growers and traders would, as a general practice, go to the commission agents for settling account in the winter, and in the summer the agents would come upcountry to the landowners as their guests and evaluate the prospects of the crops. Prior to doing away with the untouchability taboo, looking after the Hindu guests used to be a complicated affair, either the guests themselves would do the cooking or we would make arrangements with the Hindu families in the local market place, things thus became much easier. The general rule adopted for the purpose was, I would eat with all, who would eat with me, and not with those, who would not. This has been my principle of social interaction with the Hindus ever since.

The Hindus were very suspicious of Pashtoons and believed all kinds of malign things about them. After my stay of a month or two with them, they became a little frank with me and one day one of their family asked me, "You would not mind or be offended and tell me the truth if I was to ask you about a certain matter".

I replied, "Not at all Chopal Das and I am not a liar as you must have observed".

"That is why I want to ask you; tell me why are you Pashtoon so fair complexioned," he asked. I was taken aback by this unexpected seemingly irrelevant question and gave a long explanation in terms of our weather conditions, hilly country and our hard ways. He listened quietly to me all along till I was finished. At the end he shook his head in disapproval and said, "After all you did not tell the truth."

"Well what is the matter with you, I told you all that there was to tell. What is wrong with you," I asked

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In short, because of our continued interactions with the Hindus in Hyderabad, over time they began to change their opinion about the Pashtoons. These ignorant and adverse opinions were due to the false propaganda of the British on the one hand and on the other, the Hindus had come in contact only with the poor labourers and the usurers of Pishin and Afghanistan. Since the well off Pashtoons did not indulge in business in those days, they had very limited social contacts with the Hindus. During our visit to India,

we also observed that at some places Pashtoons were looked down upon and not allowed to enter some places of public entertainment and some posh shops. I always protested on those occasions and Argued that it was indecent and unbecoming on their part at which they would realise their mistake and apologise, saying that they wrongly mistook us for usurers.

A few years later, three or four of us cousins were passing through a marketplace at Hyderabad when a Sindhi Muslim called after us. We stopped for him and he said to us that in the nearby police station there was another Pashtoon under arrest, a servant of a Christian superintendent of the central jail whose daughter had fallen in love with him. She had eloped with him to Karachi where they had married once the girl had converted to Islam. Now the police have brought them both back and they are locked up at the police station. The girl's father and the Christian priest are persuading the girl to give up Islam and they are not allowing any muslim to visit them.

This appealed to our Pashtoon affinity and we went to the police station, met the English superintendent, who said that since the woman's relatives had come as visitors we too could meet the man. We met the person, who was named Azeem Khan and was working with the girl's father as a coachman. He appeared quite confident and became even more confident after seeing us and asked us to arrange for his bail. He also told us that the woman was educated and well aware of her interests; therefore, if we could we should arrange that the police do not put too much pressure on her to change her mind. Meanwhile, a large number of Sindhi Muslims had gathered outside the police station, I could not understand it then or even now as to why the Sindhi Muslims made it an issue of muslims and non-muslims. As far as we were concerned, we as Pashtoons were only helping another migrant

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Pashtoon, who was in trouble. We went again to the superintendent and told him that we would like to keep a watch so that the lady is not pressurised or harassed by her relatives and would like to have them, Azeem Khan and the girl, released on bail. The superintendent agreed to our proposal but said he could not accept the bail for which we were to take the help of a lawyer. We, therefore, went to find a lawyer. At that time, there were two good muslim lawyers by the names of Mr Noor Mohammad Qazi and Mr Syed Miran Mohammad Shah[99] at Hyderabad. The first lawyer, Noor Mohammad Qazi, refused to take the case, saying it involved a woman of the Christian officer's house therefore the collector and other British officers would not favour it. Syed Miran Mohammad Shah, who later became a minister in the Sindh government and subsequently the Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, and is still alive and a good friend of mine, arranged for their bail the next morning. We took the two in a procession from the police station to the house of some muslim. When the two of them and I sat in a car at the head of the procession, the people started raising the slogan of Allah O Akbar (God is Great). At that time, I observed that one of our colleagues Mr Obaidullah Khan was crying with tears running unabated. We left them at that house and returned.

In those days, like at the other schools of the country, at Gulistan School too we were taught just the prescribed courses. The school library only contained some old editions of some magazines so I had no access to Urdu books on other subjects. The only book worth reading at the school library was the Urdu translation of the English classic, Robinson Crusoe. I was not clear on many issues of Islamic scriptures that I had studied with Islamic studies teachers on such subjects as commentary on the Holy Quran (*Tafseer*) and the statements of the Holy Prophet PBUH (*Hadith*). Indeed my confusion was verging on doubt which I could not openly discuss or raise with others and whenever I did, I found no explanation. While some would say, "Doubt not for it can lead to disbelief." Others would give the impression that they were confused even more than I but could not make their confusion public. I was totally lost and had given up the extra late nightly prayer that I practiced since my early boyhood. Even while observing the mandatory five times prayer and fast, I was not sure of the purpose behind such meditations. I did not mind the opinion and impression that others formed about me as it was

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typical of me, since childhood, to follow what I was convinced of to be the right thing without caring much for the opinions of others.

As I have stated earlier, our family members were quite conservative and staunch in their appearance, clothes, headgear, hair style, eating habits and the general way they carried themselves. For example, all kept long locks which we call *tsunrai* and the people of Peshawar call *patai*. Keeping long locks is an ancient tradition amongst the men in various nations of all humanity. Men would wear on the head expensive turbans wrapped around expensive heavy hats. Prior to me, there was only one person in the whole extended family that had western hairstyle and he was a sore in the eyes of all. I did not appreciate many of these traditions and found them difficult and cumbersome. So when I came to Hyderabad because of the hot weather the heavy clothes and long locks became even more uncomfortable. I, therefore, gave up the turban for a light cap and cut my locks short and while I was still at Hyderabad my family had taken exception to my adopted change and appearance. I continued with my new hairstyle and headgear on my return much to the annoyance and protestation of others that I did not heed. Five to six years later, I was invited to dinner by an elder of the family. It was summer and hot and I had taken off my cap. When we sat to eat even then I did not put my cap on. My host did not say anything at that time. However, the next day he told people that he had spent a very disturbed night not even enjoying his food, but for being his guest he would have severely reprimanded me for having food without my head covered. Today all have given up wearing the turban and keeping long locks with no one objecting to it.

Introduction to the Writings of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan[100] and Maulana Shibli[101]

On my return from Hyderabad, I came to know that a relative of mine had procured the commentary on the Holy Quran (*Tafseer*) by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. I borrowed it and studied it. I found it extremely useful as it helped to resolve many of my reservations about the teachings of the Holy Quran. Indeed it taught me to interpret and understand faith, secondly his commentary had

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many references to Arabic and Urdu religious works that I subsequently got hold of and studied.

At school in those days, we were limited to a few books and were not even introduced to the names of well-known Urdu scholars, even those writers parts of whose works were included in our textbooks. For example, there were a number of poems of Dr Iqbal in our course of studies. However, we were not even told about him or his other writings. I came to know about the writings of Iqbal in the year 1929. Most of these books I purchased and studied. I thus extended my field of studies beyond the Islamic scriptures and enjoyed and relished the value of these new sources of knowledge. I understood religion with a new outlook, finding answers to my doubts and confusions and thereby becoming steadfast in my belief. Instead of keeping my newfound knowledge to myself, I used to indulge in public discussions of religious beliefs and their requirements and as a result thereof both friends and foes alike used to comment on my views, some supporting while others criticising but I remained indifferent to all the criticism. The echoes of my discussion and the consequent criticism indeed travelled far and wide. One day, while I was sitting in the guesthouse Mullah Ahmed Kakozai came in. Some 10 years ago, he was a student of our tutor, Mullah Baran. He was bright, hardworking and fully devoted to the study of Islamic scriptures. He had also taught me Arabic Kaafiyah for a short time. At the time of his visit, he was a known scholar at Kandahar having many students. He had specialised in the study of logic and deduction. While still studying at our village, he said one day, by way of confession that he had not read the Holy Quran for 12 years and that while praying in congregation, he would instead repeat to himself the reverie of Qazi Muslim[102].

After the customary greetings, he addressed me thus, "I have just arrived from Kandahar by train and must return tomorrow as I have a lot of work and my students will be idle." I pleaded with him to stay for a few days as we were meeting after a long time but he insisted on leaving the next morning, thereupon I asked, "Well, tell me what brings you here and in what way can I help you?"

"My business is urgent and directly concerns you," he replied.

"Please tell me what can I do for you," I asked.

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footnotes make him understand it. What is the benefit of the study to a student or to us is not our concern. But remember, as long as you do not give up on your expectations of bettering the lot of the clergy, they will continue to oppose and malign you." Till the year 1930, my companions and I continued our efforts since we considered the poor and misguided worldly as well as temporal life of the Pashtoons to be wrong and people considered us to be exceptional people.

In the year 1925, I in partnership with two relatives, contracted a few orchards at a total cost of Rs 6,500 and at the end of the season, netted a profit of Rs 3,500 over a period of four months. Winter was spent in hunting, reading books and visiting the cities of India to settle accounts with the commission agents. The following year, 1926, I carried on with the contracting and marketing business of fruits by taking charge of our orchards together with my brother and also some took a few other orchards on contract. We also started learning English from the school headmaster. I finished the reading and spelling exercises of the fifth and sixth class. The headmaster's knowledge of English language was limited to that extent. In the meanwhile, a relative of the tutor named Mohammad Shafi passed the matriculation examination and being underage for college, he could not be admitted there. The headmaster suggested that I engage him as a tutor which would be mutually beneficial to the two of us. I agreed to the proposed arrangement and hired him for Rs 40 a month.

Mohammad Shafi used to tutor me, Ismail Jan, late Muhammad Aslam Khan, may he rest in peace, and Isa Khan early in the morning prior to school and later in the evening. In a span of four months, I completed the English courses up to the eighth class and thus did not need the tutor any longer. Both the headmaster and the tutor were annoyed, I then explained the situation to the headmaster and offered to be tested. Mohammad Shafi gave me a rather tough test, which I cleared with a high score and thus won back the goodwill of the headmaster and the tutor. That year I applied to the education department for permission to take the eighth class English language paper examination as I had already cleared the vernacular courses two years ago. My request was granted and I formally passed eighth class with English language as a subject. Mohammad Shafi is currently an employee of the education department heading a high school at Quetta.

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brother agreed to join him but the others intervened, forbidding the dangerous move and pleading that since we had witnessed and observed the celestial bodies, we should let the troubled souls rest in peace and go home lest we be harmed. The three of us remained after the others had left, making the excuse that we would return by another way as we had some business to attend to. We got closer to call our men and tell them to stop as the group had left. Within a short-while, our men came of their own accord. They had adopted a frightening get-up. One of them had tied the blanked on his head in the fashion of a turban. They had used their turbans to tie him with two tails. The other fellow was holding these tails from the back. I am convinced that as they were dressed, had they approached earlier some of the weak hearted of the group would have fainted.

In the morning the village was abuzz with the observations of the previous evening and many people said that thanks to God that the evil spirits did not cause any harm. They must have been angered that people were looking for them. Let them be, do not trouble them else they might cause harm. Although my respected cousin Tahir Khan had said that he would not desist and return in the evening with a rifle to shoot at the apparitions. When he heard this, our man Abdur Rehman Badizai feared that Tahir Khan might really shoot in the evening and the humour may turn into tragedy. He had gone to Tahir Khan and told him, "There are no lights or evil spirits. Do not go after and shoot at them. Last night it was me who had been sent by them." Even then they were not convinced and only believed Abdur Rehman when he showed them his oil stained shirt.

2. Abdul Salaam Khan, my elder brother, and another cousin Abdul Kudoos Khan were invited to a dinner at the marketplace one evening. When they were returning, they observed the movement of lights in the graveyard and ventured to investigate. When they drew close by, they noticed many people, who were standing together in rows as at prayer time. My brother said that he did not know about Abdul Kudoos Khan but he himself had become fearful thinking that they were either evil spirits or as people say the dead of the graveyard had arisen. Shameful of each other we did not turn back. The people we were approaching dispersed. When we went closer still, we recognised two people in the light of the lamp but I still suspected that the spirits, to deceive us, had taken the shape of the living. Drawing still closer

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it was the people of our village. We were told by the people there that a child had died in the evening who was being buried at that hour so as to avoid wasting time the next morning.

3. A person of status belonging to Quetta had his son married in the vicinity of our village. They were known to our resident tutor, Mullah Sher Muhammad, and would often drop in. During the night of the marriage, the bridegroom came out of the bridal chamber and much to the surprise of all announced that the bride was unwell and had fallen unconscious. The household ladies went in and looked at the bride and concluded that she was possessed by bad spirits. She remained unconscious for the night and by the morning was raving mad.

The two families both believing in spirits, ghosts and the like, were the followers of two famous spiritual leaders. The spiritual leaders of both the families visited the patient and tried with vigil and prayer to exorcise the possessing fiends but to no avail. After a few months, the woman was returned to her parents and in due course gained her normal health. She suffered fits again whenever she returned to the husband's home. This state of affairs became the pattern spread over a few months. Her father, who was also known to us, was much grieved by this life of suffering of his daughter and kept taking the rounds of known exorcists, as all believed that she was possessed and was under the influence of black magic. After a few years, the woman recovered and lived with her husband and over time the episode was forgotten.

One day two young homeopaths (*hakeems*) of Delhi, on the invitation of an elder relative came to the village for a visit and stayed for a few days. We used to visit them and take them around by way of hospitality. Their fathers, Hakeem Khalil-ur-Rehman and his brother, popularly known as the Hakeem brothers of Delhi, used to visit Quetta during the summer months and had many trusting patients of social standing. On one occasion, while discussing homeopathic medicine with these young *hakeems*, the topic of impotency and its treatment came under discussion. During the conversation, one of them said that such and such a person's son named so and so was impotent and was being treated by his father. With the mention of this I instantly recalled the son's marriage and the subsequent ailment of his bride.

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When I further investigated the matter, I came to know that the woman had resorted to this ploy of being possessed on the very first night when her marriage could not be consummated in the hope that she would be divorced and rid of this agonising life long relationship. But since her in-laws were from the social elite of the city, divorce was regarded as an affront and insult and likewise her father was a conservative person believing that a married woman had to make do irrespective of the situation. In the Pashtoon setup, divorce and impotency are taboos both carrying indelible stigma. Finally, the poor girl reconciled to her fate and endured this unfulfilled life which was otherwise comfortable and of status.

4. A relative of ours had recently been married. One early winter morning my mother (may God bless her) told me that witches[105] had visited the room of that newly wed couple. When I visited the house that person was still asleep. The bride and other members of the household were in that room. A fire had been lit in the hearth, tea had been prepared of which half a pot remained, landi[106] meat had been cooked and some scraps of cooked and uncooked meat were lying by the hearth. The bride told me, "My husband returned and went to sleep. I was still awake when two women entered the room through the shut window. I was afraid that they might be thieves and was about to awake my husband but when I looked at them they were women and I realised that they were witches. I got even more afraid and could not speak nor move. Yet I observed them from underneath the quilt and saw that one of them lit a fire while the other opened the locked trunk. Meat and tea had been removed from the trunk and that was when I fainted. In the morning, I alerted the members of the household and you have also arrived" The matter was discussed and no doubt remained that this was the doing of witches. By God's grace no damage had been caused. *Samsor*[107] should be obtained,

the room smoked by it and the plant should also be placed in the room since witches detest its smell and avoid it.

Later in the day, I came back to probe the mistress of the house about the facts of the case. I told her, "In the morning I had not exposed your story but now you must tell me the truth otherwise I would tell your husband that there was no such thing as witches and all of this was the work of his wife. He will definitely get

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annoyed with you and this may be your loss. If you tell me the truth then I promise not to tell anyone and will aid you in your aim."

She said, "Swear an oath to me" I did so. Then she told me, "You know that my husband sits in the kota[108] with his contemporaries and friends till midnight and one o'clock and then returns home. Till then I lay alone in the room. Being alone causes me fear and I also dislike the late return of my husband. Due to shame, I cannot voice my concerns. People will gossip that I love my husband so much and he will also be annoyed at being stopped from his devices. I used the episode of witches to make my husband return early." I also aided her. Her objective was achieved and then during my life witches have not visited our village though in the neighbouring villages, which are the bases of Peers, this talk of witches remained prevalent for a while.

5. Between the years 1937-1938, I was staying at Quetta and was the publisher editor of the weekly Istaqlal. There was a government official that I knew who lived by the Race Course on the outskirts of the city. Suddenly, it was rumoured in the city that his house was being stoned by demons. Police were called to investigate but there was no clue to be found and the stones kept coming, falling at times on the roof and at other times in the compound of the house. The official himself was out of station with his wife and children left behind. The stoning continued for three days without any clue to their direction or timing. On the fourth day the officer sent home his driver whose quarter was next to that of the official's stable boy. He happened to peep into the quarter of the stable boy and observed the stable boy's wife throwing stones, after which the stoning stopped. When I probed the story a little further, it was revealed that the wife of the official did not like living in isolation on the outskirts of the city and instead preferred to live in the centre of the city to which the husband was not agreeable since he felt his honour would be best preserved here, hence, his wife conspired with the stable boy's wife.

Such incidents of stone throwing have also occurred a few times in our neighbouring villages. Those people were not alert to being suspicious of their womenfolk but when I would investigate, it would be revealed that it would be the doing of one of the women of the house and she would have a hidden agenda such as God

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also speaks through the ruler of Egypt (Aziz) "Indeed your planning is great[109]."

As I have written above, my father (may God bless him) did not believe in the existence of demons, fiends, genies and witches and their doings, as do most muslims particularly the ignorant Pashtoons. These beliefs are encouraged and upheld by the deceptive clerics and exorcists. Some of the attributes of the demons made popular by the practicing exorcists are falsely attributed to the sayings of the Prophet (PBUH) such that these evil beings can take the shape and form of everything including humans. These supernatural bodies could cure the sick and make the healthy sick and could be friends as well foes. It was believed that these spirits had the ability to fall in love with women, impregnate them[110] and make them give birth to children.

My father too had researched the phenomena of these spirits and narrated his personal experience of which I remember the following and write here even though I was a child when he narrated them. He would say that his practice was to offer his prayers in the mosque and often stay late after the night prayers and meditate. The compound of the main mosque of our village was large just as it is now, around 200 by 200 yards. At one side are houses while the other three sides are alleyways. Like all the mosques of Pishin, the compound wall is not too high and does not contain doorways. The effect of a door is achieved by a low wall atop which are placed wooden beams such that a man can step over them but an animal cannot. One night when I was returning home, an old moon was in the sky such that it was neither too dark nor too bright. When I reached the opening in the compound wall that faced our house and was regularly used by me, I observed in the opening of the mosque wall something I had never seen before in my life. It was neither a human nor an animal. It was white in colour and some features resembled an animal. It was also making low noises and moving slightly. I was perplexed as to what it was? The thought of demons and trolls came to my mind. I challenged the apparition but got no response. I, therefore, became very afraid but as this was the only way home I drew closer to it. I noticed that it was a white she ass belonging to someone in the village which while attempting to jump the crossbars in the opening of the wall to enter the mosque compound was stuck in between struggling to free itself and in this process after getting tired it was breathing fast, shaking its

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Allah with miraculous powers. What to speak of the elders of the family, even the children of the family are gifted with extraordinary powers. His youngest, Kazho Agha, who could barely walk, was sitting in my lap when a flock of birds descended in the compound of the mosque. The boy walked to them and the birds did not fly away. He collected a few and brought them to me; we played with them for a while and later set them free."

3. An old man, who belonged to Tori Sha village of Pishin, was a regular visitor to my maternal uncle and would often speak of spirits. My uncle perhaps believed some of his stories and would patronise him. After the night meal this man would collect the bones leftover from the meal and ask a servant to deposit them at such and such a corner of the guesthouse compound for his "horses" to feed on. The next morning, those bones would not be found there. Though the old man himself did not say anything, the village-butcher, Anar Gul, who was also a habitual marijuana smoker, would swear by the Holy Book that the old man rode on wild hyenas and that it was they that fed on the bones.When my uncle died, this holy man of Pishin came for condolences and in my presence said to my uncle's grieving mother, "Not long before his death, I gave the Khan a handful of diamonds and other precious stones that my fairies had brought from Koh-e-Kaaf (legendary abode of fairies and genies). I wonder what became of them." This was a blatant lie since my uncle had left no wealth or precious stones behind and at the time of his death there was not even enough money for his burial rites. The family was always on hard times.

4. A onetime good comrade and friend, Haji Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the village Gulistan Karez, who later became an official man of the British for a monthly salary of Rs 80 and a title of "Khan Sahib" was the disciple of the above mentioned cleric Sahibzada. He would often invite me to become a devotee of the said cleric. I told him that I was not averse to the suggestions if only I was told of any convincing reasons for becoming his disciple. With feigned humility and conviction he replied, "I wish I had the ability to tell you all the supernatural gifts that God has endowed this holy person with." Probing the matter further I said, "Tell me whatever you have witnessed." He then related the following two incidents in support of the supernatural powers of the clerics, "One day Haji so and so of the village Majak appeared on the scene when we were

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in the company of the Sahibzada. On seeing him, the cleric got very angry and picked up his stick to beat him up but we managed to restrain him. We then inquired as to what was the cause of this disapproval to which the sage replied that the fellow was evil because he visited his wife while she was having her menstrual period (an act forbidden in Islam). Secondly, one day while we were meditating in the company of the cleric and chanting aloud a reverie with our heads covered, I ventured to peep and noticed that his holiness had vanished. But when I looked the second time he had come back." I said in reply, "As for the second event there is the possibility that he would have gone out during the meditation and returned later. The first, however, is either an outright fib made up in conspiracy with the husband to propagate his false powers or else it is a statement of a person having illicit relations with the wife because according to the Holy Book, none but Allah is in the know of the hidden."

5. My maternal uncle Musa Khan became the devotee of Peer Abdul Salaam Agha, a descendant by lineage of the famous sage, whose shrine is at Baghdad, Iraq. He would usually, after performing his prayer, cover his head and chant a few words aloud which was a reverie prescribed by his master (Peer). On his return after a visit to Quetta, I noticed that he had given up this practice of chanting. I questioned him for the reason of discontinuing the practice of chanting the rever ie. He said that he had given it up because one day while at Quetta the master "Peer" invited him and a lieutenant (Khalifa) Abdul Haq and some others to accompany him on a visit to his lands at Sheikh Manda, a locality in the vicinity of Quetta. During the visit to the farm, the time of prayer approached and he was looking ahead to offering prayer under the leadership of the master, who, however, did not take the initiative and while it was getting past time for the prayer Musa Khan offered his prayer all by himself which the master did not perform. Musa Khan said, "I felt very disturbed and asked his confidante and lieutenant (Khalifa) why did the master not offer his prayer?" "Beware and do not ask such questions, the master offers his prayer at Mecca and returns in no time without the observations of us lowly mortals. God has elevated him to a very high status being the descendant of the saint of Baghdad that we cannot discern," said the lieutenant. "I did not buy the explanation and concluded

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that it was a fictitious story created to mislead the likes of us and to collect wealth and false following and power," said my uncle.

The above story reminds me of a recent happening at Quetta in the year 1958. I went to visit my friend and physician Dr Abdul Majeed Jaffar. He was in consultation with another patient so I waited in the waiting room. There was in the waiting room another good looking young man attired in an expensive western suit with an Arab styled headband wrapped around a felt hat. After a while, we were joined by another person and the two spoke in Pashto at which I asked the stranger as to where he came from. In reply he said that he had come from Kabul. We introduced ourselves and embraced each other by way of greetings. He was Sher Agha of Kabul, son of the much revered and elevated holy man Syed Pir Mohammad Hassan Agha, carrying the title of Naqeebullah (the announcer of Allah) and was of high respectful standing and status himself. Sher Agha of Kabul was educated at London and had married into the Afghan royalty. He was the nephew of the aforementioned Peer Abdul Salaam, who had owned properties at Quetta.

By way of courtesy and conversation, I asked for the purpose of his visit. He said that he was here to dispose of the property of his father and uncle at Quetta and Mastung. When I asked whether the deed had been done, he answered in the negative, saying that one son of their lieutenant Abdul Haq had laid claims to a share in the said property which the peer was not willing to concede and had reported the matter to the commissioner, Quetta. The commissioner, however, had expressed his inability to intervene in the matter and had advised him to approach the court of law which was an expensive and time consuming proposition. He complained, "This is how I am being mistreated in your country."

I recalled the old story related by uncle Musa Khan and ventured to say, "If you do not mind, the son of your lieutenant is not altogether wrong as his father did contribute in many ways towards the acquisition of those properties. So, my advice is to reward him in some form." He did not take well to my suggestions and went on to say that the claimant was false and did not have a share in the property. I left the matter at that saying that it was between the two of them. Later, I came across the lieutenant's son at the marketplace and told him of the exchange with Peer Sher Agha. He gave a hearty laugh and said, "This is exactly where I base my claims on as we propagated their

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fraudulent ways to fleece the laymen and you are the only person, who approves of and appreciates my claims."

When I met Peer Sher Agha next, he told me that the commissioner was informed of our chance meeting and had accused him of indulging in political affairs. I assured him that this was no news as the government looked with suspicion upon my meetings especially with known personalities of Afghanistan.

I explained at large and said, "There is no way in which I can absolve myself of these suspicions of the rulers as prior to the freedom of this country, I was against the British and the Muslim Leaguers that consisted of muslims, who were the informers and lackeys of the British. The government functionaries are since those days in the habit of keeping an eye on my movements and since they cannot find anything wrong in my ways, the informers give false and baseless reports about me all the time. They accuse me of propagating Pashtoonistan and of being pro-Afghanistan knowing fully well that the demand for Pashtoonistan within Pakistan is no crime. It is a historical necessity that would be conceded sooner or later. The government should also know that I meet Afghans because most of them are Pashtoons and from amongst my people. While they look up to me and extend me courtesy and respect how could I turn my back on them? Besides, meeting Afghans is neither a crime nor illegal, whether one likes it or not I will persist in my ways as long as it is not forbidden by law. As for my conspiring against my country, they are aware that if I was to bargain away my country then for that the highest bidders were the British in whose pay and service the current rulers and leaders were. While I was struggling against the power of the British, most of these officials were in their pay and service. If I was to put a price on my country, the British would have paid and patronised me as well. Let them do what they will and I will do what I deem fit. And if for my rightful ways I am persecuted, which I am, that I will tolerate with patience, till the rulers mend their ways or till divine powers intervene. There is nothing else that I can do."

9. During the Afghan civil war (1927)[112] as a consequence of which the rebel Bacha Saka (son of the water carrier) took over Kabul and Ghazi Amir Amanullah Khan rallied his forces at Kandahar and set forth to recapture Kabul, but had to retreat from Ghazni as his forces disintegrated, one used to hear horrifying

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news from the battlefield. We used to be distressed and depressed by the news of the happenings. A large number of Achakzais and other tribesmen had gone as volunteers to fight for the king, and were returning via Chaman, I and a few other companions went to Chaman, frequently to get firsthand account of the war. In Chaman there was a commission agent of Kandahar named Haji Nuruddin, a Ghilzai[113] tribesman, who was known to us. In those days, the Ghilzais living on the Indian side of the border with Afghanistan were favouring Saka against the Durrani[114] king falsely believing the Saka to be from the Ghilzai tribe. On one occasion, Haji Nuruddin said to me in confidence that as a well-wisher he would not like us to frequent Chaman as often as we did, lest some harm befalls us.

I expressed my surprise at the unexpected caution and wondered as to why should any harm come our way as we did nothing wrong but were rather anxious to know about the happenings in Afghanistan and our British government did not mind our interest and anxiety either.

Whereupon he said, "Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean any harm from the government. You are young and, like many of your age, enthusiastic supporters and sympathisers of King Amanullah. The other day a reputed cleric from Kabul told me that his brother had told him that Bacha Saka ordered an empty patch of land to be ploughed then he walked across the ploughed patch and came back to the court and asked some of us to go and examine his footprints in the newly ploughed patch. Those, who went out, were amazed to observe that on each side of his footprint there were 20 others. They then announced aloud that Saka had invisible soldiers at his command. So how can Amanullah and the likes of him withstand his forces? He would harm all those in opposition. Lest you fall prey to the harm of these invisible beings."

In the year 1953, when travelling home after my release from the Quetta District Jail having spent five years of imprisonment under the government of Pakistan, I noticed a shrine type of construction at Hindu Cheena, a spot near Kuchlak some 18 miles away from Quetta. I asked my companions about this new site and was told that a dope addict had recently set himself there. A few days later when I came to Quetta in connection with some medical treatment, many people came to visit me, amongst them

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was Mira Jan. He had the appearance of an addict, shabby in dress and appearance but seemingly well-versed in the ways of the world and also had some political sense. He would at times instantaneously come out with some poetic verses and had the potential of a street wise poet but for his addiction to dope. He had the potential of becoming the Pashtoon Mirabeau[115] had he not been involved with the problem of saintly devotion.

Most avoided him as mad but I found him interesting and intelligent. Every now and then, he would come over to visit me and relate to me the powers possessed by his sage whose shrine was at the top of the hill nearby Hindu Cheena since long and who had then delegated all the powers to the new one stationed at the bottom of the hill. He would say, "Your aim will be achieved. The holy one has also been assigned this task. Pashtoonistan will be established. No one can put you behind bars again. All you need to do is to just come once to the shrine and seek his blessings."

I used to laugh away his pressing cajoling but he kept on insisting, pointing out the names of some socialites, who visited them regularly. I cannot vouch for his assertion of the visits of others but all those so-called men of status and elite of the area were not beyond finding escape in the blessings of derelicts. Mira Jan and his companions had travelled at length in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) perfecting their trade. I refused to visit his establishment because that would pave the way for others, which was the aim behind Mira Jan's pleadings and cajoling.

The Governor General[116] of Pakistan Mr Ghulam Muhammad[117] used to visit the shrine of the patron saint of Lahore popularly known as Data Darbar[118] and dish out dole to the addict derelicts there. The Data Darbar is a place where marijuana, opium and cannabis are excessively used and sold. I read in the newspaper dated October 9, 1959, that on the occasion of the *Urs* (annual remembrance) of the sage of Golra[119], Rawalpindi, the district commissioner had declared a public holiday.

I have related these stories regarding demons, genies, witches and false and deceiving clerics and sages because I believe most of the social and political problems of the muslims in general and that of the Pashtoon in particular are due to their belief in these phenomena. These beliefs weaken the will and sinews, making a people loose self-confidence. Once people are convinced that

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The Wrongdoings and Ways of Officials

As stated earlier, by the time of completing school I did not know anything about the government and its working. My knowledge was limited to the subjects of religious studies. My ignorance of the government and its working was due to our faulty education system and secondly, our circumstances at that time were such that we had no reasons for interaction with the government. Our family was not involved in litigation and since we were also exempt from the payment of land revenues we had, therefore, no contact with the government.

Once, Lal Mohammad Khan of Qilla Abdullah village, who was my age and a good friend, suggested that we go on horseback for a month long visit to Kandahar. Even though there was no restriction on movements to and from Afghanistan, we decided to procure passports and get a visa for travel to Afghanistan. This single experience of attaining passports taught me much more about the working of the government and made me aware of the difficult times faced by our people and the country than all the teachings of the Mullah and school put together. It opened my eyes and mind to the difficulties faced by the people under an alien government.

To begin with, we filled in an application at Pishin and a surety bond by the official application scribe for which he charged us one rupee each, although the form had a price of a quarter rupee only. We then presented the application to Dewan Harri Chand the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), who returned it asking for the attestation by a *Tehsildar* (a revenue officer), despite know ing us personally and we did the required. While we were with the *Tehsildar*, who has magisterial powers, Syed Sultan Ali came along. After a while the clerk of the revenue officer addressed Sultan Ali and asked him if he had a penknife. The person replied in the affirmative and the clerk requested its use. Sultan Ali gave him the knife; the clerk cut a sheet of paper with it, folded the knife and put it in his pocket. Sultan Ali left the office along with us and after a while I reminded him of his knife being under the impression that he may have forgotten to collect it from the clerk. He smiled and said, "That is gone and forgotten." I guess the knife was worth Rs 10. After presenting the application to the EAC again, duly attested by the revenue officer, we were directed

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to take it to the English clerk, who in his turn, directed us to the medical officer. The doctor made two entries of height and colour of the eyes and asked for a fee of Rs 15. I gave him Rs20 and he returned Rs 5. When I came out Lal Mohammad asked, "Why did the doctor return the money to you?" I said in reply, "Why did you not see I gave him Rs20 and he returned Rs 5?" The medical doctor, however, had not charged him so we went back and took back the money I had given the doctor. We then presented the papers to the English clerk, who said that he would send them to the office at Quetta that would then either send the passports by post or summon us for collection in person. After a month or so, we inquired at the relevant office at Quetta and were told that the forms had probably not been sent from Pishin, whereupon we came to Pishin and asked the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) about it. He suggested that the forms had been sent to Quetta and if those could not be traced why did we not fill up other forms?

Later another person knowledgeable in the ways of officials confided in us that the money demanded by the medical officer was to be shared by the three of them and since that had not been paid we could not expect the processing of the paper any further. He also told us that we would have to pay bribes at two other offices, those of the concerned district officials and the investigating police official.

During these visits to Pishin, we also witnessed the working of the judicial council (Jirga), presided by the EAC and the miserable treatment meted out to the litigating parties at the hands of the Jirga members and the officials of the EAC's office. We also observed the procedural working of the Jirga. The Jirga members were all sitting at an appointed place and would be joined by the EAC whenever he had the time or the inclination, otherwise the judicial clerk, somebody from Punjab called Shajee, who was sporting a hennal coloured beard, would run the workings of the Jirga. Many cases were raised but only a few were discussed and even lesser numbers were settled. Most cases would end at the very start for lack of the presence of the summoned witnesses and would then be set up for a future date. Shahjee would write the next date of hearing on a piece of paper and give it to each of the litigating parties demanding Rs 2 as the cost of writing. Most would quietly pay up while some would resist and protest that they had been summoned several times before, the travel

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therefore had cost them a lot already. Yet others would take the plea that they did not have the required Rs 2 which would anger Shahjee, who would in his turn shower a barrage of abuses and insults upon them in the presence of the council members and the presiding EAC. Sometimes, the council members of the litigant's tribe or area would intervene and further scold the plaintiff saying, "How dare you refuse Shahjee his writing fee? Is he yours or your father's servant? Pay up and if you cannot, I will do so in your place but you will have to pay me back." Some cases presented were also settled. There were only a few of the Jirga councillors, who were articulate and spoke logically but the decision was always that of the EAC or his clerk Shahjee. When I saw these terrible proceedings and the open bribing and fleecing of the people, I was disgusted and gave up applying for the passport and decided to take the visit without a passport which for some reason we did not take anyway.

Love and Loyalty for Homeland

I have stated in the beginning that our ancestors had migrated to the current settlement from Kandahar and they had been attached to the Afghan court since the beginning and were holding responsible posts in the service of the state. They, therefore, always entertained and cherished the idea of migrating back to Afghanistan and settling there all over again and for that purpose our elders once sought the permission of the ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Abdul Rehman and later of Amir Habibullah Khan[123] which was refused by both. My maternal uncle Mohammad Ali Khan had made a similar request to Amir Amanullah Khan in secret who in reply had said that he would assign the matter to his ambassador at Delhi. As Mohammad Ali Khan died soon after the application, the matter ended with it. Later, on another occasion, the *Tehsildar* of Gulistan sent us a proclamation of the government of Afghanistan, stating its willingness to accept all those, who wanted to migrate back to Afghanistan. This proclamation was accompanied by another of the British government, stating that it had no objection to the migration of anyone, who after migrating would, however, cease to be a citizen of British India.

The matter was discussed at length in the family and the extended clan which I personally opposed, although we had huge

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Soldiers were posted on both sides of the road from the border to the railway station and behind them was the crowd of tens of thousands of Pashtoons. As soon as Amanullah Khan's cavalcade crossed the border, the people were overcome by emotions and rushed towards the cavalcade uncontrollable by the army soldiers. The scene was one of an indescribable emotional crowd, its noise, shouts and crowding of the cavalcade brought the cavalcade to a creeping walking pace for the remaining distance of nearly three-and-a-half miles. When Amanullah Khan reached the railway station, a smartly turned out British army contingent presented arms.

Before the arrival of the Pashtoon king, the soldiers stood in formation on the platform and as their boots were dirtied by the mud a group of Indian sweepers came along and cleaned their boots with towels. This sight was quite unbecoming and offensive. Sitting there, I thought to myself as to why us Pashtoons and Indians were so devalued? On this occasion, Pashtoon soldiers of the Pashoon's own army should have presented arms to the Pashtoon king or at least the Indian soldiers should have done it. How degrading that the guard of honour was formed of British soldiers and the Indians were employed to clean their boots? This is the result of our slavery and that of India. I was so lost in my thoughts that I did not even hear the guns fire the salute nor was I aware of the throng of thousands pushing towards the station. When the crowed suddenly, rose I realised that the king had arrived.

He inspected the smartly turned up guard of honour that presented arms and after that came and stood in front of the crowd at a distance of a few paces.

He asked whether we were Pashtoons and understood Pashto and perhaps intended to address us but the crowd of people in a disjointed fashion raised confusing welcoming slogans. Disappointed with the unruly crowd, he walked away towards the platform and boarded his special train. This disjointed ignorant behaviour of the people depressed me again. I thought to myself that instead of this incoherent and undisciplined behaviour, it would have been appropriate if one person had made a welcome address on behalf of the public and then listened to his speech and then raised some slogans in unison. At the time I had neither joined an organisation nor seen the arrangements

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made by any organisation but I do remember that I thought for several days about the confused crowd behaviour of our people and of how and when we would leave these dark days? Perhaps respected Maulana Fazal Mahmood Makhfi had also composed his famous song in response to such sadness and anxiety:

Oh God will there ever dawn the day
When our own airfract we'll own?

The king boarded the special train at Chaman and left for Quetta. Contrary to our information, the train had stopped at almost every station including Qilla Abdullah, Gulistan and Bostan; with the king coming down to be greeted by the people and to be addressed by him in return. Those of us, who had gone to Chaman, regretted going there and being a part of that unruly crowd instead of welcoming the king in an organised way at our own home station. The dignity and love of the king greatly impressed the people and was the subject of conversation for years thereafter. Even today, people relate with enthusiastic detail the events witnessed on that single day and are very keenly listened to by those that were too young then or not even born.

Solemnising Marriage

In the year 1928, I got married. With my consent, my mother and brother asked for the hand of Sabira, the daughter of Sher Jan Khan of the house of Ghazi Abdullah Khan of the village Qilla Abdullah.

To get married was the done thing, so I did. The truth, however, is that for many years I did not understand the profound and lasting value and meaning of marriage. Pashtoon youth got married and so did I. The most I knew was as told by the priest that marriage was in the tradition (Sunnah) of the Holy Prophet, may peace be upon him, and that it was for procreation and addition to the following of the Holy Prophet peace be upon him, and was thus a blessed act. Besides, we were told that marriage keeps one away from the path of sinful living. The main purpose of marriage, according to these teachings, was sexual satisfaction and the consequent procreation.

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The truth is that I was totally ignorant in the matters of sex at the time. In those days, it was customary with us as is now to take the marriage vows on the occasion of the betrothal thus declaring the couple husband and wife and marriage would often be consummated at the bride's parental home. When I was being escorted by a group of our household women for joining my wife for the first time at her parents' home, according to the practice of those days, I was totally ignorant of conjugal rites despite having attained sexual maturity three to four years ago. I was about 20 to 22 years of age. With great hesitation, I confided in a senior woman of advanced age, the wife of Qader Lala, the manager of our lands. She was taken aback for a while, but then she collected herself, made me feel at ease by first telling me about my formal greetings of my in-laws and then hinted in muffled words to the consummation of marriage when I was alone with my wife in the bridal chamber. It was thus that I was prepared for the most difficult and lasting experience of my life.

At the time of my marriage, our family and the people of the surrounds followed some very specific and elaborate outdated traditions. These traditions may have served a purpose initially and were hence willingly followed, but were quite wasteful and outdated for our times. I, therefore, deviated from following some of the customs in vogue with a view to change them and did succeed in doing so to an extent. Though some remained resistant to change and I had to consent to them due to the pressure of my relatives. Most marriages were arranged by the elders without the formal consultation of the boys or the girls. If the purpose of marriage is the setting up of a home, sexual satisfaction, procreation and the strengthening of ties with other families as is the practice of the Pashtoons, then perhaps the right course was that it be left to the choice of the elders. Complexion and looks are valued by many people particularly the youth but my own experience is that looks do not carry much weight and do not have much impact on the life of the husband and wife. My this first wife (with whom I spent a very good and sweet life), by the standards of our family and the general appearance of Pashtoon women, was not good looking, just of average look, but it did not have any negative effect on our otherwise contented married life. Similarly, there were some other members of our family whose wives were not considered beautiful by people such as my maternal uncle Musa Khan, respected Abdul Qader Khan,

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amongst the poor Pashtoon clans is limited to a few hundred rupees which the bride's parents spent on her clothing and household utensils. Yet like all well-intentioned deeds of the world, bridal-price too slowly deteriorated so that in my time the tradition of the Pashtoons has also deteriorated. It has taken an excessive form currently amongst the well off. Instead of a convenience, it has become a social curse. Bridal price today is in the tens of thousands of which only a part is spent to meet the bride's expenses and the rest is consumed by her relatives. So much so that at the onset it was announced by the bride's relatives that so many thousands would be consumed by them. This was called *khoraki*. Apart from bridal price, in the name of various traditions there would be the demand for gold and ornaments and all kinds of expensive clothes probably used only once by the bride in her lifetime.

Walwar ranged from Rs 3,000 to Rs 40,000. A poor person would not be receiving it to save face but rather bridal price had become, by the time of my marriage, a sign of false prestige. The richer the parents of the girl were, the higher was the bridal price.

My elder brother's marriage, with my father-in-law's sister did not materialise precisely on account of their high demand of bridal price of Rs 10,000, whereas I informed them that I was will ing to meet all the genuine expenses they, however, demanded an excessive amount only to satisfy their false ego of standing and status.

I had, therefore, made it clear that I would not pay the bridal price or else only that much to meet the necessary expenses. I, therefore, only paid Rs 2,000 which was the lowest at the time but still made it clear that I found this tradition to be unnecessary and invalid. My father in-law discussed this issue with me a great deal. I told him that he well knew that traditional jewellery items such as *pezwan* (nose ring), *nata* (chain which goes from nose to ear), *tekona* (forehead pendant), *khal*, *aozhay* (pendant), *washi* (thick bangles), *bangri* (bangles), *bazoband* (arm bracelet), *payzaib* (ankle bracelet), *gawatko shasto* (rings), *hamail* (necklace), *galoband* (throat bracelet), *chamkalai*, *lashto* (earrings) and *awezo* are not used by women today. They are just made and then lie around uselessly until they are either sold or then melted to make other items. In this way, the amount spent on the labour of the goldsmith and some gold itself is wasted. Therefore, you should let your

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Like I have said before, at the time our people particularly the women were great believers in the powers of spirits, *peers*, holy-men, shrines and talismans. The powers of God over life, death, illness and healing were remembered by very few people and everything was attributed to the spirits and holy-men. Even intelligent men, who would openly say that they did not believe in superstitions and that everything was in the hands of God "And He alone heals me when I am sick[135]", would turn to such superstitious beliefs for their treatment. They would seek excuses for themselves when asked about their contradictory behavior and say that they were doing it for the sake of the satisfaction of their women and relatives or to escape their pressure.

Tuberculosis (TB) was considered incurable then and was synonymous with death. Indeed the Pashto word for it is the illness of death. This brave woman, however, did not invoke such celestial help, stood firm in her belief for the duration of two years and finally died of it.

How did she contract this disease, I cannot tell. The doctors, however, traced her infection to her mother, who had died of TB about 20 years ago. As a precaution, I therefore at an interval of a few years take the chest x-rays of our children lest they too be inflicted by the disease. My wife had also suffered from pneumonia three to four times after our marriage which also damaged the lungs. Whether the two ailments are related in a causal way and if so which one was causing which I kept pondering for a long time. It is therefore, that I am of the opinion that the treatment of pneumonia should not be stopped early but carried till the clearance of the lungs.

Erection of Memorials

It is not in the tradition of our house to construct and maintain memorials for our departed ancestors. However, I have thought of raising an individual or collective memorial for my father, mother and Begum, either in the form of a grave with something engraved on the tombstone or then a mosque like structure. When I began writing Pashto booklets and books, I settled for dedicating a write-up to each of them instead. I have therefore dedicated this book to the Pashtoon lady (my wife) whose love, untiring dedication and wholehearted adherence to Pashtoonwali,

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(Pashto code of behaviour) has thus sweetened my life and made its path easy for me.

The Simplicity of Pashtoons and Rumour Mongering

During the years 1927-28, a rumour was spread in Afghanistan that snakes had entered the stomachs of chicken that killed them and those, who ate such chicken or their eggs. There were stories going around of entire families being wiped out. The rumour spread far and wide with hardly anyone disbelieving it. People stopped eating chicken and eggs and started selling them for very nominal prices and whenever a chicken died, it would be picked up with great caution and buried away. Even otherwise sophisticated people would carefully and closely examine the stomach and intestines of a slaughtered chicken prior to its consumption, let alone the ignorant. Unfortunately, the inside of a chicken has a very tiny intestine like growth which even after the death of the slaughtered chicken remains quivering for a little while longer and on seeing this many an otherwise knowledgeable person would lose their nerves. The rumour remained current for over six months with its origin or originators and the purpose thereof remaining unknown.

Not long after, a number of baseless rumours were initiated about the behaviour and the social conduct of Ghazi Amanullah Khan by the clerics at the behest of the British, which the ignorant public genuinely believed, ultimately leading to the general uprising against Afghan King Amanullah Khan culminating in his exile and the disruption of all social order in Afghanistan. Some well informed persons then mused that the rumours about the chicken were spread to test the influence of the clerics and that it was a rehearsal for the Afghan civil war bringing about the complete destruction of the Afghan state that was fully participated in by the clergy at the prodding of their foreign masters.

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The Battles of Ghazi Amanullah Khan and My First Imprisonment

Soon after his return from Europe in 1928, Ghazi Amanullah Khan was confronted by an uprising of the ignorant populace, abetted by the clerics, false sages, and the high placed royal courtiers and social elite. As a strategic move, the king withdrew from Kabul to Kandahar with a view to raise a tribal force for recapturing Kabul. Despite the propaganda and edicts of the clergy and indifference of the social elite, most people particularly the enlightened youth were sympathetic to the cause of the king. The gentry and people of standing had unfortunately degenerated to be sycophants of the British with their lives limited to the pleasing of the EAC, and other petty officials. Had the social elites stood by the king, things would have been definitely different. Only a few persons of standing from Quetta and Pishin region went to join the forces of the king including just two known tribal figures, Nazar Mohammad Malezai Achakzai and Syed Mir Ali Shadezai. Both these gentlemen were veterans of the Afghan War of Independence waged by King Amanullah Khan for restoring the sovereignty of Afghanistan.

I was about 21 years of age then and did not expect that the elders of the family would heed my call of joining the king, and hence I decided to go and enlist alone hoping that others would join on their own accord later. One afternoon at around 2 pm without letting anyone know, I collected my gun cartridges and Rs 10,000 and saddled my horse hoping to make it by nightfall to the border of Afghanistan. I was about to start off when another cousin Obaidullah Khan came by and asked about my intentions. I confided in him on oath that he would keep my plan to himself at least for the duration of the remaining day. He asked me to wait for a while so that he could collect his gun and horse and thereafter we leave together. When he left for collecting his things, his aged father noticed him and asked the reason for the untimely need of gun and saddling of the horse. He told him the plan of the journey and sought his blessings. The father agreed and suggested that we should give a call to other young cousins of whom many would surely join us.

The father and the son came to me and we went to some other cousins and two others agreed to join us as did my elder brother.

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compartment for Bacha Khan but could not locate him. He had been offloaded from the train at Sibi during the early hours of the morning that day.

The Mean and Lowly Act of the Political Agent

The PA was an Englishman named Wingate[137]. When the truck carrying us stopped at his bungalow gate and we disembarked and walked inside, the PA came out. At the head of our group were four elders of the family, followed by me and my friend Ismail Jan. The PA had a dog with him and with a shout of "where are these boys!" he set the dog on us. Ismail Jan came forward to check the dog but probably the dog was better mannered than the master, it politely retreated after the initial rush towards us.

In the meantime, the Englishman came near us and after feeling Ismail Jan around the face, he said to the EAC, "These are grown up men! Where are the kids?" One of our elders replied that it was not the play of children to enlist as warriors. We are all grown up persons. I am not sure whether he was misinformed by the EAC or was it to cover for his mean act of setting the dog on us; he changed his stance and attitude at once. He shook hands with all of us and invited us in. At around 4 pm he excused himself for a short while and suggested us to take tea in the meanwhile.

He returned after sometime and invited some of us for further parleys. Addressing us he said with a laugh, "You people have cost me dearly. I had fixed a game of golf with someone which I lost along with Rs 300 bet as I was pre-occupied with your affair." We in return assured him that we would compensate his loss after he settled our problem. The parleys continued in an amicable atmosphere in great detail. He insisted that we give up on our intention of enlisting while we on our part Argued that it was our right to serve and contribute to the cause of our people and protested that preventing us was beyond his charter. We even agreed to be allowed to go unarmed, as civilian volunteers.

By late evening he said to us, "I do not want any harm to come your way and can only advise you to wait and see till Amanullah's forces march from Kandahar towards Kabul. You would only then appreciate my attitude and good wishes. If you

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of yonder years, Mullah Baran Kakozai. On this occasion too, I decided to join the battle despite being on bail for three years from the previous occasion but could not do so immediately for shortage of funds. And by the time I arranged those, the battle, being of short duration, was over.

Conditions in Balochistan (British[140*])

Balochistan at that time was still managed in the ways set by Sandaman[141]. The public, especially the locals, had virtually no contact with the government at the tehsil, district and the provincial level. There was in place a nominal educational setup, mainly limited to the cities. I was not familiar with the situation of other districts but in our home district of Quetta there was only one high school at Quetta and one middle level vernacular school at Gulistan. Pishin and Chaman cities had primary schools and perhaps there were three to four other primary schools in the remaining villages, mainly catering to the children of the village headman for whom the school teacher also performed limited clerical tasks. Similar was the case of the health department, there was one hospital each at Quetta, Pishin, Gulistan and Chaman. There were no colleges till the end of British rule. There were a few scholarships for college education of the local population, even those limited scholarships were misappropriated by non local Punjabi immigrants domiciled in the province and working in various government departments as is the case even today. There was only one scholarship for foreign studies for residents of federally administered areas of India that also included Balochistan (British). Only once was the foreign scholarship availed by a local Mohammadzai tribesman, Sardar Mohammad Hamayun Jan, who went for higher medical studies to London and on his return migrated to Kabul working there to date.

The Working of Jirga, the Judicial Council

The only meeting point between the government and the local people was the institution of the tribal Jirga, the Tribal Judicial Council. All the members of the council were appointed by the government and were either employees of Levies force or appointed village headmen (Maliks). Appointment to the council

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difficulty in enforcing them, but these so-called mutually acceptable settlements, in practice were forced by arm twisting tactics of the notorious councillors and connivance of the presiding officials.

Under the FCR rule, the Jirga was not to pass a sentence, it was merely to nominate the offending party. The punishment and the conditions for reconciliation were to be awarded by the presiding officials. The judgment and thus the reconciliation between the parties were not those reached by mutual consent of the parties as is under the Pashtoon tradition but were those enforced by the Jirga members.

The fines, punishment and conditions of reconciliation were all recommended by the Jirga. Commenting on the situation Sir Olaf Caroe[143] writes in his book, "The Pathans" that the government frontier policy was based on facilitating the tribal Maliks (chieftains) as it was the line of least resistance. On the contrary, the presiding official was required to thoroughly examine the proceeding of the Jirga and then reach an independent elaborate and well-Argued conclusion which was a laborious and thankless job compared to the recording and acceptance of the Jirga recommendations in a single sentence, "I uphold the recommendations of the Jirga" and signed.

It was, therefore, evident to all that officials followed the recommendations of the Jirga members, who blackmailed and coerced the parties into acceptance of the Jirga recommendations. It was common practice that the councillor of the area or tribe would inform the party declared at fault just 24 hours ahead of the proposed verdicts, telling him to seek reconciliation or the recommendations would be forwarded to the presiding officials. The litigant would plead his innocence and seek the mercy of the councillor but to no avail. After exhausting and belittling him, the tout councillor would then propose a less harsh recommendation and specify the amount of bribe for the presiding officer and his staff, promising to reduce the recommendation for example from 10 years imprisonment to three years instead. The councillors would use these tactics forcing the hands of the party into acceptance of the verdicts, and the other party would be fleeced as a reward for shifting the blame to the opponents.

The logical result of this system based on corruption, blackmail, coercion and vendetta was the prolongation of crime and personal

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enmity between individuals. Cases, instead of being settled as would be expected under the Common British Law or the Pashtoon Code, resulted in still more wrongs and litigation. Soon the government too had to take notice of the rising number of pending cases and increase in fresh litigation and crime at Quetta-Pishin District. The solution recommended was to raise the court fee for the litigating parties, much to the delight of the revenue department officials and the councillors.

At places away from the seat of government like Zhob, Loralai, Chaman etc, people simply ignored the FCR provided system and settled scores on their own with most not reporting the disputes to the government. Seldom would a reference be made to the government that too in cases involving murder and death. Even in such cases, the criminal would often abscond who, when apprehended by chance or graft, would be sentenced to long term deterrent imprisonment of 40, 50 and 60 years. But the majority of the absconding parties would take to highway robberies, attacking and looting of government and private properties. The absconder, called *"firary"* would even have the sympathy of the people. Often such *"firary"* would be invited to surrender by a go between councillor and pampered into rehabilitation with grant of money and landed property. The middleman for the bargain would be none other than the Jirga member or officially installed tribal head, who too would be handsomely rewarded by the surrendering *"firary"*, thus giving official patronage to the institution and encouraging others to adopt the practice of absconding.

It was also a tradition of the powerful Maliks to often lay false claims to other people's property and even if he could not prove his claim the other councillors, his colleagues, would insist that the aggrieved party pay some kind of a compensation to the wrongful claimant because he was after all a senior man of standing otherwise the case would be hanging around for years. Anyone, who became rich in the village through trade or other gainful activities, would either have to cringe to the Malik or else he would be harassed and even threatened. And if the person wanted to migrate and leave the village, the Malik would not allow him to do so and report the matter to the government on such flimsy excuses that if the person was allowed to migrate others would follow and there would be no one left to attend

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prayer in the mosque and those left behind would not be able to afford the priest either.

The Personality of Jirga Member and His Standing with the Government

What was the personality of these councillors and how would they be treated by the officials is a long and depressing story of baboonery, ridicule and insults showered upon them. Below I will give a few examples that were in my personal knowledge and for the rest everyone can speculate for himself. What I relate are recent happenings after Col Parsons and other English officers had brought about some amendments to the working of the Jirga and some political activities had started in Balochistan. Prior to the reforms things were even worse.

1. A person shot two people dead in broad daylight and did not even deny the act but the EAC was in his favour, wish ing for him to go scot-free. The matter was investigated and sent for adjudication to the Jirga. One of the killed persons was from a strong clan and was also a Malik (elder) himself. Everybody thought that the murderer should not go free and should at least pay the compensatory price for the murders. But the Jirga set him free as innocent.

The EAC was known to me and one day in private I asked him to tell me how he managed this event. Particularly, how did he manage to reconcile the other Malik of that clan? He said, "Forget about all this. You are a political person and would write about it tomorrow in the newspaper, (by then I had started sending write-ups to newspapers of Lahore). You, perhaps, suspect that I probably pleaded with him or paid him some money, but the truth is that I did not say a word to him. All I did was that one day that Malik had come to my office and was sitting around. I called my clerk and asked him for the recommendations list on the occasion of the Sibi Darbar. When the clerk brought the list, I said to him, "Look up, how much money have you recommended for this Malik?"

The clerk said, "Rs 30." I replied, "This is too little, raise his award to Rs 50." Although this statement of mine did not benefit him at all as the recommendations for the Darbar had already

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been sent, the Malik agreed with me in declaring the alleged murderer innocent and ignored the murder of his own clansman."

2. In those days, as is the practice even today, the council members would spend the day taking rounds of the offices and sit around with petty officials. So much so that they would travel 15 to 20 miles on a daily basis to be at the offices at Quetta and go back to their homes in the evening.

3. The office of the Gulistan Tehsildar had only one spare chair alongside of which lay another wooden box of the revenue department. The daily visitors to his office were two, so each one of the visitors would try to reach the place first and occupy the chair or otherwise sit on the wooden box the whole day.

4. The political agent and the chief commissioner would each receive visitors one day a week. On the visitor's day, the Jirga members, regardless of whether they had any business or not, would come and sit in the waiting hall till such time that the visiting hours were declared closed or till the officials left the office. Some Jirga members would meet the official while others would await their turn for weeks. In this regard Malik Sartip Khan Malaizai of Chaman passed a famous remark while awaiting his turn with the other Maliks. A long time had passed and still his turn had not come while the dog of the official entered and exited the room of the official a number of times. Malik Sartip Khan remarked, "God we do not even have the respect accorded to this dog, who enters and exits of his own free will while we have been awaiting our turn since morn ing." They would compete with one another for a place on the list of calling and the time spent with the official as these were taken as a sign of the order of precedence.

5. The British officers would, at the end of the meeting, sometimes throw in some money as gift to some people, which was regarded as an exceptional honour.

After independence, the government of Pakistan officials especially Qurban Ali Khan[144] discontinued this practice but only for a while as the Maliks persisted in their expectations. Not long ago, I went to meet Mr Moizuddin, the commissioner who knew the ways of the Maliks and was tired of their mean and lowly practices. This is what he said to me one day, "One Malik called on me and when I asked for the purpose of his visit which was none, he said that he had come for his allowance. Although it was

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At Sibi I was told that the PA and EAC had gone to Harnai. Then I proceeded to Harnai and when I reached there the PA and the EAC were sitting with some people.

On seeing me, the two officials went aside, talked briefly and after that the PA proceeded to the rest house. The EAC then came towards me and said that the PA was very annoyed and was about to arrest me under the Safety Act. When I reached the rest house, there were also some people around so I hid myself on one side."

I asked, "Why did you hide?"

"Well", he said "I was under the impression that since the Englishman is annoyed he may use abusive language or even beat me in front of the others which would have been very insulting. In private whatever the PA's attitude, it does not quite matter, so when I met him in private he had nothing against me, all this because of your EAC friend." I am still bemused by the pitiable life and ways of these Maliks and Jirga members.

9. In 1940-41, Mr Metcalfe[146], the British resident agent, suspended the publication of my weekly, the Istaqlal. I reported the matter to the All India Newspapers Editors Conference and also took a delegation of the Balochistan Press Association to the Resident. There were three of us in the delegation, the other two were, Mr Jangiani, the Quetta correspondent of 'The Statesman[147]', Calcutta and the third was the owner of the Sibi newspaper, who was also a senior Jirga member. We had a rather prolonged heated discussion on the issue for two hours. The gentleman from Sibi kept quiet all the time, but later he rose suddenly and asked for permission to speak and started pleading for mercy and forgiveness of the AGG, much to our annoyance. Even the AGG said that it was not a matter of forgiveness and mercy rather it was a point of law if the paper had violated the law it should stand suspended and if the allegations were false its publication would be restored.

At the end of the meeting to show our disapproval and annoyance at the humiliating cringing of the fellow, we walked away from him and ignored him. He called after us and said, "I can understand your point of view, but understand mine as well in the heat of the discussion you talked with such force that I got frightened, certain that the two of you would be arrested so I thought of saving my skin and hence pleaded for mercy. The only

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instruments of axes and spades, irrigated limited acreage of land by digging wells, building small embankments and karezes[149]. Had there been no restrictions and interference by the government, the people would have done much more. In the district of Quetta during their 80 years of rule, the British constructed only one dam at Hanna and another at Pishin called Bund Khush Dil Khan. The water rights and management of these two water storages was so faulty that the people gave up the development of their land in sheer disgust. If the government wanted, then or now, in district Quetta, Pishin and Chaman thousands of tube wells could be drilled, with supportive small and big dams to replenish the underground water, and thus tens of thousands of acres of land could be brought under cultivation. With deforestation, the flood runoffs from the hills and mountains have instead caused erosion at a large scale in the districts of Quetta, Pishin, Loralai and Zhob, and the government is doing nothing about it.

In Quetta there was a full-fledged department of agriculture, headed by a senior British officer with all the supportive staff. But all they did was to develop the so-called fruit station, Rani Bagh at Quetta and look after the gardens of the official bungalows. The people of our village Gulistan, who were at least half a century ahead of the rest of the province in agricultural practices, had their first contact with the agriculture department as late as 1933. Nawab Mustafa, a trained barrister, with diploma in agriculture from London, a class one officer at the time was the head of the department who came for a visit to our village. A meeting was called of the leading agriculturists of the village at one of the gardens of our village. Although he was an Indian and also knew Pashto, he addressed the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) in English, who would then translate it to the gathering in Pashto. Similarly, the response of the people would be translated in turn into English. The EAC was not well-versed in the English language and could not convey the meaning of the officer's words correctly. Therefore, I said to the EAC, "Apparently, the officer is an Indian so why does he not talk directly to us in his own language as this relates to agriculture? It is best that we understand one another." They both blushed with shame and started speaking initially in Urdu and later in Pashto. The visitors joined me for tea and later Nawab Mustafa remained a cordial friend of mine and our family. He later did complete some useful

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centres of Bengal, Sindh, Bombay, Delhi and Madras, the British adopted the local languages for education and trade affairs. In Northern India, Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan, the local languages and Persian, the lingua franca of the area, were replaced by Urdu and English in pursuit of the unholy aims of international imperialism with a view to cut off these areas from Central Asia and Iran. Both English and Urdu were unfamiliar and alien languages to the Pashtoon which made trade and other contacts with the state institutions difficult for them. To top it all, the British for the purposes of running their official business and catering to their trade and service needs, encouraged the immigration of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims from Sindh and Punjab, who were familiar with the ways and language of the British thus effectively debarring the entry of the local population into trade industry and government services.

Along with falling agricultural activity and livestock rearing, the local people also lost access to trade and business and were pushed to still lower levels of poverty. The only avenue of earning a livelihood left was that of wage labourers to which on the one hand the local population was not accustomed and on the other these were mostly available at urban centres away from the natural habitats of the tribesmen. In addition, the in-service personnel from the southern states of Sindh and Punjab facilitated and encouraged the immigration of the poor of Punjab as urban labour service providers and government contractors and such professionals as barbers, washermen, horse carriage drivers and dairy owners almost to the entire exclusion of the local Pashtoons and Baloch.

The local tribesmen besides being confronted by the new paradigm also felt hurt and disgraced by the alien rule and looked down upon its services. Since the British could not run the territory newly annexed from Afghanistan without the support of the local inhabitants, Sandeman and his colleagues devised the abhorrent but ingenious system of tribal Levies entrapping the elite of the society, especially the Baloch tribal chiefs. The immigrants from Punjab, however, appreciated and realised the benefits of government service and made efforts for the employment of their relatives and clansmen to the open and aggressive exclusion of the locals, who were to be found as mere Levies clerks in the rural areas or at most as lower level clerks in the urban offices. Though there was competition amongst the

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immigrants themselves on the basis of Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs for the civil services, they all including those from the NWFP[150] ganged up against the employment of the local population.

How and when this organised resistance and discrimination against the employment of the local population started, I cannot tell. But by the time I grew up, local people were limited to such services as vernacular primary schoolteachers, and a few of the well-off families were employed in the political services as lower level revenue officers (*Tehsildar*).

Given this atmosphere of alienation and creeping poverty, many of the Pishin traders and herdsmen migrated to Afghanistan in pursuit of a living. This migration took the form of an exodus when Amir Abdul Rehman Khan quelled the rebellion in Hazarajat provinces of Afghanistan and encouraged the settlement of Pashtoon tribes there. Thousands of Achakzais of Chaman and Kakars of Zhob and relatively fewer families of Pishin and Quetta migrated to Afghanistan and settled there permanently. Likewise, thousands of Baloch families migrated to Sindh and settled there. Some estimate the collective migration from Balochistan to Sindh and Afghanistan at two thirds of the original population.

Some traders, following old contacts, went south to Sindh and beyond to India but could not establish themselves in the changed environment and resorted to the practice of usury. This was not only illegal and against the tenets of Islam and thus a despicable profession of last resort, but was also very demeaning and difficult. The clients of these usurers were the poorest of the poor urbanites, drunkards, gamblers, pimps and prostitutes etc. The amount lent was also meagre, Rs 10 to 20 or at most Rs 100 with an interest of 25 to 30 percent per month or 400 to 500 percent per year. Since the clients were poor, the loan illegal and insecure, its recovery was even more difficult requiring personal force and confrontation. Since the principal capital was less and scattered over a large clientele and difficult to recover, the usury trip would often involve absence from kith and kin for several years and was yet preferable to the non-existent prospects at home. By the end of the day, the usurer would return with a few thousand rupees, get married, construct a room or two, spend his earnings and go off again for a journey of several years. Since this was the usual business of hundreds from Pishin villages, the little agriculture

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that was possible got further neglected as there would be only old men left behind to look after the white beards, widows and the children. A few individuals, however, did well and prospered.

Attitude of British and Other Officials

The officials of the day whether Indian or English regarded it their right to scold and verbally abuse the local people irrespective of their status or standing. Some would even resort to physical beating. The otherwise law abiding English officers when posted to Balochistan would behave as ruffians in public with no control over their tongue or limbs. For example, Colonel Dew,[151] who was a Political Agent (PA) and later on became the Agent to the Governor General (AGG). Colonel Trench[152], who was a commissioner, boxed one of our elders Habibullah Khan (Habo Khan) in my presence at Gulistan tehsil because he had his hands in his coat pocket while talking to the PA. The same official on another occasion walked through the Gulistan bazaar and beat all those shopkeepers, who did not stand up as a mark of respect for him. Colonel Stewart[153], the PA at Quetta in 1921, I am told, had his peon place a collection of pebbles on his desk every day for throwing at his visitors. In 1947, Malik Samandar Khan Yasinzai showed to Mr Jawaher Lal Nehru[154], who was at that time a cabinet minister holding the portfolio of the Foreign Minister, his teeth that had been broken by the beating of a PA sometime back over the use of Hanna spring water, the property of the Yasinzai tribes. Likewise, a person named Muzaffar, who belonged to the Kazi family of Peshawar, had been EAC at some point. In the courts, he used to beat people with a stick. Similarly, some Durrani named Mohammad Rafiq Khan was also a similar EAC in the past. Naib Tehsildars used to beat and verbally abuse people in Gulistan. When at times an honourable Pashtoon like Haji Yousaf Abdur-rehmanzai would retort, he would be imprisoned in jail and freed after much difficulty.

Over time I became aware of the terrible state of affairs and was deeply distressed by the degradation and the comprehensive atmosphere of servitude, lawlessness and poverty imposed upon our people and land. Having become aware of the problem, I consciously sought to remedy it. It was quite obvious that the responsibility of the situation lay with the cruel foreign British rulers, who were least concerned with the welfare of the people

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and had occupied our land only to safeguard their trading interest in India against other claimants.

By that time the people of this area had participated in the battles of Afghan Independence and the subsequent suppression of the rebellion of Bacha Saka by Nadir Khan. They had also got some arms and ammunition and were emboldened by the experience of Afghanistan. Some leading clerics were inclined to wage a holy war of independence in the style of the Afghans, believing that other Pashtoon tribes and the Afghan government would help them in overthrowing the yoke of shame imposed by the foreign infidels on us. They Argued, "If we lose, we will be martyred and in case of victory, of which we have no doubt, we would be Ghazi's (holy warriors) blessed and loved by Allah in both cases." They did not realise that the circumstances and time of the Afghan wars were different and that the Afghans had the advantage of unity of command and purpose in the person of a king, whose dynasty had been ruling since two centuries. In our case, our leaders were the appointed chieftains of the British, whose only aim in life was to be bootlickers of their British masters hoping for monetary awards and further patronage.

Despite being clear on the cause of our hopeless state of suffering ,I never considered the use of force as a choice. Instead, I was convinced that the remedy lay in forming a party of devoted people that would on the one hand awaken the people for a change in the current inhuman situation and on the other hand move the government for the betterment of the people. Once the people are awaken and become aware of their rights then no suppressive government alien or local can be imposed upon them against their will. Therefore, besides rejecting the armed struggle, I did not want to pick up a quarrel with the government in the belief and expectation that once we start the social awakening movement, the government and its officials would only happily strengthen our hands. Had there been any sensible and judicious people in-charge of the affairs of Balochistan, I would have become the most ardent supporter of the government or at the very most a moderate national leader. But providence and destiny did not will it so as there was a deep schism between the intentions and interests of the government and myself.

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Ascetic Living, Fasting and its Relationship with National Service

I did not realise it then but now when I think in retrospect of my own experience or study the life history of other outstanding social reformers and their doings, I am convinced that there exists a natural relationship between hunger, fasting, ascetic living and national service. I spent three to four years contemplating over the miserable living conditions of my people, analysing its causes, seeking remedies and groping for a line of action. During these formative years, I would be tempted too fast without expecting any heavenly rewards. I would at times reduce my regular diet over several weeks, live on fruits and nuts for months and starve for days.

I resorted to a very frugal lifestyle, not spending on the comfort of self and family without intent of saving or amassing wealth. During my lifetime, I spent substantial personal amounts and those received as donations without a care for tomorrow. I do not remember keeping ready cash even as small as Rs 1,000 over a duration of two months. Whatever I procured, I spent on my colleagues, my party and in the way of my cause and lifelong aim and still continue to do so. Whenever in need of money, I have managed to arrange it in the first instance from my personal resources, not just my income but have also sold and mortgaged family property, and if that was not enough I asked others for it and even resorted to people for contributions. I have not only not made any investments but have in fact sold and mortgaged more than half of mine and my brother's joint property. Despite living a life that would appear to be that of a wealthy family, we have never been free of indebtedness. Even today, my brother and I are in debt of over Rs 100,000. We have impressed upon our children that they would have to cater for themselves with us providing for their education at most. They are not to expect any inheritance in the form of wealth. Despite all this, I was not spared the blemish and suspicions and accusation of the greedy Pashtoons and muslims. They do not realise that if my aim was the collection and extortion of wealth then the best client of my services were the British themselves who were too ready to buy me off and dearly at that too but whom instead I chose to challenge and confront.

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PART TWO

Visit to Lahore and Peshawar

In the winter of 1929, while I was still groping for the way out and contemplating my line of action, it was time for our usual holiday and business trip to the cities of Sindh and Punjab.

That year a number of political organisations, including the All India Congress[155] and the Khilafat Movement[156] had convened their annual conferences at Lahore. Accompanied by two other cousins Mohammad Qahir Khan Qazi and Abaidullah Khan, I left for Sindh in the first week of December to be in time for the Congress meeting at Lahore by Christmas time at the end of the month. We passed through the cities of Sindh leisurely, with my companions taking time off for a duck hunt at Dadu. In the meanwhile, we summoned two others - Tahir Mohammad Khan and Abdul Rehman- by telegram from Karachi to the city of Rohri from where we left together for Lahore.

At Lahore, we spent the week visiting the camps of a number of national political organisations, including those of the Indian National Congress, Khilafat Movement, the Young Bharat Saba[157] and the Kair Kissan. We saw and heard a large number of national leaders. I personally used to spend the whole day till late in the night at the Congress camp on the banks of the Ravi River, observing keenly the enthusiasm, devotion and organisation of its workers and found it educative and close to my thinking.

I observed all the happenings and heard all the speeches from a distance without meeting or seeking any leader personally nor did I know any of them. Of all the leaders I was impressed most the speeches of Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew[158] and Sanobar Hussein Kaka Jee[159].

I also saw and observed Pashtoon leaders and volunteers but did not seek them either. I learnt later from the newspapers that Bacha Khan (Abdul Ghaffar Khan)[160] and a large number of his companions had also come to these meetings. There were visitors from Balochistan as well but we were unaware of the presence of one another. It was months later that I learnt that my later day friend, companion and national leader of standing from

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caused by the policies of the British government, something that would not have been acquired so easily and in such a short time.

Formation of a Party and Initiating Public Speeches

By now I realised the need of forming a party of volunteers, who would work for the interest of the country and the people without the expectation of any material gain. The first difficulty in the formation of such an association was the nonexistence of any such precedence in Balochistan at that time, as except for the city of Quetta there was no tradition of public gatherings not even religious gatherings addressed by speakers. Similarly, there were no public speakers in the territory inhabited by Pashtoons. It was only in our village mosque that occasionally after the Eid prayer Maulvi Baran, the prayer leader, would deliver a religious or social sermon. I personally too had no experience of public speaking except the few speeches at the school gathering as a student. The institution of a regular declamation contest that was initiated at our school too was discontinued a few months after my leaving school.

Even so I continued my organisational drive, after sometime I did succeed in forming a group mainly of my cousins. My elder brother Abdul Salaam Khan, Mohammad Ayub Khan of Gulistan and I formed the first nucleus. We were later joined by Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Gulistan and my cousins Mohammad Qahir Khan, Ismail Jan, Mohammad Tahir Khan, Abaidullah Khan and others. Another of our immediate problems was mobilising the people of the surrounding areas at one place and explaining to them our mission and thus finding volunteers and supporters amongst them. After considering the issue thoroughly, we concluded that the best way of contacting the people was to initiate religious speeches in the mosques of various villages, starting with our own mosque. It was the month of Ramazan (fasting) and it was customary that people would sit back after the late night prayer (Tarawih) and listen to the recitation of the Holy Quran.

One day after the prayer, I got up and said to the congregation present that although listening to the recitation of verses of the

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Holy Quran was blessed and desirable, it would be better still if it was followed by the meaning of the verses. Since the Maulvi was a competent scholar and fit for the job therefore he may initiate it this very day. The Mullah supported the idea but pleading unpreparedness excused himself for the next day, inviting me to per form the service if I could. I then delivered a short sermon and was pleased that the process of public gathering and speech making was initiated.

The next day, I left for Quetta in pursuit of some business and stayed there overnight. The following day at about 10 am a policeman came and said to me that Khan Bahadur Baz Gul Khan, deputy superintendent police (DSP) had summoned me to the police station. The DSP. then called over Sardar Dildar Singh, the inspector crime investigation department (CID) and told me that they wanted to record my statement. They asked me, "Did you make a public speech in your village mosque, the day before? What did you say? And what was your purpose?"

I gave a detailed comprehensive reply to these queries. I told them of the poverty stricken hopeless life of the people and that it was the duty of the enlightened persons and the government to make the people aware of their low level of living and its causes and to motivate them to strive for a change for the better. I further told them that it was our aim to explain religion and its philosophy to the people in their language Pashto so that they understand it and act on it which is the aim of all religions and therefore a commendable job. They asked in detail about my visit to Lahore, its purpose, the people met there etc. I told them about what I had done at Lahore and what I had heard and seen there. While I spoke in Pashto and Urdu, Sardar Dildar Singh typed it instantly in English, reading aloud its translation in Urdu simultaneously for my understanding. At the end, he read out the whole of my typed detailed statement. By then I knew enough English to follow the main thrust of the recorded English version.

I was also asked whether I had brought along any books or other printed material from Lahore. I told them that I had collected the copies of speeches and party manifestoes that were being distributed there. The three of us then went to the residence of superintendent of police (SP), an Irishman named O'Conor.

The SP had set out chairs in the sun and asked us to be seated. He scrutinised the typed statement and asked me a few more

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arrange a scholarship for him in which case he would come back from Kabul. Mullah Baran at that time was employed in Kabul at the office of state organisation of the clergy, Jamiat-e-Ulema.

I told Abdul Rahim to ask Mullah Baran to come and take over our mosque and that we would pay him slightly higher than what he was currently getting at Kabul. In case of his approval, he should let me know in advance so that I can get the consent of my other relatives because Mullah Baran had been asked on a previous occasion of employment with us to leave our mosque. In the meantime, I requested the director education, Sheikh Abdul Samad, for a college scholarship for Abdul Rahim who later informed me of the possibility of the scholarship being granted so I sent a letter to Abdul Rahim informing him of the progress in connection of his scholarship and reminded him of the response of his brother to my offer.

Sometime later, I met the director education and he told me that the police had brought him a copy of the letter that I had written to Abdul Rahim and wanted to confirm if I had prior knowledge of the matter concerning the grant of scholarship which Mr Sheikh had owned.

In my later life, I came to know many amazing goings-on of the British spy network but these two events at the very beginning of my political life convinced me of the futility of any secret dealings at the political level. I have, therefore, not resorted to any secret dealings and those that I would be confronted with I would own. I, therefore, always avoided violating the law and whenever there was no way out I would keep it a secret only as long as it was necessary. And whenever it was known or discovered, I would willingly and fearlessly submit to the consequences. I was thus clear in my conscience and free of the fear that law breakers generally live with.

Meeting with the Political Agent (PA): A Frank Discussion and a Threat

About 15 to 20 days after the address in the mosque, a Levies sepoy called to say that the PA had come to the tehsil and wanted to meet me. I went there, it was the Englishman Mr Wingate[162], the same person, who had set the dog on us some two years ago and prevented our going to Afghanistan. The fellow was an

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questions. He then ordered Baz Gul Khan, the DSP to drive me to our village and collect the books that I had brought from Lahore and leave me there if I wished or alternatively to bring me back to Quetta city if I had business to pursue there. Till then I regarded myself under arrest as did the other two police officials. The SP's statement however, clarified the situation to the contrary.

In the village, I came to know that the SP had visited Gulistan in the afternoon of the day following my speech in the mosque i.e. within a few hours of the event. He had summoned the village Mullah and many people and had quizzed them about me and my speech. The people had without fear and hesitation boldly told him that I had only explained the verses of the Holy Quran in Pashto which was a blessed thing to do and that I would perform this service again in the future. The SP had said to them that the reading of the Holy Quran and its explanation was the job of the Mullah, what had a layman to do with it? In reply he was told that I was also a qualified Mullah as well. The Irishman at the end conceded that it was not an offence to translate the verses of the Holy Quran to the mosque gathering provided I had said nothing else and had warned them to beware lest they come to harm.

We were puzzled and taken aback by the fast and effective intelligence system of the police as we thought our village was free of government informers. Many of the villagers became instant suspects particularly an elderly relative, who had some time in the past cultivated an English police officer, who had granted him a gratis inter class railway travel pass to and from Quetta.

Another leading suspect was an elderly Syed, who was also a Jirga (council) member. This person, two years later when we were under trial, came and gave false witness against us. I gave the Lahore literature to the police officer, who went away. That process of after prayer speaking was picked up later by the village Mullah, an ignorant fellow, who would be talking all kinds of imaginative things but we did not interfere with it hoping that this practice would be put to a better use at some other time.

This brings to mind another incident of the government spying network. In 1933, a person named Abdul Rahim, on his way to join his brother my former teacher Mullah Baran at Kabul, came to see me. He was a politically conscious educated young man, who had passed his matriculation examination and wanted me to

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intelligent ICS officer belonging to an aristocratic family and had served for some time in Egypt.

He was seated with the assistant Tehsildar standing by his side. On seeing me, he asked the Tehsildar to bring a chair for me and asked him to leave the two of us alone.

After exchanging initial pleasantries he said, "I have investigated your background and intent thoroughly. You want to establish a party for the betterment of your people and their freedom, an objective to which I as a person (an Englishman) have no objection. On the contrary, I appreciate it just as I serve my people so I expect you to do the same given your family background, your young age and determination. As a young university student I had socialist orientations desirous of more freedom and welfare of the people despite that mine is a free country and otherwise prosperous. These, however, are my personal views. On the other hand you know that I am a government official and a PA. I am therefore obliged to implement government policy in letter and spirit. Had times been different, the government also would probably have supported your work and intentions. But presently things are not working well in India and therefore till India calms down the government cannot and will not tolerate any political activity here, whether legitimate or otherwise. If you are willing to change your ways well and good, otherwise the government will arrest you and appropriately punish you for your deeds. The punishment will not be awarded by me but by your own kinsmen. It is for you now to decide whether you want to let go of what you are doing or else be prepared for the imminent punishment."

In reply I said, "I much appreciate your straight talk. I have not done anything wrong nor do I intend doing anything illegal. I am concerned for the wellbeing of my people and will continue to be so for which I was expecting the support of the government and will still expect it in the future. But if the government intends to punish me for doing the right things then I have no option but endure the punishment awarded by you or by any from amongst us as helpless as myself."

"Well best of luck," he said by way of ending the conversation. On my return, I related the dialogue to my companions and relatives. None cared for the stern and intended warning as we were all convinced of the righteousness of our acts.

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We continued our efforts for gathering the people of various villages in one place and thought of using the Friday prayer congregation held at the marketplace by the migrant government servants. The local Mullahs and the people did not participate in that congregation and did not regard it as correct Arguing that Friday prayer was prescribed for big urban trade centres and were to be offered at big mosques. Gulistan's marketplace did not qualify on both counts as it did not meet the conditions of a city and the mosque was too small and new. This Argument and discussion with the Mullahs went for months.

Along with this effort, we thought of initiating a newspaper to facilitate our communications with a larger number of people. At that time Balochistan had only one newspaper the biweekly, 'Balochistan Gazette' printed at a press owned by a Parsi[163] gentleman at Quetta. The newspaper mainly contained irrelevant details of the tour activities of officials and some commercial advertisements besides meaningless statements of praise for one or the other government official. Mohammad Ayub Khan and I visited the press and found the Parsi gentleman agreeable to print an Urdu newspaper for us. We took a cost estimate from him and decided that my elder brother Abdul Salaam Khan, Ayub Khan and I would share the expenses of the paper till it starts paying for itself. We met with the press owner again about the appropriate publishing date. He asked us if we had permission of the government. Till then we did not even know that newspaper publication needed the permission of the government, a privilege which the government jealously guarded and seldom granted.

The press owner told us that we would have to apply to the AGG which will be investigated for months before a decision in favour or against was made. We gave up on this avenue of public contact as well. In the meantime, we continued with our individual efforts and private discussions. Many peoples from far and near got wind of our intentions of forming an organisation for the wellbeing of our people. In the meantime, the month of fasting was over and the Eid celebration arrived. On the occasion of Eid there used to be held by way of tradition, a fair at Gulistan marketplace spread over three to four days. People within the radius of 30 miles of Gulistan by the hundreds would converge on the Gulistan marketplace on this occasion. Many people would visit the guesthouses in our village for social call on us and would spend the nights with us. Mass exchange of views and

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throw them, instead you should leave the service of the British." We all had a good laugh at it. When we reached Quetta, the PA asked us to meet him the next day. Therefore, we went and spent the night with one of our relatives Mr Arz Mohammad Khan of Gulistan Karez.

The next day in the morning, we went to the residence of the PA accompanied by the EAC. After exchanging greetings, the PA scanned through a few papers and said, "The AGG has summoned Mr Yaqoob Khan, the father of Mohammad Ayub Khan, to have a word with you. Till his arrival you will be confined to the police lines at Quetta." Ayub Khan asked the PA, "Is that all or do we have the permission to say something?" In response the PA angrily said in Urdu, "You cannot deceive me, I am also a grown up experienced person 45 years of age and have spent time with the Muslims in Egypt and also here. There is nothing for you to say now so therefore be off." At the police lines we were allocated a barrack with a daily maintenance allowance of one rupee per head. That allowance was refunded to us a year later. An Achakzai constable named Shambae was assigned to us. He was a Hamidzai Mahakzai, a good man sympathetic to us. Initially, he was scared and remained withdrawn but after a few days he overcame his initial reserve. I found him to be an intelligent person and our acquaintance turned into a lasting contact.

Mr Yaqoob Khan was a civil servant of the rank of an EAC then on deputation to Makran as an Assistant Minister of the Khan of Kalat. He was not known to my brother and I, having spent most of the time away from the village in connection with his official duties and according to his son Ayub Khan he was a strict officer, in the tradition of civil servants then, especially averse to the weak and helpless. He was said to have had a bad temper and foul tongue with which he did not only address those working under him but used the same kind of abusive language at home and for his relatives. Because of his unbecoming lowly ways the relationship between the father and his only son Ayub Khan remained strained. We were, therefore, quite apprehensive while waiting for his arrival not knowing what he would say.

Makran was normally four to five days by car, but Yaqoob Khan took much longer in arriving. On the 12th day, unannounced and alone, he came to the barracks, at that time Ayub Khan was out

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eople. I, on the other hand, was convinced that things would ake a bad turn. The British would look upon our mission in a egative way treating it as religious bias, violent and destructive ather than a peaceful movement for the welfare of the people and he government had thus been provided an excuse to forcefully uppress our movement and the formation of a party which vould scare and alienate the public. I was, therefore, very larmed by this incident. Over the next few days, by word of nouth and through the newspapers, we came to know the details nd background of this unique incident.

Eighteen Achakzais of different clans were involved in the idnapping of the English officers and lady. The leader of the gang was Mullah Khair Mohammad Achakzai Adozai, living near he border on the Afghan side, who at that time was following eligious study with Mullah Abdul Mutlib at the Central Mosque, Chaman. He was amongst those, who had fought bravely in the battle for Kandahar for Ghazi Mohammad Nadir Khan in which he rebellious forces of Saka were defeated and Kandahar was iberated. Mullah Khair Mohammad had then come back to his ancestral residence near the border. At around that time, on the occasion of Eid festival, he had come to Gulistan and had spent an evening with my brother. As I was not home on that occasion, I did not get to meet him. I met him for the first time after 28 years in 1958 when I had gone to welcome Bacha Khan at the Chaman border on his way from Kabul where he had gone to participate in the Independence Day celebrations of Afghanistan.

While a large number of us were waiting for Bacha Khan on the Pakistan side of the border, a similarly large group of people including some officials and Pashtoon exiles had come to see him off on the Afghan side. The Afghan Minister of Agriculture, probably named Mohammad Wakeel Khan, was in attendance and his public speaking system went out of order. He, therefore, read out the farewell statement for Bacha Khan from my jeep that was equipped with a loudspeaker. On this occasion, Mohammad Azam Khan, Maulvi Ghulam Haider and many others, who had come to bid farewell to Bacha Khan, also came towards us and exchanged greetings. These people had left Pakistan and were now in Afghanistan working for the cause of Pashtoonistan. They could, therefore, not return to Pakistan.

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suspended Punjabi police constable, who was also lodged with us in the lockup. This fellow was very dirty, foul of mouth and shameless. He would use the relieving pot in a very shameless way fully exposed in our view. Besides, the fellow would be constantly talking and singing most filthy words throughout the day until going to sleep. He would butt into our conversation at will with dirty, filthy talk concerning his exploits with the prostitutes of the city. By the end of the first day, we were totally fed up and called the line officer telling him to have the fellow removed from us. The line officer, however, said, "We have no other facility so he too being a detainee will have to be confined there with us. However, I will bring it to the notice of the police captain in the morning." The police captain repeated the same reply the next morning.

Preparation for Hunger Strike

We then called the line officer and told him to bring us pen and paper for writing an application to the AGG[164] which he provided. In the application, we wrote that we were under detention for nearly two months during which Mr Yaqoob Khan was deputed to broker a patch up between us and the government who has gone back to his station of duty without affecting any progress in our case. We, therefore, demand that we be released forthwith or else presented to the court and that in the interim period we should be allowed to sleep out in the open at night, newspapers be allowed to us and that as the present treatment was obscene, we should be lodged in separate quarters. If these conditions are not met, we would go on hunger strike three days from the date of this application.

Hunger strike is undertaken for a certain cause and to fulfil one's demands in a situation of helplessness particularly in opposition to a more powerful party. Not eating and staying hungry, though it seems new to Pashtoons now who view it as part of Hindu culture, is an old tactic used by all of humanity from time immemorial. In particular the Aryan people, Pashtoons have used it as a very old and powerful weapon that always hits its mark. Everyone must have seen that young children, when they want their wishes or tantrums to be acceded to buy their parents, refrain from eating, which usually forces their parents into accepting their demands. Or when a powerful person offers

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something which the other person considers is less than his due share, the self-respecting person refuses the offer altogether instead of considering the offer to be better than nothing. Amongst Aryan and Pashtoon people, this is such an old aspect of culture, then in the Quran the Prophet Abraham (who was neither an Arab nor an Aryan or Pashtoon) had prepared a calf for his guest. They did not partake of it when he offered it to them. Abraham[165] at once became alerted as he suspected that his guests intended to observe a hunger strike for some specific purpose. If a Pashtoon goes to someone for *nanawate* (literally: to enter tenet of Pashtoonwali under which a person seeks refuge), he does not eat till his host has acceded to his demand of refuge. These days, this tactic is only used as a drama since some communication is done beforehand. In the past, however, the seeker of refuge would arrive suddenly and use the weapon of hunger strike to have his demands met.

I, therefore, consider hunger strike for noble deeds to be a good and powerful weapon which accords to Pashtoon custom. Till date, I have twice resorted to hunger strike in jail, once for 16 days and another time for 21 days. I will relate these examples below.

This time, when the martial law authorities imprisoned me, I was kept in 'C' class in Mach jail and the authorities there kept me separate from the other prisoners. They considered this to be a tough punishment while I saw it as a reward. On the day of Eid a Punjabi jailer by the name of Babu Sardar Mohammad did not even allow me to offer the Eid prayer. I immediately wrote to the English warden that this is a grave injustice towards me that I was needlessly kept from prayer. I, therefore, decided to go on hunger strike until this matter was investigated. A little while later that Sardar Mohammad came and allowed me to spend the two days of Eid meeting with and felicitating with other prisoners that were familiar to me. Amongst these prisoners was the prince of Kalat, Abdul Rahim Jan, who had from the onset been kept separate from me.

The police captain read the application and called us to his line office and asked, "What obscene treatment has been meted out to you fellows?" We had in our application stated that obscene treatment was meted out to us and therefore we discussed in detail the meaning and implications of the word obscene with the

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Afghan government would grant him property and privileges in case of his migration to Kandahar. He had probably returned after the abduction episode and was arrested. He informed us about the arrest of Mohammad Isa Khan, who had sent us a letter informing us about the abduction, which the police had intercepted and not given to us anyway as if to say that we had no other means of information. The truth of course is that all the details of the event and progress thereafter was reported by the newspapers, in addition we would also be informed by the line officers and duty constable.

Sardar Noor Ahmed Khan, the magistrate, was inside a room and we were presented to him one by one for recording our statement. After the routine formal identification queries regarding our name, cast and residence he then asked me, "Do you know Mullah Khair Muhammad?"

"No," I replied.

"Have you ever met him?" he asked. "No," I replied.

Ayub Khan was similarly questioned who replied in the negative to his queries.

However, my brother, Abdul Salaam Khan, had replied to the queries in these words, "Yes, I know him and have met him." The magistrate had then asked, "How are your terms with him?" My brother had replied, "Our relations by all reckoning should at best be cold as he had proposed his sister in marriage to me which I did not accept. Pashtoons take such refusal as an affront an grudge it deep inside." We continued to be in detention for a while even after this investigation by the magistrate and in the meanwhile the indiscriminate arresting of Achakzai elders continued. The Achakzais too were agitated and during the two months of our detention, attacked government property at random, indulged in dacoity and other anti-government activities. Nearly 20 big and small attacks occurred, some quite humorous.

There was this Tareen EAC of Pishin, who was very active and enthusiastic in the operation against the Achakzais, chasing them in his car, or horseback and even on foot. At the end of each mission, he would be exhausted and shower curses on Ayub Khan and me. On one occasion on his way to Gulistan, accompanied by his constables, he came across two Achakzais, who were

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performing ablution by the roadside. He stopped the car and called to them, "Who are you and what are you doing?"

"We are wayfarers performing ablution," came the reply. "Hurry up, I will give you a lift to Gulistan," the EAC offered.

One of them, not knowing the EAC, took advantage of the generous offer and sat in the car while the other, recognising him and aware of his reputation, adopted delaying tactics and was now concerned for his companion in the car. So rising slowly, he stealthily loaded his gun and challenged them, "Don't move and let my companion down."

Fearing for himself, the EAC unloaded his companion whereupon the gunman shouted another command, "Don't move yet, put down your gun as well or I will shoot."

The EAC had then resorted to pleading and begging, Arguing that the guns were the property of the government for the loss of which he would lose his job but to no avail. Later, he had put up the Quran and pleaded to be allowed to proceed for the sake of the Holy Book. The Pashtoon, like all muslims, revere the Quran and hold its sighting as the ultimate plea and relaxed a little, finally letting go of the car and its passenger in return for the hundreds of rupees that the EAC carried on his person and the pledge that neither of the party will relate the story to anyone else. The pledge held till on another occasion the EAC convicted by a Jirga court one of the two Achakzais, a resident of Qilla Abdullah, to harsh terms for keeping an unlicensed gun.

In those days, the Qilla Abdullah police station was manned by police rather than Levies. Shah Sharaf was the in-charge of the station and amongst the personnel there were also some 10 to 12 Achakzais. These Achakzais had at the behest of another Achakzai person from the outside planned to loot the police station armoury and the adjoining market on the day that the duty was being performed by an Achakzai. The officer in-charge had become suspicious by the actions and intrigue of the Achakzai personnel. He telegraphically called for help from Quetta. The Achakzais were disarmed and brought to the police lines where we were being held. They were later released without any proof against them.

To man the Qilla Abdullah post in place of the Achakzais, 200 Afridi tribe constables were recruited for six months of whom one

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The Sardar Jee continued his reading and after a while Ayub Khan said again, "These are lengthy details with nothing unlawful being revealed so therefore come to the point for the benefit of the Jirga members."

"That is right, if any crime has been committed come to that," observed one of the Jirga members.

The inspector read a piece in which I had said, "We have been burdened by such and such doings of the government." The Sardar had used the word "loaded", as the loading of a gun for fighting, for the Pashto word I had used 'barawal'. The Jirga members, all Pashtoons, smiled at one another but said nothing. At this point one of the Jirga members, who was the president of the council, said, "These things are of no avail, why do you Khans want to go to Gandhi for it? If the government does not like it then give it up. Give a written surety for three years that you would not go and contact Gandhi in person or by word. You are a respected people and we do not wish you to be dragged here like this, agree with my suggestions and be done with it. What have you to do with the likes of Gandhi?"

"Yes Arbab is right, we too are of this opinion," said the rest of the Jirga members, almost in unison. We looked at one another as if to agree on a reply and Ayub Khan said, "Yes, we agree if that is what all of you recommend." With this statement of Ayub Khan the Jirga members were very pleased and readied to write the verdict whereupon the presiding magistrate said, "Arbab Sahib in this case the Jirga would have to consult the PA before giving a verdict."

"OK let us rise for the day and present the case tomorrow," said the Arbab.

The next morning when we were presented to the Jirga again, the magistrate, Sardar Noor Ahmed, at the very outset announced that we were awarded two year imprisonment by the Jirga at the end of which we would have to give a surety of good conduct for three years. When we looked up at the Jirga bench, the members were sitting with drooping heads and downcast eyes. After a while Arbab Khuda Dad, the chairman of the Jirga bench, an octogenarian elder of the Kasi family of Quetta and a close family friend, came and sat by my side. He put his arm around my shoulders, raised my chin in his hand and proclaimed aloud, "You know we are powerless. I was summoned yesterday by the

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Agent to the Governor General (AGG)[168], who instructed that you be convicted or else you plead for forgiveness. I, therefore, ask you in the name of God that you plead for forgiveness of the AGG. The British are all powerful, God has made them so. You are people of status and descendants of those of status and standing, sending you to jail would be a dark spot of shame on our face but we are helpless."

I pitied this old man for his pleadings and said, "It is alright, you do not worry, the British may be strong and powerful but God is great and we are His creation not of the British and therefore do not regard ourselves helpless. Let us wait and see what God wills." We then rose to leave. When we came out Isa Khan, my maternal uncle, was also sent with us and the four of us were taken to the police lines.

Isa Khan Giving Up His Addiction to Opium

My maternal uncle Isa Khan, senior in age to me by a year or so, had become an opium addict for some years. By this time, his intake had become large, and he as a consequence became listless. Despite the persuasion of the family, he did not or could not give up the addiction. In the end we, the family, totally gave up on him as a social outcast. He then tried to give up the habit and by the time of our conviction had managed to reduce his intake substantially but without actually giving up the habit. He was convinced by others that if he gave up the use of opium, he would certainly die. Therefore, he was in mortal fear of the bouts of pain and restlessness, the withdrawal symptom of giving up the habit of opium addiction. We were convinced that the government would surely endorse the so-called verdict of the Jirga and send us to prison in a day or two. Since we had not been imprisoned before, we did not know much about prison life. We had, however, heard that intoxicants were not allowed in prison. As we were given to smoking *biris*, giving up the habit was easy and so we gave it up while still in the lock-up. We, however, remained concerned for Isa Khan as his stock of opium that he carried on him would soon be exhausted. He was quite unconcerned in the lockup, hoping to procure more opium through the attendant when the need arose and thus remained cheerful, relating the

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events that had occurred in our absence. We planned to stop his supply of opium when his stock exhausted without telling him of the plan, hoping that he would overcome the addiction and hence be without the problem when shifted to prison. We had also taken the attendant into confidence and told him not to oblige him when requested for opium in a few days' time and to make all kinds of excuses against it. Meanwhile, we persisted on our insistence that he give up the use of opium hoping to have him prepared for the day when he would run out of supplies.

When the awaited day came, he agitated a lot, cursing us and the attendant alike but finally agreeing to try giving up the addiction. For three to four days, when the withdrawal symptoms set in, he was in great pain and was extremely restless. He suffered muscular cramps and spasms with us massaging his limbs and body all the time. After a few days, he started bleeding from the stomach and when he could not tolerate it anymore he again started pleading for opium. My brother, who is a kind person, fearing his death, sided with him, but Ayub Khan and I opted for curing him and thus were in favour of denying him opium for a little longer. After four days, his pain and cramps became less severe with which he overcame his fear of dying and decided to bear the pain and discomfort. After a few days, he was fully recovered and rid of the addiction, in jail and afterwards. Indeed, he became healthier and gained 23 pounds in 10 months in prison.

We remained in the police lockup for an additional 12 days and in that while kept on hearing about the harsh treatment meted out to our other relatives, Maliks, and tribesmen, who were detained. Most were set free against surety of good conduct. Ayub Khan was fined Rs 500, Mullah Mutalib was exiled from Quetta district to Bori (Loralai), all the property of Mohammad Anwar Khan at Gulistan was confiscated and we four were sentenced to two years imprisonment at the end of which we would be required to submit a surety of good conduct for three years or else undergo additional imprisonment of three years.

Going to Jail

One day towards the end of July, 1930, we were marched with the usual guard from the police lines to Quetta Jail that was at a distance of three miles. Jail, of which we had no experience,

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knowledge nor had ever cared about, was a world of its own. From the outside, we observed that it had high surrounding walls and a huge iron gate that would be opened now and then to let in jail officials or carriages carrying supplies. For the entry and exit of the prisoners, there was a smaller window like gate at one side of the bigger gate and through it we were let in. With the closing of the small entrance gate, we were totally cut off from the outside world. We found ourselves in a large hall, which had a similar large iron gate with a smaller window like opening at one side of it, opposite to the end through which we had entered beyond which was the main jail compound.

In the hall, there were some people dressed in the uniform of constables while the others wore some kind of badly fitting, short of size clothes. The latter were the prisoners. All the prisoners had iron rods (fetters) attached to their feet that would make a jingling sound as they moved.

At that time, I did not know what the feelings of my companions were, as for me, when we left the police lines for the prison, my thoughts were of a bright future that lay at the end of gaining freedom from the British. These imprisonments, I thought, would jolt the public into an awakening that would lead to freedom. The alien British would be ousted and in its place would be our own government. I had no feelings of fear or melancholy. I believe that with these thoughts had I been taken to the gallows, I would not have been saddened nor alarmed. We walked in silence from the police lines till the entrance to the jail. A prisoner clerk asked our names and entered them in the registry. Another handed us some kind of clothes, saying that we were to change from our own clothes into these. Two Pashtoon prisoners approached us and said, "Do not worry, there is no hardship in this prison. Ever since Lala Jee has been appointed the head constable there is no beating and harsh punishment. It is like a travellers' *sarai* [169]."

We looked at one another inquiringly and I started changing my clothes. I took off my coat, waist coat, shirt, and vest and in return a prisoner gave me a piece of cloth saying that it was a shirt. It was a sack like thing made of rough, coarse cloth without a collar, pocket or even an apron, things that normally form a shirt. When I put it over my head and put my hands through the two holes that were supposed to be sleeves, the ends of the so-called sleeves did not even come up to my elbows; there were no cuffs or cuff

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links that I was used to. The hole through which I put my head had neither collars nor buttons. There was an opening from one shoulder to the other with two pieces of cloth strings hanging one at the back and one in front. I could not make anything of it, but then I looked at the other prisoners, who had tied the strings that served the purpose of the buttons. The apron of the shirt just came to the waist where normally the strings of the pyjamas (trousers) were to be tied. The pyjamas were like the western short pants but tighter. I took cover, took off my own pyjamas, and put my feet through what was handed over by the prisoner clerk. When I pulled it up, it hardly came up to my knees. Since I had never exposed my legs in public prior to this, I was quite taken aback. At the same time, I became concerned for my prayers that have a specific requirement of covering of the body but then I pulled down my trouser further to cover my thighs and knees.

With bare feet and head, I stood in this very unusual dress looking around. The prisoner then gave me another piece of coarse cloth that was supposed to be a cap. It reminded me of the cloth caps that people would put up at night to cover their hair-locks. When I put it on my head, it was not even fitting me and covered my forehead up to the eyes and the whole of my neck at the back. I observed that the other prisoners had folded it so did I. Shoes were allowed, so I put them on quickly. I had a sense of nakedness and was thus concerned for covering myself albeit my feet with the help of my shoes. Now when I looked at my other companions, they appeared very clownish which put me into an uncontrollable state of laughter and the others too joined me in the laughing which spread to the other prisoners and even the jail wardens. This bout of laughter kept up with me till late in the night. I still wonder whether we were laughing at one another or was it that the whole atmosphere of jail looked laughable to us all.

All our belongings, clothes, wallet, money and even watches were taken away from us and were recorded in the register. The window in the other gate was opened and we were let into the jail courtyard.

Inside the prison, there were about 60 other Achakzai prisoners from Gulistan, Chaman and Pishin some of whom were well known to us. Some of them were in prison in connection with the recent events and others were incarcerated for other reasons. There were in addition another 100 condemned and under-trial

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Pashtoon, Baloch Punjabi, Hindu, civilian and soldier prisoners. They all gathered together to greet us which each did individually as well. To buck us up, we were told that the conditions in the prison were not too harsh, the food was sufficient and not bad and that the officials were not very strict either.

Imprisoned and in Fetters

On entry to the jail, a prison warder named Khan Zaman of district Hazara, NWFP[170] came along with another prisoner and said to us, "Come along and be fettered," and led us to a shed that was full of fetters. The warder told his prisoner companion to select some older fetters for us because the new ones were heavier, thus we were fettered which was an exceptionally torturous process. Each ankle was tightly secured in an iron ring that was then nailed tight. Attached to each ring was a thick iron bar. The two iron bars were joined together by another ring above the knees. While walking, the upper ring would have to be held in the hand or else tied to the pyjama tying string or some other belt tied around the waist or the person in fetters could not walk. In case of sitting, one had first to lower the upper ring to the ground, lower the shackles and then seat oneself. Sleeping was even more troublesome; one would lie on the back or side fold legs and then collect the iron bars between the thighs. In case of turning on the side, one would first have to collect the iron shackles and then change position. When moving about, the shackles would make a clinking sound, hence whenever a prisoner wanted to change position during the night, many others would be awakened by the clinking noise.

A set of fetters weighed about four to five pounds and was hence a bothersome weight to move about with. An additional torturous feature of it was that as it was made of iron it would be freezing cold to the touch in the winters and excessively hot in the summers. With prison clothing barely covering half of the body, one would invariably wake up whenever the iron would touch the flesh. Still more difficult was the time when one had to change clothes or take a bath. It was a tricky technique; each new prisoner had to be tutored by the senior prisoners in the artistry or it was near to impossible to perform by oneself. It was even more trying for the under, trial prisoners, who wore their personal baggy clothes. The iron rings would cut the skin of ankles if not

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protected by a leather or cloth casing. An elder prisoner gave me some rags to wrap around my ankles but since the rags were extremely dirty, I did not use them to the effect that in-no-time my ankles were bruised and bleeding. In short, all the other troubles of prison life, bad food and clothing, filthy bedding and lice, and labour put together were a lesser burden than the fetters. If anything was worse than the shackles, it was the insulting attitude of the officials of the jail.

I have recorded all these harsh features of prison life of those days in some detail for the benefit of future political workers, who have not been imprisoned or have been to the present day prisons that do not have the above mentioned and other severe tortures, that the benefits of freedom from the British has not come easy. The freedom and civilised treatment in prisons has been earned by the tortures endured by hundreds of thousands of freedom fighters for years.

Those, who accuse the freedom fighters of the 1930s and earlier of treason, enmity of the state and nation etc, should realise that the physical and mental torment and agony endured by them was purely due to their selfless love of the freedom of the country and a religious duty. These selfless political workers of yonder years cannot ever think of harming the country and its freedom.

It is thus that I never talk or even think adversely of the political workers of those early days, who directly challenged the British or contributed to the freedom movement in other ways irrespective of their later stance or the political party that they worked with. Such people I respect from the core of my heart that include the late Maulana Zaffer Ali Khan[171], Hasrat Mohani[172], Maulana Abdul Majid Salik[173], may Allah bless them all, and Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehr[174] may he live long to continue the good work.

After being fettered, we were taken to another quarter to collect our bedding. The bedding handed to me was a dirty bundle of very rough cloth of sorts. One piece was made of worn out and dirty pieces of rough sacks sewn together. It was more like a matting that some very poor of the village would use for their dogs or other domestic animals to lie on. The covers that we made for our cattle, donkeys and horses were much superior to it. We were told by another prisoner that it was to be spread on the floor as a mattress. In addition, we were each provided three or four

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dirty worn out blankets of the type that we would use as the underlining for the covers of our horses when new.

In addition to the bedding, we were handed two rusty iron pans, one big and one small. These were our eating utensils and in addition we were each handed an old rusty iron glass for washing and drinking with and a bottle for oiling the hair.

By that time it was late afternoon probably 4:30 pm, when the call for the evening meal was given for which all were to file up in a square. We too were asked to wash our utensils and join the queue. What difference washing would make to these pots, I thought to myself and said that we did not want to eat, our food should be given to others. We were told that we had to collect our food whether we ate it or not and that it could not be given to others. All the remains were to be deposited in a drum that was placed there for the purpose.

We too thus joined the others in the queue. When my turn came, I was given two pieces of bread that were well cooked but out of shape and some lentils *(dal)* that I found difficult to look at what to speak of eating it. We took the food and deposited it in the can for leftovers.

All this while, the laughing bout at the strange jail life persisted. However, I realised that at times my companions would appear lonesome and depressed. I, on the other hand, took all this of jail life for granted as the readings of the banned political literature had readied me for the tormenting prison life that political workers were faced with during this critical and harsh phase of the fight for freedom. Instead, I was wondering whether I would be able to endure and tolerate these and other difficulties of jail life for the next two years.

Immediately after eating, the other prisoners rushed to wash their eating pots with the sand by the water tap and then hurriedly towards the latrine, advising us to do the same because soon all the prisoners were to be locked up.

I asked someone, "Where is the place and privacy for ablution?" He said, "Collect water from the tap in the bigger eating pot and wash yourself in the latrines."

I really became worried when I went to the latrine as it was even dirtier and in public view; much beyond my imagination. There was one latrine for the 200 or so inmates with four or five holes

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for relieving oneself, in full view of one another. The users would wait in a queue, entering one by one. I found it very distasteful and distressing with my inner self telling me with determination that this life is not worth enduring and that death was probably much better.

A few months ago, the renowned national hero Bhagat Singh[175] and his companions, who were detained at the Lahore Jail in connection with the famous terrorism case, had gone on hunger strike demanding better treatment for political prisoners. This demand was conceded by the government only after the death of young Jathender Nath Das[176] of Bengal as a result of 63 days of hunger strike, forced feeding and other mistreatments of the jail authorities. I decided there and then to consult my companions and go on hunger strike from tomorrow onwards and gave up the thought of using the latrine and performed ablution at the tap in the compound. I also informed my companions about the conditions of the latrine.

Soon the evening roll call was given. Each prisoner gathered his bedding and stood beside it in a line in front of the barracks. The other prisoners knew their barracks whereas a Hindu prisoner, Takur Das, had arranged with the head constable on our behalf to be lodged in his barracks. Contrary to the practice, we were allowed to stay together in the same barracks with Takur Das. We thanked him for his good gesture, and still are thankful to him and few others with whose cooperation the initial difficult days were spent in relative ease. Therefore, we too stood in the line in front of the barracks with him.

The head constable and a prisoner came along and checked the bedding and shackles of each prisoner. Each prisoner was also checked physically for anything forbidden on his person. After this, the name of each prisoner was called from the register to which each responded. We were then finally counted like cattle and sheep and ushered into the barracks with the constable keeping count. With the sun still up in the sky, the barracks doors were locked after us.

The barrack hall was 10 feet wide and probably 60 to 70 feet long with two small windows, one at each end. It was probably 10 feet high as well. Like all government buildings, it had mud brick walls and a corrugated tin roof. The floor, however, was made of baked bricks that were uneven as at places the bricks had sunk

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follow our appeal with the government. If the government was to relent and set us free, well and good or else we would resort to hunger strike.

I did not agree with the suggestion, Arguing that the authorities i.e. the PA, the commissioner and the AGG were well aware of the case and had sentenced us to this prison consciously; therefore appealing to them would serve no purpose. Why else would they imprison us? Besides, the appeal would take time whereas this life could not be endured even for a day. At this my elder brother lost his temper and sternly reprimanded me thus, "You used to boast a lot about launching an agitation and you are not ready to bear the consequences for a single day. Look at the others, they too are Pashtoons and no less honourable than us, if they endure it why not us? There is no need to hurry things; you brought us to this life now we must endure the consequences. Let us consult those outside for future action."

I realised that my companions were not willing to go along with my plan. I kept quite telling myself that this life of prison was a part of the struggle and if not endured, we would be deprived of realising the future difficulties during the protracted national strife. My companions would also grow tired of this harsh and agonising life and eventually concede to my suggestion of a hunger strike.

Our bouts of humour and hilarious laughter continued till late that night. When we lay down to sleep, Isa Khan looked at Ayub Khan lying at our feet and remarked, "The EAC Turbat (Ayub Khan's father) should have been here to observe the condition of his only son." We laughed for quite a while over this observation and other witty remarks.

The night passed one way or the other. I got up early in the morning and washed with the water from the drum. At sunrise, the warder came and unlocked the barrack door. Each prisoner wrapped his bedding. The warder counted us and then let us out one by one. After a while, the call for food was given. We took our servings but had no appetite and hence deposited it in the drum. They also gave us some boiled grams for which too we had no appetite and gave it to other prisoners, which was permitted. We thus went without food for several days, unable to eat what was given out. After a few days, we started having the grams and

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what is happening outside, in the prison at least no prisoner gets his due clothing, food, or medical care that has been provided for by the government. On the contrary, in open and blatant defiance of the law, all prisoners are allowed private food, clothing and even sexual pleasures in all the jails whether it be at Quetta, Mach, Multan or Haripur.

Till this day December 9, the other B class prisoners and I have not been issued winter clothing that was due by November 1. These Muslim officers are not even ashamed of telling lies as they told me that winter clothing had been stopped by the government and when I said that I would then write to the government, they at once retracted and said, "We will see what we can do."

Superior officers too are unconcerned about the situation. The other day, the inspector general prisons, who is known to me and visits me when he comes to the prison, was here. I asked him if the government had actually stopped the provision of winter clothes. He replied in the negative but did not bother to probe the matter with the prison officials then or later.

As for medical treatment, though each prison hospital is staffed by one to two doctors and supporting staff of compounders, the attendance to patients is at most only two hours a day. Irrespective of the seriousness of the illness, there is no medical aid available after midday. The prison continues to maintain the duty roster, noting the duty hours of each person, as in the days of the British but no one bothers about the actual practice.

To return to the main narration, we were that day presented to the jail doctor and the warden. Each made a few entries in a printed form in English. These, we were told, were our tickets whatever we do in the prison or is done for us would be recorded in it for the duration of our stay here. The warden asked us about our names, parentage, place of residence and personal things, clothing, money, wallet and watches that we had deposited earlier in the day and the doctor noted our height, weight and special identification marks. These forms were titled The Convict History Sheet. All events, like the letters sent and received, visitors received, the remissions earned and the punishment awarded were recorded therein regularly. The doctor would make a fortnightly entry of the prisoner's health especially of weight without fail. The history sheet is still maintained but with no regular entries, despite the increased staff that comes only for a

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few hours and disperses after exchanging pleasantries and commenting on the current gossip.

The entry in the offence column made was 120B/109/363/IPC which we did not understand and took as reference to political doing in the light of the negotiations of Yaqoob Khan and the talk of the Jirga members. On inquiry, we were told that we were condemned for conspiring and planning the abduction of the British officers and the lady. I was much shaken by this accusation, as up to then I had the impression that the government would not be averse to the awakening of public for a better life which was our immediate aim. We were hoping that as long as we did not interfere with the government and its policies it would support us in the endeavour for better public life. We did not suspect that the government and the court would hold us responsible for an offence that was committed by other Rs20 days after our detention.

Performing Hard Labour in Prison

The following morning (or was it during the first day in jail?) we were marched in company of a few others to work in the prison garden. There we were handed over to a gardener, who told us to draw water from the well for watering the garden. In a corner of the garden there was a well into which a leather bucket would be thrown and it would get filled up with water. Six of us were given the end of the rope that was tied to the bucket and asked to walk away from the well, pulling the bucket full of water which was later emptied by two prisoners and thrown again into the well to be drawn up again. We did the work of the well draft oxen for a while when Takur Das and the warder came and spoke to the gardener, who withdrew us from drawing water.

The next day was Sunday, a holiday. The prisoners did their washing on that day which was even more difficult than the usual daily labour because the only pair of clothing was the one that the prisoner wore. One would, therefore, wrap oneself in a small cloth used for a towel or wrap a blanket around oneself while doing the clothes washing. There was a huge boiler in the prison courtyard filled with water heated with fire burning under it. As a detergent, some soda ash was added to the hot water. The prisoners would take turns at dipping their clothes in this hot soda ash mixture that did not quite clean the clothes but at least

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killed the lice, which was itself a big relief as the jail clothing and bedding were full of lice. The use of soap was not allowed in jail, only the Sikhs were given a small piece of soap every week therefore soap was at a premium as the jail superintendent awarded two days of remission for clean clothes. The prisoners were given *"mait"* a kind of slippery mud and oil to wash with. We only washed our blankets and took a bath as our clothes were relatively clean besides being without clothes for the greater part of the day was not an attractive proposition.

On Monday, the superintendent prison, an Englishman, would come on a round of inspection. All the prisoners were lined up in front of the barracks in the shape of a rectangle. Each prisoner would spread one blanket on the ground and fold the others on to it and standby them. The new prisoners would be placed together at one end, the superintendent would usually first come to the new prisoners. He examined our history sheet and asked us whether we wanted to file an appeal to which our reply was in the affirmative. He then directed the warden to give us a copy of the judgment of the Jirga and the PA. He inquired if there was anything else, in response to which I asked permission to write a letter which was granted; prisoners were allowed one letter and a visit once in three months.

Prisoners were not allowed anything personal including tobacco, snuff (*naswar*), clothing or anything else. Despite these restrictions, we observed most using *naswar*, smoking tobacco and some even having hashish and opium. We asked Takur Das as to how these things were procured, to which he replied that they were gotten illegally through the services of the jail sepoys. These were the initial days, with us still not eating anything. On the third day, Takur Das came with a glass of milk urging me to take it as there was a danger of falling health due to starvation. I took the milk and gave it to Isa Khan or Ayub Khan and asked Takur Das how he managed to procure milk. He told us that the jail provided additional milk supplement to the hospitalised prisoners from which he had saved this milk by giving each patient a little less. I told him that this was stealing and hence not to do it in future for our sake. He said, "Khan, even in the world outside deceit and swindling is the rule. Think and tell me if anyone is living or can live without illegal means, including the entire well-off traders, socialites and officers that you know? Tell me if one of them is without a blemish of corruption? As for the

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world of the jail, it runs on bribery, swindling and cringing. Here, life cannot go on without the help of illegal doings."

He then told me how the jail officers and sepoys exploit and swindle those poor helpless inmates. "Today things are better only because the British jail superintendent is honest, disciplined and unforgiving to his subordinates. Prior to this superintendent, this place was hell for all especially the well to do, who would be fleeced by all and for everything. Some time back, Malik Taj Mohammad Brohi was confined here and he had to dole out Rs200 to Rs 300 a month in bribe to the officials and wardens. Such bribes have stopped but the warders do indulge in small bribes for small favours. The going rate for procuring things from outside is 50 percent; a thing costing one rupee would be charged Rs 2, one is kept by the concerned warder. If you have the money I can arrange things from the outsides for you people as well," he offered. The theft, bribes, injustice, misconduct, pederasty, drug use and alcohol that I observed of the prisoners and officers in prisons leave the outside world far behind.

It is my experience and firm belief that in the time of the British and moreslo now in Pakistan, prisons are the schools of learning every type of misconduct instead of being saved from them. Theft, deceit, sycophancy and bribery are the culture of the jail and are taught by force to the prisoners by the officials. On the one hand is the helplessness and confinement of the prisoner and on the other hand the avarice and unchecked powers of the jail authorities. A prisoner is deprived of every necessity of life and dependent upon the officials. From the comforts of life to food, clothes and bedding; everything is in the hands of the officials; 90 percent of whom are illiterate or semi-literate, uncouth and therefore cruel people. They, therefore, fleece the prisoners and their relatives. Inside the prison the comfort and discomfort, good and bad, needs and fulfillment, abuse and beatings to the extent of his very life and death are in the hands of the officials. Below you will find examples of such incidents, which were my own experience.

Grinding Wheat

In the evening, we were told that like all new entrants we would be assigned for a week to grinding corn. After the first week that assignment of grinding would then be in turn on a rotation

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schedule. We were also told that because of our long sentence, we would probably be soon transferred to Mach Jail, most likely after the decision on our filed appeal. The three of us were assigned 15 kilograms of wheat each whereas Isa Khan, because of his frail health, was given 10 kilograms to grind. We were asked to go to the grinding stand early in the morning and grind these grains well before the end of the day. Takur Das and others pleaded with the wardens to assign us to two grinding stands instead of four so that each could take turns between grinding and other lighter job to which the warden did not agree. In the morning, we were taken to the grinding stone stands. These grinding stones were much different from the ones at home that the poor serving women would now and then work on to grind spices or wheat for porridge. These stones were much bigger and heavier and were worked while standing. When we were about to start, a number of under-trial Achakzai prisoners came to take over from us. I, however, sent them to my other companions and continued to perform the task myself. By the afternoon break, the Achakzais came again to plead with me but I told them that I should be allowed to do the job at least for today if only to see for myself how difficult a task it was and whether I was up to the task or not.

I carried on with the grinding of wheat till late in the afternoon and ground all the 15 kgs of wheat to flour. It was a very tough and tiring job and gave me blisters on the palms. I was, however, satisfied with my performance for the future if ever the need arose again. For the remaining days, our task was distributed by others amongst themselves without our consent.

I was never in the future assigned to the grinding stones again. However, just one day's experience made me realise what a strenuous task it was. Besides, it also made me realise the selfless commitment and strong will of those committed to the struggle for freedom that were assigned to this task for months for example, Bacha Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and others.

It was the jail practice to feed the prisoners millet for three days in a week instead of wheat bread. The Pashtoons, unlike the Baloch, do not use millet for eating and I saw its baked bread for the first time at the prison. Therefore, on the day of the millet, we fed ourselves just on grams and lentil. This reduced consumption of rations showed on our health in the form of our loss of weight. The jail kitchen changed its tactics by serving millet in a sequence

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of three days, hoping that sheer hunger would force the prisoners into eating millet loaves. Most prisoners, however, started keeping the wheat bread of the last wheat evening meal for the following day and feeding only on dal and grams for the remaining two days. This practice of feeding millet was discontinued later.

Another difficulty with the jail food was the use of oil instead of the preferred *"ghee"*, oxidised oil that is similar in texture to butter oil. Therefore, in the prisons all health problems like obesity, impotence, short sightedness etc were said to be caused by the use of oil. There were many prisoners, who would abstain from eating oil cooked food for years albeit that the food was wellcooked and almost tasty. Our people, especially those of the mountains, never managed to adapt to the eating of oil and *dal*[177], as *dal* is not a valued or preferred dish especially by the Pashtoons. There are all kinds of clichés associated with eating *dal*. In Pashto we have a saying, "To get rid of a guest cook *dal*". The Pashtoons avoid *dal* as it aerates the stomach which is a problem for the Pashtoons, especially in company. The problem of using *dal* is slightly relaxed nowadays besides each prisoner is allowed some *ghee* or butter oil, sugar and brown sugar at his own expense. In the NWFP,[178] tea is given in place of grams. Regulation and discipline have also deteriorated, allowing for cooking for oneself which is easy for the prisoners but the expenses are harsh on the relatives, especially the poor, who cannot afford the expenses nor face the social pressure especially the pleadings of the womenfolk of the household. Malnutrition in jail is one of the main causes of tuberculosis (TB). The situation can partially be salvaged by adopting *ghee* cooking instead of oil because the prisoners are undernourished in jail anyway; the forced abstinence due to the use of oil only compounds the problem.

During the first week, some family members came to visit us. Since they did not know the jail procedure, they had come along with baskets of fruits that were not allowed. They gave us the unexpected news that they had applied for a meeting with the AGG to intervene on our behalf who had informed them that the meeting could not take place because a joint fine of Rs2,000 that had been imposed on the residents of Inayatullah Karez and Gulistan Karez, our villages, had not been paid. We advised them not to make the payment, let the government take it by force if it must. But our relatives did not want to listen to us saying that

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Rs2,000 was nothing compared to our freedom hoping that the fine payment would lead to our release.

After a week of grinding wheat, we along with 25 to 30 other prisoners were gathered together to work at the bungalows of high officials the AGG, PA, medical officer and the civil surgeon. We were marched in shackles under police guard for a distance of about four miles to these bungalows and were allotted in parties of five to each bungalow. The march under the police guard was a shameful, detestable event which to my surprise the senior prisoners were actually looking forward to.

At the workplace, we four were allocated to two different groups. The PA's bungalow fell to my lot. A gardener brought us a few spades and pick axes and some other tools and pointing to a portion of the garden asked us to till it. I picked up a spade and started tilling the garden, so did the others. After a while, the others withdrew and were replaced by the remaining two, who also retired after a while whereas I continued with the job as we used to do in our own garden. Not much later, one of our companions came and asked me for the spade saying that I should rest. To him, I said that I was not yet tired but then one of the police sepoys beckoned the two of us and told us that we were new to the job and thus unaware of the usual practice. The others were complaining that as that was forced labour it was not to be performed continuously like in the case of work for a payment or a reward. They feared that in case the patch was finished that day then the gardener would assign them to another spot. Therefore, there was no need to hurry; things should be done in a relaxed way. We had no choice but to fall in line with them.

We went there to work for several days which were more in the form of an outing with no one working or prodding us to work. The only inconvenience was the outgoing and return journey of miles in fetters.

At midday, we all gathered by the tube well of the garden and relaxed under the shaded mulberry trees. Some of the prisoners had visitors, who had come with home cooked food. Some had plucked fruit in the garden and came out with it. We were also offered but we refused saying that we did not eat stolen things. Now I understood why the prisoners were happy to go on forced labour, it provided relative freedom of movement in addition to meeting relatives and having homemade food. We started back

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lamented the excesses of the British and the ignorance and the low status to which the Pashtoons had fallen. Then he took out some fruit that he said had been sent to us by a fruit contractor, who knew us, and had instructed him to give us some fruit whenever we came to work there. We thanked him for the good gesture and told him that we could not accept the gift of fruit but he persisted on our acceptance. The fruit was at long last taken by a police constable.

Ghulam Kaka then became a regular visitor, bringing news of the outside. Over time, our relatives also came to know of this channel of meeting and one day Haji Ghaffar Khan came and met us in that garden followed by others. On one occasion, we sent Ghulam after our relatives for a newspaper, which he brought daily thereafter.

I tried to trace Ghulam Kaka in later years but did not succeed. Suddenly one evening in 1958, just a few days prior to this current imprisonment, when I descended from the National Awami Party (NAP)[179] office at Kandhari Bazaar, Quetta, I was greeted by an old man. I did not recognise him and when he told me that he was Ghulam, we met in a long warm embrace with I recalling the Ghulam of some 30 years ago. I walked him up to the office where we sat chatting till late. I was very pleased to meet him as he had served me in extremely hard times purely on humanitarian grounds and Pashtoon affinity.

The Detailed Jirga Verdict

In the meanwhile, we were given a copy of the Jirga verdict for the purpose of filing an appeal. We were shocked on examining the detailed verdict, the blatant lies and procedural irregularities in it which shook my faith in the British provided judicial system. The police had produced in the Jirga a number of witnesses in the abduction case, some of whom in our absence had recorded statements against us. Some of the statements were absolute lies while others stated some harmless and true events but interjected them with damaging and false information. Like in the case of Syed Mohammad Hassan, a police informer, who had stated, "At the end of the Eid festival I met Mullah Khair Mohammad, who was on his way to the railway station to take the train to Chaman. I asked him where he had spent the night to which he replied that he had stayed with Abdul Salaam Khan." This part of the

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the British law and dispensation of justice insofar that the investigating police aim to convict the accused even if it requires the production of false evidence, particularly in political cases.

During my recent trial in the Martial Law Court that sentenced me to 14 years of rigorous imprisonment of which I have spent a year and two months, a police officer, who was presented as a witness by the prosecution, would tell me the true events in the veranda outside the Martial Law Court but would tell unabashedly blatant lies to the court under oath. Both for the court and the prosecution it was a game of chess or cards, the end of which was winning without any consideration for law, justice and truth. I have, therefore, stopped approaching courts. Whenever arrested and produced before a court, I never expect justice nor do I make a false or ambiguous statement even if is suggested by my lawyers. I would state the truth without any care.

Much later, we came to know that some of the witnesses like Syed Mohammad Hassan and Zabardust Kakozai were paid informers of the police and were therefore bound to uphold the brief of their superiors and forced into telling lies with the result that the British never got to know the truth although they wanted to sincerely reach to the bottom of the events.

Much later, after our release, we came to know the true sequence of the abduction events. The mover of the whole episode was Habibullah Khan of village Piralizai, who was the uncle of Abdul Ali Piralizai, the brother-in-law of Mullah Khair Muhammad. Habibullah Khan was a brave and righteous person of honourable standing. He was physically handicapped and could only walk a short distance leaning on a walking stick. He told me, "When I heard of your arrest I became concerned and thought it a shame that with you three in detention, we the Pashtoons on the outside stand and watch calmly without any care or action. I was handicapped and illiterate and therefore could not act on my own and you people had not left behind a programme either for us to follow. I was concerned and under the circumstances I could only think in the tradition of the Pashtoons, of a tit for tat. Therefore, I contacted Mullah Khair Muhammad, who was our relative and a brave and conscious person, to arrange for a befitting matching action on our part which he undertook and performed."

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Habibullah Khan did not sit quietly even after the abduction of the two British officers and the lady. He instigated the Achakzai Levies at Qilla Abdullah thana to mutiny. That plot, however, was discovered and quashed in time. Habibullah Khan, may he be blessed, is no more and is survived by two sons, Abdul Khaliq Khan currently following the business of fruit commission agent at Quetta, the other Mohammad Rasul looks after the affairs of the village. I do not think that these two, who were very young at that time, and their relatives with exception of one or two know of the daring plot and events even up to this day.

Days before our detention, the marriage of my elder brother was planned. Not just planned but had to be performed because as per the custom then, my brother had consummated the marriage at his in-law's home and the bride was with child. The child, again as per the Pashtoon tradition, has to be born at his father's home, the contrary being quite an insult. Therefore, when my brother and I were both arrested, our relatives had pleaded with the government to release at least one of us on parole so that this event could be managed smoothly to which the government did not agree.

During the early days of our arrest, we were hopeful that uncle Mohammad Yaqoob Khan would manage to negotiate a deal with the government but all hopes of our release were lost with the abduction of the British. Therefore, my mother supported by other relatives took up the challenge and brought the bride home with full ceremony and celebration as if to declare that they were not in agony or deterred by our detention. Normally, in line with the Iranian and Kandahar culture, it was customary in our family to observe with solemnity sad events for at least a year without any interruption of expression of joy, even be it the ceremonial firing of guns on the occasions of marriages, betrothal and the birth of a male child.

While in prison, we informed our relatives Mohammad Qahir Khan and Ismail Khan to contract our gardens as well like those of others and give the money to our mother so that she could look after the household expenses. They instead replied that this would be quite insulting for them that we should have to worry as our lands and gardens would be looked after just like their own. They, therefore, willingly performed this task on our behalf for the year while we were in prison.

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Although the Pashtoons of the day did not appreciate the value of national struggle nor the higher purpose for which we were willing to undergo imprisonment, all the Pashtoons had total sympathy and affinity with us for they almost by birth were against foreign subjugation and took our arrest as a challenge to the British imposed rule. In the same spirit, people of all walks of life including the prisoners in the jail, government employees, police constables, clerks, gardeners and even sweepers, especially Hindus and Sikhs, who had heard of the national movement in India ,looked up to us with respect and sympathy. At that time Gandhi's Salt Movement[180] was at its peak and the whole of India was reeling with anti-British feelings.

The act of the abduction of the British was well in keeping with the Pashtoon and Baloch tradition of grit and courage, revenge and retaliation are generally appreciated as an honourable deed; and honourable and unique it was. The abduction and killings of British for a reward or sheer religious hatred occurred on a regular basis throughout Balochistan of those days. On one occasion, a young tribesman Nader of Barshore had even abducted an Englishman but later released him for a ransom. Abduction in retaliation for a national cause was unprecedented and thus was novel and unique. Although we had no involvement in the act nor did we approve of it, because it was undertaken in retaliation to our detention, we used to be looked up to and respected by all those, who came across us as if we were the heroes of the nation and had performed deeds of heroism.

The labour rounds at the bungalows of officers were not tedious, but for the fetters that would hurt our ankles to the extent of causing them to bleed. In those days, Aslam, an Afghan from Kabul who used to make horse saddles and was thus professionally known to us, was detained for a few days in the prison. He had observed our sore ankles and a few days after his release, he sent us some very soft leather bandages that we would tie around our ankles, in the fashion of bruised horses, to protect against the rubbing by the iron rings which made walking in fetters easy. I cannot forget this kindness of the gentleman, my only regret being that I did not get to meet him again.

In those days, the employees of the jail, like those of today, if not illiterate had little education, therefore most of the reading and

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writing work was entrusted to literate prisoners. When we came to the prison, this task was being performed by Takur Das and Babu Noor Muhammad. After their release, this task was entrusted to us. I took over the record of the jail rations and Ayub Khan was assigned to keep the hospital record. We were also assigned labour rotation of the prisoners which was regarded a prized assignment as those in charge would fleece the prisoners and their visitors sharing the booty with the jail officials. There was a number of little favours to be distributed like allotting space in the barracks with friends, assigning less strenuous work, a special letter and extra out of turn visitors etc.

Under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), all that is allowed is a petition of review of the judgments by the awarding authority the AGG, commissioner or the PA. As the confiscation of the property of Mohammad Anwar Khan and exile of Mullah Mutalib were not within the powers of the presiding officer of the Jirga and were already referred by the PA for confirmation to the AGG, I was not in favour of filing an appeal but went along with the wishes of my companions.

Transfer to Mach Jail

That year a new jail had been constructed at Mach, an otherwise small village with a sitting Tehsildar (revenue officer) and a locomotive shed at a distance of 60 miles from Quetta in the Bolan Pass. Prior to this institution, the condemned prisoners with long sentences used to be divided between Quetta and Sibi Jail and in some cases even sent to other prisons of India. When the Mach prison was inaugurated, all those convicts whose term of sentence was more than six months were assigned to this new prison and in addition prisoners from other places were also transferred there. Those prisoners coming from Mach Jail to Quetta would tell horrifying tales of strictness, punishments, beating, etc, and would advise us to arrange for our stay at Quetta Jail. My companions were quite apprehensive and visibly shaken by the prospect of transfer to Mach. I, on the other hand, was looking ahead to it hoping that the harsh conditions at Mach would make them concede to my proposal of resorting to hunger strike and demanding treatment of political prisoners that would entitle us to a higher class in prison and relieve us of this shameful

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existence. We, however, were not shifted to Mach Jail for some time.

Although all prison life is generally harsh and ridiculous and out of the usual, two cases that I observed at Quetta Jail were astonishingly exceptional. There was this person, a resident of Hudda in the vicinity of Quetta, a Babae by cast whose name I have forgotten; he had killed both his wife and her paramour. This act was in keeping with the tribal custom and hence not punishable. Unfortunately for him, however, his wife was from the powerful Kasi tribe of Quetta whose chief was Khan Bahadur (KB) Arbab Khudadad Khan Kasi, a member of the Shahi Jirga who was also the presiding councillor of the Jirga that had tried and condemned us. The Arbab had suggested that he pay some money to the family of the wife, who being his relatives, were pressurising him. The person had refused Arguing that in the first instance he had only done the customary thing as she was an adulteress and secondly, any payment to her family would be a confession of his wrongfully killing her in which case the relatives of the paramour would be within their right to murder him in revenge. The Arbab had then suggested that the proposed blood money for the woman be paid in secret which he would not record in the judgment of the Jirga. The person, however, did not agree to this later proposal either.

The Arbab had remarked, "As you wish we will see." The man remained in detention for seven years without the Jirga considering his case. Whenever a date of hearing was set, which was at regular interval, the Arbab would rise from the proceedings of the tribunal pleading that he had some pressing engagements to attend to and the other members would refuse to discuss the case in his absence. I understand that the case went on for another three to four years, eventually leading to his release, as I met him sometime after the 1935 Quetta earthquake.

There was another similar case of someone called Kalander, a Kakar of Barshore. He was under detention for four years without an appearance to the Jirga. The third case was that of Saido Kakozai Achakzai of Afghanistan. No one knew his origin, his crime or his sentence and he too mostly remained aloof, keeping to himself. He used to consume Rs 2 worth of opium daily. But how would he finance it? He had two means, one was begging on his way to prison and the other was from selling the fruits and

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Ayub Khan was very perturbed by this information and told us that we must seek to be freed irrespective of the conditions offered, otherwise we were likely to fall under the influence of this bad company. I told Ayub Khan and the others in very clear words that whatever their decision I was not going to seek freedom from jail at lowly and unbecoming conditions. I told them the only way out of this bad company and living was to try and get a higher class of political prisoners and not bowing our heads to the government. The next day, we were stopped from going to work in the gardens and were asked to prepare for going to Mach Jail. With the hearing of this news, Ayub Khan became ever more worried and went to meet the jail warder giving him a letter that he did not share with us. The warder postponed our shifting to Mach that day.

Development of Differences Amongst Us

Soon Ayub Khan developed differences with us on the issue of our future course of action as he was concerned about the welfare of his family. I ignored his sullen attitude and continued to maintain cordial relations with him, my brother Abdul Salaam Khan ignored him completely and Isa Khan kept taunting and ridiculing him. Jail life by itself was depressing and as if that was not enough, the strained relationship amongst us made it even more depressing. Prior to the disagreement, we used to pass time joking and laughing amongst ourselves, which was a source of great mutual support to us but now the place of laughter and jokes was taken over by bitterness. I was very much hurt and depressed by this sad turn of events and was praying and wishing that Ayub Khan would be released so that this misery ended but that wish of mine was not granted.

The Imprisonment of Punjabi Nationalists

During the months of June and July of the year 1930, the Indian National Congress Salt Movement was at its peak. Thousands of workers were imprisoned in all the provinces of India. Protesters had been fired at in Peshawar with dozens killed[181]. In Balochistan, the Achakzai agitation had subsided and except for

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plant bombs at public places in Quetta city. The police on this information had them arrested and brought them to jail. Within days we were quickly transferred to Mach Jail with which the grievance with Ayub Khan came to an end.

One day, a Hindu of Muradabad, working as a clerk in the army, was brought to the prison. He was a Congress sympathiser and had talked in favour of the party in his army unit, for which he had been courtmartialed and sentenced to four years of imprisonment and was transferred to Mach Jail the following day.

On another occasion, Shabbir Shah of Punjab was brought to Quetta Jail. He was engaged to a woman whose parents later refused marriage and in retaliation for the refusal he had murdered the woman, for which he was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. Once he fell very ill and was hospitalised in the jail hospital. At my request, the jail doctor had his fetters removed so he became friendly to me and by way of confession told me that he had wrongly murdered the woman.

Shahjee appealed against imprisonment to the AGG much against my advice as I had warned him that he may instead be sent to the gallows. He, however, said that death by hanging was better than 20 years in waiting. As luck would have it, his sentence was converted to death by hanging. He had asked as his last wish to see me which was not granted as we were on hunger strike on the occasion.

It was extremely cold on the night of his hanging which caused the death of two sparrows that were lying in the prison courtyard during the wee hours of the morning, the usual time of hanging. The prisoners interpreted it as a sign of his being holy and thus overnight he became a saint to the prisoners. When I was imprisoned again in 1934 and was lodged at Mach Jail the two sparrows had been replaced by two white birds in the jail folklore. His grave is presently a well-attended shrine in the vicinity of Mach Jail with hundreds visiting it and a sanctuary of marijuana smoking derelicts.

Mach Jail

One day in the month of October, we were transferred to Mach Jail and an escort of policemen under a head constable was sent for us. We were in fetters and at the jail exit gate we were handed

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"Lock-up the numberdar in the solitary cell and change the duty of the warder," he ordered without any hesitation.

This was Mr Raleigh, the superintendent at the Mach prison, a doctor by profession and a strict disciplinarian. He had been transferred here recently from Dera Ismail Khan. He was a disciplined and competent officer strictly going by the book in his management of the prison. His on the spot orders a while ago was an example of his working and he was thus feared by his subordinates. He, however, was dependent for advice upon the jail warder, Lala Ram Kishan, who had vast experience of the Balochistan jails where Mr Raleigh was a newcomer. Some also said that Lala Ram Kishan collected bribes for him and hence he was listened to. The Lala had told him that the prisoners at Mach were hardened criminals and needed to be suppressed or they would create trouble. Therefore, in this prison the inmates were treated very harshly and awarded physical punishment. The food, medical facilities and clothes were, however, good and in accordance with the book.

Every new prisoner was quarantined for the initial 10 days as a precaution against any contagious infection. We were, therefore, spared from labour and as he had talked to Ayub Khan and I in English and taken on the spot action against the warder and the numberdar, the warders had taken note of it and thus did not bother us unnecessarily.

Meeting the Superintendent

Ten days later, we were taken to the prison hospital and made to join a queue with some other prisoners for the superintendent's inspection. After a while, the superintendent came and sat at a distance from the queue and started calling the prisoners one by one. He would inquire the name and other personal information from each prisoner and check it against that recorded on the history sheet. Likewise, he would ask for the personal belongings deposited and check them against that listed in the record.

When my turn came, I went up to him and instantly someone twisted my arm tight at the back. I turned around and told the person to let go. The person twisting my arm was a well-built Pashtoon numberdar named Bangul belonging to the Abdullahzai tribe of Zhob. Once again, I turned and sternly told the fellow to let go. In reply he told me to be calm and face the superintendent.

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I pulled my arm from him and pushed him aside. Thereupon the superintendent told the fellow to let me be. I then faced the superintendent, who said with a smile, "Do not mind this, it is a customary precaution as we deal here with all kinds of hardened ruffians and murderers. The other day there was a gang fight here in which many were wounded."

He then asked his routine questions and at the end said, "I am aware of the offence that you are charged with but do not worry, even if you have murdered Englishmen outside it is none of my concern. If you observe the rules here not only will you not be troubled but rather I will take good care of you. No one can reduce your term of imprisonment except me so be good."

The next day, I was assigned to the washerman and the others were assigned to work in the factory.

Riots in Prison

One morning, while we were still in quarantine, whistles were blown all around and the alarm bell of the watch tower was sounded. When I asked what had happened, I was told that the prisoners had revolted and attacked the numberdars. The prisoners had cornered a few of the numberdars, who were known for beating and insulting the prisoners, and had given them a good thrashing with batons and stones. Two Hindus, one Sikh and three Muslim numberdars had been seriously wounded and in turn the numberdars had also beaten and wounded some prisoners.

Plan in Quarantine

During our 10 days stay in the quarantine, we acquainted ourselves with the working of the prison and the likely difficulties that we may face in the future. On the face of it, there was no outright extraordinary hurdle. There was, however, the possibility of our separation as was the practice of the prison to separate companions. Since it was a huge compound, we were told the chances of coming together or even regularly meeting one another daily were remote once separated. So we mutually agreed that when separated if meeting one another was forbidden or difficult, we would give notice to the jail authority on the eighth day asking to be brought together and with it go on hunger strike till

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we were put together again. But if we could meet conveniently then we would decide how to deal with any individual or collective difficult position.

When I went to join in at the washerman's, there were two numberdars. One was a well-built person in black uniform named Ibrahim from Kandahar. He and his companions had committed burglary in the city amounting to Rs 300,000 for which he and another companion were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. The other numberdar called Landak wore a red uniform. He was a dark, tall Marani Pashtoon. He had murdered the PA Zhob, an Englishman named Fenis[183]. They allotted others to clothes washing but did not allow me to work. I was assigned to note the clothing of different officers in the register. The day was spent talking and chatting with others. In the evening, I met my companions, they had also been assigned light work and there was no restriction on our meeting one another. At night, I was put in separate barracks, whose in-charge was the earlier trusted numberdar Bangul Mardanzai. He and his colleagues were imprisoned for the murder of the British civil surgeon in the Tor Khan[184] mountain range by unidentified persons. One of his gang members, Tura Baz, had been enticed by Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) Sheerin Khan into claiming the murder against the promise of letting them free and awarding them Levies posts as was usually done to entice absconders.

The Jirga, however, had sentenced him instead to 45 years in prison and his companions to 20 years. Bangul was also assigned to perform the occasional lashing in the jail for which he was given extra ration of half a pound meat and one kilogram of milk daily. At night, in the barracks, he brought the milk and meat and asked me to join. I told him that I had eaten and had no appetite. But he insisted so I half-heartedly ate a few morsels. At the end, he said to me that in the future I should always eat with him. In reply I said to him, "Brother Bangul let me make it clear, I regard sharing this meal with you as profane for myself, therefore do not insist on my joining you again which I swear I will not." He and the other prisoners were surprised by this statement of mine because in prison people especially otherwise well to do prisoners look ahead to better meals and would go through a lot of efforts procuring it.

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The prisoners were given half a pound of meat per week as part of the official ration. Most of which used to be appropriated by the numberdars, warders and other influential prisoners. On the meat ration day, Bangul came along with a dish full of meat and placing it before me said, "Here eat, this is from the prison rations since you do not eat my offering."

I refused it saying, "This is stolen meat and rightly belongs to the other prisoners that have been deprived of their rightful ration. When I avoid eating your ration how could I take that of the helpless prisoners?" He then realised that I was different and not one of the lot.

At that time there were about 350 inmates in Mach Jail belonging to all parts of British Balochistan. Most were serving exceptionally long sentences. As there was no large prison in Balochistan prior to this one at Mach, Balochistan prisoners were assigned to other prisons all over India. With the opening of Mach Jail, all the prisoners of Balochistan were brought there from various jails that included Deccan, Kanore, Baroda, Indore, Nagpur, Hazori Bagh, Calcutta, Lahore, Hyderabad and even Andaman Islands.

Our barracks had two huge halls, each accommodating 40 persons. The place was well, lit and organised unlike Quetta and the prisoners were well-adapted to the ways of the prison. The place was clean and spacious with each prisoner having an assigned place. During my free time in the day and at night, I was given to the study of the Holy Book and its various commentaries especially that of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, besides I would talk to the prisoners about their cases, their homeland and the prisons that they had experiences of.

During the working hours, I would be mostly in the company of Abdullah Khan of Zhob, who was an intelligent person, or then sit by a literate Sikh, who was the official tailor, and would read out the newspapers to me. Time was thus well spent and in a short while I came to know much about the various parts of Balochistan and its people, their customs and ways of living. The information gained about the Balochistan Pashtoons and Baloch tribes in these few months was more than I had known up to then or would acquire in the future. This was a great advantage as Balochistan is spread over a huge area, more than the combined area of NWFP, Sindh and Bengal but with very small and thinly scattered population, reaching whom and knowing about their

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There were many that regarded British rule degrading and had rebelled against it in the spirit of lone crusaders attacking and killing its symbol, the representative foreign officers, and incarcerated for the act for life. Many of these prisoners had seen national leaders in Indian jails, especially those of the Khilafat Movement and hence they referred to us as "Khilafati" prisoners. I thought they were aware of the Khilafat but when I asked them about it they regarded all those that differed with and challenged the British as "Khilafati", an incorrect interpretation of the Urdu word "Ikhtilaf", meaning disagreement.

One such prisoner was Khuda Baksh Baloch of Sibi, who was old and weak and had been imprisoned at the Andaman Island for 30 years. He had attacked an English Assistant Political Agent at the young age of 18 years. The officer survived and had only a broken arm. He was condemned to life imprisonment in solitary confinement and 300 lashes to be served, 20 at a time at the interval of a few months. He told me that after a few years at Hyderabad Jail, he got fed up with the solitary life and the ever so often lashes and decided death to be a relief. So he and another Pashtoon undergoing similar solitary imprisonment decided to attack and kill a warder when out for ablution and prayer break. The two thus killed two warders and besides confessing the crime told the court that they were tired of life in solitary confinement and therefore would prefer to be sent to the gallows as a relief. The judge instead awarded them 20 years additional imprisonment and took note of the cruel sentence of solitary imprisonment and lashes and ordered its discontinuation which he described as cruel. It was hence that he was saved the torture of solitary imprisonment and lashes and was instead in prison with others.

Khuda Baksh Baloch was released after a few years because of his bad health and advanced age on the recommendations of the superintendent and the jail doctor but only after the physical verification in the jail by KB Sharbat Khan Afridi[185], PA Sibi. I have met hardly any other common Baloch equal in knowledge and honourable ways to Khuda Baksh. The provision of releasing aged and sick prisoners is still on the annals of the jail manual. The jail superintendent and the district magistrate are empowered to release prisoners, who haves six months of their term left on account of bad health and advanced age. In those days, the British would release even those prisoners that had killed or attacked

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British officers but today although the doctors continue with the practice of recommending release many a prisoner dies by the time the sanction comes from Lahore.

Also at Mach Jail were warriors of the Sardar of Jalawan, including Sardar Nooruddin, the old, weak and crippled Sardar Shabaz Khan of Gorag Nari, his son Sher Ali Khan and Ghazi Suleman Mengal. Sardar Shabaz Khan was crippled and could not move on his own and therefore had to be carried around on the back by Ghazi Suleman or others but even then he had to be present in the factory for labour. Sardar Shabaz Khan and companions were released in 1932 by the new Khan of Kalat, Azam Khan[186].

The Congress sympathetic army clerk that we had met at Quetta Jail was also at Mach, working in the office of the jail superintendent. He was a dedicated and enthusiastic political worker and had joined the army at the suggestion of some Congress leaders. He was not released following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact[187] therefore, when I met Jawahar Lal Nehru in Bombay in 1930, I told him about his case who wrote to the government and he was then released in 1931. We remained in correspondence for a few years but lost contact later. The Congress clerk would bring us news of the happenings in the outside world that he read in the papers at the superintendent's office. My companions did not face any extraordinary difficulty in the jail factory either. They were assigned to the barracks of two trusted Sikh numberdars, Gurmak Singh and Ram Singh who used to give them due respect. Life was, therefore, not at all that bad.

One day, I was sitting by myself at the washing place when the weaving master of the factory came by and asked the numberdar why I was sitting idle. They talked with one another for a while after which the weaving master angrily beckoned me. I had heard about the fellow's reputation and was taken aback lest he used foul language as he was reputed to or attacked me physically. Because I did not see myself at fault, I decided that I would pay him in his own coin. While I was walking towards him, the Sikh numberdar incharge of the washing place intervened and said something to him that I did not catch. The intervention, however, calmed the fellow and he instead talked pleasantly to me thus avoiding a nasty unwanted situation. The secret of the special treatment was revealed to us by the deputy superintendent Mach

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Kakar of Barshore and had murdered Khudadad Baloch of our village and was imprisoned for it.

He then asked, "Where do Syed and Tura Baz sleep?"

I replied, "Toward my head side in the other line." He then asked whether we talked and chatted at night to which I replied in the affirmative. "What do you talk about," He asked.

"About our people and our cases etc.," I replied.

"Do you ever discuss the strict treatment of the jail officers," he asked. "No," I replied.

"Did not Syed propose to you that he would bring pen and paper and you write a letter to the government informing them about the harsh treatment of the officials here," he asked.

"No one has asked me for such a favour and I am aware that writing letters secretly is not allowed in the jail," I replied.

He concluded the interrogation by saying, "You appear to be a truthful person and if you have told me the truth you will be rewarded, in case of lies you would be severely punished."

"Do not worry I have said nothing but the truth," I said.

At night, the barracks warder came and asked Syed and Agha Mohammad to wrap up their bedding and go along with him. They left along with Bangul. On his return, Bangul said to me that they were locked in a solitary cell.

Since there was no privacy at night, the next morning I told Bangul of the queries made by Babu Baili Ram. Bangul and the other prisoners thought that someone else must have made up these false allegations about the two of them. Sometime later, however, it was revealed that the two of them had been together at the Hazari Bagh Jail where Syed had harmed Agha Mohammad in some way and to avenge that Agha Mohammad had made up the current allegations about Syed.

In the meanwhile, Mohammad Anwar Khan Kaka, with the assistance of the Afghan government, came to Quetta and faced the Jirga. The Jirga declared him innocent of the charges of conspiracy to abduct the English officer and lady, and his confiscated property was restored. Thus the very foundation and supporting pillar of the conspiracy case made by the Balochistan police and all the witnesses produced in support of it was

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abolished as false. The government had, therefore, no reason for condemning and imprisoning us.

One day, a rather large delegation of our relatives, mostly young with the exception of two very senior elders of the family, came to visit us at the Mach Jail. When we went to the visiting place where a grille separated the prisoner from the visitors, the jail superintendent and his constables were supervising the visit meetings instead of the usual lower ranked warders.

On our arrival, the superintendent addressed us, "Your respected elders have come visiting with a message from the government. They are your kith and kin, concerned for your wellbeing and so therefore, I advise you to accept their suggestions for your own good. You are young and raw whereas we and your elders are experienced in the ways of the world, sign the papers that they have brought etc. etc."

After this introductory statement, the jail superintendent departed and we exchanged pleasantries with our visitors and started chatting with them about ourselves and the affairs at home. Some of them were in tears while others told us of the happenings at the village and around. Finally, one of the elders said, "We were called by the police captain and were told that if you people filed a mercy petition the police would recommend your release to the government. There is no harm in asking for forgiveness, the government is all powerful and all has been arranged and we have been given the petition that you are to sign."

After hearing this, we told them, "Asking for mercy and forgiveness is out of the question, so why not talk of the happenings in the village and the family? We are well and happy here and thank you for your visit. Your suggestion is not only an insult to us and yourselves but is also an indelible blotch on the honour of the whole Pashtoon people. Your coming and pleading for signing the petition and our refusal would probably even create more difficulties for us."

After a while the visit came to an end and we started back for the jail. When on the outside, one of the elders had said that had we been in physical proximity he would have fallen at my feet, leaving no ground for refusal by us. They had then chosen four persons from amongst themselves who requested the superintendent for an open meeting which the superintendent

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After the confirmation by Babu, who was also an employee of the government, my relatives relented and softened their plea, saying that we should write another application stating that we were innocent of the alleged crimes and hence be set free which they would take to the government.

We then hurriedly drafted another application and gave it to them, stating therein that we have been falsely implicated in the alleged crime of abduction and sentenced to imprisonment of which we have spent quite some time, therefore, we should be set free. This is how we were spared from this very hard hour of personal trial.

On this occasion, we then asked our younger visitors, Mohammad Tahir Khan and Ghaffar Khan, not to bother with pleading with the government that was not willing to set us free. We told them that it was a short sentence of which the greater part had passed so they should take it easy as the rest would pass as well. Our companions said in response that they were more worried about themselves rather than us as they felt ashamed at being free and comfortable while we were in prison and in difficult circumstances. They further added that they could not, out of shame, go around carefree in the village and its surrounds and that whenever a well-wisher inquired about us they felt taunted as if the sympathisers were saying, "Here! You are free and happy while your companions are in shackles in prison." And by way of personal explanation added, "Cursed be this government, if only it was to arrest us as well we would be free of this burden!"

When I think of this attitude of these young relatives, I am convinced that this unique gallant trait of character of the Pashtoon nation when rightfully directed can, as in the past, make them perform glorious national deeds. When misguided, this gallantry makes them perform both individually and collectively vengeful evil deeds. Under the leadership of Farid[190], Hamid[191] and Ahmed Shah Baba[192], the Pashtoons ruled the whole region where they dispensed justice and good governance. Their enemies and incompetent kings and leaders misdirected this very spirit of chivalry and gallantry, losing in turn Ahmad Shah Baba's empire to the Sikhs and then the British, culminating in the evil rule of Bacha Saka over them and their country. Few days later, we were informed by our relatives that Ayub Khan's father Yaqoob Khan,

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the EAC, had discussed our case with Colonel Bruce[193], the Chief Revenue Officer and Ex-Officio Inspector General Prisons, who had said that not being a part of the executive branch of the government he could not interfere in the case directly and he would see what he could do for us in the prison in his capacity as the Inspector General. Soon after that, the clerk at the jail office told us that the government had sent a memorandum regarding the implementation of the prisoner classification scheme at Mach Jail and had in this connection asked for a list of prisoners of social status that would qualify for higher classification. After due internal process the Mach Jail authorities recommended a list of 18 prisoners that included the four of us, Sardar Shahbaz Khan, his son and the Congress affiliated clerk.

Clerkship in Prison

Not long after I was assigned the tasks of a clerk at the jail office and Ayub Khan was assigned to the hospital. Our fetters were removed, hitherto unheard of in a Balochistan prison. Even the jail superintendent would remind us of the favour and special treatment meted out to us by saying that the removal of fetters was like releasing us of more than half of the jail problems.

For a while it was difficult for us to move about without the fetters. Our feet were accustomed to the weight of the fetters and walking in short strides of two feet but with the fetters removed our steps would be three feet making us lose our balance.

My work in the office consisted of helping the warrant warden or writing chits for calling prisoners that was light and easy. When the head warden was posting me to the office, I requested that I be left where I was. He was surprised and asked me for a reason. I told him that the office was manned by designated clerks, who looked down upon the prisoners and often addressed them in belittling language. He assured me to the contrary, saying that he had already arranged for all to treat me well.

One day, an English soldier named Robert, convicted on account of stealing to one year imprisonment, arrived at the prison. The jail had special barracks for detaining Europeans. Each prisoner had two small rooms with fans for the summer and fire stoves for the winter, a proper bed, table, chair and special rations including cigarettes. Seeing this treatment would make me wonder why the best of us were more badly treated than this convict. Robert was a

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decent fellow with a good sense of humour. He was also assigned to work at the office. He had two very distinct qualities, one being that he would perform any assigned work willingly to the finish and secondly, he would not squat on the floor or a table, preferring to stand till such time that mine or the warder's chair was free.

At that time, Sardar Aziz Ahmed Khan had been sent by the government to London for six months long training of the assistant superintendent jail. Meanwhile, warder Baili Ram was temporarily assigned the job of assistant superintendent. When it was time for the return of Aziz Ahmed Khan, the Hindu employees started collective consultations with one another and one day wrote a letter to the government by reference to the memo regarding the classification scheme of prisoners and the subsequent list of 18 persons forwarded for it.

The acting deputy superintendent had written that the list of 18 persons be confirmed along with the budgetary requirement of Rs 1,000 per month and the sanction of another post of deputy superintendent for the purpose. This was to preempt the reversal of Baili Ram. I suspected that the cost was rather high and as Colonel Bruce had initiated the scheme of classification for the benefit of the four of us, it might not be confirmed and so told the superintendent. The superintendent agreed with me and said that I should have informed him in time so that the scheme was initiated here at a lower cost to be increased later on.

Our appointment as clerks gave us an opportunity of freely moving around the jail compound and giving us access to hot water for bathing and clothes washing in the hospital. I was assigned to set the rotation for work of the prisoners including grain grinding. In this way Ayub Khan and I were able to facilitate the prisoners better.

Meeting Colonel Bruce, the AGG

In December 1931, Colonel Bruce was appointed the AGG and he summoned us to Quetta for a meeting fixed for Christmas day. It was a severe Quetta winter month and the prison winter uniform was not just insufficient protection against the cold but highly laughable as well. It consisted of an ill-fitted coat like thing made of dirty blankets and similar trousers, rather short pants. In

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you some freedom?" "Some freedom! I do not understand. A person is either free or not free," I said.

"I mean if you are taken out of prison and placed at home or some other place with no permission to go far," he said.

"You mean confined to a place other than jail," I asked "Yes," he said.

"I would not choose it of my free accord but if there is no choice then I can do nothing about it just like this imprisonment," I said. "Why not," he asked. Then looking up and down at me he said, "Just look at yourself and your clothes and the fetters. Is it not worth it if you were spared this," he asked.

"No," I said.

"Why not," he asked.

"Because, in prison everyone is like me with the same clothes, fetters and food etc, on the outside while others would be free to do as they will, only I will be different, a prisoner," I said.

He looked at me for a while and said, "As you wish, salaam." I came out and we were brought back to the prison. That day when we were being taken to the AGG in fetters some of our relatives had gathered at a shop in Hudda Bazaar to have a glimpse of us. In good humour and in spirit, we saluted them while passing by them. I noticed that some of them were weeping especially Abaidullah Khan. After a while Mullah Abdul Ali Kakar came by us in a horse carriage, saluted us and said, "God willing! All will be well." He too was weeping;

I wondered whether they were weeping for us or for themselves. I thought of it then and often later of this crying but am not sure of the reason and rationale of it. I often think it is a sign of helplessness, to be unable to do what one wishes to do. Since one is unable to strive for his aim he instead cries, lamenting his helplessness. And when one is committed to an aim and begins to strive for it then there is neither the need to cry nor does he cry. We remained at Quetta for a few days, probably awaiting the next directives of Colonel Bruce but were transferred back to the Mach Jail without any new instructions. These few days at Quetta in the bitter winter days and the routine of going for labour from morning to evening were very harsh.

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Amir Jan and Bakht Naama

When we came back to Mach Jail and were still in quarantine, the superintendent asked us about the visit to Quetta. I told him of the offer of house arrest and its rejection by us. At the end of the quarantine, I was sent back to the washing lot and the others to the factory.

This time I was assigned to barracks No.2 for the nightly stay. Nearby me was a Kakar of Qilla Saifullah named Amir Jan. I noticed him in the beginning because of his red clothes that were an indication that he had tried to break away from jail. Later on, we became friends and I found him to be a decent, balanced, brave and honourable person.

At night till going to sleep, he would be lost in the study of the Holy Book which was not an unusual event in jail, as almost all prisoners start the study with the Holy Book in the hope that they would be forgiven their sins or that their appeal would be accepted as per instructions of the illiterate Mullah.

One day, while passing behind him, I glanced at the open book and was amazed to see a lock of hair spread on the open pages, which Amir Jan was lost in watching. On my return, I asked him about it. In reply he murmured something but I insisted on my query. I was suspecting that he was probably looking at the holy verses and the lock of hair in expectation of a magical event. Finally he said, "Khan I cannot tell lies to you, but you must promise not to tell anyone else because this is a jail and anything can happen."

"I promise, I will not let anyone know of it," I said. Then he spoke thus, "I am not literate nor am I reading this book for any reward. This lock of hair is that of a damsel for whose sake I am in prison. It is her only token to remember her by."

The woman was named Bakhat Naama and was presently awaiting him in the custody of a Sardar. They had eloped but were apprehended. He was imprisoned in the Sibi Jail from where he tried to break away but was caught again and hence the red colour uniform.

"This lock of hair is my lifeline in prison that I gaze at whenever I can. While others think I am reading the holy verses I only gaze at this token of my beloved," he said.

"Does it provide you any relief," I asked.

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He said, "Yes, when I gaze at these locks I become oblivious to myself and my surroundings. Even now I did not notice you getting up and returning or I would have hidden my token of love." We were later released and Amir Jan remained in prison. He was later beaten in the jail and died because of excessive bleeding from the nose.

Meanwhile, with the death of Amir Jan, Bakhat Naama still in custody of Sardar Zarghoon Khan Jogezai became desperate. She was convinced that after the death of Amir Jan she would be forced into marriage as was the tribal custom, an event not acceptable to her especially after the death of her true love.

She was young and said to be beautiful and many were willing and wishing to marry her, including her custodian the Jogezai Sardar, who was waiting to make her his own. She, therefore, concluded, after due consideration, that the only place where she could quietly mourn Amir Jan was the prison and devised a plan for that. She took a pistol from the house of the Jogezai Sardar and came to Qilla Saifullah Bazaar to murder some highly placed Sikh officers in return for which she would be entitled for confinement in the prison.

But why a Sikh specially! Because for one, ever since the wars between Ahmed Shah Baba and the Sikhs in the middle of the 18th century, the Pashtoons despise the Sikh most of all the Indian nationals and secondly, on the occasion of their elopement the police party sent to apprehend them was led by a Sikh officer that had a number of Sikh constables.

She had gone with the intent of murder, first to the government hospital where the doctor was a Sikh and had indeed gone near enough and was about to pull the trigger but right at that moment she had changed her mind Arguing that though a Sikh and high government official, his death was inappropriate as he served the ailing humanity, specially the local Pashtoon peasantry. She had thus spared the doctor and instead shot three other Sikhs, one of whom was a police constable, who had died. She was apprehended and awarded a long sentence by the Jirga which was her aim.

When I was in prison for the second time in 1934, she was in the prison then. One day a Kakar prisoner named Pasarlay, who used to assist the doctor, came along to me on the weight-assessment day with a doctor. When I looked at him, he appeared to have

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I replied, "Anything that you assign."

He said, "What I mean is have you ever worked outside physically?"

I replied, "No not outside, the only work I did was read and write."

"Not all prisoners can be assigned writing and reading tasks, you had better do some physical labour," he said.

In the evening we were summoned by the head constable. He said that thus far he had been sparing us from hard labour but ever since our return from Quetta, the Englishman is annoyed. He thinks that you refused the offer of the AGG because you have not performed hard labour in the prison and hence did not appreciate the ease of the offer of the house arrest. I told him not to worry and to do as directed.

My elder brother, who was well built, had lost 40 pounds of weight and had become quite weak, and Isa Khan was weak to begin with, were therefore recommended for light labour by the doctor. The two of them were therefore assigned light work in the jail factory and Ayub Khan and I were assigned to weaving cloth. It was a trying task, requiring some technique as well. Besides, it was very cold at that time so we could not have the time to sit in the sun nor wrap a blanket around ourselves. Since the task was also contract work, newcomers were given some learning days after which if the task was not up to the mark, the warder and other prisoner supervisors would resort to scolding and even beatings. As for us, the superintendent had given special instructions.

A few days later, Dewan Chand, a retired EAC known to us, came on a visit of the prison. He talked with Ayub Khan and asked him, "Who are you?"

"Achakzai," replied Ayub Khan.

"What crime have you committed," he asked and even before Ayub Khan could reply he had remarked, "You must have stolen an ass." He laughed and went past him.

Ayub Khan took badly to this and said to me, "Sooner or later we would be placed in a difficult position lest we do something to preempt it."

I said, "I am looking ahead to you three for guidance as you did not accept my long standing suggestion. Only those can be

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mistreated who are willing to accept mistreatment without agitating against it. So to relieve ourselves of these troubles, we would have to be willing to undertake even a more difficult task. Had we gone on hunger strike at the very outset, we would have been spared the following difficulties and demeaning attitudes. Physical difficulties may have increased but insults would at least have stopped. There is still time, hunger strike and the demand for better treatment is the only way out."

He said in reply, "I agree but we have to consult the others".

We consulted the other two, who also agreed with us. We suggested that because of the weak health of Abdul Salaam Khan, he may choose not to join our plan or join us later but he was adamant and insisted to go along with us from day one.

Going on Hunger Strike

We decided to ask for permission of the superintendent for sending an application to the government and if asked for the purpose of the application then we were to tell that we wished to be treated as political prisoners and would not keep up with the present treatment as we intended to go on a hunger strike two weeks from that day. If he refused us the application then we would tell him that he stands informed in case we were not treated as political prisoners within two weeks we would stop taking food. It was left for me to talk to the superintendent on behalf of us all.

That Sunday I, along with other prisoners, waited for the arrival of the superintendent to request for the application. As luck would have it, that was a very cold day and Mach's winds were blowing with ferocity. After a wait of some two hours in the severe cold weather, the superintendent sent a message that he would not be coming. I returned to the factory and told my companions about it. The factories were extremely cold as these were roofless sheds surrounded by an iron mesh with straw roofing. Two to three Sindhi and Baloch prisoners, who were old, had fainted due to the cold and had been removed to the hospital. My companions were much dismayed at the prospects of waiting another week for permission to apply. I suggested that we send the warder to the head warder, asking for immediate meeting with the superintendent. The head warder sent for me immediately. He was very pleased to hear of our plan but warned

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prison and met with other three and not him. This information had me severely worried. I thought of his weak physique and feared that the hunger strike had affected him adversely. After a while, however, I said to myself all was fair in war and love, this was only an ailment what if either of us was to die because of starvation and with these thoughts I became calm. On the 14th day, the sentry informed me that Ayub Khan and the superintendent had reached a compromise in return for some pledged relaxation in jail and he and Isa Khan had both broken the hunger strike and taken milk. He urged me to follow suit. I did not agree with him and told him that I would not break my hunger strike. He protested by saying, "Why! You think I am telling lies?" I told him, "It is not a point of telling lies or otherwise, instead we had pledged that before any individual action we would ask to be put together and decide on a joint action." He told me that Ayub Khan had also said the same to the superintendent, who did not agree with him pointing out that they were very weak and could not move on their own and lifting and carrying them was not a very dignified way. In response I said, "They may have acted just like you say but I cannot break my fast unless and until we are put together for mutual consultations." The sentry then brought me a message from Ayub Khan but I said, "I stand by my pledge." My brother had also taken the same stand. On the 15th day, the superintendent sent the two of them to Abdul Salaam Khan, who too was persuaded to break his fast. On the 16th day all three were brought to me, therefore, I also broke my fast.

During all these days, I offered my prayer regularly, walked frequently to urinate and take a bath at the tap without feeling fatigued or exhausted. As soon as I agreed to break the fast strangely enough I was suddenly overcome with a sense of extreme hunger. During the 10 to 15 minutes wait for the arrival of the milk, my hunger was more acute than the starvation of the past 16 days.

A while after taking the milk, I asked my brother about the reported senselessness by the sentry. He said in response that on that particular day while sitting well-composed and in senses, he had heard the voice of Sardar Mir Ahmed Khan EAC and one of our relatives, who was later joined in conversation by the three of us. He got the impression that the EAC had been sent by the government along with our relatives, who were joined by the three of us there. "I got readied to be called too, thereafter some

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time the sound of the talking ceased so then I called the sentry and asked him why I was not called to meet the visiting EAC while the others were. The sentry then replied that there were no visitors and then called the doctor, who also denied the coming of any visitors. I am still convinced that there were visitors, whom you met but now that you also deny it then I would have to agree that there were no visitors," he explained.

As a result of the compromise between the superintendent and Ayub Khan, our fetters were removed, we were allotted separate quarters and were assigned to light work.

Release from Prison

A few months after the June 1931 Gandhi-Irwin Pact, we were called to meet our visitors. My companions went ahead of me, because I stopped on the way with some persons. When I went to the visiting area, I saw that a large number of our relatives had come and when I joined them Ayub Khan said to me, "They say that they were called by the AGG, who has given them a written statement enumerating the detailed conditions for our signatures after which we would be released. It is a four-page typed statement with the detailed conditions for our release. We are required to furnish a bond of Rs 2,000 for good behaviour for the next three years and in case of violation of the law that would be confiscated and we would be liable to arrest by the police without any warrant of arrest and in addition to the punishment awarded for the new violation of the law we would also have to undergo our present remaining sentence. Now what do you say to it?"

In the meanwhile our relatives on the other side of the iron grille started weeping and urging me for my consent. I became alarmed lest they resort to the act of the last occasion and to forestall them I said aloud, "Listen please!" and when they became quite I proceeded to speak. "I am the youngest of all of you and therefore will not reject anything you say but I do ask you to give me the right over my own life. I ask you to let me be as only a little time of the sentence is left after which I will be free but if you insist on your own terms then let it be known that I regard this life of forced freedom sacrilegious and will end it. Now it is for you to decide whether you want me alive and in prison or dead, free of all bonds." After this statement of mine, my companions and

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visitors fell quiet and our talk reverted to the queries about the welfare of the families and happenings around.

When they had left, Ghaffar Khan had said to our relatives that they should not have listened to my threat. Committing suicide was not an easy act and we could have persuaded him to the contrary. At which Mohammad Tahir Khan had said to him, "I know him, he is a man of his word, he will do what he says, if we convince him here well and good otherwise let him stay back."

When back in our cells, we sat down and started examining the offer of the government. We then decided that following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, a Round Table Conference[194] was being held at London to consider the future of India and that there was the urgent need to inform the Indian leadership about the affairs of Balochistan. Besides, there was nothing new and demeaning in the government offer as we were already arrested without a warrant, which was the normal practice in Balochistan. As for the confiscation of Rs 2,000 security, that was a triviality in the struggle for freedom where people also sacrificed their very lives. We decided that let the two of us accept the offer and be released and if they were allowed to follow the activities of the freedom movement the other two would follow suit, otherwise the two would join us back. We thus nominated Ayub Khan and my brother for release with Isa Khan and I staying back.

In the afternoon, we asked the warder to call the head constable whom we asked to tell our relatives not to leave and to come again the following day. He informed us that the visitors had not gone and had planned on their own to meet us the following day. He then went to add, "Despite being a government employee, I am also an Indian and desire freedom from the British. In my opinion, if you agree you should opt to be released as in the entire Balochistan there is no national movement for national freedom. You are the only hope of starting the movement." We discussed the happenings of the day and our decision of the release of two of us with him to which he said that the government may not trust this plan and therefore may not agree to it. We discussed the happenings of the day till late in the night and decided that we all opt for release and work for national freedom. If we were to be arrested and the security confiscated so be it.

Indeed, my political life started with the decision that evening when I decided with determination to join the freedom

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In reply I said, "I am aware of the difficulties and suggest that you look after the family affairs and I join the national struggle."

Since that day till date, I do not know how well I met my responsibilities, my elder brother, may he live long and be well, however, has managed his part of the bargain extremely well. He has kept me free of all family problems. I have had no worries regarding my family, children or finances. Today, by the grace of God, our children have come of age and can look after themselves. But then, when there were only the two of us, but for his help, tolerance and spirit of endurance, I would not have been able to do anything. The selfless sacrifice and endurance of my mother, brother and wife and its consequential benefits to my struggle made me realise the truthfulness and significance of the verses of the Holy Book in which Allah, the all-powerful says, "In addition to other blessings I blessed the Prophet Yaqoob (PBUH) with a righteous family."

Whatever my contribution to national political struggle for freedom and later for democracy within and beyond Balochistan, I owe much to the matchless, sincere and selfless physical, financial and moral sacrifices and support of my few relatives. May Allah reward them for these sacrifices.

Travel to India and meeting Gandhi Ji and other National Leaders of the Round Table Conference (RTC)

At the end of July 1931, after consultations with friends, I departed for Bombay via Sindh to inform the delegate participants of the London based Round Table Conference (RTC) about the difficult situation of Balochistan. I left for Hyderabad, Sindh where in the newspapers I saw Gandhi Ji's programme who was at that time in Bardoli preparing to leave for Bombay in a few days' time, stopping for two days on the way at Ahmedabad.

I decided to meet Gandhi Ji at Ahmedabad and telegraphically informed Isa Khan Nishter Afghani, our fruit commission agent at Ahmedabad. Isa Khan's father, a Sulaimankhel tribesman, had come to Ahmedabad from Afghanistan. Isa Khan was a lively, active person and a staunch Pashtoon. He spoke Pashto but his

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children could not. He had in those days formed an organisation by the name of All India Afghan Conference and was its president. He had done a lot of work on behalf of the Conference especially in Deccan where he carried out the census of Afghans. He was in contact with all the Pashtoon origin heads of principalities of the day and leading landlords and traders. The Conference had held several annual gatherings. He had also worked with the Indian National Congress for a while and had also stayed with Gandhi Ji in his ashram.

He used to visit Balochistan on business trips and often asked me to take over the leadership of the Afghan Conference, which he deemed a worthy national organisation because he could not devote all the time to its working. He told me that all over India there were many well off descendants of Afghans, who were not ready to join the national movement but were willing to contribute to the welfare schemes of Pashtoons, in proof of which he showed me several letters of Nawabs, who were Pashtoon by lineage. I turned down his proposal, saying that there was no scope for a Pashtoon organisation in India. Such an organisation would have to be in Pashtoonistan or Pashtoonkhwa which would first have to gain freedom from the alien rulers and then work for their socioeconomic development.

On receiving the telegram, Isa Khan had published huge introductory posters in Urdu and Guajarati and had them posted all around the city. When the train reached Ahmedabad station, a huge crowd of Indian Muslim and Pashtoons, including Isa Khan, had come to the station to receive me. I was profusely garlanded and taken out of the station in a procession.

When out of the station, I was put in an open horse carriage of a wealthy person and driven to a huge bungalow on Saber Mathi Road that was vacated for my stay. Since I had not known such reception methods, I was quite shy, hesitant and lost.

When we reached the place of stay, Isa Khan said that I would have to address the gathering and thank them for the rousing reception. Thus unprepared and indeed awestruck, I rose in the horse carriage to make my first ever public speech.

With difficulty I uttered a few incoherent words saying, "I thank you very much for the warm reception and trouble that you have taken to welcome me." When the crowd dispersed I told Isa Khan that I had to meet Gandhi Ji for which he should help out. He

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telephoned a few places and told me that Gandhi Ji was reaching Ahmedabad from Bardoli the next morning and departing for Bombay in the evening. We were to ask for the interview later the next morning. We spent the day and night going around the city and meeting with people.

Meeting with GandhiJi for the First Time 197

In the morning we got an appointment with Gandhi Ji, who was staying at Gujarat Vadia Path National College. I, accompanied by Isa Khan, went there. Gandhi Ji had the poster printed by Isa Khan in front of him. I imagined Gandhi to be tall and well-built like the Muslim social elite officers and chieftains that I had met thus far. But when I saw him, he was an ordinary average human in appearance like all the others. His simple attire and personal ways aside, of which I was aware, there was nothing outstanding about his person or his ways. He talked with us in a friendly and simple way and I said to him that the purpose of my visit was to inform him and all the leaders of India, who were going to London for the RTC of the difficult conditions of Balochistan, which was also a part of India.

He responded by saying, "This is a well-intended task, it is not clear yet whether I will be going to London or not as I have a few matters with the government that need to be settled but you must meet the other delegates to the Round Table Conference. I am leaving for Bombay, you too can come along and we discuss the matter further there." And then he laughingly added, "When going to Bombay last time, I was accompanied by a huge tall Khan and this time I am joined by another Khan."

I agreed to accompany him to Bombay and took leave. I liked the person and his talk a lot and went in the evening to his meditation gathering with Isa Khan. Gandhi also showed a special liking for me then and ever after that first meeting with him. At the prayer meeting, he was sitting at the head of two rows of Indian men and women, who had the appearance of being economically well off. On seeing me, he beckoned me to sit beside him.

When finished with the meditation session, he got engaged in the accounts of the ashram and the weaving of thread there with a

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lady worker. When he finished attending to the lady, he turned toward me and asked, "Are you ready?"

Yes, "I replied." He told me the timing of the train and asked me to be there in time at which we left him.

I reached the station a few minutes before departure time and found Gandhi Ji's secretary, Mahadev Desai[198], waiting for my arrival. On seeing me, he rushed towards me and taking me by the hand said, "Today is the day for Gandhi Ji's incommunicado fast. Normally he goes into silence early but is currently waiting for a word with you before going silent."

When he presented me to him, Gandhi Ji said, "Mr Khan I forgot to tell you earlier that in Bombay you would be staying with me as that will make it easy for you to meet all the leaders that would be coming to meet me."

I said in reply, "It is my pleasure."

He then asked, "What class ticket have you purchased?" "Third," I said. He said laughingly, "Well then you will be accommodated in Mahadave's compartment." He then looked at his watch and took his finger to his lips, indicating silence.

I woke up early in the morning, washed and was about to start my morning prayer when a person came by me and said, "Gandhi Ji says he will be getting off at Dadar Station for a walk and the others will proceed getting off at another station. He has asked me to ask you if you would join him in the walk."

By the time the train reached Dadar, I was ready and got down and joined Gandhi Ji. When we came out of the station, a car was in waiting which the two of us boarded. After a while, the car reached the seashore. We got off and started walking on the footpath along the sea. I imagined that Gandhi, being old and weak walking with the aid of a staff and wearing wooden slippers, would stroll slowly for a while and get tired. But when he started walking, I could hardly keep pace with him. Except for Bacha Khan, I have not known anyone else walk at such a fast pace. We walked for nearly half an hour with the car coming alongside on the road. By dawn when it became lighter, people saw and recognised Gandhi and rushed towards us. We in turn rushed to the car and drove away to our place of stay at Gamdavi.

The residence[199] was a four-storey building owned by a wealthy jeweller[200], who lived on the upper floor with the lower three

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floors in use of Gandhi and his entourage. I was assigned a separate room on the ground floor. My host was Gandhi Ji's son Devdas Gandhi[201], who was my age. He was assigned to look after all my needs. In the evening, we would go out and walk by the sea. I spent 15 days there in Bombay with Gandhi Ji. The knowledge that I gained about the political status of the country and the number of high cadre politicians that I met during those days, I would not have managed in 15 years. Here I observed firsthand the various aspects of the personal life of a large number of national leaders, especially Gandhi Ji. Indeed, the foundations of my role in national life were permanently laid during those 15 days and so strong were the foundations that they never moved.

Apart from the extreme simplicity of Gandhi Ji's life and ways, I was most impressed by his never ending zeal for work that was interrupted by a maximum sleep of six hours or at times even less. During these 15 days, one night he remained in consultation with Sir Sepro[202] and Sir Jiakar[203] for a whole night and rested only two hours during the following day. On another occasion, he was engaged with an Englishman the whole night resting only for one hour. He would be occupied all the time, writing or spinning thread, chairing the working committee of the Congress, giving a speech somewhere or exchanging ideas with others. I did not observe him reading either; others would read the papers and relate to him things of his interest and the news items.

He could work for so long because he had very strictly distributed his time and stuck to his timetable. He had allocated measured time for all visitors which when over he would not extend. Neither was this habit of continuous work limited to his person. All his companions and assistants were also kept busy all the time. The house, the village and the city that he was at present would become the scene of a beehive or anthill thriving with purpose and life. On another occasion, I visited Sevagram[204], his village, and Wardha a city near it, where thousands of people were busy in various activities. The various things being produced included oil, khaddar cloth and paper. This rough, handmade paper would be purchased by Gandhi Ji at a high price and all of his work was done on it, including the printing of his newspapers. Cheap, good quality and soft foreign paper would not be bought. The local paper was a means of providing livelihood to thousands of local people and individuals involved in the freedom struggle. On the one hand, I observed the love

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these people had for manual work and compared this to the aversion felt towards labour by the Pashtoon nation and its elders, who find such work demeaning and degrading. The aim of their life is to avoid such work by any means possible, whether it be moral or immoral, right or wrong to the extent of deceit and force. To spare themselves from work, some make themselves Khan, others a Mullah, Syed or Peer, sit idle their whole life and wait for the fruit of other's labour, spending lavishly from it. Furthermore, they despise every person who lives off the winnings of his own labour such as musician, ironsmith, cobbler, potter, carpenter and other labour. It would cause me anguish as to when would the love of labour be introduced into Pashtoons without which there is neither freedom nor progress.

He would rise daily at 4 am, after bathing and washing at 5 am, he would come out for his daily prayer. Weather permitting, he would attend his prayer at the rooftop of the house and in case of rain the prayer congregation would be held inside. People by the hundreds would join him in prayer at that early hour. The crowd would include rajas and maharani besides the ordinary folk mostly Hindus, but some Muslims, Parsis and Europeans as well. Likewise, he would hold a prayer meeting in the evening.

The prayer sessions did not follow a set schedule. At times he would listen to the sing song recitation from Mahabharata, which would be followed by recitation of hymns from other religions or a talk on a set topic.

The prayer session would invariably include the recitation of Sura-e-Fatiha[205] of the Holy Quran. Whenever I was around, I would recite the verses of the Sura or in my absence some other muslim would perform the recitation. But when there were no muslims in the congregation a Hindu man or woman from amongst his companions would recite the verses. Occasionally he would deliver a lecture but later he would speak on an important national issue at every prayer gathering.

Every morning and evening, he would take a fast walk for a while which in the cities he would take at the rooftop of his place of stay or inside the room because outside the people would crowd him. He would take a given amount of food at a fixed time. He did not eat anything cooked and instead took fruit juices and nuts along with some goat's milk.

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The second thing that impressed me was his love for the truth and good deeds that was not just limited to mere theocratic belief but he followed it practically of which I had the first experience on that first visit to him.

A few days after our arrival at Bombay I asked him, "When are we going to talk about Balochistan?"

"Sometime this evening," he replied.

While I was still with him Dr Ansari came by to whom Gandhi Ji introduced me. Dr. Ansari[206] then said to me, "Join me for a dinner at 8 pm I have some other guests including Jawahar Lal Nehru[207]." I accepted the invitation and went there at 8 pm He was staying with a maharani and had arranged a very luxurious banquet as he himself was very well off and a spendthrift. The dinner was followed by a discussion of some very important national issues. It was being said that the Congress was sending a single delegate in the person of Gandhi Ji to the Round Table Conference whereas other organisations were sending their own Hindu and Sikh representatives. As the muslims were represented by the nominees of the government or such persons, who did not contribute to the united nationhood of India therefore there should be someone to represent the nationalist Muslims. Later, the same Muslim nationalists even formed a separate party for the purpose but the government did not grant them representation at the RTC.

Late in the evening, when it was past 10 pm, I remembered that I had also to meet Gandhi and would have to rise at my usual 4 am in the morning. I, therefore, asked to be excused for a planned discussion with Gandhi whereupon Jawahar Lal Nehru checked the time by his watch and became anxious and said, "It is already late so you had better hurry up or Gandhi would go to sleep." Dr Ansari sent for the car, which was taken by the rani. He then sent for a taxi and in the meantime it started raining heavily. By the time the rain stopped, it was 11:30 pm and I departed for the residence. On reaching the residence, the first person that set eyes on me started calling, "Here he comes! Here he comes!" and started running back towards the house. At these unusual greetings, I became quite anxious. In the meanwhile, Devdas came by and I asked him what had happened and why did every one shout alarmingly on seeing me. He said, "Gandhi Ji normally sleeps at 11 pm, but today he is still up saying that he has fixed to

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discuss with the Khan tonight but had not specified the time. So if he goes to sleep it would be breaking his word, therefore he must wait till the night lasts."

I went in, Gandhi was pacing in the room and said to him, "You did not have to wait for me, after all we are living together and could have talked tomorrow instead. I am sorry for having you wait."

In reply he said, "Not at all, I am at fault."

I then said, "Well, it is late we will talk tomorrow."

"No, unless you are too sleepy we will talk tonight," he said.

Pacing in the room, I started telling him about the difficult state of affairs at Balochistan. He listened keenly asking for explanation here and there. At the end he said, "I am quite clear on the situation and irrespective of my going to London or otherwise I would do all that I can for Balochistan hence after. You write all these issues and give it to Pyarelal[208], who will have it printed for you and whenever you meet other leaders for their convenience and reference also give a copy as a reminder for the future and their further understanding."

I benefited from his quality of standing by his word in my future life. That evening and ever after I always talked with Gandhi Ji in Urdu. When I came to my room, I sat up and started writing on the Balochistan situation completing it by dawn and handed it over to his assistant, Pyarelal, at breakfast time. Gandhi had not told him of it yet. He took the write-up to Gandhi Ji and sought his instructions about it whereupon Gandhi sent for me and said, "When did you write this?" "Last night, after leaving you," I said.

"You did not sleep," he asked. "No," I replied.

"Last night you were asking me to leave my appointment and go to sleep whereas you gave up sleep and instead worked the whole night. Pyarelal suggests that he would translate it into English if you read the Urdu text to him." he said.

"No problem I can do that," I replied. He then told Pyarelal to do the translation and show it to him later. Pyarelal and I sat together and finalised the draft report in English before lunch time and took it to him. He went through it making a few amendments here and there. I had addressed the write-up to Gandhi Ji by name. He suggested to have the name removed and to address it to all the members of the RTC. By tomorrow it was turned into an

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18-page single-spaced typed pamphlet. Pyarelal gave me 500 copies of it of which I took half and requested that the other half be distributed through their channels. When I asked him about the incurred expenses he laughed and said, "Do you Pashtoons charge your guests?"

"Such expenses are not part of hospitality,"

I said, "Let me have the privilege of being a Pashtoon for now." And he did not charge me the expenses.

A prominent characteristic of Gandhi Ji was his thrifty and non wasteful ways. He did not incur any extravagant expenses on himself or family, limiting their personal needs to the bear minimum, nor did he and his family pursue any gainful livelihood. He had devoted all his and his family earnings to charitable causes. Likewise, he had donated himself and the family to the national cause by becoming a national *"faqir"* working for the nation without asking for anything. If someone provided food or clothing, he would use it otherwise he would do without. In Hinduism, this ancient Aryan practice is called "Sanyas[209]" or the ultimate denunciation, and even today there is a large number of well off, educated and skilled Hindus, who have abandoned their riches and devoted themselves to a worthy social cause such as learning and research or another worthy national cause. This tradition also existed among the Pashtoons in the past that a man would earn while young and once he reached the age of fifty or sixty, he would give up his vocation and completely devote himself to the service of the village and people, solving disputes, enquiring after the sick or teaching and learning but now this tradition is lost to us and if someone does do it then it is with deceit and bad intentions. The troubles of the people, therefore, increase.

At this time all the expenses of Gandhi Ji were met by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj[210] which included transport, clothing, expenses of companions and disciples, telegraph and telephone that amounted to thousands of rupees a month. If such easy and unlimited funds were made available to some muslim or Pashtoon then God knows what they would do with it? They (Gandhi and his followers) travelled by third class train, wore khaddar which they spun and wove themselves and did not leave anything to waste. To the extent that postal envelopes were not thrown instead they would be turned inside out and rough work

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would be done on them. Once enough were collected, they would be diluted by acid and new paper would be made from them. Such was the procedure followed with all resources.

Another characteristic of Gandhi Ji that immensely impressed me was his tremendous courage. Indian Muslims in general and Pashtoons in particular deem Hindus as cowards. I too seeing the weak physique of Gandhi and his faith in non-violence took it as a sign of his weakness. During our stay at Bombay, a nationalist Muslim called a meeting at Jinnah Hall in the vicinity of the Central Secretariat of the Congress. The gathering was attacked by the Khilafat workers at the instigations of Maulana Irfan. Many, including Hakeem Jalal Khan of Peshawar, were hurt and the hall was taken over by the Khilafat workers. Hakeem Jalal was struck with a brick in the head and was bleeding. To inform him of the situation, we came to Gandhi. I expected that he would be frightened by the violence of the Khilafat workers, instead I saw courage and determination in him. During those days, on another occasion, the Khilafat workers were planning a rally in sympathy of the Muslims of the state of Kashmir which was given wide publicity in the press. There were all kinds of rumours of violence and even attacks on behalf of the Khilafat workers and their hired miscreants. Violent Hindu-Muslim riots were expected which was not unusual either as only four months ago a public meeting of the Congress was attacked as a result of which two workers had died. The public meeting had been arranged to honour Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan). The worst was that most of the violence was carried out by the Pashtoons of the NWFP against payment of money.

There was a lot of tension and a number of suggestions were made to meet the planned threat including asking the government to ban the planned Kashmir rally and making counter arrangements to confront them. But Gandhi and some other Congress leaders showed calm indifference to the piles of rumours. He would talk with a straight face to all, negating both the help of the government and raising a counter violent force. He would Argue that violence would beget more violence rather than peace. Moreover, it would convince muslims that the Congress was not sympathetic to the sufferings of the Kashmiri Muslims hence they opposed and resisted this rally in sympathy of Muslims of Kashmir. In short, he was neither frightened nor did

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he take any protective precautions. The Khlifat held their rally with no untoward happenings.

Till that time, like a simple minded Pashtoon, I also considered the philosophy of tolerance and non-violence of the Congress a sign of weakness and cowardice. But during my stay with Gandhi Ji and listening to his discourse on many occasions, I realised that indeed contrary to my belief non-violence was the ultimate courage particularly to those, who were brave but intolerant, like the Pashtoons; that often ruined their personal and collective lives due to their excessive intolerance.

The observance of nonviolence, if not as an article of faith as done by Gandhi, is also a useful strategic tool at the start of organising a national movement as was the tradition of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Prophet Moses (PBUH).

I, therefore, decided there and then to adopt tolerance and nonviolence as a way of national work and seek such fellow companions that were willing to work with me till the formation of a free Pashtoon national government that may collectively decide otherwise.

Gandhi was a practical man and practiced what he preached. In addition to his faith in tolerance and non-violence, very endearing to him was the spinning wheel and the home spun cloth, *khadi*[21]. He, his son and wife all wore, slept and sat on things made of homespun cloth. He, his disciples and companions would often busy themselves in spinning yarn in their free time. I was at once impressed by the usefulness of this practice. It inculcated into one the habit of austerity. Not that *khadi* was cheap; on the contrary fine *khadi* was almost three times the price of English and Japanese cloth. *Khadi* inculcated simplicity in one's appearance and thus freed one from the extravagant expenses on attire that one would undertake for personal appearances. It would, therefore, reduce one's personal expenses thus enabling one to spend the savings for national causes. Most of all, *khadi* stood as the symbol of nationalism and anti-British rule. It was a very clear and straight introduction to a person. It was particularly useful especially in the circumstances of Balochistan that had no newspapers and other propagating media. Most of my staunch companions had realised my aim by seeing me in the *khadi* dress for the first time and would ask others about me and my dress. They would then approach me and in due course join me. Besides,

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it provided employment and income to the courageous and very poor of the poor, who had no other means. People, who could not pursue other employment outside the home without shame or along with other domestic tasks, would weave *khadi* threads, such as widows or such tenants and sharecropper, who could not make ends meet. Such people and their womenfolk would take up such work. Their labour was worth two annas (one eighth of a rupee) per day which amounted to three and three quarter rupees per month which was a big earning for them.

So, when still at Bombay, I stitched for myself *khadi* clothes and a *khadi* cap, generally known as Gandhi cap, and decided to adopt it as my dress then onwards. When Gandhi Ji saw me in the *khadi* dress and the Gandhi cap he asked me "Why have you put on these clothes?"

I got a little confused and said, "Why, do not you like them?"

"No, I like the dress very much. When one dons these clothes of his free will and then discards them on the direction of others then it is most unbecoming. The government of Balochistan will not tolerate your wearing these clothes," he said.

"I have thought of it, I will not give up wearing them at the direction of others. If I am to be clothed it will be in these," I said.

"It is alright then," he said.

When on August 15, 1931, at the end of my stay at Bombay, I went to take leave of him, he said to me, "If expelled by the Balochistan government then come straight back to me." I said, "Okay".

In all these, days Gandhi remained engaged with the government in matters concerning the peasants of Bardoli and the affairs of Navajivan Press[212], insisting that he would not go for the RTC till the settlement of these issues. So every day long telegraph cables of the government would be received and their replies sent.

The All India National Congress Committee[213] was in session to which hundreds of participants from various parts of India had arrived for participation. Here I made the acquaintance of many people and learnt a great deal. In particular, I learnt about the working, organisation and rallies of political parties. In this meeting important issues of national importance were discussed and decided upon. The Congress Executive Committee[214] met at Gandhi's place of stay in fact in his room, discussing highly important national issues. Every day, I would see the newspapers

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in the morning to check if any RTC delegate had arrived at Bombay. I would make an appointment with them on the telephone and having talked with them hand them the printed pamphlet on Balochistan. Else I would see the one or two persons that lived in Bombay or make an appointment with members of the Congress Working Committee. At all other times, I would quietly sit by Gandhi Ji and observe the proceedings of the Congress Working Party. Unlike any other non-member, I had free access to the workings of the Executive Committee for which I am grateful to them. On one occasion, it was probably Sardar Patel[215], who asked Gandhi who I was, meaning why I was sitting in these meetings. Gandhi told him that I was his guest which should not bother anyone. I was granted this privilege till the partition of India, although I was neither a member of the Congress nor the All India Committee nor of its Working Committee. Whenever I happened to chance on these forums, I was free to enter and leave and my access was never barred by anyone.

Apart from Congress leaders, it was on this occasion that I met with the following Muslim leaders and made my acquaintance with them (may God bless them). On this occasion and then afterwards they were very courteous towards me: Maulana Shaukat Ali[216], Sir Sultan Ahmad[217], Sir Shafaat Ahmad[218], Sir Mohammad Shafi[219], Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto[220], Begum Shahnawaz[221] and Mr Jinnah[222]. All of them remained very cordial and friendly during the coming days and years.

One issue that impressed me most was the discussion on the proposal of Gandhi that the Congress must unconditionally condemn violence irrespective of who indulged in it. It was a difficult issue because throughout India individual British officers had been physically attacked and bombs blasted, particularly in Bengal. The governor at Bombay had also been fired at though not hurt or hit. It was a very trying debate. Various amendments were proposed including violence as reaction against government's harsh treatment. Gandhi, however, insisted saying that conditional condemnation would only encourage and excite the youth further; we would either support or condemn violence. If the committee is for violent means then we would have to declare it publicly and henceforth wage our struggle through armed struggle. But if we condemn it then we would have to condemn it under all circumstances, irrespective of the

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Meeting Bacha Khan and other Pashtoon Leaders

One day, Gandhi Ji called for me and told me that Bacha Khan was arriving the next morning and that Devdas and I would go to receive him. Devdas had just returned from a visit to NWFP. The next, day the two of us and another young man from a well known family of UP, who had given up his ICS (Indian Civil Service) studies at London to join Gandhi Ji, went to the station to receive Bacha Khan. Bacha Khan was accompanied by late Amir Mohammad Khan (Khan Lala), may his soul rest in peace, and Barrister Mian Ahmed Shah[224]. This was my first ever meeting with Bacha Khan.

Whereas Mian Ahmed Shah proceeded to a hotel from the station, Bacha Khan and Khan Lala came with us. Khan Lala also later went to a hotel and Bacha Khan took quarters in the room with me. While living with him, I was quite burdened by Bacha Khan within a day or two since he was much older than me and being younger I wanted to be of service to him. Yet he would not allow me and instead would want to serve me, such as at times making tea for me. I was quite embarrassed by this. Later on, I stood my ground and we became friends, may God give him a long life. Afterwards, we became steadfast comrades and still are to this day and if God wishes will remain so. I witnessed his high wisdom and good qualities and still do so.

What impressed me, most was his unbounded love for Pashto and Pashtoons which I had experienced in our very early days of acquaintance. It so happened that after a few months of our first meeting in Bombay, I was at Lahore on a private business trip and read in the newspaper about Bacha Khan's journey to Rohtak in connection with a meeting of the Congress. On the appointed day, I went to the railway station and took the train for Delhi, where I was going anyway hoping to spend some time with him on the train. By the time I reached him at the station, he was mobbed by Congress workers and the press so I stood aside hoping to join him on the train. After a while he happened to see me and leaving everyone aside walked towards me and embraced me warmly. This small act of his showed his love and respect for fellow Pashtoons and up to date he has given me no cause for complaint.

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While in Bombay, I asked him how the culture of public gatherings, which I regarded as the most difficult job in politics, commenced in NWFP but he did not provide me with a solution. He said that the process of contacting people was started during the Khilafat Movement and the agitation against the Rowlatt Act[225]. It later dawned upon me through practical experience that public contact and acceptance depended foremost on the sincerity of the person and truthfulness of the cause. Particularly in the villages there was no need for huge public meetings, all that one had to do was to be dedicated to the cause, look for people in the villages and preach his message to them. People, particularly rural folk, are given to truthful ways and cognisant of their interests. Very soon they will support a righteous cause once they recognise chivalry, honour and honesty in the preacher. Pashtoons are especially fond of chivalry and honesty. Given the righteousness of the cause and sincerity of the messenger, nothing can prevent its mass acceptance in the Pashtoon area be it culture, devious clerics, coward Peers, Khans or even the fear of government. And once I started this process of contact at the village level, there was nothing easier than public contact, learning which I had wasted many of my precious years. In a place like British Balochistan, which has a very small and spread out population, let alone cities it does not even contain large villages, the largest of which are two to three hundred houses and may be 10 to 15 in the province. Two to five houses also constitute a village. Through the machinations of Sir Robert Sandeman (the Maliki, Jirga and Levies system) the people of the area are so entrapped by the government that in the shape of a Jirga member, Levies sepoy, Malik (headman) or their relatives, a paid agent of the state is present even in a small village of the province. The strictness and fear of the government was unprecedented. The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), which is not even considered a law by most educated persons, was the highest law of the land. All others laws such as the Indian Penal Code (which is made by man), the laws of Islam (which have been ordained by God) and even the cultural laws of the Pashtoons were subservient to the abhorrent system created by Sandeman. Even in these circumstances a few of us comrades in a short time and with little expense were able to propagate our message to the people. We wasted a lot of time and expense following the example and advice of foreign groups, newspapers and organisations. Had we

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from the onset followed the prophetic tradition of seeking people out in the villages, which God has revealed in Surah Muzammil[226] "Oh the seeker of comrades .. (till the end of the Surah)" what we achieved in thirty years could have been done in five so long, as I have stated earlier, the person should have extreme devotion to his cause and be rightly guided by God.

Besides Bacha Khan a Congress delegation of NWFP had also come to Bombay that included Advocate Pir Baksh, Hakim Abdul Jalil Khan, Lal Badsha[227], Ali Gul Khan and two Hindu members. The strange thing was that the Congress delegation had come to oppose the entry of Bacha Khan into the Congress. They alleged that Bacha Khan was heading a religious party by the name of Khudai Khidmatgar that gave the call of Allah O Akbar (God is Great) in public meetings and proclaimed the victory of Islam. Bacha Khan owned all these allegations and declared his resolve to do so in the future as well. Gandhi Ji also told the Congress delegates that there was no harm in proclaiming the greatness of God and victory of Islam as the Congress was not averse to either of them. Gandhi Ji and the Congress then urged Bacha Khan to amalgamate his organisation and volunteers into the Congress which would facilitate organisational contacts. Bacha Khan accepted the suggestion and issued a press statement to that effect in the absence of Barrister Mian Ahmed Shah. While the negotiations were on, I suggested to Bacha Khan to wait and call the barrister as well. He, however, said that it was nothing new and that they had discussed the issue and the decision would be acceptable to him as well. The next morning, however, Mian Ahmed Shah issued a press statement opposing the merger and left Bombay. He has since then left the party.

My First and Interesting Meeting with Mohammad Ali Jinnah

One day, Mrs Sarojini Naidu[228] informed us that Mr Jinnah wished to meet the Pashtoon members of the Congress. Bacha Khan and the others accepted the invitation and took an appointment for the following day. I had already fixed an appointment with someone else for that time and could not join Bacha Khan in the meeting with Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

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Therefore, I took a separate appointment for meeting with him. When I reached his bungalow at the Malabar Hill at the appointed time, he called for me at once as he was waiting at the back lawns. After the exchange of introductory pleasantries, there arose an immediate problem as he started talking in English. I replied to him in English but added that I was not fluent in the language. He thought for a while then suggested, "Take a seat, I understand Urdu but cannot speak it and hopefully you know enough English to understand my point of view. So you speak what you have to say in Urdu and I will speak in English hoping to grasp one another's point of view." Thus we carried our bilingual conversation for a good one-and-a-half hours. Although he was sympathetic to the cause of Balochistan and had already demanded a separate Balochistan[229] province in his famous 14 points[230], he had neither gone there nor met any leader from there.

Growing a Beard

I was a young, well bodied, handsome Pashtoon barely 24 years of age with a shaved beard and sporting a light moustache at the time of my visit to Bombay. I went to Bombay Port to meet Sir Mohammad Shafi of Punjab and his famous daughter Begum Shahnawaz, who had reached Bombay that very day by train and were proceeding straight to the port to board a ship onwards to London. They had another lady with them at the time who left a while after my arrival. Later, when I came to the railway station, I saw the lady standing on one side. She looked anxious and by way of courtesy I asked her if I could be of any help to her. She said, "I will be much obliged if you call my driver from amongst those cars parked outside the station." It was raining heavily. The cars were parked at a distance and were many as well. But having asked for it, I had little option but to do the bidding.

"What is your car number," I asked.

"I do not know the number, but it is a car of so and so Nawab," she replied, making the task even more difficult. I walked to the waiting cars under an umbrella and succeeded in locating the car. While I made to take a taxi for myself, she said, "Please join me, the driver will drop you at your place. You are already soaking wet."

I accepted the offer and joined her in the car. She got off at the famous Bombay hotel, Taj Mahal, and I was to proceed to

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Crawford Market[231] which was nearby. While getting down, she left behind, probably on purpose, some papers and after climbing a few stairs called out, "Would you please hand me over those papers?" When I got out of the car and went towards her, she kept walking which looked strange but by then I had no option but to follow. She opened a door to a room and went in and I followed. It was the hotel ball room. There were a number of workers decorating the hall with buntings.

"I have arranged a charity raising dance party and invited all the RTC delegates and am hoping for a generous collection that I will donate to a girl's college. The number of volunteers that I have, no other organisation in Bombay can equal. Look there is Nargis! That is Zahida! And that is Parveen, all well-known personalities of Bombay cinema". She kept talking without giving me a chance.

After a while she said, "You are invited to the show tonight." She then asked someone to bring me an invitation card and said, "You will be seated by the Afghan ambassador," I took the card and departed.

Till that time, I knew nothing of the ways of such liberal women nor had I ever witnessed a western dance hall neither I have been to one thereafter. Later in the evening, I debated with myself of going there or not. But finally decided to go and witness this aspect of the world as well. In the evening, I went to the ball where I met the Afghan representative, Salahuddin Saljoki, and his companions and later joined Madam Sarojini Naidu in conversation. By about midnight, a young hostess that I had seen with the host earlier in the evening came by and said to me, "The begum says that the ball will end in a while and would be followed by awarding of prizes. Thereafter, you are requested to stay back a while as she has some work with you."

I became concerned and wondered as to what work would she, a complete stranger, have with me at that late hour. I decided to go away for now and make inquires the following day about her. If she was a person of good standing, I would call on her otherwise it was best to keep away from her. I got up and came to another part of the hotel, drank a very expensive soda lemonade and gave a note to the hotel waiter for the begum, stating that I could not wait as I was not well and that I would call her some other time. During the night, I kept thinking whom to ask about the lady. In

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the morning, I consulted a new Muslim acquaintance Dr Gosh about the begum.

He knew the lady well as she was a known socialite of Bombay and had been to Europe and amongst other well-placed persons had access to Maulana Shibli and Dr Mohammad Iqbal. He then said that I had done well not to keep her proposed appointment. The lady is alive and presently lives at Karachi

After this incident, I considered the issue of the inevitable contact with modern, liberated women in national organisations and protecting myself from any negative blemish and outfall. Finally, after a lot of consideration, I sought refuge in growing a beard, hoping that it would shield me from the negative intents of liberal and liberated women. Besides, on another occasion my mother had said to me in good humour, "Keeping a beard is good, it distinguishes and separates men from women," indicating that she favoured my growing a beard. Hoping that it would be doubly blessed, I decided to grow a beard and stopped shaving thereafter. When I went home, it pleased my mother a lot and I am convinced that it benefited me in the pursuit of my national life as well. When I told the background to my wife, she too was appreciative.

On the way back from Bombay, I became entangled with the police at Sibi station. As was the practice then, the police would board the train at Sibi and question all suspected new arrivals especially those in *Khadi* clothes about their identity, purpose of visit, place of stay etc. Anyone in *Khadi* dress, the flag carrier of the national freedom movement, was prevented from proceeding further and would invariably be sent out of Balochistan.

By that time things had relaxed a bit. Some years ago all the passengers would be lined up and questioned and those, who were very new, would be forced to lodge at a Quetta tavern called Barnas Sarai, commonly known as the police sarai, with the police supervising their movements. Prior to this, all would be unloaded, at an isolated station Hirak in the Bolan Pass near Mach, for the purpose of quarantine. Those, whose identity was suspicious, would be sent back. Not long ago, a well-know Parsi gentlemen Mr RK Sidwa[232], who had once been the elected mayor of Karachi was returned from Quetta Railway Station because his cufflinks had the image of the Congress flag. Police offered him entry into Quetta on the condition that he took off those cufflinks

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which he refused and was consequently sent out of Balochistan. Till as late as 1935, the year of the destructive Quetta earthquake, the sale of goods carrying the markings of the spin wheel and Congress colours were banned.

On the previous occasion the police did not bother me, probably guessing my local identity from my dress and physical appearance. On this occasion the police came and asked me about my clothing.

I said, "I am not going to reply to any of your questions."

"You cannot do that," said the police constable. "I told you so, do what you wish," I said.

"You will have to answer my questions," he threatened.

"I will not answer your questions, do what you will," I responded. He went and called his superiors, who approached me angrily but then recognising me said, "Well Khan Sahib you know, and it is the compulsion of our duty to establish the identity of newcomers."

"Well now that you know me there is no compulsion," I said.

"No, now the compulsion is even more urgent," he said.

"Well then, I stand by what I said before. You are free to do what you are required to do. You cannot interpret rules according to your will," I replied.

At Quetta station when I was walking to take the Chaman-bound train home, a Hindu police inspector came by and said, "Khan, please come over to the police station as the police captain wishes to have a word with you."

"I am going home to Gulistan and not fleeing the country; the captain can come there or meet me on the way as he has a car," I said.

"You are unnecessarily being strong headed, you cannot proceed any further," he replied.

"Well, Narayan Das, I am going unless you have the authority or a warrant of arrest that is a different story," I said.

He then told a constable to stay by me and went to contact his officer by the telephone. He did not come back and I reached home. A few days later, the assistant Tehsildar Gulistan summoned me for questioning and recording of my statement. He

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asked me about the places that I had been to and the people that I had met there.

"A new constitution is being made for India and for that purpose leaders from all over India are going to the RTC at London. Since Balochistan is also a part of the country and there are no delegates from it, I went to inform the delegates about the government and its ways in Balochistan," I said.

Soon after my arrival, my brother and other relatives sent me to be stationed at Lahore with a view to supervising the sales of grapes and pomegranates booked to various cities. I remained stationed at Lahore for two months and travelled to Calcutta in October with a railway wagon of grapes. From there I planned to go for a visit to Rangoon, Burma and look around Burma but was called back home. Thus I missed visiting Burma and have not been there yet.

Censorship of Letters and Harassment by the Police

While still in Lahore, I was informed by my brother that Balochistan police had started censoring our posts. In those days, the police were raw at the game and had, therefore, directed the postmaster at Gulistan to send all our mail back to the Quetta police. During those, days my brother used to receive a number of letters daily from fruit merchants from all over India together with a number of weekly newspapers. They realised the involvement of the police when the post was disrupted. At Lahore I occasionally visited the office of 'Zamindar' and got acquainted with Mr Zaffar Ali Khan, its editor. He published the news of censorship of our post along with a commentary by the paper. The police, after reading the news at Quetta (like the philosopher who after observing dung patties being dried on a wall wondered for hours how the bovine had reached such a high place), started investigating the source of the leakage of the police doings and suspecting the postmaster, they had him transferred. I started communicating with my brother through other addresses. Finally, the police modified their ways and limited censorship to my personal post that continues up to date.

I am surprised why the police still continue to censor my correspondence despite not having found anything secret during

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all these days with just one exception. When I was released from prison in 1953 after a detention of six years, the Afghan King Alla Hazrat Mohammad Zahir Shah[233] sent me a message of felicitations. In acknowledgement of this nice gesture on his part, I wrote him a letter addressing His Excellency as the King of Pashtoons. That letter was intercepted by the government but without questioning me or reprimanding me for that, the government instead leaked it to the press that I had addressed His Excellency as the King of Pashtoons rather than the King of Afghans as if the Pashtoons and Afghans were two separate identities. Some papers even wrote that I had addressed the King of Kabul as the King of Pastoonistan.

As recently as November 4, 1959, in the issue of the newspaper 'Anjam', Peshawar of that date, Mohammad Ghayoor had repeated this allegation and when I wrote to explain to the said newspaper through my son Ahmed Khan, currently a student of medicine at Peshawar, the letter was held by the jail authorities and the police for nearly two months on the assumption that the newspaper must have printed the said allegation with the consent of the Martial Law government. But when the letter was finally sent to Ahmed Khan by the police who took it to the said newspaper as response to be printed, the newspaper refused saying that being a prisoner his letter to us must have censor approval stamp of the jail authorities and the police. The letter was brought back to the jail for stamping by the jail authorities which they did not, fearing the displeasure of the Martial Law authorities. When referred to the police, they took the plea that it was a matter for the jail authorities and not for them to approve.

As for my addressing the King as the King of Pashtoons, the letter was written in Pashto and all Pashtoons when talking with one another address themselves as Pashtoons irrespective of their place of belonging; be it Kabul, Zabal, Kandahar, Gandhara or Pishin. People of different origins, however, refer to the Pashtoons by other nomenclature such as Sulamanis (in reference to the Takht-e-Sulaiman mountain) by the Arabs, Pathans by the Indians particularly Punjabis, the British too are the students of Punjabis in this regard, Aoghans/Apghans by the Persians, Aogan by the Baloch, Rohilla (people of Roh, which used to be the old name of India's western border) or Vedesti by the people of UP and Central India, Agha or Kabuli by Bengalis and people of Deccan while others call us Khan. We ourselves, when conversing in a

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foreign language, refer to ourselves according to the name prevalent in that culture, which we are addressing. Since my letter was in Pashto, therefore I could not refer to Zahir Shah as the King of Afghans or Pathans. I could only refer to him as the King of Pashtoons such as I have done. This difference in nomenclature confuses foreigners. Even Caroe[234], the author of the recently published "The Pathans", is totally confused over the issue, despite having lived with the Pashtoons for a long time and being fluent in Pashto. He erroneously distinguishes Afghans as distinct from Pashtoons that too not on the basis of geography but on the basis of lineage. He writes that the Durranis and the Yousafzais, whether living in Afghanistan or Pashtoonistan are Afghans whereas all other Pashtoon tribes are Pathans. This is nonsense. No Yousafzai or Durrani refers to himself as Afghan. Though in terms of land demarcation the people of Kabul have named their state Afghanistan while we have named our land or province Pashtoonistan, which we want and hope the people of Pakistan accept.

The First Battle of Independence of Kashmir

While I was still at Lahore, the Kashmiri people initiated the struggle for their freedom under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah[235] in cooperation with the Ahrar Party[236]. I used to visit their office and participate in the workings, extending them help here and there. Had I not been busy with my business concern and those of others, I would have ventured to go to Kashmir. The second group of workers that was sent from Lahore went with Maulana Obaidur Rehman's and my assistance. Earlier, another group of volunteers had been sent via Sialkot that included Mirajuddin from Balochistan, who later asked for forgiveness of the Kashmir government and returned.

Meeting Abdul Aziz Kurd

That year (1931), the young nationalist Baloch printed a secret pamphlet exposing the excesses of the prime minister of Kalat State, M Shams Shah. After my return from India to Balochistan, I had a chance introduction with the young Baloch nationalist, Abdul Aziz Kurd[237].

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Harassment by the Police

It was usual for the police to interrogate strangers entering Balochistan by train and bus. Because of my *Khadi* clothes, they would often question me and since I refused to answer them some would create a scene, especially in the buses, refusing passage to the bus till I replied their oft repeated stupid queries. Besides, the police would harass all those with whom I used to stay, questioning them about my doings in the city. This was particularly embarrassing for me to see otherwise respected, peaceful citizens harassed by the police on account of me. I complained to the police high ups, but to no avail.

In those days, Quetta city did not have oriental hotels and I used to either stay at the Edward Sarai[238] or put up with acquaintances. Seeing the oft repeated harassment of my hosts was a source of embarrassment for me all along. An acquaintance of mine, Haji Fazal Ellahi Ditu, a settler from Gujranwala and a Kashmiri by origin, owned a small hotel in Quetta. To avoid troubling my acquaintance, I asked him to rent me a room. He willingly gave me a small room and resisted police harassment Arguing that keeping up strangers was his business and yet refusing to charge me rent despite my insistence. I am extremely grateful to him and hold him in high esteem to date for that facilitating deed. The room would be kept unoccupied at times for years awaiting my occupancy. Haji Sahib is an old settler acquainted with the ways of the Pashtoons to a large extent. He currently owns and runs a successful factory of canned jams, pickles and juices at Quetta. I regard my facilitation his worthy contribution to the national movement of Balochistan.

Discontentment Amongst Government Servants

In the 1930s, the world was in the grip of the great economic depression, which also affected India and Punjab. The immigrants from Punjab, who dominated government services in Balochistan were making all out efforts to provide relief to their kith and kin through employment in Balochistan, much against the interest of literate and semi-literate locals, whose numbers had risen and who too were looking for government employment. To make the

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situation worse, the government, instead of employing people, was in fact retrenching already employed due to financial stringency. Under the given circumstances, the immigrant employees without distinction of creed or cast (Muslim, Hindu or Sikh) were united against the entry of locals to government service.

There were only a few local employees, mostly from privileged families, enjoying government patronage who too followed a policy that went against the employment of ordinary people for fear lest they become independent officers with influence and their equals. The second category of local employees was those semiliterate, who had risen in rank in some cases to the post of EAC that were totally dependent for performing their duties on their supporting immigrant assistants and did not have the ability to favour locals in employment. Yet another group that could plead the case of the local employees was the tribal chiefs and chieftains, who were themselves illiterate and actively discouraged the employment of educated ordinary people for fear of losing their grip over them. Indeed, they would go to great lengths to deny education and employment to the locals.

Two examples of this attitude of the tribal chiefs are as follows.

A leading landlord of Sibi had openly opposed the employment of Mr Naseem Talovi as assistant Tehsildar, currently editor of the weekly 'Balochistan Jadeed', by recording on his application, "He is of a lower caste and should not be employed to the post."

Another rather enlightened landlord of Sibi persistently discouraged the education of his nephews. One of them somehow persisted and joined college much against his wishes. He got close to him and gave the boy his daughter in marriage and had him discontinue his study, bringing him back to the village. A sympathiser of the boy approached him, pleading that the young man be allowed to continue his studies which would fetch him a good government job. The landlord had then replied, "Yes, he would then have an influential job so as to boss my son in the future."

The non-local employees, to appease these chiefs and chieftains, had designed a unique scheme of maintaining a waiting list for recruiting their wards against temporary and permanent jobs and would now and then employ some of them against temporary jobs. And whenever a permanent post was created, a competitive

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examination would be held, allowing only occasional employment to the locals with the majority going to the settlers. The local elite and their wards would remain on the waiting list for years even for such petty jobs as levies clerks and assistant clerks.

Here are two very interesting and illustrative examples of this scheming of the immigrant officials. Syed Rafiq Shah of Kirani[239] was on the waiting list for 17 years with occasional temporary employment now and then and when terminated in 1934, he threatened to go on a hunger strike till death in front of the PA's residence unless he be appointed on a permanent post for five years. The second case is that of Jam Noorullah Khan, a relative of the Jam of Lasbela, who had a BA Honours degree from Bombay University. He was placed on the waiting list for assistant tehsildar without pay for three years.

This self-protective ploy of the immigrant bureaucracy, to the exclusion of locals, on the one hand discouraged the attainment of education and on the other hand fully exposed the local population to the ill-treatment of alien officialdom. Thus the employees in waiting, the unemployed educated and the students of schools and colleges formed an organisation of their own at the behest of the above mentioned Jam Noorullah Khan of Lasbela.

In March or April 1932, Lord Irwin[240], the Viceroy[241], was to visit Balochistan. The above mentioned unemployed, educated class of locals started lobbying the Shahi Jirga Members for presenting some demands, in addition to the usual praise of British rule, in the welcome address to the Viceroy. Ultimately, the then AGG (Cater[242]) Balochistan, a very conservative Englishman, agreed to inclusion of the proposed recommendations of reforms and demands in the welcoming address.

I used to meet these young men in my hotel room or at the market place and soon Jam Noorullah Khan and I became close to one another and later became close friends and allies for life, despite the fact that he was an employee of the British and I their adversary. We never disagreed or confronted one another and to the end supported and complemented one another. Anything that I could not undertake, I would unconditionally entrust to him and likewise he would give me tasks that he as an employee could not undertake. We met regularly and consulted one another. Employment by the government was his need as he did not have

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independent means of livelihood as the Lasbela State paid him a small honorarium of Rs 100 only.

He, however, did not deviate from seeking the welfare of the people or betray the homeland because of his employment. On three occasions he informed me of resigning from his job in frustration and protest against the wicked ways of his British bosses; twice when he was an assistant Tehsildar and again as the EAC at Pishin. On each occasion I visited him and persuaded him against sending the typed and signed letter of resignation. I was firmly convinced that Balochistan needed such civil servants, who were competent, self-respecting and devoted to the homeland and its people. In him I saw such a person, trusting that he would do deeds for Balochistan that Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan[243] had performed for NWFP in his capacity as a civil servant.

In this connection, I was also hoping to come across someone like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that was well disposed to the government and yet loyal to the country and its people. In the beginning, I myself wanted to perform such deeds which did not materialise due to the attitude of the government and its fear of the Congress and some other happenings during our detention. My destiny, instead of that of Sir Syed, turned out to be one of confrontation and struggle for freedom. I tried to persuade Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi and later Qazi Mohammad Isa[244], after his return from London, for the role of cooperation with the government with a view to better the lot of the public, but they both did not accept the task. Later, on two other occasions, Jam Noorullah offered to resign from his post, once as an assistant Tehsildar at Hindu Bagh he had hosted Nawabzada Shahbaz Khan Nowsherwani, who was his brother-in-law and a member of the Working Committee of our political party Anjuman-e-Watan[245] and the other time as a host to me and Shahbaz Khan in Sibi, where he was posted as EAC, which the government had not taken well. He clearly wrote to the commissioner that he could not refuse to host us, as relatives and friends and that he did not regard not hosting friends as a condition of his employment. On another occasion, while a Tehsildar on deputation to the state of Kalat as minister of revenue, a post that carried a salary of Rs 1,200, he abandoned the post against the ways of the Khan and his Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz. On that occasion I could not persuade him and instead requested the Khan of Kalat to officially return him as he was not willing to work in the state.

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The Khan of Kalat was gracious enough to concede to my request and Jam Noorullah came back to his job of Rs 250.

Since he was competent, honest, brave and self-respecting, despite his close association with me, he kept rising in service and became Assistant Political Agent in the year 1945. At that time, when I was busy with elections in Sindh and was stationed at Karachi, I read in the newspaper one day that the government had awarded the title of Khan Sahib to Jam Noorullah. I was surprised and amazed by this development especially when British rule was nearing its end and the foreign rulers were packing to depart.

I instantly wrote him a letter from Larkana and had it sent to him by a messenger but sadly by the time the messenger reached him, Noorullah Khan was no more. The letter was returned to me sealed. Ten years ago, I had unexpectedly and suddenly lost a dear comrade in the person of Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi and now him. I was shattered and felt lonely. The best healer of providence, which we call time, that heals every ailment of man without a miss, in a few days healed this pain of mine.

On my return to Quetta after a few months, I was told that the government had bestowed the title of Khan Sahib on him without his prior knowledge and consent and when officially informed of this patronage and recognition he had turned down the title in writing. With this information, while on the one hand I was happy to know that my friend had willingly protected himself against this last minute degradation, on the other hand I missed him even more. He had fallen ill and probably due to wrong diagnosis and treatment died in a few days' time at civil hospital Quetta. Thus till date many Pashtoons, his relatives, friends and comrades believe that he was intentionally killed by the British in the guise of treatment since Pashtoons and Baloch harboured suspicions of British intentions.

Another upright and worthy educated person of this caliber was Mr Mohammad Hashim Khan Ghilzai. He was a student at that time and later served the national cause in many ways becoming at one time the general secretary of Wror Pashtoon Party and later of the National Awami Party, a post that he resigned days before the imposition of the current Martial Law rule. He is a determined, upright Pashtoon with faith in Pashtoonistan for which he continues to struggle to date.

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Hashim Khan had joined the education department after attaining the degrees of BA, BT but after a long service of 15 to 16 years, just managed being appointed headmaster of a middle school. He was continuously discriminated against in matters of service and promotion which disappointed and disheartened him. Out of frustration, he resigned from his job in 1936 and went to Aligarh University to pursue the study of Law. The AGG of the time, Mr Parson[246] and the PA Quetta, SB Shah[247] asked me to recall him, assuring me that in future he would not be discriminated against. He came back but after the departure of the said officials, he faced the usual departmental mistreatment forcing him to resign from his job again.

Such departmental discrimination is still in practice. Mohammad Akbar Khan Kakar MA, LLB after being in government service for more than 20 years, could only go as far as a sub-judge. He gave up the employment of the government of Pakistan and is currently a practicing lawyer.

Yet another of these educated youth was Dr Mohammad Ra mazan Khan Babar, veterinary assistant, who remained associated with me and Jam Noorullah Khan for a long time in secret and openly. The animal husbandry department also had a few local employees but none was allowed to go beyond the post of veterinary assistant as all the senior posts were filled by non-local immigrants from Punjab. Many years later, probably in 1937, when the local employees had become restive and as a result of my personal involvement, the commissioner, Mr Bremner, agreed to promote Dr Syed Jehan Shah as the superintendent of the veterinary department who was subsequently followed by Dr Ramazan to the post.

On the occasion of the Viceroy's visit, Jam Sahib, Dr Babar, Mr Hashim Khan and I tried our best to persuade the Jirga members to demand provincial status and elected government for Balochistan but to no avail. In fact, the illiterate Shahi Jirga members could not appreciate the demand as self-provincial rule was beyond their imagination. They were content with pleasing the foreigners and their Indian subordinates by providing and collecting bribes for them and ruling unquestioned over thousands of their tribes in return, keeping them subservient and suppressed. They remained content with their imaginary good life and equated this with freedom, power, prosperity and progress.

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Even then the welcome address on that occasion was different in that there were demands for schools, colleges, scholarships and award of contracts and services to the locals. The address of welcome was presented by a friend Mir Atta Mohammad Khan Murghazani.

Later on, the local government servants helped form the local Muslim Association with membership open to outsiders, the objectives, besides owing allegiance to the British government included many demands related to the welfare of the local population. Despite the ban on political activities, the organisation's members participated in and were sympathetic to the national political movement. It was a unique and truly timely organisation well in keeping with the needs of the educated youth and hence it became popular amongst the government employees throughout the province. The non-local immigrant employees were alarmed and started the process of transferring its active members to far flung areas of the province. The organisation would collect donations and give them as assistance to needy students amongst other activities.

In the summer of 1932, the organisation held a well-attended public meeting chaired by Nawab Jogezai in the hall of Islamia School Quetta. On that occasion, the public present made donations to the organisation of thousands of rupees and many pledged donations for the future. The patron of the association was to be appointed on donation of Rs 3,000 that could be contributed in three instalments.

Most of the association's organisers were my close friends and I used to be thrilled by their selfless voluntary work. They used to work enthusiastically for the association till late in the evening after a full day's attendance at office and would discuss important national and administrative matters.

I was attracted by their selfless enthusiasm and the worthy cause but could not join because of the association's declared allegiance to the British government. Therefore, I decided to buy the post of patron-in-chief for Rs 3,000 to be paid over three years which was much appreciated by Jam Noorullah Khan and others while some others were displeased by it. I wanted to be the patron of the association to prevent Sardar Jaffar Khan, the EAC Chaman, who was also eyeing the post. Otherwise an honest and upright Pashtoon, he was pursuing to install an Achakzai Sardar officially;

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a curse from which of all the other tribes of Balochistan, providence had thus far saved the Achakzais.

Blocking the Achakzai Sardar Move

It so happened that Murtaza Khan Tareen, EAC Pishin, preceding the current Sardar Jaffar Khan had successfully moved the case of installing a Tareen Sardar. Sardar Jaffar Khan, a Durrani Mohammadzai, was therefore keen to install an Achakzai Sardar, which is also a Durrani tribe. Perhaps he also thought this to be part of his government duty to prepare amongst the Achakzai Khans a permanent enemy and government agent of the national political struggle. He prepared one of our dear friends and colleagues, Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Gulistan for this post, first inducting him as a member of the Shahi Jirga and as an official Levies carrying a salary of Rs 80 per month. He was, however, aware that I would fully block this move of his from maturing and therefore in anticipation of my opposition offered the Sardar's post to me and, in case of my rejection, to my brother. I told him that I regarded this move as the end of the freedom of the Achakzai tribe and advised him to desist from the move if he was a true well-wisher of the Durranis. He then put pressure on me by sending Malik Ayub Khan Piralizai, father-in-law of my brother, and Malik Ayub Badezai, two well-placed Achakzai tribal dignitaries. They pleaded that the British were willing to install me or my brother as Sardar which carried a number of privileges in the form of salary, Levies constables, Jirga membership and other benefits in contrast to the futile and barren struggle of the Congress. In case I refused, they threatened to have someone else installed as the Sardar of the tribe. I refused to be persuaded and told them instead not to appoint anyone else either as the move was not in the interest of the tribe.

The supporters of the move were aware that this was a difficult task, needing the consent of a substantial number of tribal leaders. The EAC, with the blessing of the government, then readied our friend Abdul Ghaffar Khan for the purpose, extending him visible patronage and official appointments and social visits by government dignitaries and inviting him to hunting parties with English officers, hoping that the British would appoint him Sardar ignoring the consent of the tribe. The entire year of 1932 was

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spent in preparing the grounds for this official appointment by the government.

In the summer of 1932, Mr Metcalfe[248], the foreign secretary to the central government at Delhi, was to visit Quetta. As was the custom, he met a number of government nominated dignitaries which for the first time included Ghaffar Khan. Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi and I were also at Quetta hoping to send a delegation to Secretary Metcalfe to demand reforms in Balochistan on the pattern of other provinces. While still at Quetta I came to know that Ghaffar Khan had indicated to the Political Agent that he would rather meet the secretary at Chaman in the company of other Achakzai Maliks than at Quetta. Ghaffar Khan and Sardar Jaffar were to go to Chaman that evening and the next day suddenly confront Mr Metcalfe with the proposal of the Sardari in the company of the other Achakzai Maliks.

I went to the railway station hoping to meet a trustworthy person who would warn the Maliks of the heinous plot or else I would go there myself. As luck would have it, I found Mullah Abdul Mutalib at the station. He was in favour of the appointment of a Sardar but not of Ghaffar Khan. He had thrown in his lot with the family of Mohammad Rafiq Khan who was by lineage closer to the elders of the last Sardar, Ghulam Haider Khan[249]. I briefed Mullah Mutalib on the scheme of the government. the train was reaching Chaman late in the evening. Late in the night, a delegation of the Chaman Maliks called on the EAC, refusing to meet Mr Metcalfe. When asked for the reason for the withdrawal from the meeting, they objected to the presence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan as he belonged to Pishin rather than to Chaman. The EAC countered their objection by saying that the secretary was free to receive anyone wherever he wished. The delegation then went on to say that it was not just a visit but that Ghaffar Khan wished to give him the application of his appointment as a Sardar which they opposed. Therefore, instead of disagreeing in front of the secretary, it was better that they abstain from the proposed joint meeting; let Ghaffar Khan meet the secretary by himself if he so wished. The EAC then conveyed the stand of the Maliks to the PA by telephone, who assured them that no application for the appointment of Sardar would be forwarded on the occasion. The Maliks had then warned that in case the proposal came, which they did not support, they would stage a walkout. Meanwhile,

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Mohammad Rafiq Khan also prepared an application for appointment as Sardar on the basis of his family lineage.

The next morning, Nawabzada Magsi and I also left by car for Chaman but got delayed on the way. We crossed Metcalfe and his entourage that included the EAC Jaffar Khan in the Kojak Pass. One look at Sardar Jaffar in the passing, I said to Mr Magsi, "He looked extremely downcast, he does not seem to have succeeded in his plot."

On reaching Chaman, Mullah Mutalib gave us the details of what had happened the night before. The dangerous plan of Sardar Jaffar thus failed and the Achakzais were once again saved from the British imposed chieftainship. Jaffar Khan and Ghaffar Khan, thereafter, became our staunch opponents. They succeeded in sowing seeds of enmity between Ayub Khan and his father. Ghaffar Khan succeeded in persuading Ayub Khan's father to disown his only son. At that time Yaqoob Khan had no male issue by his second wife and had betrothed one of his daughters by the second wife to Ghaffar Khan's son. Ayub Khan's father was ready to give in writing that Ghaffar Khan rather than his son Ayub Khan would inherit all his property in case of his death, for which purpose Ayub Khan's father came to Gulistan.

Ayub Khan and I were informed of the plan by Malik Muhammad Ayub Piralizai. In retaliation, Ayub Khan moved his family to Quetta, warning his father to his face, "All that the family owns is yours while you live, to dispose of as you will, but if you create problems for me even after your death, then it is better to kill you right now to avoid all those problems which I can face after your death." This stern warning of Ayub Khan deterred his father, who after sometime reconciled with him and brought him back to Gulistan.

Death of the Khan of Kalat and Change of Dynasty

In 1932 the Khan of Kalat, Mir Mahmood Khan, died without a male issue by his legally married wives. The Baloch do not regard issues from concubines as inheritors and successors. Therefore, his younger half-brother, Mir Mohammad Azam, Khan was installed as the Khan of Kalat State with the consent of all the Baloch tribal chiefs. The new Khan popularly known as Azam Jan

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had spent nearly 30 years in exile first with his father, Khan Khuda Dad Khan[250], at Pishin and Loralai and then at Sheikh Manda and Hudda in the vicinity of Quetta after the death of his father. He did not approve of the chief minister of Kalat, Mir Shams Shah, since his days in exile. Besides, the newly formed Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Baloch leaders Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, Nawabzada Abdul Rehman Khan Bugti and Nawab Magsi too had spread hatred against the cruel ways of Mr Shams.

The new Khan, therefore, dismissed Shams Shah and in his place appointed Babu Gul Mohammad Khan. With this change at the court of Kalat, the Anjuman-e-Baloch started working openly and Magsis, who had migrated to Sindh, came back to the State of Kalat. The Magsis were still persecuted by their own chief, Sardar Gul Mohammad Khan, and wanted him to be replaced by Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan, his younger brother.

This change at the court of Khan of Kalat had lasting effects on the national affairs of Balochistan. In contrast to the Nawabs and heads of state of India, the new Khan of Kalat was closer to the common people and since he had spent much of his life in exile with the Pashtoons at Loralai, Pishin and Quetta, he was influenced by Pashtoon ways and was aware of them, as the British had joined Pashtoon and Baloch in a single Shahi Jirga of Balochistan. Later, his son Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, who was an energetic, active and an upright person, took interest in and influenced all the affairs of Balochistan outside the State of Kalat. In the same year, through the venue of Dittu Hotel where I stayed, I became acquainted with Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and other progressive young men of Kalat including Ghulam Sarwar Barakzai.

Externment from Quetta

A few days prior to the arrival of the Viceroy, when I got off at the Quetta Railway Station I noticed unusual activity amongst the CID police at the station. Two of the constables started walking ahead of me and when I reached the station gate, the CID inspector came forward to meet me and asked, "Mr Khan, has not the EAC Pishin served the orders of the PA to you?" "No, what was the order about," I asked.

"The PA has banned your entry into Quetta city," he said.

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"It was not in my knowledge and now that I am here what next," I asked.

"You carry on, we will inquire and let you know," he said.

I came to the hotel and telephoned the PA, who was in Pishin. A while later the police brought me the orders of the PA, banning three of my prison companions and I from entering Quetta city for the duration of the Viceroy's visit to Balochistan.

The next morning, I went to Pishin to discuss the order of the PA with him. He then told the EAC that he would not meet me with the Gandhi cap on. I told him that it was alright with me and with the cap in my hand I went in to meet with the PA. His name was Mr Todd[251], who had come from the police department. We had a long discussion but to no avail. He Argued, "These are difficult times, anything can happen during the visit of the Viceroy. In case of a mishap if you are around you will be the first to be blamed which will create extra difficulties for you as well as for us. It is, therefore, best that you are not in the vicinity."

At the end I asked, "Why this enmity with my cap?"

He sighed and said, "I understand that the fire that you have ignited will increase by the day and we will be faced with the fight for freedom here soon, therefore, I have to be strict lest my latitude is blamed in future by my people."

"You are concerned for your national cause to the extent of adopting cautions against any blame years ahead, then how come that you are regarding my national duty as something undesirable," I asked.

In reply he said, "I am indifferent, the law of the land forbids my personal involvement. I would not stop you as long as the law does not."

When I reached home, the notice had been served on the others. I wanted to disobey the order but my companions did not agree with me.

The same year Sardar Jaffar, EAC Pishin, summoned my brother and I to Gulistan tehsil on one occasion and told us that last year while we were detained at the police lines Quetta, the government had incurred expenditure of Rs 150 on our upkeep there which the Political Agent wanted us to refund. In response, I told him that we were detained by the government and were not there of our own free will, therefore, the question of our payment

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PART THREE

Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Magsi and the Multan Baloch Conference

Like me, Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi had also gone in 1929 to Lahore and visited the Indian National Congress camp there. He had written a paper on the state of affairs at Kalat and had it published anonymously in Dr Alam's newspaper, 'Masawat'. Some employees of the newspaper or perhaps Dr Mohammad Alam himself later sold the paper to the chief minister of Kalat, Mir Shams Shah, for Rs 2,000 for which the Nawabzada was arrested in April 1930 and detained at Mastung Jail for quite a while. He was later produced before a Jirga court that, at the behest of the chief minister Kalat, fined him Rs 10,000 and had him put under house arrest at Kalat.

While still under house arrest in 1932, he came to Quetta to meet the British Resident of Kalat (AGG British Balochistan) and after that went to Sindh, probably with the consent of Kalat Resident and took up the cause of the migrant Magsis. He used to visit the cities of Sindh, Punjab and Delhi and write in the newspapers there about the miserable plight of the Magsi migrants and the harsh rule at Kalat State. He was assisted in his campaign by Seth (later Sir) Abdullah Haroon[252] of Karachi and Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan[253] the owner of the newspaper 'Zamindar', Lahore.

Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan was an intelligent, educated writer and speaker, sharp, upright and resourceful young nationalist. Besides, he was a poet of Sindhi, Urdu and Persian and was the son of the most wealthy and high ranked Baloch Nawab Kaiser Khan Magsi. He had at his disposal Rs 500,000 to Rs 600,000 that he spent freely to further his national cause and therefore had the cooperation of the newspapers of Punjab and Sindh. His writings, regarding the national issues of Balochistan, were of high calibre and well-appreciated by the Baloch people. I had not met him in person all this while nor did we have any organisational links. Suddenly, one day in December 1932, I was surprised to read his statement in the 'Zamindar' that called for observing Balochistan Day by public demonstrations demanding provincial reforms on the pattern of the rest of India. This demonstration, he had said,

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should be led by Maulana Abdul Samad Khan BA. Although I was neither a Maulana nor BA, I understood he was referring to me. I, therefore, sent a telegram calling Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd to Quetta who came the next day along with another relative of his, Mir Haji Khan. We sat to discuss the call of Magsi in the lawns of Sandaman Hall, under the existing circumstances of Balochistan where there was no organisation and no political workers.

Our first reaction was to inform him of the unfavourable situation for holding the demonstration and ask him to take back the call but then we decided that since he had given the call of demonstration from another province, we ought to honour it. We then made a list of those persons that we thought would be helpful in organising the demonstration but could hardly identify 10 persons. However, we gave some form to the organisation and preparation for the event and dispersed to work towards it. Even today when I ask myself what motivated us to respond to the call of someone that we had not even met and with whom we had no organisational ties and yet took the risk of confronting the harsh British rule, I can only attribute it to our selfless devotion to our national cause without any immediate return as there were no elections to be won or lost or other gains to acquire.

Now that I think in retrospect, the 1930s were restive years the world over. The great depression had hit the working classes and poor badly who were restive and demanding, therefore the struggle during the year 1930-31 of the Congress in India and the Khudai Khidmatgars[254] in NWFP were forceful and eventful. At the world level, outside of India, besides the Afghan War of Independence, fascism rose and gained strength in Italy and Germany.

One can gauge the hopeless economic situation and the consequential pressure on the working class and peasants by the fact that in NWFP locally made raw sugar (*Gur*) was selling 40 kilograms (kg) for one and a quarter rupee and 40 kg of wheat in India was selling for less than one rupee. The best of Balochistan grapes, peaches and pomegranates fetched from one and a half to two rupee, for 40 kg. Unemployment was rampant; one could not get a job of Rs 5 or Rs 10 per month. On the other hand, government taxes were on the rise because the government had to meet current and defence expenses. Many large landholdings in India were auctioned for nonpayment of land revenue and in

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NWFP, the higher the landholdings the longer the landlords spent in police lock, up as punishment for default of land revenue. The public blamed the government for the depressing economic situation.

We in Balochistan, at that time being young and inexperienced and unaware of the outside world, could not evaluate the prevailing world situation. Each one thought that our desire to struggle for the welfare of the people and freedom from alien rule was unique, motivated by providence. We did not realise the currents and undercurrents of the world situation that had motivated all others as well and were waiting for a call and leadership. Had we been slightly more informed and confident, the people of Balochistan would have risen in revolt and being without a leader and organisation it would in all probability have been chaos. Our ignorance was a blessing in disguise or else our keen enthusiasm would have led us to a different direction, away from the need of forming an organisation with a purpose and direction.

In response to Nawabzada Magsi's call I wrote a letter to the newspaper 'Zamindar' saying in between the lines that although the call for a Balochistan Day was premature even then it would be a good beginning. The paper did not publish that letter but had shown it to Magsi following which he took back the call for demonstration the next day in a press statement and instead announced another date for a Baloch Conference at Multan and wrote to me for the first time.

Since the Multan Baloch gathering was in the name of the Baloch and besides I had some other engagements, I did not attend the Multan meeting but wrote to Magsi a letter suggesting that there was the need for forming a joint party of Baloch and Pashtoons in Balochistan that should work in Balochistan and outside of it so that the government of Balochistan could come under pressure.

The Multan meeting was attended by the Bugti Nawab Mehrab Khan besides young enlightened nationalists. The meeting had resolved to call an All India Baloch Conference at Jacobabad in the last week of December of that year. Since it was a Baloch Conference I did not actively take part in its organisation. In October or November, Magsi invited me to Jacobabad in connection with the formation of the welcoming committee for the conference. I replied that since it was a Baloch Conference, I

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could not attend it as I was a Pashtoon and that I wished him well. He sent me a telegram saying that the conference would not be limited to the Baloch question alone. Therefore, I went to Jacobabad and met him for the first time. Some other young men from Kalat, Mastung and Jacobabad along with a few Magsis had also come. Though inexperienced like me, each one was oozing with enthusiasm and national love.

The first item put up for discussion was a letter from the Political Agent (PA) Kalat to Magsi regarding the Jacobabad conference. His colleagues put up a listless reply to that letter which Mr Magsi did not like. He consulted me for a response to the letter. We discussed the issue for a while and then all agreed to my suggestion that we give an appropriately worded clear and straight forward reply. Secondly, it was decided that now that the conference was called in the name of the Baloch, it was not appropriate to change its name at that hour; however, during the conference another title acceptable to the Pashtoons as well could be considered. We also discussed whether the conference would be a onetime event or should a party be formed on a permanent basis during the conference and whether it would be limited to Balochistan or extended to entire India. Those present decided in favour of forming a party that would work in Balochistan.

I stayed at Jacobabad for three days and cultivated lifelong friendship and companionship with Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi which lasted till his death. An organising committee was formed for the conference under the chairmanship of Ghulam Qadir Baloch, a lawyer of Jacobabad and thus started the preparations for the conference. As it was difficult and unusual to work for a Baloch Conference amongst the Pashtoons, we limited our organisational efforts to Quetta and Pishin where people showed great interest and contributed substantially to the fund collection effort. We also recruited 20 volunteers for the conference who had a unique uniform of red shirts and blue trousers, the Baloch national colours. One of the volunteers was a young student barely 12 years of age, Abdul Khaliq Khan Piralizai, the son of Habibullah Khan Piralizai, the mastermind behind the abduction of the British officers. The younger brother of Yousaf Ali Khan, the current chief of Magsi tribes and prior to imposition of Martial Law member of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly, Mr Mahboob Ali Khan, was appointed the proctor of the volunteers. A few days later, Yousaf Ali Khan sent

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chief minister of Sindh, Shaheed Allah Baksh Soomro[256]. Likewise, many had contributed substantial sums of money toward the conference. A large number of social tribal elite of Kalat State and a few chiefs wanted to participate in the conference. The British officialdom openly opposed participation in the conference and to make it effective, the PA Kalat set out on a tour of the state and took those Sardars along with him that were suspect. The PA Sibi also went on a tour to the Bugti Agency to prevent Nawab Bugti's participation and the captain of police set up camp at Jhat Pat, the border of Sindh.

Besides 50 Baloch from Kalat, Mach and Marri Bugti Agency, only 10 Pashtoon delegates came to the conference. Sindh was well-represented and from Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab, Mazari Sardar Mohammad Azam Khan participated in the conference. I was joined by Nawabzada Mir Shahbaz Khan of Mekran State and Jam Noorullah Khan, who was then an assistant Tehsildar and Personal Indian Assistant to The AGG. A distinct feature of the conference was the participation of a large number of Baloch government servants besides the presence of a large number of government informers and Balochistan police officials that I noted at that gathering I had not seen in any other public meeting in entire India. Although we had invited a number of Indian leaders as observers, only Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan of the 'Zamindar' newspaper came.

We arrived at Jacobabad in the morning of the first day of the conference and came to know that Nawab Mir Ali Nawaz Khan of the State of Khairpur, who was the distinguished chairman designate of the conference, could not come due to bad health. At the very beginning, the Nawab had expressed his inability to participate in the conference for reasons but had agreed to let us use his name if it would be beneficial to the conference. His political secretary had brought his message to the conference which was read out later.

The first task therefore was to choose a chairman of the conference. Jam Noorullah suggested that the chairman must be from Balochistan and I, in expectation that either he or Nawabzada Magsi would be chosen to chair the meeting, seconded his proposal. But when we formally met Jam proposed my name for the chairmanship of the conference and Magsi seconded it which the meeting approved unanimously. I told

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them that since I was a political worker and had been imprisoned for political activities, my chairmanship may not be the most appropriate as a number of the conference delegates were government servants, who may suffer because of it. They responded that there was nothing anti government in the conference and hopefully the government would also treat it as such but if it did not approve the government servants' participation that would be considered when the time and occasion arose.

My Address to the First National Conference

Thus the first ever public meeting of the people of Balochistan, Pashtoons as well as Baloch, including delegates of Baloch from Sindh and Punjab, took place outside the boundary of Balochistan under my chairmanship. The conference was sufficiently financed and assisted by the Nawab of Khairpur and other well-off Sindhi landlords of Baloch origin.

This conference was also the first public gathering of muslims in Sindh in the post Khilafat Movement years. Besides, at that time there was no popular muslim organisation in the whole of India. The Muslim League was an organisation of the British patronised, prosperous muslim elites with no popular base or appeal that would occasionally hold indoor meetings in urban centres away from the public. They generally represented the limited elite class and praised and supported British rule. Their aim appeared to be to dissuade the public from anti-British rule sentiments, away from the Congress and to follow title holder Nawabs and feudals loyal to British rulers. Even at that they were divided in two groups, one led by Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the other by Sir Mohammad Shafi of Punjab. The Congress, though present all over India, was dominated by Hindus except in the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP)[257] where under the leadership of Bacha Khan Pashtoon patriots were at the helm of affairs. In NWFP, the majority of Hindus were against the Congress and in support of the British like their leader Mr Mehr Chand[258].

The greater part of India was predominantly Hindu populated with dispersed muslim minorities so therefore it was natural that the Hindus be in the forefront of the freedom movement under

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the banner of the Congress but it was surprising to see that in Sindh and Punjab, where the overwhelming population was muslim, the struggle for freedom against the British was being waged by the minority Hindus and Sikhs. These selfish Hindu leaders would go to great lengths to keep muslims away from taking the leadership of the Congress into their hands. They were, on the one hand, monopolising the Congress and on the other using the Congress to pressurise the British government to provide them with civic facilities.

The muslim public was excluded from the freedom struggle and the accompanying concessions of the interim period were limited to their political stance of highlighting the concern for their religion and following religious leaders. Even the struggle for freedom was waged in the name of religion and many clerics had formed their own political parties under whose aegis they would hold public meetings participated by the people and in their unending speeches they would talk more of the hereafter and the affairs of heaven rather than the down to earth concerns of the people. Their speeches and oratory on religious subjects were reminiscent of the eighth and ninth century sermons of the clergy of Iran and Iraq, the *Wahizeen*[259] that had made muslims listless, leading to their ultimate downfall.

The end result of these two different approaches was that although living in the same country and under the same alien government, the Muslims of Sindh and Punjab lagged far behind their Hindu compatriots in every walk of life be it education, business, employment or even learning and knowledge. Despite the fact that the greatest source of wealth of the country, that is agricultural land, was under the ownership of muslims, because of their bad ways, selfish attitudes, ignorance and parochial traditions they were caught up in the vicious circle of poverty and burdened by usury and litigation as is said in the Quran:

They will be stricken with disgrace wherever they go, unless they are protected by a covenant with Allah or a treaty with the people. They have invited the displeasure of Allah and have been branded with misery for rejecting Allah's revelations and murdering 'His' prophets unjustly. This is 'a fair reward' for their disobedience and violations[260].

Many resolutions concerning education, government administration, law, government services, trade, commerce and

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changes in the existing procedure in Balochistan were put forward by the delegates from Balochistan at the conference. These were thoroughly discussed for the duration of three days of the conference that would begin early in the morning and last till late in the night.

On my suggestion, a proposal was put up by Abdul Rahim Achakzai demanding that, "Pashto should be adopted as the medium of teaching in Balochistan" this proposal was the seed that after many political struggles and national endeavours was finally acceded to thirty years later in its acceptance by the Martial Law[261] regime of General Ayub Khan[262]. A lengthy and heated discussion was held over the proposal as it was not acceptable to the Baloch, although they had no cogent reasons or Arguments for opposing it as we were willing to accept an amendment, "children be taught in their mother tongue" probably because Balochi was not then considered developed enough to be the medium of instruction at the school level. Finally, it was agreed that, "Pashto was going to be the medium of instruction for Pashtoon children at the primary level".

Thirty years after that first proposal, the Martial Law government of General Mohammad Ayub Khan has finally accepted the proposal of education in the mother tongue and if implemented honestly and with a sense of purpose, without any malign intentions and in due course of time supported by a Pashtoon autonomous province that we refer to as "Pashtoonistan", the 10 million Pashtoons will prosper and along with it the entire country would be set on the path of prosperity.

Half an hour after my nomination as the chairman of the conference, the formal proceedings of the conference began. The secretary to the Nawab of Khairpur read out a long message on his behalf in English. After that, on the insistence of the conference participants, I rose to make my first ever extempore public speech. I must confess that I was quite nervous and said what was not well thought out but was nevertheless much appreciated by the participants. Some delegates particularly mentioned that, given my youth, they were expecting an emotional fiery statement but they congratulated me on a sober balanced speech.

There were not many people in the initial meeting and I was told that entry to the conference was through buying a ticket, which I

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did not like. The newspapers that morning carried the news of the separation of Sindh from Bombay, which was a longstanding demand of the people of Sindh, particularly the Muslims. Therefore, later when I was taken around the city in a procession, at one place I announced that to celebrate the separation of Sindh from Bombay, we withdrew the entry fee to the conference and opened it to all that wanted to come.

At Jacobabad, I met a number of individuals, who later on became staunch nationalists and supporters of the freedom movement. One such person was Mr Mohammad Amin Khan Khoso, who was a young man then, still following his studies at Aligarh University. He was a decent, informed, enthusiastic young man and was already known to Nawabzada Magsi as he had participated in the Multan gathering as well which his father did not approve of and had forced him to accompany him back home. Mohammad Amin was later elected as the president of the Aligarh University Students Union and had said many favourable things about our organisation and Balochistan in his presidential address, for which he was expelled from the by the college principal, Sir Ziauddin[263], who took him back after protest telegrams from Sindh and Balochistan.

After attaining his law degree, he joined the Indian National Congress and contested on its behalf from Jacobabad for the Sindh Legislative Assembly and defeated the biggest landowner of the area, Sardar Sher Mohammad Khan Bijrani. Though he did not get along with the Congress leadership, he actively participated in the election of Mr Allah Baksh Soomro as chief minister Sindh. He remained committed to and associated with the national parties and national struggle of Balochistan till the end. In 1939 during the first visit of Bacha Khan, when our public meeting was attacked at the behest of Jaffar Khan Jamali[264] and other Jamali Zamindars (landlords), he was hit on the forehead by an axe and was seriously injured. He carried the scar of that hit for the rest of his life as a reward from the ignorant people that he was serving.

He was imprisoned in 1942 but his restless nature and zeal did not adjust to the confinement and restriction of prison and opted out. He, however, could not disassociate himself from the national movement or us, his colleagues. By then the national struggle had advanced to a stage that there was either the party of the

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nationalists that adopted head-on confrontation with the British or those that directly supported the government. There was no middle path and he was a misfit in both because of his mercurial temperament.

He joined the Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah[265] government as a paid worker for the National War Front but he worked more for the national struggle rather than the front whose office was at Royal Hotel, Karachi. He joined the Muslim League but could not get along there either. He became a communist in between as well and read a lot about the Communist Party and its working and fully contributed towards the formation and organisation of the Sindh peasants' movement (Hari Party)[266]. In later life, because of his religious inclinations, he was attracted to mysticism. He is alive and is a devotee of Pir Barchundi[267]. He is still a very fast and close friend, although I regard religious mystics and their institutions as the main cause of the fall of Islam and he on the contrary looks upon them as the supporting pillar of Islam. Whenever we meet we waste a lot of time in this futile discussion but I am deeply fond of him, regard him a sincere friend and like him a lot.

At the conference, I also met two other government school teachers Mr Mohammad Hussain Unqa and Pir Baksh Nasim. Later on, they both gave up government service and took over as editors of nationalist newspapers at Karachi. Whereas Nasim stayed back at Karachi and is currently editing 'Balochistan-e-Jadeed', Unqa came back to Balochistan and is still contributing to the national struggle in one form or the other. He migrated to Afghanistan in 1947 with Prince Abdul Karim[268] of Kalat State. On their return, he was imprisoned by the government of Pakistan for 10 years. We were together in prison for some time. After they were released, they formed the Baloch party, Usthaman Gul that later joined with other political parties to form the National Awami Party (NAP), and continued to be the secretary of NAP, Kalat Division. He was arrested by the current Martial Law authorities but released after a few months. Another person that I met was Mir Mitha Khan Marri, who too was a schoolteacher.

After a lengthy discussion and in-depth consideration, we gave the conference the nomenclature of Balochistan and All India Baloch Conference and drew up its constitution. Most of the active workers were chosen from Balochistan and Karachi. In

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addition, we appointed some well-off landlords as members of the working committee and vice presidents. On the last day of the conference the Nawab of Bugti sent a message and a contribution of Rs 1,000 to the conference, that was read in the last session by Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi himself.

The resolutions adopted at the conference were put up as questions at the central legislature by Seth Abdullah Haroon to which the government gave the customary noncommittal replies.

In August, 1932, an earthquake of high intensity occurred causing a lot of destruction at Dhadar and Mach. It caused substantial damage in the form of loss of human lives and buildings. Quetta city was not affected greatly though a number of buildings were cracked and declared dangerous for living. This earthquake was a forbearer of the devastating Quetta earthquake of 1935. Had the government taken note of the damage at Mach and Dhadar and taken precautionary measures at Quetta, it would have greatly reduced the damage at Quetta three years later. The railway management replaced its damaged buildings by quake resistant ones that survived the 1935 earthquake.

The Mach Jail barracks were not damaged but its northern and southern compounds had collapsed, killing a few sentries. The whole prison was temporarily shifted to Pishin and housed in the fortress like building where the Khan of Kalat, Khuda Dad Khan, had been detained.

At the end of the conference and the beginning of 1933, we came back to Balochistan. The British government at Quetta put me under continuous surveillance. A Baloch head constable of police from the Punjab was posted at our village Gulistan to keep an eye on my movements. He was a decent fellow but intensely disliked by the general public because of the nature of his duties. Such was the dislike that the baker at the bazaar refused to bake his bread for him. He approached me for relief and I personally took him to the baker explaining that he was only doing a job, though an unpopular one, for which he should not be discriminated against. After six months of posting, he filed a report stating that there was nothing worthwhile at the current posting as all my activities were open and within the limits of the law and left the post.

That year my brother left by road, in a privately made coach, for Hajj in the company of some friends from Quetta, leaving me behind to look after the family and land affairs. The working of

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the Balochistan Conference was limited to the meetings of the working committee that were held at regular intervals. The first meeting was called at Sibi.

The Magsi Sardar had a bungalow there but since Yousaf Magsi did not get along with his elder brother, who was the Sardar, we stayed in a room separate from the bungalow. Saifullah Khan, who was also a member of the West Pakistan Assembly, was sentenced by the current Martial Law regime to six months imprisonment and a fine of Rs 500,000 or 10 lashes and six months additional imprisonment for alleged anti-Pakistan statements after the imposition of Martial Law. Yousaf Ali Khan did not have a family at that time but kept with him his younger brother Mehboob Ali Khan's son Saifullah Khan aged one-and-a-half years. Later on this Saifullah Khan was, like his father, a member of the One Unit provincial assembly. At the time he was only one and a half year's old and stayed with us in the same room. He used to cry a lot at night and disturbed our sleep.

In those days, one day Mr Mohammad Nasim Talwi (who at the time was still Pir Baksh Nasim) came with an official letter. He said, "I have been removed from service." He was very sad. I went with him to the head of education Mr Abdul Samad, who at the time was posted to Sibi. I thought that he had been removed for supporting our organisation but in his presence he told me, "No. he has been removed since he was absent from duty for many days". I thank, him that on my referral he was reinstated to service. This incident made me realise how some people use political work to mask their mistakes and to support their illegitimate aims. Thereafter, I avoided interceding on others behalf. If I did not have a choice, then I would research the matter and be careful about it. Even then some selfish companions would deceive me and take advantage of me. In this regard I write one thing so that it becomes an example of how selfish people use political work to support their illegitimate aims and deceive people and how to save oneself from interceding on behalf of others. Mullah Mohammad Sidiq Zakhpail of Loralai was in conflict with another person of that area over some land. For months, he would live in the party office in Quetta and made efforts in government offices. But he knew of my habits and did not ask me to intercede. Sometime later, he and the senior Malik of Loralai, Mr Abdul Haleem Khan Kudezai, came and said, "The relative of this Mullah is a government servant in some

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department and a legitimate task is stuck with his officer. The officer is a Pashtoon and acquaintance of yours. If you provide us a letter and ask him to assist us in this task then it will be done". I did not like it but unwillingly gave him the letter but with the promise that they would not ask me for such a favour again. Some days later that Mullah himself informed me that they had deceived me. The officer was a friend of that judge (magistrate) with whom the Mullah had a land dispute. I was greatly disheartened, got angry at them and gave them a tongue lashing. I made a pact with myself not to do any *sifarish* (recommendation) in future.

The second meeting was held at Quetta and the third at Hyderabad. The Hyderabad meeting was attended by the leading Baloch landlords like Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur[269] and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur[270] ,who later became a Sindh and Pakistan cabinet minister. There were also in the meeting some retired government servants from Sindh.

The government had in those days bombarded the Wazir and Mehsud tribesmen of Waziristan, which was strongly condemned by the nationalists all over India. A member of Balochistan proposed a resolution condemning the bombardment which made these big landlords and retired government servants nervous. They opposed the resolution on flimsy grounds that they could not defend. After a long discussion on the third day, a mildly worded resolution was adopted much to the dismay of most of our young enthusiastic colleagues. There I realised that these landlords and beneficiaries of the government had their own limited objectives and that sooner or later our ways would part. The meeting also resolved to hold the next annual meeting of the conference at Hyderabad.

Starting a Newspaper at Balochistan and Lobbying for it at Delhi

Sometime later I applied to the government for permission to print a newspaper from Quetta which the government granted, subject to the condition that the paper would print nothing political. When I asked about the restriction, I was told that the Press and Publication Act had not then been extended to Balochistan. I went to Delhi to lobby members of the legislature

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and besides other members of the central legislature met Maulana Shafi Daudi[271], the secretary general of the Muslim Conference and a staunch former Khilafat Movement leader, and Mr Syed Murtaza Bahadur of Madras, who had resigned from the Congress because it had not supported in the central legislature the formation of an autonomous province of NWFP, a priority demand of the Muslims of India. He put a question in the legislature regarding my application for the newspaper to which the government representative Mr Metcalfe, the foreign secretary, replied, "The restrictive conditions were laid because the Press and Publication Act was not applicable at Balochistan." To a supplementary question, it was replied that the government did not intend to extend the Act to Balochistan in the near future either.

Sir Syed Murtaza suggested to me that I call on Sir Mian Fazal Hussain[272], who was at that time the secretary of education for India whom I met at his residence. He was an informed, upright and courageous person; indeed he was the only one from amongst the title holders of "Sir" who wanted to do things for the welfare of the people and knew how to go about it as well. When we talked for about two hours about the affairs of Balochistan, he suggested that I give a detailed note on the socioeconomic conditions of Balochistan including political affairs, services, education etc. I prepared the report in two days and handed it over to him.

He cut out the part regarding education for himself and gave the rest to his secretary telling him to officially send the rest to the relevant secretaries on his behalf. Not long after, the director education Balochistan informed me that for some reasons the central government at Delhi insisted on establishing a college at Quetta despite the opposition of local administration. Although Quetta city was destroyed in the 1935 earthquake and Sir Mian Fazal was transferred, I stand convinced that the present college of Quetta was the result of his efforts. He then advised me to meet Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan[273], Dr Sir Ziauddin, and Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, all members of the legislature, and brief them about the affairs of Balochistan. He would, after my meetings, suggest to them to see the Viceroy in a delegation about awarding provincial status to Balochistan now that NWFP and Sindh had been elevated to provincial status. I followed his advice and met them all but the interest that Mian Sahib showed was absent in

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It had a working committee headed by Sir Mohammad Iqbal and if I recollect correctly, Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmood[277] of Qadyan, along with many known personalities, was its member but very few came to the working committee meetings. Sir Shafi would just manage to bring a few to the meeting to meet the quorum requirement. It also had an executive committee with representation from all the provinces. I was also made a member of the executive committee from Balochistan. In the beginning, I was very regular in attending these meetings and looked upon it as an opportunity to meet other leaders and present there resolutions for Balochistan. I, therefore, regarded it a good publicity stage. Mr Shafi Daudi appreciated my interest and asked me to accept membership of the executive committee which I declined as it was already expensive for me to participate in the meetings of the Balochistan Conference and Muslim Conference because of which I was always in debt and did not want to further burden myself.

The Muslim Conference was a rich organisation and had I mentioned my financial difficulties, Mr Shafi would have probably helped out but I did not nor did I ever intend doing so. As a standing principle, I have up to date not burdened anyone with party expenses. I have always met my own expenses from my pocket and whatever little I could I have spent on the party and the expenses of other companions. I think my acceptance and standing in big national organisations was probably due to this principle of meeting my own expenses.

To minimise my expenses, I lived a very ascetic life. I used to travel third class in the railways and still do and always stayed with my fruit commission agents under trying conditions all over India, although middle class hotels were relatively cheap costing about Rs 2 a night. Sometimes, I would be sharing accommodations with five to 10 people in a single room. Once, Qazi Mohammad Qahir Khan and I spent the night in an onion and garlic godown. Often the bed was not long enough for my size nor was there an attached bathroom. Therefore, I often took a bath at the nearest mosque. In Delhi, I used to put up at the vegetable market with all my work and engagements being around the Secretariat in New Delhi. Although a horse carriage ride to New Delhi was less than a quarter rupee and one could rent a carriage for one rupee for a whole day, I used to save even on that. My daily routine therefore involved walking for fifteen to

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twenty miles every day. I would often miss my lunch and my evening tea to save on expenses. Likewise at Quetta, I would walk after the evening meals to Jam Noorullah Khan's house at Balochi Street, where we held our meetings as he was the only one that owned a house at Quetta and would then walk back in all kinds of weather conditions to Dittu Hotel past midnight. When I recall those days and our zeal and compare it with the present day where majority of party, members are affluent owning cars and yet not willing to spend in the way of the party I am disillusioned and disappointed. I had and still face the problems of monetary constraints.

My close friend and companion of those days, Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan, was not only very rich but spent on the party propaganda to the extent of extravagance. He used to lavishly assist the Punjab-based newspapers like 'Zamindar' and 'Inqilab'. On one occasion, he assisted Maulana Abdul Baqi and Mr Bari with a huge amount for starting a daily newspaper 'Azad' from Lahore but it could not be sustained for long because of the large current expenses. Many colleagues, as well as the government, thought that he was also probably assisting me financially.

But a few friends like Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and Mr Unqa knew that on the contrary, as far as I could, I contributed to common expenses sometimes on equal basis like in the case of the 'Al Baloch' newspaper printed from Karachi to which Nawabzada Magsi, Nawabzada Abdul Rehman Bugti, Mir Rasool Bukhsh Mengal and I paid Rs 50 each per month.

During the years of the Second World War, we had gone to a meeting at Uthmanzai NWFP; upon returning the secretary of the meeting Pir Qaim Shah approached me and in a very low tone asked, "What have been your expenses so that we refund it to you?" I was greatly offended but calmly told him that it was not my practice to charge others for my expenses. Later, the two other companions of mine Mir Gul Khan and Maulvi Mohammad Umer were of the opinion that I should have taken the refund as it probably would be misappropriated by others in our name anyway. Only once, when at the behest of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Maulana Azad[278] I was assigned to the election campaign of Muslim Nationalists in Sindh in the year 1945, that required a long stay of months in hotels and extensive travel by car, I incurred expenses of Rs 3,000 that I claimed from the surplus

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funds allocated for the election campaign. Even then I did not take the refund for my person but rather for the party Anjuman-e-Watan in whose treasurer's name the bank cheque was drawn.

On another occasion, Malik Abdul Ali, a leader of (NAP), was paying me Rs 1,000 to meet the expenses of a tour to Peshawar as I had asked him for a loan of the same amount. On my return, I paid back the money that he was reluctant to accept despite my insistence. Although I did not accept any payment for my personal expenses and never got such well-off companions that could support their own expenses and contribute to the party funds, to meet the expenses of colleagues I would go about collecting contributions from the public.

I am thankful to the citizens of Balochistan; muslims and non-muslims, poor and rich, ordinary citizens and Sardars that they all contributed willingly and our national struggle never stopped because of lack of funds.

My colleagues would tell me that, as people do contribute with an open heart when you ask them for funds, the party should have readily available funds for its work. In the lifetime of Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi, who spent extravagantly on publicity, some party members suggested that since he would listen to me I should ask him to contribute those funds to the party instead of spending it in isolation. They Argued it would be good for him as well as for the party.

But seeing the weak financial position of my colleagues and people's love for money, I feared that they would give up the camaraderie and zeal for party work and instead quarrel with one another on account of money. I was, therefore, very selective and cautious when calling for collections and later experience did prove my fears correct. On one occasion, during the days of Anjuman-e-Watan, someone contributed Rs 3,000 to the party fund. A very upright party leader and a good worker, who would ordinarily go about in pursuit of party work in public transport or even walk, on another occasion insisted on travelling to Ziarat by taxi instead of paying Rs 10 to the public bus involving an overnight stay. His logic was that since money was available, why not spend it and that it would enable him to return by the evening and therefore insisted on spending Rs 40 on a taxi.

On another occasion, while I was expecting to be arrested, the working committee met at Sibi to appoint an interim head of the

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party during my absence. The meeting also allocated responsibilities to other members providing sufficient budget for the expected expenses. They were all working committee members of the party and were bound to secrecy regarding the decisions of the committee. But when I returned to Quetta, at least six trusting workers individually came and complained that if I was to trust so and so why could I not have assigned them the same work and the cost budget for it and were they not in need of money? One of them named Jan Mohammad Kakar was so offended that till date he has kept a distance from the organisation.

Once at Bostan Railway Station, I finalised a tour programme with Maulvi Ghulam Haider, currently living in exile in Afghanistan and working for Pashtoonistan. He was hard up with money and so was I at that time. I told him that I would send the money for him from my village Gulistan and sent him Rs 30 by money order the following day. His companions of Kan Mehtarzai got suspicious, suspecting that I regularly paid him a monthly salary. Maulvi Ghulam Nabi communicated their concerns to me. And once I explained to them, "I sent him on tour somewhere. This money would be spent on the way since you know that he does not have any money. Your local Jirga should have paid him the money but if neither you nor I pay him then the work will be left unfinished". They understood my point of view but this small amount of money created a rift between them. Maulvi Ghulam Nabi later left the party.

The previous incidents were not so shocking. Even now the problem of money, the squabbles it creates between companions and the misuse of party funds is a grave problem for me. In 1956 when I was under trial at Lahore High Court, the Wror Pashtoon party funds of Rs 900 were lavishly spent by an otherwise senior and educated party member. When I returned to Quetta, the office bills had not been paid and it was under debt. When I asked him to account for it he said that those Rs 900 had been spent. Even though I could not account for them, I kept silent. The treasurer and others took a stand on the issue. In response, the man showed receipts of which the major part was the expense he and another companion had incurred travelling to Lahore as witnesses in my case for which the government had provided them with a second class ticket and other expenses. Even stranger, the treasurer of the party at that time could not account for Rs 300 and when pressed

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for account, he would Argue that if the others paid back the money so would he.

In 1958, a few days before the imposition of the current Martial Law, when Maulana Bashani[279] had arrive on a tour of Balochistan, my two companions Fazal Ahmed Ghazi and Mohammad Akbar Khan were annoyed with me and complained against me to the West Pakistan President of NAP, Bacha Khan and Secretary General Mehmood Ali Kasuri[280]. During the Quetta tour of Bacha Khan, he summoned the two and in my presence asked them of their complaints. Both of them, otherwise educated and seasoned political workers, complained that I paid certain members of the party a regular salary on a monthly basis. Bacha Khan was surprised and told them that there was nothing wrong in doing so and that he himself paid some needy colleagues. I explained to him that there were only two such persons, one was the office secretary, Mr Anjum Kazalbash, whom we paid Rs 50 per month and because he did my personal typing as well I paid him another Rs 50 for it. The other person was one Mr Abdul Khaliq Kasi, a very active and willing full time worker with no means and a family to support. At times, he would tour with me for weeks. The two complainants confirmed that their complaint was about these very two persons.

I was faced with the problem of shortage of funds for party work then and continue to be so even now. The socio-economic situation in Balochistan is such that there is no self-sustaining middle class independent of government service in the province.

The few that are economically independent are employees of the levies, Jirga members and numberdars looking up to government for patronage and sustenance. They, like Pashtoon Sardars and Maliks everywhere, have acquired such lowly habits that they would not perform public service without the expectation of gratification. They would often refuse to do gainful public work in which they are stakeholders as well, like the cleaning of collectively owned Karezaat and the development of common lands, till they are first given a bribe. In a few instances at the time of Nawab Mustafa Khan, some of these people were offered by the Agriculture Department to develop orchards on their barren lands through government funds (Takawi). I was told by Nawab Mustafa himself that his work was interrupted by such individuals since they expected some bribes from this loan money.

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What to speak of the past, even now in the year 1958, a few days before the imposition of Martial Law when Bacha Khan had gone to Kabul and was on his way to Quetta via Chaman, a Kakar member of the Shahi Jirga suddenly arrived at the NAP office. He took me aside and said to me, "I am very interested in political work and also understand it but what to do I have financial difficulties. Otherwise I and another Shahi Jirga member, who is a friend and supporter, once active can invigorate the whole of Balochistan since such and such Khel are my relatives, another in-laws and others friends, so and so is the in-law of my friend and others are part of our gang, in another place he has disciples. If only you would pay us enough money to be financially independent, as you know that I have nothing and he too is in the debt of the government for Rs 70,000 in lieu of an agricultural loan (Takawi) and some other debts." I was very concerned by how such simple Pashtoons have been habituated to such lowly acts by the British and the enemies of the Pashtoons. And what kind of impressions they have created of us politicians and national political parties. I told him, "Sardar, if you would like to involve yourself in politics then that is for yourself, children and nation. Then why do you ask me for funds? You will not be doing my personal work neither will you be selling yourself and your tribe to me?" He replied "Yes, the work is mine but companions help each other."

My response was "You know that I am a poor and not a rich person. Then how can I be of help to you? At most I can assist you for your travel expenses. Apart from that what do I and the party have? Nations do not prosper on the assistance of others. Such work is undertaken by a sovereign and sympathetic national or provincial government of our own that creates industry, digs canals, builds dams, and develops jungles and lands."

He said "Why, will Bacha Khan not bring a lot of money from Kabul?"

I was even more perplexed and amazed by the expectations and doubts that government-linked Pashtoons have about poor Bacha Khan, who on his last visit, despite the annoyance of the King had returned the shawl that had been gifted to him and had significantly reduced the expense of his board despite the displeasure of Sardar Daud Jan[281]. I took him to Hakim Nur

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Mohammad so that he may hear his thoughts and make him understand.

Likewise, there were no educated persons especially in the rural areas and the few that were there were engaged in low paid jobs, the higher posts being occupied by immigrants from Punjab. Here the political parties face the dearth of literate workers and the few that are available are urban based, cut off from the people and given to wasteful ways.

An educated person, a confirmed bachelor and having a regular substantial income of Rs 300 from rented property told me that his income was not enough to meet his extravagant ways and warned that he would give up party work unless the party paid him Rs 500 per month. The fellow is, however, a devoted, knowledgeable political worker and has even spent time in prison for political activities. Many friends have parted ways with me or given up politics for money or rather the lack of it.

One way out of the situation is that of Bacha Khan, who is quite successful at it as well. He neither demands financial assistance from any nor does he give it to anyone and does not bother with the expenses of his movement. If someone from the party provided transport he would use it, otherwise he would walk. If there was anything to eat, he would partake of it otherwise go hungry. Above all, he would not allow others to spend lavishly either.

He was successful in his method in NWFP, particularly Peshawar, Mardan and Swabi because for one, that area has a large, independent and educated middle class and secondly the area is thickly populated with huge villages in close proximity to one another in contrast to Balochistan that has a small scattered population. The average village in Balochistan consists of only 10 to 12 households amongst whom some would be attached with the government with ample influence over the others.

In NWFP[282], with the coming of the British, the tribal lands were allotted to a few big Khans and feudal lords with the connivance of the government. A sizeable portion of the population in NWFP does not own an inch of land in this wide earth of God, let alone land for the purpose of cultivation and as a means of sustenance. These wretched of the earth cannot even raise a small room on a piece of land as their own to live in. They only have the housing owned by the Khan to live in and at his will.

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elite, are used to urban living based on conspicuous consumption and find working with the people below their status and demeaning although they loudly claim to be democrats. These wealthy and educated elite, therefore, avoid popular parties and seek favours of government irrespective of whether it is national or foreign. They turn to political parties with popular base only when these organisations gain some say in governance and government forming and see it as a vehicle for election to the legislature and placement in ministries. These educated elite, the so-called intellectuals, regard these positions as their right and reward for their literacy and indeed when the opportunity of government formation and success in election arises then the party leadership perforce of circumstances award party tickets to these literate candidates. In the Pashtoon party of Bacha Khan for example, Dr Khan[283], Yahya Khan[284], Ghani Khan[285], Qayyum Khan[286] and Qaim Shah represent this class. Even if these persons were not related to Bacha Khan, these appointments would go to them or their like would be appointed to these positions not so much for their party work as purely for their being literate and educated. Sometimes, and only seldom, these literate party members also happen to be devoted full-time party workers like Amir Mohammad Khan (Khan Lala) and Master Abdul Karim Khan[287].

Often in a situation of victory, the party leadership faces a crisis and splits as the literate leaders quarrel over party tickets and ministerial slots that are always less than the aspirants. Therefore, those that are not awarded a ticket or cabinet seat then leave the party or break party discipline, resulting in their expulsion like Samin Jan Khan and Barrister Mohammad Jan Khan. On the other hand, the dedicated but less literate workers consider this as discrimination and become disgruntled and anti-party even quitting for another, Mian Jaffar Shah, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, Salar Aslam Khan and Ghulam Mohammad Khan Lundkhwar[288] would fall into this category. Steering the party through a crisis of this kind becomes a most challenging task for the leadership.

Even so, managing a movement of the kind, Bacha Khan does without a literate, well-off, independent party cadre becomes extremely difficult. Although the main strength of the party lies in the tens of thousands of devoted party programme workers and these workers are ever ready at the beck and call of the leaders to render sacrifice for the cause, but because of their illiterate or

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semi-literate status, they cannot run the affairs of the government nor can they undertake such tasks on behalf of the party that require literacy, like explaining the party programme to foreign media or giving rejoinders to government claims and propaganda.

This has greatly hampered the working of Bacha Khan's party. Nothing substantial has been written yet about the party, its leaders and their programme to date. The party did not ever have a newspaper that foes and friends would read alike, like those of the Congress that owned hundreds of such newspapers that took the message even to the otherwise disinterested strangers to politics. The only media instrument of Bacha Khan was his own paper 'The Pashtoon' which did not gain the status of a daily newspaper nor did it have a competent editor or the quality of Gandhi's papers that were either edited by him or by highly qualified and competent persons. At the most in 'The Pashtoon' there would be the occasional write-up by Bacha Khan himself and the rest would be writings and poetry by half literate enthusiastic youth. Its circulation was limited to party cadres or at most to other literate Pashtoons.

The party did not have a large qualified cadre either. During the years 1948-53, while we were in prison in Haripur Jail, there were only two lawyers Faqir Mohammad and Sher Dil Khan and another literate Abdul Ghani Khan. There were another two literate workers Abdul Wali Khan[289] and Qazi Ataullah Khan[290] at Mach Jail and only one Master Abdul Karim Khan in Peshawar Jail. The rest of the 400 to 500 imprisoned workers were either semi-literate or illiterate. There was not even a matriculate amongst them. Obviously, the literate of the nation were either with the government or with other parties. Moreover, most of the imprisoned were older workers of the 1930s with hardly any young ones amongst them. There were none from the student community of colleges or schools except Mr Jehanzeb Khan, a nephew of Bacha Khan, who also later left to follow his studies.

This was so because of the confrontation of the party with the government from day one to date, with the ever present danger of imprisonment facing its workers. Literate people, particularly of a fallen people like the Pashtoon of the day, cannot and do not want to face these hardships, instead they are given to easy life and joys and comforts which the party cannot offer and are easily attained

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by siding with the government. The party literates can at best deliver a speech here and there, join a debate or lead a delegation and they consider the party leadership and its high post as their birth right. Students are zealous, and have the love of the country and nation and can endure hardship but they are not economically independent. Their parents send them to school so that they can secure a government job of sorts and hence forbid them from political activities. The students of Islamia College[291] Peshawar and Peshawar University[292] have no presence in the Pashtoon national movement. Yet it is surprising that the literate Pashtoons complain that they are kept away from the party and that the party has been turned into a family affair. They probably mean that because they are educated, party leadership should be theirs without having to toil in the movement. They expect that being educated, they should be giving directions and guidance for others to follow and whenever the party makes any gains they would be the natural claimants to it.

This is not just the style of the Pashtoon educated elite, indeed such attitude and claims of the pseudo intellectuals is universal. This was exactly the behaviour pattern of the Russian intellectuals prior to the successful communist revolution. They had the same complaints against Lenin[293], who is universally acclaimed as one of the righteous, truthful and selfless human beings. The literate intellectuals were against the party, to the extent that they remained aloof from the revolution for quite some time when they were needed the most for the progress and development of society. Lenin and his comrades had to make extra efforts to recruit the help of these intellectuals for the success of the communist revolution.

This problem was even more acute in Balochistan where there were very few literates and semi-literates, leave alone specialists and intellectuals. The few that were there were economically weak as were all in Balochistan except for a few Baloch Sardars. The literate, who were mostly from the poor strata, would come to the national party only when excluded by Punjabi immigrants from government services. So much so that Mirza Faizullah Khan, despite having a BSc degree, was a primary schoolteacher for a long time before becoming a junior clerk and still preferred to persist in government service. Likewise, Mohammad Sarwar Khan of Kalat State, despite being a diploma holder in agriculture from the United Kingdom, was a junior clerk. Therefore, these

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his assistance. While Mohammad Aslam Sethi and Mirajuddin, two Punjabi youth, set out to collect donations in the city, Magsi and I went to Arbab Khuda-e-Dad Khan Kasi, who was the official chief of the Kasi tribe, member of the Shahi Jirga, a fairly rich landholder, besides he and his family were well known to me and Nawabzada Magsi.

He received us courteously with the customary tribal warmth. When we told him the purpose of our visit, which was a collection for the Lahore newspaper, he turned very cold at this unexpected request. He called his servant and gave him a Rs10 note asking him to bring the change for it. After a while the change was brought, he counted Rs6 and adding another two gave us Rs 8, complaining all the while about rising costs of living and ever increasing expenses. This was the first experience of Nawabzada Magsi collecting from Pashtoon social elite as compared to the contributions of the Baloch Sardars, who were richer than the Pashtoons, and besides collected funds from their tribe on various pretexts. Had Nawabzada Magsi gone to a Baloch Sardar, he would have been given Rs 100 at the minimum and he himself being generous in helping friends in need was taken aback by this miserly and calculated contribution. When we came out he said to me, "Collection is a difficult task, it is better that I pay him from my own pocket Rs 300 - 400 rather than ask from miserly people." By the end of the day the other two had managed to collect Rs 40.

Memorandum to the British Government at London

The working committee of the Balochistan Conference accepted the call of the Round Table Conference's sub-committee that had called for suggestions from all Indian political parties and entrusted me to send a memorandum regarding the formation of an autonomous Balochistan province. The working committee also nominated four persons besides me, Nawabzada Magsi, Abdul Rehman Bugti and Jam Noorullah, who would go to London if the need arose and plead the case of Balochistan. For this purpose, Jam Noorullah Khan, Dr Ramazan Babar, who was the veterinary assistant at Quetta, and I, after a lot of hard work of several days, drafted a memorandum and sent its copies to the

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The Merger of Muslim League and Muslim Conference

That year the Indian Muslim legislators, most of whom were members of both the Muslim League and Muslim Conference, decided that both these parties should join. It was said, and not altogether without reason, that two parties with the same objectives made no sense. Some of the Muslim League members, however, were not in favour of the merger fearing to lose their leadership status in the new bigger party. The Central Working Committees of the two parties called their meetings on the same day at Imperial Hotel, Delhi to consider the issue.

I was a member of the Muslim Conference's executive committee and our committee met in the morning under the chairmanship of Sir Dr Mohammad Iqbal and decided in favour of the merger. There were only four or six League leaders that were not part of the Muslim Conference Committee that included Sir Mohammad Yakub, the League secretary, Barrister Abdul Aziz Khan[294], chairman of Bihar League, and Malik Feroz Khan Noon[295]. When the League meeting started, except for Dr Iqbal, Maulavi Shafi and I, all the committee members were of the Muslim Conference, we sat aside in the same room awaiting lunch.

After a while, Sir Yakub and Feroz Khan Noon started a commotion in the meeting. A few members staged a walkout shouting *Allah-O-Akbar*[296]. I too came out to observe the doings of those, whom had staged a walkout, while the others of the committee continued with their deliberations. Soon those that had staged the walkout decided to join the deliberations and disturb its proceedings lest a majority decision was taken in favour of the merger of the two parties. So they came in and a number of them started speaking simultaneously, refusing to accept the directions of the chairman of the committee. Sir Sher Mohammad of Punjab threw a chair at the chairman and dragged him down. I was surprised by all this commotion and asked Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Maulvi Shafi to separate the two parties lest it took an ugly turn but they both asked me to sit aside and not interfere, assuring me that nothing worse than this would happen.

The chairman then dismissed the meeting but the dissenting party stayed back and decided against the merger. By then, it was lunch time and since we were invited by Sir Yakub, we started for the

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lodges of the legislative members that were nearby. On the way, Sir Yakub and Syed Masood of Bihar started Arguing and taunting one another. I was surprised by this unbecoming behaviour of these leaders as hitherto I had not witnessed such scenes in the deliberations of the Pashtoon elders or those of the Congress committees where each member was highly respected by others. I was most disappointed by this show of public misbehaviour of the Indian Muslim leaders and lost all hope for a better future.

During the same year, the annual meeting of the Muslim Conference was held under the chairmanship of Dr Mohammad Iqbal at Lahore. It was attended by all the title holder Muslim leaders of Punjab and India. I, by virtue of being member working committee, was also a member of the subject committee. In the committee, at the suggestion of Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehar[297] and Allah Baksh Yousaf, we prepared a resolution condemning the working of the Muslim leaders at the Round Table Conference because they had not achieved any demands of Indian Muslims like the number of Muslims seats in the Greater Delhi Council and the provincial status of Balochistan amongst others. I took the resolution to the chairman of the conference just a while before its going into session. On seeing the resolution, he said, "Young man, this resolution and this conference are far apart as all the Round Table delegates are members of this conference." I told him that the resolution be presented irrespective of the outcome. He then asked me who else was in favour of the resolution and when I gave him a few names, he agreed to present it. The resolution was discussed very seriously for a whole day but without reaching any definite conclusion. In the meanwhile, we got word that the Ahrar Party workers were coming to attack the open session of the Conference. This information caused a scare among the title holders, who suggested that we cancel the public session and hold the Conference in-house. Others suggested that we postpone it for tomorrow so that we could hire the city miscreants for our assistance. Most of the former Khilafat and Congress workers were insisting that we hold the public session, come what may, which was supported only by Sir Mohammad Iqbal from amongst the government title holders. But then all agreed and few of us Pashtoons, Sir Mohammad Shafi and Sir Abdullah Haroon took the lead. When we reached the camp tents and got off from the cars, a very enthusiastic young

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worker of the Ahrar came along shouting angrily and said, "You will not be allowed to hold the meeting here!" Maulana Daudi went forward and embracing him said, "Sonny what do you want to say? Say it slowly for us to understand."

The young man said, "You have collected together the government title holders, Sirs and Khan Bahadurs and you want to betray the country and serve the British for which we are not prepared to allow you."

Soon a crowd gathered there. Maulana Dadui then addressed them, saying that the gathering was not in support of the British and that all were welcome to join in the proceedings of the meeting and thus calmed down the protesters. The meeting took place and some of the speakers spoke.

The working committee returned again to its session and it was decided that the committee would pass a separate resolution relating to the provincial status of Balochistan and serve a notice to the government regarding the other demands of muslims to be settled by a given date failing which the conference would start a civil disobedience movement and offer arrests. This was a great achievement for the young members. I was concerned with Balochistan mainly, for which a resolution was passed. At the end, the meeting chairman, Dr M Iqbal, rose to address the gathering and began by saying, "I have received a note from someone, who asks in case the government did not meet the demands would I actually offer myself for arrest. I declare in front of you that yes I will!" The resolution was adopted and we all dispersed with the slogans of *zindabad*. But I was gazing at the medal of knighthood that Sir Dr Iqbal wore as a prized decoration on his chest and felt as if it was having a good laugh at us.

Meeting with Pashtoon Leaders

During the days of the conference meetings, Khan Ali Gul Khan of Peshawar had come to Lahore for treatment and was staying at a hotel. A few of us went to enquire about his health. Pir Baksh Khan, an advocate, was also with him and the conversation soon turned to politics. Someone suggested to him that the NWFP political leadership should also join the Muslim Conference. He responded by saying that the conference could not go along with them as they were in direct confrontation with the British that was ruthlessly persecuting them, about which the Conference

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leadership could not even ask questions in the legislature from the government leave alone joining it. He suggested that the Conference consult their Central Legislative members and if they were ready he would draw a few questions to be put for answer in the house. After which he said that the persecutions meted out to them in NWFP by the government not only endangered their lives and property but also their honour. I was deeply moved by the narrative and was almost in tears.

Testing a Police Officer

During the Muslim Conference meetings at Lahore, one day I came across Mr Abdul Aziz Khan of village Bostan, a police official, who was standing outside the Conference tent. He was from Balochistan and known to me since school days and I asked him why he was there. He said that he had come to Lahore following a case and was going to Amritsar the following day and just came over to the Muslim Conference meeting by the way, so I took him in and gave him a seat beside me. He then requested me to take him along to the subject committee meeting. I told him that being a government servant, he could not participate in a political party meeting. He then said, "No one knows me and you just keep quiet about it."

I said, "How can I betray my own party? If I take you in then I would have to testify to your identity for which I cannot tell a lie."

When leaving Lahore, I came to the railway station and saw that he too was taking the same train to Quetta. During our travel he confided in me by saying, "Actually, I had come following you. We government servants have no option but to do what we are told in the line of our duty but do not you worry, when we reach Quetta I will write the report in front of you." When we reached Quetta, he took me to his place, wrote the report in front of me and had it sealed. But then I said to myself that I should test him. So I told him a few things about the resolutions that he was not aware of and which I wanted the government to know about, but requested him not to report them. He had then torn the first report and filed a fresh one including the 'confidential' information that I had given him.

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In Service of Communal Harmony

One day during the summer of that year, I received a telegram from Yousaf Ali Khan requesting that I meet him at Quetta. When I met him, he said that the members of the Quetta Muslim Association Mr Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani[298], Syed Zaman Shah and Syed Rafiq Shah were busy in instigating the Muslims of the city against the Hindus, creating religious hatred that could lead to communal riots. They had sprinkled blood on the Arya Samaj temple door and hung the liver of a cow on the door of the Sikh gurdwara the night before. Whereas the Hindus had washed their temple door and kept quiet, the Sikhs reported the matter to the government and also adopted protective measures.

The following night, Peer Ali Shah of the Punjabi Mosque was supposed to deliver a sermon there. They also planned to exhibit the stomach of a sheep telling the gathering that this was an act of the Hindus and the Sikhs, thus instigating them to attack the Hindu and Sikh temples, leading to sectarian riots. Since there were a small number of Baloch and Pashtoons in the city during the night, the immigrant Hindus, Sikhs and Punjabi Muslims were expected to fight and kill one another. In this way they were hoping the immigrants would feel insecure and flee the city and the province, leaving its commerce and services to the local people. "What should be done now," he asked.

I said to him, "We should call together the local young members of the Muslim Association and convince them that their plan was mischievous which will only give a bad name to the local Muslim population and damage their future."

He said, "Mir Shahbaz Khan does not want it to be known that he has spilled the beans as he is privy to the scheme and has sworn on the Holy Quran to secrecy, besides Shahbaz Khan fears vengeance from this group."

After deliberating the matter at length, I told him that I would seek these young chaps in my individual capacity and try to dissuade them from this ghastly scheme. The next morning, I went to the office of the Muslim Association, of which I was the patron and asked for the list of those, who had committed donations to the association during the annual conference and had not paid yet, suggesting that we call on them tomorrow and collect the promised donations. So I collected these young men on the pretext of collecting donations and started the conversation by

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saying that I heard that the Sikhs had reported such and such an incident to the government and who could be behind such a shameful cowardly act. The Sikhs and Hindus can resort to similar acts against our mosques leading to sectarian riots and killings in which innocent people will be murdered and the city life will be disrupted, damaging our name and character. Besides, the government will intervene with force because it has the police and army to control such riots.

In reply someone said, "It is a good thing immigrant Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims will kill one another. City life will be disrupted and they will feel insecure and flee, leaving the city and province to the local population."

In reply to this statement I said, "They are also human beings and belong to this country. Besides, in the eventuality of large scale riots who would keep back the locals from participating in it? Both the police and the army are from the outsiders. They are unlikely to shoot or arrest the immigrant Muslims and the non-Muslims but would willingly shoot at the locals and arrest them as well at a large scale. And finally, except for a total state of war humans do not abandon their abode and means of livelihood for fear of restlessness and rioting. Do you not see that cities are destroyed by floods and earthquakes and yet people settle there again? Besides, the British are here and they need to run their administration. If need be they will deploy the army to perform the tasks otherwise performed by immigrant civilians. We are actually suppressed by the British, who employ the immigrants and not so much by the immigrant Punjabi Muslims and non-Muslims. But for British presence and protection, the immigrants cannot take our land from us. Till such time that we do not defeat the British and free our country we cannot get control of our province."

We thoroughly discussed the whole issue for two to three hours and also collected the committed donations. By afternoon, we not only collected about Rs500 but also agreed that the whole scheme was in bad taste. These young men also confessed that they were behind all these untoward doings.

I then came to Yousaf Ali Khan and told him that the affair had been settled and the planned upheaval avoided. He then issued his famous press statement in which he had called the doings of the local Muslims "the running around of slaves for their

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masters", which upset the local Muslim leaders, especially Jam Noorullah Khan. He was later convinced that gaining privileges or facilities for the local population was not the basic aim of our public and political life. Because even if all the services of the province were filled by the locals and the whole population became literate, it would not lead to freedom from the British. The main aim was freedom and power to run the affairs of the country and the province, rather than securing service posts under an alien government. Education and other privileges for the local population were only means to an end, in that an educated person could probably work and understand the need for freedom in a better way and would be able to serve the people and country better after freedom. Locals should be appointed in service so that, unlike the others, they would not scare people from the freedom movement.

These momentary and one time privileges were not worth bringing about hatred amongst the people of the country. When the local people fight one another and the enslaving British go about unscathed and instead become a mediating third party between the two, then both the parties would be more dependent on the British, who would use each for its own ends. In short, our timely intervention not only averted the immediate pending communal riots, but rather despite the continuous discrimination against the local population, the people of the province have not thought of violence against the immigrants in the province.

So much so that even today the people of Balochistan are discriminated against and deprived of their share of service in the country and the province. And under the in force One Unit[299] scheme, the claim on provincial basis has lost all relevance. To top it all, whereas the Punjab bureaucracy is in total control in the former provinces of NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan; a large portion of the lower level jobs have been reserved for retired defence service personnel of whom more than 80 percent come from Punjab and Balochistan does not even have any retired armed forces personnel. The implications are that come what may, more than 50 percent of the employed in all services in Balochistan would be from Punjab. Because of our party efforts of those days, till date no one has even thought of grabbing government jobs by force and I pray and hope that the need for violent means in pursuance of the rights of the local population never arises in the

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Pashtoon and Baloch lands in the future either. I am pleased with myself that I managed to achieve this tolerance.

The settler Punjabis of Quetta city are, however, living under the shadow of fear because of the precedence of the pre-partition behaviour of the Muslim League towards non-muslims in Punjab; they fear the same fate would be meted out to them.

I am told that in 1958, when we called that historic strike in Quetta city on the occasion of Bacha Khan's arrest at Quetta, the city Punjabis for several nights and days feared that the local Pashtoons and Baloch were about to attack their homes and properties and that they had even informed the government and had adopted defensive measures. Many believe that my current imprisonment by the Martial Law authorities and the harsh treatment meted out to the local shopkeepers is motivated by that fear and insecurity on the part of the immigrant population of Quetta city, as the total police force in the city comprises of Punjabis. During that year Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan, others and I wrote profusely about the Balochistan situation in the newspapers of Lahore, especially 'Zamindar' and 'Inqilab', that was well-received by every strata of the population. The publications of our write-ups also protected us from the immediate wrath of the British, much against the policy of the government of the day, which in the words of Mr Wingate[300], "Forbid all public contacts and demands, good as well as bad, in Balochistan." This publicity outside the province, however, cost us a lot in monetary terms and became unsustainable even for a resourceful person like Yousaf Ali Khan as well.

It was because of our substantial financial assistance to these papers, that although nearly all of them later became the organs of the Muslim League, they never wrote against us at the behest of the League leaders as other newspapers did. Indeed, Zaffar Ali Khan had told the Muslim League at Quetta where he had specially come to further the cause of the Muslim League, that he would not say anything against Abdul Samad Khan and his party in public meetings. He was courteous to even visit me later, much to the annoyance of his hosts, the local Muslim League leaders. Similar was the attitude of Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehar and his companion Maulana Abdul Majid Salik. In the year 1956, when I was arrested from Loralai under the Safety Act on the orders of the British officers at Quetta[301] and accused by Dr Khan,

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the chief minister of West Pakistan, that I had raised a Pashtoonistan flag at Chaman and Dr Khan had said to the press on that occasion about me, "Imprisonment is too benign a punishment. He deserves to be shot and I would shoot him myself."

Shorash Kashmiri[302] had on that occasion written a very acrimonious write-up about me in his paper, 'Chattan', Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mahar had sent him a letter condemning his write-up Arguing that a person that had served the national cause with self and resources during the harsh years of the 1930s against the British, could not ever be the enemy of his country and people. Finally, gaining publicity in 'Zamindar' and 'Azad' became beyond our means so Yousaf Ali Khan and I decided to station two persons at Karachi who would publish a weekly magazine that would work for the party and Balochistan, pending the extension of the Press and Publications Act to Balochistan.

One of the reasons behind this decision was the departmental harassment meted out to Mohammad Hussain Unqa, a primary school teacher, who had been transferred to the school at Marga Kibzai, a station that he had abandoned and was then unemployed. So he and Abdul Aziz Kurd were nominated for running the proposed paper at Karachi for which we allocated a monthly expenditure of Rs200, which would be raised by the payment of Rs 50 by Yousaf Ali Khan, Abdul Rehman Bugti, Sardar Rasool Bukhsh Mengal and I each, either as donation from others or from our own pockets. The two went to Karachi but developed differences with one another with Aziz Kurd coming back and Mr Unqa making some arrangements with the 'Al-Baloch' paper, which was being run by our party sympathisers, Maulvi Abdul Samad and Maulvi Mohammad Usman. With the joining of Mr Unqa, it became a popular paper in Balochistan amongst the people.

Sardari (Chieftaincy) of Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi

That year the Khan of Kalat, with the consent of the British and elders of the Magsi tribe, appointed Yousaf Ali Khan as Sardar of the Magsi tribe in place of his elder brother Sardar Gul Mohammad Khan. On becoming chief of the Magsi tribe, he

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inherited a fiefdom spread over thousands of miles, almost a sizeable estate generating an income in millions of rupees, in addition to whatever he demanded from the tribe. The chief of the Magsis had a brewery, the product of which besides local sales would illicitly be sold in the province of Sindh. The use of alcohol was, therefore,

common amongst the people of Jal. The Magsis, like the other Baloch and Barahovi chieftains were almost independent rulers of Jal Magsi. They did not pay any taxes to the State of Kalat or the British, who did not interfere in the day to day running of the territory of Jal Magsi. The Khan of Kalat instead paid the Magsi Sardar a stipend. This semi-independent status of Jal Magsi continued till the imposition of the present Martial Law during which the current Magsi Sardar, Saifullah Khan was arrested and detained at Mach Jail and later fined heavily.

The main purpose of appointing Yousaf Ali Khan as Chief of the Magsi tribe was to prevent him from indulging in national politics. The apparent and immediate cause of his appointment was, however, the mental degeneration of the sitting Sardar Gul Mohammad Khan due to excessive use of drugs. Later, the British used to sternly forbid Yousaf Ali Khan from taking part in politics and ultimately had him removed, entrusting the chieftainship of the tribe to the current Sardar Mahboob Ali Khan. The British officials used to check him, telling him that he should spend time with his tribe rather than live in the company of Abdul Samad Khan and Kurd at Quetta.

After he became the Sardar, Yousaf Ali Khan started working for giving a democratic shape to the government of the State of Kalat, with more powers to the assembly of the Sardars, the state council. The Khan of Kalat and even the British were open to these moves but not the other Sardars, who wanted to rule their tribes with an iron hand and be the sole claimants to the awards of payments from the British, along with the privileges of the Jirga and other titles. They were against any Levies posts, schools and even hospitals in their tribal territories. But Yousaf Ali Khan persisted on the democratisation of the Kalat administration. A *wadera*[303], Noor Mohammad Bangalzai, had openly told him that being illiterate, the Sardars could not agree to the democratisation of the Kalat State administration because then they would be

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rendered useless and the few literate among the state council would rule Kalat.

At that time, at the border of Sindh and Balochistan, there appeared a dacoit Abdul Rehman Brohi, who used to be patronised by the local chiefs. In time, he became so bold that he would attack big settlements in broad daylight and rob them of all that was precious. Catching him was difficult because he enjoyed the patronage of the powerful local chiefs and secondly, the Kachhi Sardars were non-cooperative and would not allow police in their areas. The British, as was their custom, ignored the dacoit to start with but over time his activities and operations became frequent and bold. He almost became a local hero in the style of Robin Hood to whom the rich and the powerful paid money on his demand. The British then told the Kalat Sardars to catch the fellow themselves or allow their forces into their area. Yousaf Ali Khan was willing to fully cooperate with the British, much to the annoyance of the other Sardars; so much so that the Nawab of Shahwani tribe had even once threateningly raised his walking stick at him in Mastung but Magsi insisted, saying that either they catch the culprit or else they would have to permit the British into our tribal territories in his pursuit. Alternatively, the British would come in their own right and subject them to more restrictions. In the end the Sardars had the culprit killed and his gang was disbanded and peace returned to Sindh.

Under the Tutorship of Maulana Azad and his Message for Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi

On one occasion while in Delhi, I requested Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad for some time so that I could clarify a few things of the teachings of the Holy Quran with him. He told me to meet him as early as possible the following morning.

While he was residing at Daryaganj[304], I was putting up in Sabzi Mandi, the wholesale fruit market, with our fruit commission agent in the old city. I got up at 3 o'clock in the morning and walked the distance of four to five miles and reached his residence at about half past four. He was already up and ready and waiting the arrival of his green jasmine tea. He was expecting other visitors by around 8 o'clock so we had an absorbing and

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ır unexpected appearance on the scene took the doctor by rprise. He stood up and warmly greeted us, offering me his ry own chair and sat on the wooden chest. Those present, on serving the attitude of the Mastoofi, were awestruck and ispersed although I wanted to talk to them. On knowing our urpose of visit, the doctor inquired of those knowing about the irection of Jhal which was another 20 miles from there. We were old that there were two ways. A shorter one that had a crossing of a wooden bridge, that was not firm, over a water channel; and another slightly longer one. They were expecting the post courier of Nawab Magsi, who on arrival there would know about the status of the bridge. In the meanwhile, the courier arrived and told us that the bridge had collapsed. The doctor in the meanwhile had arranged for lunch of roasted chicken. On my inquiry, I was told that the price of chicken was two Annas (one eighth of a rupee) whereas a chicken at that time at Pishin sold for one and a half rupee indicating the relative poverty of the people there.

The Excavations and Ruins of the City of Dilora

At the time of our departure, the Mastoofi also came along to see us off till the next village, called the village of the Afghans (Basti-e-Pathana) where there was a water channel to cross. Since we did not want to risk the car being stuck, the Mastoofi sent for manpower to push the car through. In the meanwhile, the two of us proceeded on foot to visit the ruins of an ancient city. British archaeologists and local people, in search of treasures, had bared part of the ruins. There was not much to be seen except for a well that had been cast in small round bricks. The Mastoofi told me that a few days ago he had found a metallic cast of an ox leg that he had yet to examine for the metal in which it was cast and would have it sent to Kalat for proper examination. Since the car did not appear, we went back. The car was stuck in the middle of the channel with 30 to 40 persons loitering around it without making an effort at pushing. At the insistence of the Mastoofi, four persons started pushing the car and within minutes it was cleared.

We set out in the direction of village Panjak, which was about eight miles away, and were told that the dirt road was alright.

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After a few miles, the road ended in a ploughed field with raised embankments over which the road crossed. The bullock cart using it had made it uneven, with the space between the markings of two wheels raised, making it difficult for the car to navigate it. Thus stopping and pushing, we reached Panjak late in the night. Mir Gohar Khan was the administrative officer there who arranged for a comfortable night stay for us.

It was autumn season and we were feeling warm whereas the locals were heating their rooms with fire. We, therefore, asked to sleep in the open in the courtyard. While it was warm in the earlier hours, by around 2 am we all woke up shivering with cold and drew quilts over ourselves but the chill kept increasing, making it impossible to sleep. I do not remember feeling so cold ever but it is what happens in the desert where during the night temperatures fall very low despite the soaring heat of the day. In the morning, we set out for Jhal which was at a distance of 10 to 12 miles from there. A guide led the way on a fast horse. After a few miles, the road became very muddy and dirty making it difficult to follow. By the time we reached Jhal, we were covered with dust beyond recognition.

The Sardar knew of our coming and received us warmly. I told him that I had come for a visit of three days of which two were spent on the way and, therefore, we would be leaving back the next morning. Since his elder brother had not vacated the residence of the Chief, Yousaf Ali Khan was living in a tent encampment. It was a huge tent with two smaller ones at one end for sleeping and the middle open for the sitting of the courtiers. Immediately after breakfast, my contractor relatives Abdullah Jan and Arz Mohammad Khan went to inspect the construction site of the intended living bungalow, school and the administrative offices to prepare the work schedule and estimates. The two of us got busy with our own concerns and spent the night in the two sleeping tents. Between the two of us, we drew a comprehensive plan regarding health, education and administration of Jhal but providence did not give it time to mature.

We got ready to depart the next morning. Yousaf Ali Khan also set out with us in his own car to inspect a place about six to eight miles from Jal where a spring of water had gushed. The same spring had become active some 30 years ago but then dried up by

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itself. He intended to develop the site into a permanent source of irrigation water.

It was most surprising to see that the six to eight miles of dusty road that we had crossed yesterday was fully covered with dry grass facilitating easy passage of the car. When I inquired of the Sardar about this new surface of the road, he said that after our arrival he had spread word in the nearby villages to have the road covered by dry grass and it was done. I purposely asked him, "How much did it cost you?"

He said smilingly, "It did not cost anything. It was public work and the public had done it."

I remarked then, "What was it that we call forced labour and opposed it!"

We discussed the whole issue in a pleasant mood. To be honest, I appreciated the response of the tribe to the wishes of its chief for a common facility. In fact, it raised my hope that if the obedience to the Sardar was directed towards public welfare works instead of exploitation by ignorant tyrants, much could be achieved to better the lives of the poor, ignorant tribesmen normally used as vassals by their chiefs. I so told Yousaf Ali Khan that this obedience of the tribesmen was an asset, which he should value and use prudently.

He went back to Jhal and deputed a young Sindhi as a guide to us. The guide, who sat in the front seat, was quite amazed by the car ride and especially by the car horn whenever it was blown. By way of conversation I asked him, "Have you seen a car before?"

He said, "Yes I have seen the car of the Sardar."

To probe him further I asked, "Did you ride in a car before?"

"No," he replied. In all his life he had not gone a few miles beyond his village. On the way, we passed by Mirpur and Ghotki villages where we left the guide.

The Pat plain is so even that the Nathal station that was quite far away was clearly visible. I am told that people chase deer in these plains by car. We drove the car at a speed of above 80 miles per hour and did not feel any jolts.

On the way, our car started emitting unusual noises. We had no idea what caused it. The car finally broke down and came to a standstill about eight miles short of Nathal station. We got off and took lunch that we were carrying with us, wondering at the same time about what could be done with the car. One option was to

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leave it with one of us while the others went to Jacobabad and from there sent a mechanic to repair it. But how would the person left behind survive as there was no food or water and the days were very hot? I then suggested to my colleagues that the only option was to push the car to the station which we did reaching there after about six hours. At the station we booked the car for Quetta and in the meanwhile the train from Quetta arrived and we boarded it for Jacobabad and from there took the next train to Quetta.

Prior to this travel to Jhal, I was not fully aware of the poverty, ignorance and desolation of the people of this area. I had imagined that the facilities around Quetta district were available everywhere. Whereas more than two thirds of the Kachi plain was such that it had not been touched by human habitation for centuries, in the remaining one third of the area there were signs that the place had been inhabited around 50 to 60 years ago but was currently uninhabited. At that time, less than one tenth of the plain was cultivated and that too only when flood waters came in the Nari flood drain. After the visit, I investigated the causes of the current desolation of the area and the extreme poverty of its small and scattered population. Further investigation revealed that once upon a time it was a prosperous area falling under the Sindh government but was taken from Sindh by the Pashtoons and given to the Khan of Kalat as compensation for the killing of his brother in a battle, at the hands of the Pashtoons.

The Khan of Kalat had then given part of the Kachi plain as fief to some of the Brohi and Baloch tribes for their support during battles and the rest he maintained for himself as a lord rather than a ruler. Since the Baloch and Brohi tribes of Kalat State did not pay any taxes, the state was dependent for its total expenditure on the taxes imposed on the non-Baloch land tillers of Mastung and Kachi. The only people that pay taxes in the Kalat State were the non-Baloch of Mastung and the Kachi cultivators that were not Baloch or Brohi by lineage. Besides half the produce, these tillers were required to pay 20 other taxes, which kept rising in proportion to state expenditure.

The residents of Kachi were treated as second rate citizens with no participation in the administration of the state nor were they legally regarded as the equals of the Brohi and the Baloch. In those days, when the blood money for a Baloch was Rs 3,000 that

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of the inhabitants of Kachi was only Rs300. Whereas the award for illicit sex with Baloch women was death, that in the case of the women of the Kachi tribes was only a compensation of Rs100. These laws were much later cancelled by the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, giving non-Baloch people equal status under the laws of the state. But a people that have been mistreated for centuries, do not gain self-confidence and the status of citizens merely by changing the law alone. Just like in the United States, African Americans are still not fully confident of themselves as citizens despite the abolition of slavery for more than a 100 years, the right to enfranchisement and access to education.

Kachi was adjacent to Sindh, that had a government and administration of sorts to which most of the population had migrated, leaving the vast plain sparsely populated. In recent years, with the construction of the Sukkur Barrage, more lands in Sindh have been brought under cultivation and irrigation which has given rise to the demand for labour there. Most of the population of Kachi has migrated to Sindh for better future prospects and those that have remained behind are further burdened by the Kalat taxes. Later, my colleagues and I used to plead their case in the newspaper and with the government, which did initiate a change but still a lot needs to be done.

Baloch Sardari System and Traditions

Historically, it is said by present day Baloch writers that the Baloch Sardari (chieftainship) institution is a leadership of the people with popular support which is probably correct; but with the coming of the British or just before it, Baloch chieftainship had degenerated into a hereditary institution bequeathed from father to son. Once installed as a Sardar, the person could not be removed by the people under any circumstances. Only when disapproved by the Khan of Kalat or later by the British could a Sardar be removed.

Before the advent of the British, the Baloch tribesmen, however, had some powers with the tribesmen possessing the same kind of arms as the Sardar and his courtiers and whenever the treatment meted out by the Sardar to some of his people became unbearable, they would take up arms against the Sardar and in the eventuality of the defeat or killing of the Sardar, another from amongst his senior kin would be installed in his stead.

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With the coming of the British and their subjugation of Balochistan, the British assumed the role of adjudicator between the Khan of Kalat and the Sardars and soon enough brought the Sardars under their own control and consolidated their rule by ruling through these appointed chieftains. They would always come to the support of the Sardar with arms and money against the people whenever the need arose. The Sardar, distinct and cut off from the people, was thus reduced to an official. He was not dependent for his privileges, allowances and authority on his tribe because all these privileges were controlled and awarded by the Political Agent (PA) as representative of the British government, in return for which he was expected to control the tribe people through the institution of Jirga (Tribal Council) and Levies; being both a judge and jury, purely at his discretion.

Over time, these Sardars became self centred, greedy and oppressive. They would enrich themselves at the expense of the tribesmen by levying various taxes, collecting donations and taking forced labour from them. The tribesmen would pay the Sardar on the occasions of grief like death as well as happiness like marriage and birth. The people would pay for the Sardar's extravagances on the occasion of marriages, entertainment and hunting parties for the British etc. The Sardar had so exalted himself that even his elder brother and uncles could not sit on a chair or a cot in his presence. Everyone, irrespective of age or relationship, had to squat on the floor. Eating with the public was below the dignity of the Sardar. Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan told me that he had never eaten in the company of his brother as he regarded taking a meal with a non-Sardar an insult. One day in Quetta, the elder uncle of Nawab Asadullah Khan Raisani, who was named Mir Karim Baksh, asked me to accompany him to enquire after the health of the Nawab, who was unwell. The Nawab was staying at Sirki Road and was sitting outside under a tent. A few Punjabis were sitting with him on chairs. Many other empty chairs were available. When we went there, after the usual exchange of greetings, I observed that Karim Baksh squatted on the floor. I was not aware of their custom and the godly power of the Sardar. I found this offensive and asked him to sit on a chair but he insisted that he was comfortable on the floor. I insisted further and even got up to assist him but he did not rise from the floor. On the way back he said to me, "Khan Sahib what enmity do you have against me by inviting me to take a chair?"

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I said, "I do not like the extent of your humility. Well, it was too much for me to take, seeing you squat on the floor, with all others of us, who were the age of your son sitting on chairs while you chose to squat on the floor."

He realised my ignorance and with a tearful eye said, "Khan it is not your fault. You are a stranger to our ways, how could I sit on the chair? Had I done so, the Sardar would have ordered me to sit on the floor and caused me shame."

I said, "But I was on the chair and so were those visiting Punjabis." He said, "You are not the subject of the Nawab and not Raisani. Irrespective of age or status you can sit at the same level as the Nawab."

All the Baloch detest these customs but by their subservience and obedience to the Sardar for generations, these customs have become a part of Baloch life. The Sardar's family as a group is called Sardar Khel (the family of the chieftain) and any individual amongst them is called Mir but none else is to be addressed by the title of Sardar.

The killing of a Sardar is equal to 20 in return and that of a Mir The traditional punishment for insulting a Sardar is imprisonment till forgiven by the Sardar at his will. So much so, if one goes to the town of the Sardar in pursuit of dacoits or others that have caused harm, it is regarded as an insult to the Sardar. Therefore, any offender that reaches the Sardar is safe from the reaches of the law and those harmed would have to opt for a settlement as and when given by the Sardar. The abode of the Sardars is a safe haven of dacoits, murderers and adulterers. Some of these customs also probably had origins in maintaining law and order but they have currently degenerated into an institution of excesses in the hands of the Sardar.

The institution of Sardari had become so deeply rooted in the behaviour of the tribal hierarchy that whenever two persons meet they would begin the greeting by saying, "May the Sardar be safe.", just as the Nazis would say, "Hail Hitler" Baloch society is strictly hierarchical, from the Khan of Kalat down to the least important person in every sub-tribe, the position of everyone is known in the Balochi order of precedence which is determined forever by lineage and cannot be changed.

In the Baloch tribes it is customary to ask for *"hal"*, detailed information of a stranger. At a gathering, based on order of

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precedence of lineage, it is known who has the privilege of asking the detailed account or "hal". The person would start by saying "May the Sardar live long" and relate all events that he has been through between the current meeting and the preceding one, even if it was a year ago. The custom still exists though the events related are summarised. The Baloch, like all isolated tribal people, keenly observe their customs of dress, way of living and maintaining of hair. They do not shave or trim their hair.

Over time, these customs have been slightly relaxed. Children begotten from slave women would forever be regarded as lower cast irrespective of the fatherhood and vows of marriage. Likewise, they are very strict about the purity and virginity of women and the husband displays its proof on a handkerchief in the morning after the consummation of marriage, otherwise it gives rise to rumours.

They used to pledge girls in marriage even before their birth. But the Baloch of Makran give their women the status close to that ordained by Islam.

The custom of avenging death by death, like with Pashtoons, is also very strong amongst the Baloch. The Pashtoons would seek to avenge the death of a relative or tribesman preferably by killing the offender or his close relative and that too in its own time after exhausting reconciliatory efforts at the tribe or family level. With the Baloch, however, as soon as the news of a killing is heard, a group of the tribe leaves home to seek revenge and does not come back till the murder is avenged or reconciled. The nominated vengeance party does not rest till the offending tribe is either attacked or killed.

Sardari Amongst the Pashtoons

The Pashtoon lands of Pishin, Sibi, Thal Chotiali and Sanjavi that the British annexed to India from Afghanistan and are contiguous to Baloch lands, were given the most inappropriate nomenclature of British Balochistan. These Pashtoon lands had historically been part of greater Iranian, Indian and Afghan empires and were therefore living an advanced civic life looking up to the government of the day be that of the Iranians, Moghuls, the Pashtoon kings, Mirwais and Ahmed Shah, the Mohammedzai dynasty or the British rather than their tribal chiefs.

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The Zhob and Bori Kakars and the people inhabiting the areas around the Sulaiman Range had gained autonomy from the national Afghan government, following the frequent changes at the court at Kabul after the death of Ahmed Shah Baba and had appointed some indigenous leaders for themselves. Even these had laid claims to tribal leadership on the basis of their individual leadership traits of bravery, hospitality or theological standing rather than as an appointee of a government. For example, till my times people would claim that the Jogezai chief of the Kakars is immune to being hurt by gun bullets. Some would even seek the cure of the sick at his hands. Even now some ignorant people seek the cure of swollen lymph nodes and some other ailments from the Jogezai Nawab. Till the advancement of the British and the annexation of Pashtoons and this land of the Pashtoons from the national state of Pashtoonkhwa to India; and unlike British India, British Guyana[305], British Somaliland[306] and other such areas, instead of naming it British Afghanistan, the British gave it the misnomer of British Balochistan[307] for their own diabolical aims, there were no officially nominated chieftains amongst the Pashtoons nor any government appointed Jirgas (Tribal Councils).

There were tribal leaders and elders distinguished on the basis of their leadership qualities and hospitality and the support of the tribes. The leader and his family would lead the people in case of tribal battles, taking the risk of death. During war time, they would provide ammunition for attack and protection. In the time of peace, they would entertain travellers and extend hospitality to them and ensure peace and tranquility amongst the people by the authority of their piety and established status. If the government paid him a stipend well and good, but the people did not owe him anything nor did he expect it of them, except to be feasted occasionally and to provide collective labour, which would at times but seldom take the shape of forced labour.

But with the coming of the British to Pashtoon society, particularly in the Kakars, hereditary Sardaris were established and along with it the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and its consequent Jirga courts (conciliatory courts). But except for the Zhob and Bori SanzarKhel Kakars, the Duki Lunis and MusaKhel, the other Pashtoons did not accept appointed and hereditary Sardars. Therefore, the Sibi Panis, the Quetta Kasis, the Quetta and Duki Tareens and Sanatia Kakars did not accept the unbridled rule of the Sardars and the Malik till the end on the

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pattern of the Jogezai Sardar Khel and Luni Sardar that were oppressing their people. Even so, these Sardaris of the Jogezai and Luni Sardars were nothing compared to that of the Baloch.

Nawab Jogezai tried all along to have the status of the Marri, Bugti, and Magsi Sardars in suppressing his people with his own Levies force, Jirga courts and prison, exploiting the people with impunity and loyally serving the government of the day, British or otherwise, in every way. On account of being in the neighbourhood of the Pashtoon government of Afghanistan, this effort of Nawab Jogezai was thwarted. Any person that they persecuted would rebel and cross over to Afghanistan from where he would raid British territory and cause it harm. The government would ultimately call them back. The Jogezai Nawab and his family, however, managed to usurp some 15 square miles land of Kakar tribe for themselves over the past fifty to sixty years with the connivance of the government and the officially appointed tribal councils. Their previous owners disappeared. Something akin to this was done by the Jogezai and Luni Sardars of Bori, and some other Musakhel and Sanzarkhel Sardars. The Achakzais however, did not fall prey to the trap of Sardari to which I personally contributed greatly. Although the Pani, Tareen and the Sanatia Kakars had the Sardari institution, it was never very powerful by the time the British left and the government of Pakistan arrived. Even though it is not very democratic, particularly in Balochistan even so I hope that it will become completely democratic with time and the efforts of awakened, enlightened youth. And these Pashtoons together with all the Pashtoons of Pakistan will escape from this Balochi trap of the British that was enforced upon us in the name of official Sardari and Jirga.

Avenging a murder is a very strong tradition amongst the Pashtoons as well. In my living memory, no murder has remained without being avenged to date. So much so that even dacoits and highway robbers killed in line of official duty by state forces are avenged. Avenging of murder is not replaced by official condemnation of the murderers. Avenging a murder may be delayed but avenged it must be. There is a popular saying amongst the Pashtoons that blood feuds mature in a hundred years. Murder, however, can be settled through the tribal institution that involves begging unconditional pardon (nanawathe) and compensation that used to be 12 women in the

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past and is currently in the range of Rs30,000. These settlements provide a ray of hope that peace would hold but even then one is never sure.

Because of this strict adherence to practice of revenge, the Pashtoon avoid blood feuds as far as possible. It is therefore that murder at will is very rare and is always accidental and non-intended. Except to avenge an insult or adultery, a murder is never done on purpose. Most murders are unintentional, like people dying in a fight without lethal weapons say by the strike of a staff or in selfdefense when waylaid and endangered. Because of the scare of vendetta, there are no hired murderers amongst the Pashtoons of Balochistan unlike in NWFP, Punjab and Sindh. Another reason being that there are no big landlords that can afford to start and maintain blood feuds on the basis of their monetary power, likewise there are no dispossessed desperados that would commit murder in return for a small monetary award as all have property rights in the tribal-lands-award of Ahmed Shah Baba and are stakeholders in collective tribal responsibility.

There is no tribesman that does not have a share in the tribal land be it in the plains, hills or the deserts. He may of his free will go and seek a livelihood anywhere he wishes but when harassed or persecuted he can always retreat to what is his and live with his own people. It is not like in NWFP particularly in the districts of Mardan and Peshawar where all the land is usurped by a few Khans and thousands of Pashtoons are landless in this vast Pashtoon land created by the Almighty. They have no land to till or build an abode on and depend like slaves for their livelihood and shelter on the few landlords. These dispossessed live in the quarters of the landlord at his will and have to work for him and can be ejected at will. Indeed, every aspect of life of the landless is subservient to the will of the landlords including political rights like voting. These wretched of the earth have no place to hide. At most they can change their masters and that also at a great risk of life and honour. It is because of this unnatural usurpation of land that even today there are thousands in the districts of Mardan, Peshawar and Swat that work day and night for as little as Rs 20 to Rs 30 per month compared to the current wage of Rs 60 in Zhob and Quetta districts.

It is due to this unjust grabbing of land and resources by the few that all the cities of India used to be full of unskilled Pashtoon

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labour. The worst is that nearly all the prostitutes in the brothels of the cities of Pakistan are honourable Pashtoon women, who have been sold to this cursed life by their poor relatives. These women are mostly sold in the name of marriage to outsiders, who force them into this life of shameful exploitation and degradation. On the other hand, none of the people of Balochistan are involved in this demeaning, inhuman way of life. All are aware of the open trade in flesh but no one, including the Khudai Khidmatgar government in NWFP or the present Muslim government of Pakistan, did anything to remedy this trade in innocent respectable Pashtoon women.

According to Bacha Khan, till the time the British came to NWFP, all the land belonged to the tribe collectively to be tilled by each individual. Some grains used to be voluntarily kept with the Khan for unexpected collective use during the year. The British, for their own convenience and to create a favoured dependent class, instead of dividing the lands amongst the tribe on the basis of a family, allotted it to a few chosen Khans and religious families (Peers). Similarly in Swat, instead of dividing the land amongst the tribal families, it was settled in the name of a few individuals.

Amongst the Balochistan Pashtoons where there are no big landlords, there are also no landless people either. There is not much gap between the rich and the poor. In our villages, houses are not owned by the Khans, who at the most may own one or two extra housing units to house his tenants and servants. The ownership of settled land, by an individual or a family, does not empower them to evict a person from a house. When a stranger comes to the village, he asks the owners for a place to build a house. Once that is granted, no one can then evict him at will without good reasons despite the recognition by law of the right to evict. A few years ago, a few Khans in our village wanted to evict one person of another tribe, Ghafoor Maizai, from the village and when he refused they demolished the boundary wall of his house. The matter was reported to the government and the miscreants were arrested. The person left the village only after the Khans apologised and paid him Rs 9,000 as compensation for his property.

All land, however, is owned by sub-tribes on the basis of lineage and in some cases even individuals have settled claims. Collective tribal land can neither be sold nor rented outside the tribe. In the

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Achakzais, the right to landed property is subject to living with the tribe, participating in the comforts and difficulties of the tribe. Permanent water sources and artificial channels excavated at personal costs are individually owned and settlement rights are awarded to the individuals for the land that it irrigates. Anyone can cultivate his share or sell it if he so wishes. Flood water and seasonal springs are shared according to the proximity of the location but even then it is customary to look after the interests of the lower riparian.

In Afghanistan, adjacent to district Noshki, Balochistan, lives the Baraich Pashtoon tribe; the area is called Shorawak. The Baraich are known to have ruled Pashtoon lands sometime early in history with Qala Bist as their capital. Their land is arid but in the past enough water reached them from the Pishin and Noshki Lowra to allow a portion of their lands to be cultivated twice a year. And enough grain was produced to sustain the people of Pishin, Raig and the nearby mountains. And all of them would receive their seeds from either Kadanai or Shorawak. It was the customary law of these people that all land is collectively owned but managed by a single or a few elders. It is customary for them to allocate a piece of land to every newborn and to reclaim for common use the share of a person, who dies. They call this tradition *doad*. Adjacent to these Pashtoon Baraech is the land of the Noshki Brahvi's that is irrigated by flood water. Even though four major sub-tribes of the Brahvi reside there and the rest of the land has been distributed, this irrigated piece is commonly owned. When the flood arrives, the watered land is collectively cultivated and the produce thus distributed. During a good rainy season that area is col lectively cultivated and the produce distributed on the basis of families and their contribution of labour.

Amongst us, the customary law of the Yousafzais that is known as *wesh* is absent. Under *wesh*, all of the national land, including villages, would be redistributed amongst the various sub-tribes every twenty to twenty-five years. This customary law had been largely abandoned by the Yousafzais except for some mountain sub-tribes such as the Hasanzai.

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Bridal Price (Walwar) Amongst the Pashtoons

Bridal price or "walwar" is an ancient custom common to all Pashtoons. To begin with, it was a nominal payment of dowry that facilitated the establishment of a newlywed couple. It is much better and socially acceptable than the dowry (jehez) custom adopted by the Muslim of Punjab and Sindh from Hinduism because bridal price is paid by the man, who is the earning hand and head of the family and can plan and save for his marriage. Dowry, on the other hand, is paid by the relatives of the woman, who is neither the head of the family nor usually an earning hand. Arranging the marriage of four sons and paying the bridal price is not as difficult as getting four daughters married with a dowry, all the expenses being borne by the father alone. Walwar is more Islamic than dowry as Islam makes it binding for the husband to pay the expenses of the wife, whereas there is no such obligation on the wife even if she is rich. Besides as is related, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) did not pay for the household articles, which included a grinding stone, a sheep skin (Mashkeeza) to store water in, and a quilt on the occasion of his daughter Fatima's marriage to Hazrat Ali, but instead made him pay for it by selling his protective armour.

Pashtoon bridal price used to be small and affordable but in due course of time it has grown in monetary terms into thousands. People charge more than is spent on the household articles for the bride and part of it is instead consumed, which rightly amounts to the selling of the women. During the last half century, this sale of daughters and sisters has increased manifold amongst the Pashtoons. It has almost turned into a trade, with bridal prices on the rise. It is, however, fortunate that the enlightened Pashtoons look down upon accepting bridal money. The Kasis of Quetta, by a mutual tribal agreement, do not take more than Rs 5,000 with the ornaments and the household requirements being paid for by the groom. Some do not charge any money from the groom, while others only so much to cover the partial cost of the household articles. Exchange of girls in marriage was also a practice, which is now almost non-existent.

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The Status of Widows Amongst Pashtoons

Although Islam gives the right and choice of marriage to a widow, the Pashtoons prohibit it strictly. In Pashtoon society, a woman is not a free agent but is subservient to the will of the father, brother, husband or son.

There are various customs amongst the Pashtoons with regards to widows. Some have her compulsorily married to the nearest in the line of inheritance, a brother or even cousin of the deceased. While some give her a choice of a husband from amongst the family, some even give her the right of not marrying if she so chooses especially to those widows that have children and are of advanced age. While others, especially in isolated mountains and deserts, do not leave the widows unmarried irrespective of her age or having children. She may continue to live separately with her family and children but must have a husband, be it in name only. This is because in Islam the violation of an unmarried or widowed woman or her elopement does not have a severe punishment like that of a married woman, which in Pashtoon society is death. Thus, in the Pashtoon Code it is to protect them from eloping or violation by others that brings a bad name to all, that a widow must be married.

Majlis or Chatting Between Unmarried Women and Men

Majlis or chatting is an exceptional custom of the Pashtoons limited to the Sanzarkhel Kakars of Zhob and Bori (Loralai). I have not heard of it being practiced elsewhere, including amongst their neighbouring Kakar and other Pashtoon tribes. The custom gives the freedom to every unmarried woman to go out and meet a male bachelor by day or by night at a place of their choice. Majlis allows for all activities except fornication, which occurs very rarely. Yes elopement or marriage of choice sometimes occurs, however, it is not permitted and is highly detested and taken as a serious affront, which leads to hostility and vendetta settled by a fine, the exchange of a woman or begging unconditional pardon (*nanawate*). Sometimes, one of the persons accepts living in exile and at other times the girl is claimed back and married to someone else but this also causes a vendetta.

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Majlis is indulged in by unmarried youth as well as married men but the girl has to be unmarried. For a married woman, who indulges in majlis, the penalty is death. But in the case of unmarried maidens, it is in the know of all and is indeed encouraged by close relatives. The origin of the custom, however, is obscure. If the girl had the choice of marriage as a result of chatting, it could be compared to the pre-marriage courtship of the western world. On the contrary, the girl does not have the choice of getting married as a result of majlis. The right of marriage is exercised by the male elders of the family, younger brothers or even other relatives. Had this custom been limited to the poor, like the gypsies of NWFP, one would have called it sex exploitation or perversion of the rich of society. The institution of majlis, however, is indulged in by all the rich and the poor, the high and the low alike.

The only benefit of the institution appears that the young people sit by themselves and speak freely. The conversation is also amorous. From the very beginning human beings of all times and nations have indulged in poetry to express their love. So, the people of this region and particularly the women are poets. Along with sweet and melodious songs, they compose verses similar to the usual *tapa*, which they call *ghari*. On the meter of the famous Pashtoon tapa (*landay*) and in the same vein, however, while one line of the *tapa* is short and the other long, both the verses of the *ghari* are of the same length and must rhyme. An example is presented below:

Shin Ghar wo da nikano Wos nachgar so da memano
The Shin Ghar (mountain) of our ancestors ,

Once our honour and pride,
Now the dance floor of the Englishmen
And their ladies has become

These verses at times refer to historical battles and feats of bravery and of course are also about love and lust. Each verse has a single subject and the poetry does not carry the name of the poetess so leaving it to curiosity as to who said it and when, thus making it eternal. Probably because of this institution, the

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womenfolk of these tribes are bold, well versed, in politics of the area and articulate; and the men are zealous, enthusiastic and excitable. But it is sad that all that enthusiasm and zest are misguided, leading to tribal feuds.

The youth of the area are influenced and excited by the anonymous verses of the maidens, a verse has often led to feuds and much more. It is also the custom of the people of the area that the men and women dance together in the open. The dance, to the tunes of drum and pipes is called *"Amai"*. Even this collective dance has various forms and styles. Sometimes, it is a mixed dance of men and women, at others the sexes dance in separate circles and at times the men watch while the women dance and at other times a couple dances and the rest watch. Currently, some clerics are campaigning against the institution of majlis and *Amai*, besides people too are changing with times and the institutions are losing their original purity.

Elopement

Like in the rest of the world, a few Pashtoon maidens, married or widowed, also elope. But different tribes have different traditions regarding the elopement of women. In case of elopement of married women, death and only death is the settlement, except in the Domar tribe of Sanjavi where it is permitted to reach an agreement of peace in return for money. The elopement of maidens and widows is settled for money or exchange of women usually two in return, one as a compensation for the slight done by the offenders. Sometimes, the incidence of elopement takes an extreme form. A few years ago, a blood feud occurred between two Achakzai sub-tribes, the Ashazai and Malazais in which six persons were killed because of the elopement of a maiden. Sometimes, an eloped woman is brought back by the relatives and married to someone else which leads to a sour and prolonged feud.

Claiming a maiden in marriage by firing a gun at the door of the house of the woman was also once in practice[308]. This marriage claim is announced without the consent of the woman or her relatives. Once this claim is announced, no one else would ask for the hand of the woman in marriage whether she is married to the claimants or not because otherwise it would lead to a blood feud. The matter is either settled through a very high bridal price or

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two women in marriage to the relatives of the claimed maiden in return. Likewise, sometimes a person may cut a woman's lock of hair as a claim to her in marriage.

Putting to Test my Vow of Tolerance and Non-Violence

I had sworn to myself and my God to forsake violence and instead adopt tolerance and non-violence as a way of life. But when I used to witness the passive acceptance of aggression by Congress workers at the hands of the police, I used to doubt whether I would be able to hold on to my resolve.

I was the son of a Pashtoon Khan and except for childhood punishment by teachers, no one had dared to threaten me let alone attack me with batons and arms. That year my tolerance was tested and I kept to my resolve. It so happened that I, along with my relatives Ismail Jan, Abdul Qadoos Jan, Hafeezullah Khan and young Mohammad Saleem, went in the summer to spend a few nights in the mountains. While others brought along their shotguns and rifles, I did not take any. We camped at the foot of the Khawaja Imran Mountain in the gardens of the Malaizais. During the day, we would go trekking up and down the mountains and in the evening come to our camp. On the occasion of the death anniversary of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), a large number of men and women from all over Pishin and the surrounding areas of Afghanistan visit the shrine of Khawaja Imran. That day my companions set out on their usual trek in the morning and I stayed back with the intention of meditation. On their return in the afternoon, they informed me that some women folk, of Malik Daroo Khan Badinzai of Afghanistan, along with two male companions, had also come to the shrine. While the others stayed back to rest, Hafeezullah Khan and a servant set out for the shrine and came back after some time. Only God knows what they did or did not do on that trip.

In the evening, a number of persons descended on our camp from the direction of the shrine. We were alarmed and I asked them to identify themselves. They said that they were Malaizais of Sanzala[309]. They were 18 in number and sat down between us and our guns. I did not recognise anyone of them and so once again asked for their identity. In reply, one of them asked which two of

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us had gone to the shrine in the afternoon. Whereupon I asked them what the problem was and said these two people had gone.

While I was speaking, one of the men, while still seated, struck me on the forehead with a thick wooden staff. I did not feel the pain but when he pulled back the stick, blood started gushing from my forehead. When I looked up, my companions and the visitors were at grips with one another. I at once remembered my pledge of tolerance and non-violence and shouted to stop this scuffle and sit and discuss whatever the visitors were after. In front of me, sat Hafeezullah and Saleem Khan and I spread my arms around Hafeezullah and Saleem to protect them from being hit without caring for the gun butts and kicks that I was being hit with from the back. After a while, the strangers succeeded in humbling Ismail Jan and Qadoos Jan and had their hands tied up and one of them said to me, "Get up and sit beside others."

"I do not rise and sit at the orders of others," I said

"No, rise and sit on one side so that we can talk," he said.

I said, "Discussions cannot be held with my companions tied up." The hands of my companions were freed and we sat opposite to each other and the parlays started. We first introduced ourselves to one another. One of them was Daroo Khan Badinzai himself, the other his uncle Abo Khan and a few were youngsters of their family. Four were the sons of Mir Alam Malaizai, who was an absconder and had gone across the border and taken refuge in the village of Daroo Khan. Another was an elder of the Malaizai, Syed Mohammad Khan, and yet another, a Hassanzai youth. Daroo Khan said, "The two from your group that had gone to the shrine in the afternoon had misbehaved with our womenfolk, who were at the shrine at that time, to which this Hassanzai youth is a witness."

On hearing this I was alarmed and worried as the allegation was serious and their anger did make sense. It suddenly occurred to me that since they had resorted to aggression, they had weakened their case. Therefore, I said to him, "You have done well to avenge your insult by attacking and beating us and splitting my forehead. Now you have no claim against us. Had you made such a claim peacefully, I would have been the defaulter but now that you have used aggression against us you have no claim but if your intention is more than that, then do as you will, to which we will respond in time."

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He realised his mistake and at once came forward to examine my wound. Then he said to his companion, "Where are those lowly menials that you spoke of? These are all respectable Khans."

He then said "Those two persons (Hafeezullah Khan and his companion) are to go with me so that I confront them with our womenfolk for identification and then we discuss the issue."

In response I said to him, "Daroo Khan, all this was possible had you laid your claim peacefully. Now that you have attacked us and split my forehead it is futile to talk of peace. You are free to use force till our death or then be off and leave the events to the future. If you think you can scare us with these few men and guns, it is futile. I am not afraid of the force and guns of the British and certainly not of you"

Then one of his Malaizai companions said to him, "This situation is ugly enough, do not make it any uglier. Let us leave it at that and as your father is not aware of the event I wonder what would he say?" While they were talking among themselves one of my companions noticed one of their men stealing my shoes. We took the shoes from him along with some other small articles, which others had hidden on themselves and they departed. During all this upheaval, I was pleased with myself to note that tolerating physical aggression was not as difficult as I had thought of and that if in fact Hafeezullah had misbehaved and they had peacefully laid the allegations with us, how difficult it would have been to wriggle out of the situation.

Despite being wounded, harassed and attacked, I had kept my cool and was quite amused by the anger and fear of some of my companions. But for the presence of some strangers amongst us, who had come at the same time as the attackers, I would have had a good laugh at the whole affair with my companions. Even so by way of humour I whispered to Ismail Jan, "See I saved you."

Being a Pashtoon characterised by hot temper, he retorted angrily, "Saved from what? If only you and the others had joined the fray we would have beaten them to pulp."

And when I laughed at his angry retort he realised that I was only joking and he cooled down. The next day we set out for the village. On the way, we consulted amongst ourselves as to how to relate the whole incident to the village folk. Some of my companions were of the opinion that we suppress the allegations against Hafeezullah Khan and give the story that we were

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attacked with the intent of being robbed. But I advised them against it, fearing that it would lead to prolonged enmity besides the truth would be known sooner or later. When we reached the village, all our elders and youngsters gathered and felt seriously offended at the attack on us. They wanted to avenge the slight but I told them that despite being hurt the most, it was best to let the matter rest at that as the other party were also Pashtoons and with the alleged offence true or otherwise they were in their right to react. Had they come in peace and laid the allegations at us, it would have put us in greater trouble. It was, therefore, best that they chose the foolish option of aggression. Therefore, it was in our interest that we forgive them and even if you do not I have forgiven them.

They were offended and angry Pashtoons and did not accept my tolerant and non-violent attitude. The matter was reported to the Gulistan assistant Tehsildar, a revenue and judicial officer, who summoned me. I told him that I did not wish to register the complaint and that I forgave what they did to me without any intent of seeking revenge. The assistant Tehsildar asked me to record my statement as a witness which I did. The Tehsildar was an Afridi named Said Ali Khan, a cousin of the present Vice Chancellor, Peshawar University Col Afridi[310] High Commissioner at London. and General Yousaf[311], our current Since the offenders were residents of Afghanistan, they were outside the reach of the Tehsildar. My relatives in retaliation asked the Ghabizai labour residents of our village to migrate from the village as this feud had occurred between us and their tribe. This move of my kinsmen put me in a dilemma. If I was to support the plan of my elders, many poor working labourers would suffer and was I to oppose it, my relatives would have to withdraw their demand. The situation was made more difficult for me because my elder brother also supported the migration demand of the Ghabizais from the village. Like any Pashtoon, he also wanted to react to the offence against us violently.

I, however, on the quiet sent a message to the Ghabizai labourers, asking them to delay their departure plan so that I gain some time for pacifying my relatives. While I was away from the village, Daroo Khan's father Zaqoom Khan, along with his son, had come to the village repenting and asking for reconciliation. He had stayed for two nights but his repentance was not accepted; the Khans in their anger insisting on the migration of the Ghabizais

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from the village. The Ghabizai workers were so scared that they had buried a dead woman in a faraway village graveyard, fearing that the Khans would refuse them burial in the village graveyard.

During those days, the father of Hafeezullah Khan, an elder of the village, had turned away some Ghabizais from the village mosque at the time of prayer. My elder brother was in the mosque at that time and highly resented this act. He was quite perturbed by it all and told me that the poor fellows were being denied the burial of the dead and the right to pray in the house of God. Without saying anything to my brother, I again sent word to the Ghabizai tenants that they should go for repentance on an appointed night to some of our village elders. If they were turned down, then that would give me the right to tell my relatives that non-acceptance of unconditional repentance was an affront to the Pashtoon code of honour. The elders had ignored the offered repentance and thus gave me an opportunity to oppose their demand of migration from the village and oppression of these poor fellows, which was forgotten over time. Some of those tenants still live in our village.

With this incident, I realised the significance of tolerance and nonviolence for Pashtoons especially, given their mercurial temper and quarrelsome nature due to which a small incident leads to bloody feuds spread over generations. Even while this matter was being settled, some of the following planned moves on our part could have led to prolonged blood feuds.

One day Ghafoor Malaizai came to me and said, "Saleem Khan proposes that he and I go armed to the Ghabizais and order them to evict their homes and leave the village and if they do not comply then we kill one or two of them which will do the job. I have agreed with him but only on the condition if Abdul Samad Khan supports the scheme."

Thereupon I asked him about the whereabouts of Saleem Khan and he said that he was waiting for him in our vineyard. The two of us went to Saleem and I persuaded him against his proposed plan. It was lucky that Ghafoor opted to consult me. Had they gone instead to an angry elder of the village, things would have taken a very ugly turn. I am disclosing this event for the first time.

About 60 miles away from our village in Toba Achakzai, an elder of the Jalaizai Hameedzai one Malik Abdul Qadir, with whom we were not even acquainted or had any social relations, on hearing that Daroo Khan had quarrelled with the Jalaizai Khans came and

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proposed that to avenge the fight, he would beat Malik Walham and Malik Baik, elders of the Ghabizai tribe residing in Toba. Some of our elders were in agreement with the proposal and two had even given Malik Qadir financial help for the purpose. But I was aware of the disastrous effects of the plan and dissuaded Malik Qadir from the planned vengeance.

A few years later, two of the Ghabizais, who were amongst the attacking party that day, had come to our village with a marriage party. One Hassil Malaizai, who had his own axe to grind with the Ghabizais, had come to know of it and persuaded one of our elders to accompany him to the marriage place assuring him that he and his men would fight the Ghabizais. The two visiting Ghabizais had got wind of that move of Hassil and vacated the area before their arrival.

The most unexpected was that Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan called upon me and proposed that he would give us men and arms to attack the village of Daroo Khan.

I laughed and said to him, "What of our commitment to tolerance and non-violence?"

In reply he said, "I thought that the commitment to non-violence was related to our dealings with the government."

After some discussions, we agreed that tolerance and no violence should be adopted more so towards our own people than the government. This was the problem with most of the companions of Bacha Khan in NWFP, who would tolerate and face extreme aggression on the part of the British with non-violence but in their own social circle many were deeply involved in lengthy blood feuds.

Appointment of New Khan of Kalat

In the same year, the Khan of Kalat, Khan Mohammad Azam Khan, died. He was succeeded by Mir Ahmed Yar Khan[312], his second son in place of his elder half-brother Mir Mohammad Akram Khan, who was mentally deranged. During the short rule of Azam Khan, Kalat State had witnessed a lot of progress and nationalist activities. The prisoners of Jalawan uprising that included Sardar Nooruddin Mengal, Sardar Shahbaz Khan and his sons Ghazi Sulaiman and his companions were all freed from imprisonment. Above all, a nationalist of the status of Nawab

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Yousaf Ali Khan was appointed chief of the Magsi tribe. Although I did not know him personally, in the condolence telegram that I sent I termed his demise a national loss because of his progressive nationalist attitudes. The Kalat Khans, unlike the Nawabs of Indian states, were all nationalists down from Khan Naseer Khan whom Ahmed Shah Abdali had patronised, trained and appointed as the Khan of Kalat. They were near to Pashtoons in their habits and love of the country and had relations with the Pashtoons through marriages. Mir Azam Khan himself was a simple, honourable and upright person. The British, in pursuit of their own cursed goals, had him imprisoned for many years, first with his father Khan Khuda-e-Dad Khan at Pishin and Bori and after the death of his father, at Quetta. He was appointed Khan nearly 30 years later, in old age after the death of his half-brother Khan Mahmood Khan who had no male issue by his married wife. As explained earlier, the Baloch do not accept issue by slaves as a Sardar. The new Khan of Kalat was born to an exiled father away from Kalat amongst the Pashtoons. He grew up amongst the Pashtoons and was a simple person from amongst the people and had some education as well. He was a stranger to the luxuries of nawabs and the bad habits that go with it. He had also worked as an adjutant in the Chaghi Levy force for a small salary and was thus an ordinary young man like all those of his age. He was weaned on the enmity of the British which was his inheritance since the time of Khan Naseer Khan.

Formation of the First Political Party (Anjuman-e-Watan [313], June 1938)

So far, we were working from different platforms for the freedom movement and to raise voice for the dismal condition of the people of Balochistan; because British Balochistan was governed by the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) that forbade political organisation and its activities. After prolonged deliberations and consultations with other colleagues, we decided to form a Balochistan based political organisation which would not only contribute to the freedom movement but would also highlight the precarious plight of the people in an effective way. Consequently, on June 22, 1938 we laid the foundation of Anjuman-e-Watan. I was elected president, Mohammad Hussain Unqa general secretary, Arbab Abdul Qader secretary and Seth Danow Mal

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finance secretary. While Nawabzada Mir Shahbaz Nowsherwani, Mir Mohammad Khan Khosa, Malak Sher Mohmmmad Khan Ghalzai, Mir Wali Mohammad Khan, Rafiq Mohammad, Aslam Achakzai, Sardar Deyal Singh and Molavi Gholam Haider as members of the work ing committee.

Till then our party, like all other parties, was a party of the educated elite without any mass contact with the public. Our working was limited to meetings of the committees and our demands were services for the educated and facilities for the public. This was so because our province was extremely neglected and poor and secondly, except for Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan the party was that of poor and deprived educated young men; or then writing in the press of other provinces about the bad governance at Balochistan and asking for full provincial status for Balochistan. Our criticism of the government and demands from the government were for betterment of the public.

Although we did not understand British policy in Balochistan nor had we read the basic guiding principles of British rule, called the Sandeman Policy nor did we know that the linchpin of British rule was the Jirga (Tribal Councils) and Sardari (Tribal Chieftaincy) system, we seemed to know what was to be said and done. We severely condemned and criticised the Jirga and Sardari systems thus attacking and undermining the system on two fronts. On the one hand we severely criticised the excesses of the Jirgas, Sardars and the British and on the other hand we would lament the ineffectiveness and helplessness of the Sardars in government affairs. As a result of our publicity, on the one hand outsiders would come to know of the excesses and wrong doings of the British in Balochistan and on the other the public, including the Sardars, would become aware that they must have a say in the running of the province and benefit from it. Although the public and the Sardars did not even know what was meant by sharing government nor were they worthy of such sharing, it created awareness in the public of the province. Our party soon gained the status of a third party between the government and the people. But the party did not seek confrontation with the government till that time nor did we know of any form of confrontation other than violent revolt and that we did not want. Our immediate aim was that our party and our press be allowed to work freely in the province.

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However, the first year was hectic but encouraging. We held the first annual meeting of the working committee from June 16 to 18, 1939. Apart from informal deliberations, I delivered a formal address to the working committee as president, which was attended by a number of observers and would-be members.

Address to the First Annual Working Committee Meeting

Honourable colleagues and distinguished audiences, praise to Allah Almighty, I am grateful to you for the honour in entrusting me to carry out such a significant national responsibility. I will try my best to come up to your expectations in carrying forward the national cause and hand it over into better hands when the time comes. However, materialising this vision greatly depends on your continuous confidence and cooperation during this tenure.

The dismal plight of Balochistan is so obvious that it needs no further narration. However, in my opinion, instead of wasting time on mourning over the past and present painful mistakes, our focus should be on how to replace the present all-encompassing state of destitution, ignorance and deprivation that are the natural corollaries of despicable colonial enslavement; with dignity, prosperity and independence.

If I am not mistaken, the cause of our devastation is foreign colonisation that engulfed not only the province of Balochistan but also our country Hindustan (India) along with other several countries of the world. Our fundamental objective of struggle should be to attain independence. And this Anjuman should be the epicentre for the struggle to gain independence.

This Anjuman owes its existence to the eight years long tireless and daring efforts of the son of the soil, the late Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan, and his honest colleagues. I am proud of being directly involved in this struggle of a few sincere youth which translated into such an effective platform. In the backdrop, many efforts and capabilities rendered by Yusuf Ali Khan and his colleagues, though apparently seem disorganised, contributed to the continuation of this struggle. Let me say unequivocally, though we were few in number working without an organisational structure, in fact, produced effective and phenomenal momentum because of high morals devoid of mutual doubts, monetary

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recompense and hunger for power. In contrast, the competition amongst those few of us was to supersede each other in struggle and the endurance of pangs of suffering. I pray to Almighty Allah only to perpetuate that spirit and era because only such zeal can make our unity and struggle indomitable.

The All India Baloch Conference, (held in Jacobabad Sindh in 1931) though some elements mistakenly opined that it was a premature initiative and consider it to be propelled by tribal rivalry and outside influence, and see its discontinuity as its failure; was a historical step of the freedom struggle. As the renowned Italian freedom fighter Giuseppe Mazzini[314] admonished for struggle from foreign land in case the homeland government is oppressive, intolerant and endangers the lives of its residents. The conference was a onetime event to achieve an objective of triggering a long term initiative for independence and therefore, reached its logical conclusion. The allegation that elements of tribal prejudice or foreign influence resulted in its discontinuity is baseless.

Similar was the fate of pioneer newspapers. We shaped the 'Al-Baloch' on the pattern of 'Habl Al-Mateen[315]' of Calcutta. The 'AlBaloch' left its imprint on the political scene of Balochistan as the Habl Al-Mateen succeeded in Iran by immensely contributing to Iranian political awareness.

We followed the same principles with perseverance, to employ innovative tools and ways that corresponded to emerging circumstances and necessities, as required by countries and nations endeavouring to achieve the ultimate goal. Adhering to these principles, this small group, spearheaded by Yusuf Ali Khan, was moving steadily without any failure. The most powerful factor synergised and strengthened the practical struggle of the movement, which remained elusive to the general gaze. It imbibed spiritual strength and high moral ground based on the eternal truth of tolerance, reconciliation and peace espoused by all the divine religions, providing impetus rather than material resources. Adhering to these tenets organisationally, as well as individually, enabled majority of their colleagues to speak and write only the truth which insulated them to provincial and ethnic prejudices. Ironically, presently some of our colleagues are deviating from that path. I invite those colleagues, though if you do not have confidence, at least experience these spiritual

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principles practically for the sake of their efficacy. I have no particular preference for whatever name and meaning you might give to it but I call these principles truth, altruism and forbearance and I firmly believe in them.

It is so obvious, leaving no room for disagreement, that we lack all those resources employed by international powers, particularly by the British, who colonised us. What we call atrocity is considered victory by them. We do not have an army and arsenal nor wealth and a politically aware nation to commit atrocities against others. We do not have those necessary accoutrements for our own protection. In such circumstances, the only weapon in our political arsenal is truth, righteousness and intrinsic force of character. With that we can not only win the hearts and minds of our own people but can also create goodwill among the opponents. The achievement of these characteristics is conditioned upon the sincerity of objectives as reflected by our actions, devoid of any deception and ill will against anyone.

We should not be consumed by vengeance or fall into the trap of settling scores in whatever manner, in verbal or written form. I particularly want to emphasise this point for the sake of my younger enthusiastic colleagues to refrain from such confrontations which can deviate you from the real purpose, cause alienation, among the masses and further harden the stance of the opponents against your cause which in turn will affect the entire movement. Keeping in mind the ultimate goal, we should master self-control and tolerance in private as well as public spheres for spiritual and political good.

Going by the practical experience of last year, people expressed their interest in the political and economic programme presented by the 'Anjuman-e-Watan' which was beyond our expectations. Therefore, we should introduce changes in the structure of the movement to enable its expansion for reaching people living in far flung areas. With certain applicable guidance and rules, we should consider allowing the opening of subsidiary branches of the movement at the local level to facilitate people's access to the movement in a vast geographical area. We also contribute this initiative to increase political awareness of people and help in the resolution of their problems. However, we should beware of the potential threat caused by local rivalries and groupings contesting for political power and position in the organisation. To prevent

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membership, elected committees, a unique flag and is currently governing eight provinces of India. Thus, I declare that our party is neither part of nor affiliated to the Indian National Congress and we do not seek its advice either. Presently, there is no intention to join the Congress. Over the last two years, the proposal was repeated twice for joining but our party did not agree to it.

However, belief in tolerance, peace and unity of India and struggling for independence against British colonialism is not only our party's but any organisation's endeavour to attain freedom for India and it is also a reflection of the Congress. Perhaps, my handloom woven cotton attire and my personal contacts with Congress leaders present proof of being cardholder of the Congress. I use the product of local cottage industry as a symbol of solidarity with the local industry and its weavers, and for supporting the local economy. It is also a resistance against colonialists, their local stooges hiding behind the colonial Jirga membership while implicating political workers struggling for the national cause in false police cases. I myself am a victim of their excesses in implicating me in the abduction case of British officers and their women.

My compatriots, I am not against the establishment of the Indian National Congress in Balochistan because I do not consider Balochistan an Indian province or that its sufferings are different from the rest of India. I am aware of the reality that we cannot reach our goal of independence until India achieves it. But the reason of not approving joining the Congress is on the basis of our ground realities which are drastically different from the hinterland of India where our core issues cannot make it to the tertiary list of their problems. Therefore, talking about our small issues on that big platform will seem anachronistic. Secondly, in my opinion, our nascent party cannot decide on behalf of entire Balochistan on important political issues bearing national level consequences. Thus, it will be better to wait for a broader consensus. Recently in their public meeting, our Muslim League brothers were derogatory towards all other political parties, merely on grounds of political opposition. Our party should also refrain from stirring unnecessary antagonism and rivalry by crossing the limits of political decency. Specifically, we should not antagonise any of the two old political parties.

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Maybe India partially faces communal problems. Particularly the issue of the Hindu, Muslim majority and minority has been incited by vested interests on both sides but that has nothing to do with religion. That is why the Muslim League has not succeeded so far to niche a stronghold in the Muslim majority provinces. For example, in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh and NWFP, particularly in the former three provinces, neither the Congress nor the Muslim League has substantial political force nor could they form governments. Instead, the local Hindus and Muslims together formed governments.

The existing circumstances proved my other apprehensions beyond any doubts, particularly in the aftermath of the Muslim League's meeting wherein they only deliberated over bigger national issues and intra-party differences but not a single word was uttered on the local problems and tribal feuds, causing a great deal of anguish for the common people.

Presently, affiliating the people of Balochistan, moaning under crushing poverty and abysmal illiteracy, with the major political parties consumed by larger political issues, or instigating them in the name of religion or tempting them with false claims of foreign Muslim aid is not any service, but will tend to make them more vulnerable. Therefore, all sincere workers of the Anjuman should refrain from falling into such traps.

The most important issue of the contemporary world is the imminent world war that is under the consideration of all political parties but with different opinions. In my opinion, keeping in mind the present plight of people, a small population facing multiple problems pushed into war hysteria is fraught with dire consequences. However, I advise the government to refrain from conscription in Balochistan. I want to remind them that conscription during World War I was opposed by the brave Marri and Mengals of Jalawan and this time too the consequences will be not better than the previous experience. In this formal speech, I want to draw your attention for special focus on two issues faced by many in the country. As for the rest, I trust and respect your suggestions and information representing different areas.

First is regarding the requirements of primary, secondary and higher education as well as local industry and the hurdles in their way.

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Second, the party should make special efforts for the welfare of devastated farmers and labourers. Before concluding, let me thank all of you once again and request you to keep the party clean from all sorts of prejudices. Be tolerant, altruist and empathetic not only towards your own people but also towards local as well as foreign opponents. This is the only way to usher political, economic and social revolution in the country. Long live the revolution!

Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai,
President of Anjuman-e-Watan

Spending the Winter at Jacobabad

Throughout Quetta district, including our village, the winters are severe and those, who can afford it move to warmer climates. The poor go to Sindh in search of labour; some come to the Sibi festival while the gypsies and nomads move along with their families to Sindh looking for work and pastures for their livestock. Most of the well-off of Quetta and Pishin would go for the winter to Sindh. Our family could also do the same but I opposed it saying that our fair complexion and better health are due to the cold climate and that if we move to warmer places it would do more harm than benefit. But that year, since my cousin Aslam Khan had been externed from Balochistan and was living away from his family at Jacobabad, we decided to spend the winter with him and our families moved to Jacobabad.

The Baloch Conference Meeting at Hyderabad

In the last week of December, my elder brother and I left for Hyderabad to attend the Baloch Conference. Many delegates, including Ismail Jan and Saleem Khan, came from Balochistan. The reception committee of the conference had made good arrangements for the stay of delegates at the District Dak-Bungalow. Nawab Magsi and the delegates of Kalat that included a number of government servants, mostly schoolteachers, also came in due course of time. There were a number of delegates from Sindh, Karachi and Punjab. A delegation of college students

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from Punjab led by Nawabzada Mir Mahmood Khan Leghari also came for the conference. They had also collected donations for the Balochistan Conference and the All India Baloch Student Conference, besides participating in the preliminary arrangements of the conference. The organisation of volunteers was formed by Murid Hussain Magsi, who was a student at Lahore, who would besides guiding the students also extend financial help to needy students, who were patronised by most Baloch Sardars and known Baloch personalities of Punjab, including Sir Jamal Khan Leghari, Mushtaq, Ahmed Gurmani[216] and Kalander Ali Khan Advocate etc. That year also the president of the student organisation was Mir Mahmood Khan Leghari, son of Nawab Sir Mohammad Khan Leghari, who is still living and was member of the provincial assembly of Punjab and presently member of the Assembly of West of Pakistan and had previously also been a minister on several occasions. The conference's president was once again the Nawab of Khairpur who, as usual, did not come and in his place the elderly Mir Hussain Baksh Talpur, the father of the well-known Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, was elected president of the conference. The reception committee was headed by the well-known Mir Banda Ali Khan. The conference was attended by many other leading Sindhi Baloch personalities and was a success by all accounts.

A Strange Communication from Political Agent (PA) Kalat

Just a few hours prior to the start of the conference, I was called by Mir Yousaf Ali Khan, who was at the time the official Sardar of the Magsi tribe. He handed me a letter of the Political Agent (PA) Kalat, that had been delivered to him by a courier just then, asking Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan not to participate in the conference. After due consideration, we decided that had the order come a few days before the conference, one could have followed it but now that he was already here and the conference was about to begin, abandoning it would be inappropriate. We consulted others from Balochistan and sent the above response in reply.

Besides other resolutions, the conference resolved that it should be given a federal structure with autonomous branches in every

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province, including Balochistan. At my behest, the conference resolved that it be affiliated to the All India Muslim Conference and that I be authorised to negotiate with the Muslim Conference leaders which showed that we wanted to be associated with the Indian Muslim Organisations and were not in opposition to them nor were we agents of the Hindus, something that we were later labelled. Nearly Rs 6,000 was collected for the conference that we gave to Mir Banda Ali Khan, who was appointed finance secretary for the coming years.

Meeting Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi [317]

Amongst other observer delegates of the conference was Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi. After hearing the enthusiastic speeches of the Baloch elders of Balochistan and Sindh, he sent Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan and I a message that the working of the conference would go against the Muslims of Sindh as it had recently been separated from Bombay and where elections were soon to be held for the provincial legislature. If Muslims were to contest elections from different platforms, then the Hindus, who were in minority, would shift their support at will amongst the Muslim parties for the purpose of government formation and would in this way rule over Sindh with its support. The message was given to us in the presence of some Sindh, Baloch elders, who were much annoyed by it. They were of the opinion that the Baloch were in majority from amongst the Muslims of Sindh, with huge land holdings but because they were less educated and not in business and commerce, they were being exploited by Hindu Sindhis as well as Muslim traders alike. Besides, they were exploited by the Syeds in the name of religion and by Memon traders as well, just like the Hindus, therefore the non-Baloch Sindhi Muslims did not like the Sindhi Baloch to be united and powerful. But we told them that it was worth our while to discuss it further with the Sheikh, impressing upon him that we wanted our betterment and not anyone else's loss. The other prosperous Muslim communities should indeed help us in bettering the lot of our own downtrodden people. Hence, Mir Banda Ali Khan invited Nawab Magsi, Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, two other Syeds and I for dinner after breaking the fast. We held an in-depth discussion on the politics of Sindh, noting that Sindhi Muslims had neither a party nor a newspaper as an instrument of propagating their views. All the effort of public awareness and political work was

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limited to a few religious and trading socialites, who also were hand in glove with the British. The Sheikh did not pay much attention to the views of the Sindhi Baloch and instead blamed Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan and myself for making this new party, much to their disadvantage. We tried our best to allay their fears but to no avail. In the end, it was decided that after the Hyderabad meeting, Yousaf Ali Khan and I would go to Karachi for further discussion with Seth Abdullah Haroon and other Sindhi leaders. In my address to the conference, I severely criticised the British government policies of the Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) that were responsible for the downtrodden condition of Balochistan. My criticism of the British and their policies was much appreciated by the nationalist forces of Sindh and widely covered by the press throughout India. At that time, the Indian National Congress (INC) was in confrontation with the British government and most of the newspapers were owned by non-Muslims; Hindus, Parsis and other non-Muslim nationalists whose reporters were mostly Hindus, who would regularly visit me and discuss the situation of Balochistan, Sindh and India. One reporter, Mr Surat Singh, had got wind of the news of our meeting with Mr Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi and our intended visit for further discussion to Karachi and had given the news to the press. That facilitated our introduction to the press and political leadership of Karachi to a great extent.

When our conference was over, a number of the delegates including Unqa, Nizami, Syed Lal Shah, Shahbaz Khan and others decided to go with us to Karachi as well. Since most of them were resourceless and unable to afford even the lower rent of the hotel that was less than a rupee per night and I could not pay for all of them either, I did not think it appropriate to separate from my companions and stay with our fruit commission agent. Therefore, we stayed at a charitable rest house, Mono Dina Sarai who gave us two rooms to stay in for a week. Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan fell ill and rented a bungalow at Clifton, Karachi and got busy with his treatment.

It was the month of Ramazan, some of us and I were observing fast as well. The next day, accompanied by Mir Shahbaz Khan and Mr Naseem, we met Seth Abdullah Haroon and had a detailed meeting with him. He proposed to call a meeting of the Balochistan and Sindh leaders in a month or two to discuss the Balochistan and Sindh situation in totality. He suggested that we

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meet the other Hindu, Parsi and Muslim leaders in Karachi and hold a joint public meeting with them in which we talk of the situation of Balochistan following which we would form a committee for the assistance of Balochistan that would make the situation of Balochistan the focus of its attention in a big way, making it difficult for the British to suppress the people there any further. He expressed the opinion that if the Indian Congress leaders supported reforms in Balochistan, despite its current strife with the British, things would be eased. He gave us the names and addresses of the Karachi leaders that he suggested we meet. We agreed with his suggestions and started contacting the leaders in the city of Karachi which was much more difficult than we had assumed it to be as we were without our own transport and could not even afford the cheap public transport. Even so, Mir Shahbaz Khan, Mr Naseem and I managed to meet most of the leaders moving around on foot.

Within a few days, six relatively small organisations agreed to call a public meeting at Khaliq Dina Hall[318] to hear me relate the excesses of the British in Balochistan. We were strangers to the city of Karachi and the people that we were to meet but the people of Karachi gave us a lot of help in locating and meeting these leaders, especially a young educated person Mr Mujtaba, who was raised by Seth Abdullah Haroon, a Hindu newspaper reporter Mr A K Jangiani and Maulvi Noor-ul-Haq, the current Dean of Islamia College, Peshawar.

Mr Jangiani was the representative of a number of English newspapers of Bombay, Delhi and Madras and was well-known in the political circles of Karachi. He was a great help in introducing our mission and I, not just then but also later. He left for India after partition and was for a while the editor of 'Hindustan Times', Delhi. After the devastating Quetta earthquake, his newspaper sent him to Quetta where he stayed for a few years at my suggestion. After my arrest in 1942, he went back to Sindh. During our Karachi visit, he added the wordings, "Balochistan Gandhi" for the first time to my name that later on became a permanent fixture. Friends and Hindus would call me by the adjunct by way of love and respect while my opponents would use it acrimoniously.

At the time, most of the Karachi Congress leadership was in prison. The few business people sympathetic to the Congress that

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were free were frightened of heavy fines by the government and would not come near any anti-government party and programme. Therefore, the arrangement for the Khaliq Dina Hall gathering was all made by persons, who were not affiliated to the Congress. Most helpful were Seth Abdullah Haroon, who presided over the meeting, and the Parsi leader Mr Jamshed Nasronji[319], Mr Hatim Alvi[320] and Mr Jait Mal Parsaram amongst others.

Even when the date of the meeting was set and the posters for its propaganda were printed, we continued with our contact of the leaders of Karachi. Once or twice a day, we would call upon Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan and inform him of our progress. As a result of this effort of a few people motivated by the love of their country, the Balochistan situation gained so much publicity over a few days that we could not have managed in years.

On the day of the meeting, not only was the hall full to capacity but rather the gathering was overflowing on to the road. The surprising thing was that besides all the prominent leaders even those, who were pro-government and had never before attended any public gathering, came to the meeting. The meeting was presided over by Haji later Sir, Abdullah Haroon. The meeting was also attended by Barrister Jam Mir Ayub Khan, who was the uncle of the ruling Jam of Lasbella and was living in exile at Karachi, Mr Tayabji Barrister[321], who later became the Chief Justice of the Sindh High Court, Mr Jamshed Nasronji and the famous banker Mr Dastoor of the Parsi community and from the Congress party came the only lady Miss Jethi Sipahimalani[322], who later became the Vice President of the Sindh Legislative Assembly and is currently the vice president of the Bombay Assembly.

From Balochistan, I was the only one addressing the public meeting. The only time I had for preparing my speech was on the way to the meeting during which I organised a few headings relating to geography, government administration, and the current law and order that was much applauded by the gathering and the press. Haji Abdullah Haroon delivered a very hard hitting speech reminding the British, quoting the statement of an old woman who had said to the king, "If you could not govern well then why capture God's world?"

The Karachi press and the leaders used to be quite perplexed whenever told that we were staying at Mono Sarai in reply to

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their query about our staying place, an attitude that I did not understand in the beginning. Later Mr Jangiani explained that this was because in Karachi and indeed all over India, national leadership was in the hands of very rich people, who monopolised it as a right though all the workers were from the working class. Therefore, they were hesitant to meet a person staying at a charitable house that dared to challenge the British and demand the rule of law and autonomy for his province. Besides, although some of them would like to call upon us, they were shy of visiting a charity house. Later Mr Mujtaba and Jangiani on their own discussed the matter with Abdullah Haroon, who then vacated one of his city houses for our use. By then most of my companions had left and to me, living in that house was like living in another charity house. Naseem, Unqa and I shifted to a hotel instead. During our stay at the hotel, I wrote a letter to the papers of Punjab regarding the state of affairs at Balochistan and the conditions of its people.

Some Happenings on the Lighter Side

During the trip to Karachi, some incidents on the lighter side also occurred which my friends and I would relate and talk about for years later.

We went to meet Mrs Tayabji[323], who was the daughter of the well known Sir Akbar Hydari[324] of Hyderabad and a member of the Municipal Corporation Karachi Council. When she rose to greet us there were also some other young women present, instead of shaking hands with her I brought my hands together in the form of Hindu salutation and so did Naseem and Mir Shahbaz Khan but I could see that she was perplexed by this gesture on our part. Later, light-heartedly she pointed the mistake when we were departing and she asked us to meet her husband and invite him as well to the meeting. She called her husband and had him introduced to us and said, "These gentlemen are national leaders of Balochistan and the government there is meting out very harsh treatment to the people there. They are holding a public meeting and want to invite you to it."

He asked, "Are they asking me to plead their case?" She felt quite left out at this simplicity of her husband.

"No darling! They are inviting you to the meeting as a citizen," she said.

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We enjoyed this dialogue between the husband and wife and were later told that quite contrary to the enthusiasm of the wife, the husband avoided public life and was lost in the pursuit of his law profession. Our public meeting was probably the first he ever attended. He was known in the Karachi social circle as the husband of Mrs Tayabji.

On another occasion, I observed Mir Shahbaz Khan offering a hand bill of the public meeting to a lady, who did not take it from him and instead pointed towards the person accompanying her meaning thereby to give it to him. I noticed Naseem was having a good laugh at Shahbaz Khan. He would later relate it with much amusement. On another occasion Mr Nizami was light-heartedly discussing religion with Syed Lal Mohammad Shah, who was a simple, staunch, religious Pashtoon. Suddenly, he flared up and took out a knife to hit Mr Nizami with. We separated the two with some effort. Later, some of us would tell Nizami to say such and such a thing to Syed Lal Shah but he was so frightened that he could not risk joking with him. In his presence he would say, "No he is such a religious person." But in his absence he would say, "No he is such a fool." Friends would laugh at his fear and diplomacy.

A few days later, after the public meeting, we dispersed. These were the initial days of the year 1934. I went to Jacobabad to spend Eid with my family and after a few days I left for Balochistan. Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan stayed back at Karachi unaware that it was the last time I was going to see him.

Second Arrest, Presentation to the Jirga and Imprisonment

While departing from Jacobabad, my family members were not suspecting that I would be arrested. But I was convinced that the government of Balochistan would not tolerate my activities of the past year, particularly the Hyderabad Conference resolution that the Balochistan Conference would have a branch in Quetta and the subsequent public meeting at Karachi and its publicity in the press all over India. Therefore, in anticipation of the expected arrest, I bid a very warm and emotional farewell to all family, relatives, mother and brother at the time of leaving for Balochistan. Parting from my only daughter, who was just past

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one year and was just starting to talk, was particularly difficult. I continued missing her during the nearly two-and-a-half years of imprisonment till I met her at Gulistan Railway Station where she had been brought by my relatives to welcome my coming home. God bless her! She is living and very dear to me.

Indeed, the love of this daughter and that of my family sustained me during those years of imprisonment, otherwise I would not have been able to suffer the hardships of imprisonment. It is so because I regarded freeing my children and relatives from the slavery of others, particularly the British, my love for them and still do. Then and even now, I do not regard the life of slavery under the dictatorship of others a life worthy of humans. I used to be content in prison as those, who had left their family in pursuit of providing a comfortable livelihood for them, or like that widow, who tolerated all the hardship of life so that her children could live a comfortable life.

Even so, I have also regarded my life as struggle in the way of God and his chosen ones, the prophets. I derive great pleasure and strength from the holy verses of the Quran. I would gain strength from the ways of the prophets and their sufferings, and would seek comfort in the thought that compared to those prophets of God I had suffered nothing. In short, I departed from my kith and kin full of emotions and expectations of the unknown, convinced that I would be arrested.

One reason for returning to Balochistan was to seek a solution to the exile of Mohammad Aslam Khan and his return to Balochistan. I went straight to Gulistan and stayed as a guest of Ismail Jan and his brothers in the absence of my family. There I learnt that my teacher Maulvi Baran had come home to Piralizai village on leave from Kabul where he was a member of the Directorate of the Clerics. It was severely cold, Ismail Jan and I set off on horses to meet him and offer condolences for the death of his brother. We spent two nights with him and came back to Gulistan. I spent the night there and the next morning set off for Quetta. At Quetta, I put up with Mr Arz Mohammad Khan, a close relative. After dusk, late in the evening, we heard footsteps in the veranda of the house. Arz Mohammad Khan went out to investigate and started quarrelling with someone. He came in and said, "There were some police constables inquiring whether you are here and I started scolding them for entering my house

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without my permission." Without telling him, I suspected that I would be arrested during the night otherwise why would the police ask after me at that past hour? The night passed without any further activity. In the morning, it was very cold and at about 8 o'clock I left the house for the city. When I came out of the house, a police van stopped nearby me and a constable came forward and said, "The inspector summons you."

I went to the inspector, who said to me, "I have your warrants of arrest and we will be taking you to Pishin, therefore, wherever your baggage is let us go and collect it." We came back to the house to collect my things and then left for Pishin in the police van. There I was produced before the Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), Sardar Jaffar Khan, who was annoyed with me on the affair of the Achakzai chieftainship. He appeared quite pleased and said, "You are arrested under section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR)[325] and soon we will present you to a Jirga Court."

I said, "There is no trial under this section, you just have to issue the orders."

He said, "The police say that they want to produce witnesses from Karachi and Hyderabad."

I laughed and said, "How can you prosecute the acts of Sindh here? Do they not have a government there?"

He said, "It is our discretion where we prosecute any crime." Such was the state of affairs of Balochistan, its rulers, administration and judiciary. I was sent straight to Pishin where I was lodged in a separate room outside the jail premises and was allowed my own bedding, food, books and newspapers. Because of the severe cold, I remained indoors by the fire for most of the day, only taking a walk in the jail veranda early in the morning or late in the afternoon.

The Annoyance and Deception of Achakzai Elders

Because of the severe cold, there were not many visitors to the court of the Pishin EAC. The only person I met was Malik Walath Khan Alizai. When he came to know of my arrest, he left the court with tearful eyes saying that he would go and collect other elders of the tribe and take a delegation to the government demanding

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that either I be set free or they be arrested as well. Being a simple tribesman that was all he could think of in the absence of a political organisation. The EAC, on hearing of his plan, summoned him at once and assured him that it was not a serious matter and that I would not be imprisoned and would be released soon on bail. The next day, the EAC called Ghaffar Khan from Gulistan, who had then pacified the Achakzai elders on account of my safe ty.

Abdul Rahim Khan Alakozai – The Spy

Since our arrest last time had caused great unrest amongst the Achakzai tribe leading to the abduction of a British woman, two officers and attacks on government property, the British were very apprehensive about my second arrest. They did not realise that I had conveyed the message of tolerance and non-violence to my people, telling them that resort to violence and armed resistance was beneficial only for short term personal gain like the awarding of Levy posts and other petty privileges that the ordinary outlaws demand, our aim on the other hand was snatching total power from the British and we wanted to run the government here by the people of the place rather than the British, which demanded a protracted struggle and big sacrifices of self and property. Even then the Quetta Political Agent (PA) Mr Todd[326] had given Rs300 to Abdul Rahim Alakozai, master spy of the government, and sent him to Chaman to sniff around for the reaction and intensions of the Achakzais. He had gone to Tor Thangi and stayed with Malik Amin Hasanzai, distributing the money amongst a few people and reporting back that there was no commotion in the making; the Achakzai elders regarded him a companion of Gandhi quite unable to fathom his aim.

I was put in prison and the hearing of the case was delayed because on the first two dates set, the police witnesses had not come. Meanwhile, my brother arrived from Jacobabad and Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan and other workers came from Sibi. Since the dates of appearance in court were changed by the magistrate without my presence in court, I did not meet them. My brother met me later in the prison, while Yousaf Ali Khan and the others were denied meeting me at the prison. I sent them a message telling them not to come for these court appearances as these were uncertain and they had long distances to travel. I was told by my

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brother that Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd was also detained at Dhadar, Sibi to be tried by the Kalat State Jirga Court.

After a month or so, the court hearings started. I told the court that I would not defend myself as in those days one could not even be represented by a lawyer under the FCR nor was the trial open to the public. The police witnesses had presented to the court cuttings of the Punjab newspapers and reports of the Hyderabad and Karachi meetings. On the second hearing, I was told by the court that I would be tried under Section 124 of the Indian Criminal Code[327] along with Article 12 of the FCR instead of the original 40 FCR. I was told that I could be imprisoned for 14 years and if I wanted, I could produce witnesses in defence and question the prosecution witnesses that could be recalled for the purpose.

In response I said, "I do not intend to do either of the two without caring whether you ask for a surety from me or sentence me to imprisonment, however, I will be submitting a written statement to the court."

In reply I was told, "The court is moving to Sibi in two days' time. If you can give us your statement tomorrow or the day after it would enable us to fix the next day for hearing or else we would be coming back two to three weeks later."

I said, "I will submit my statement on the morning of the day after." I was given a pencil, pen and paper for the purpose of recording my statement. I immediately started writing my statement in pencil but could not complete it till sometime the next morning. Thereafter, I started fairing it in ink but could not complete it till late in the evening. By late evening I was exhausted and asked for a person that would assist me. They sent me a police clerk, who was tired and semi-literate and therefore of no help. He was not enthusiastic either. He stayed with me till about 10 pm and then departed. I did not sleep for the night and after working for 24 hours straight, by the coming evening I compiled my statement. In the morning it occurred to me that since the court was not open to the public and the press, no one would know of the contents of my statement. Therefore, reluctantly and hesitantly, I resolved to send a copy of the statement to friends outside. At 10 am the next morning, I gave the fair copy written in ink to the court and retained the pencil copy along with the remaining papers and pens. The EAC and

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other officials were in a hurry to leave for Sibi and left for that destination. I made two more copies of the statement sending one in parts on daily basis to Mohammad Hassan Nizami, who was then a primary schoolteacher at Pishin, and retained the other for myself. Mohammad Hassan Nizami sent the statement to his brother Mohammad Hussain Unqa, who was working for the paper, 'Al-Baloch' at Karachi and had it printed in it. The same was later published by Bacha Khan's paper, 'Pashtoon' in Pashto. The publication of the statement set in motion a full-fledged investigation into how it reached the press. My things were searched without my knowledge and the copy retained by me was taken away. In the end, they had concluded that it was probably taken out of the file by a local court employee, copied and the original replaced in the file. Mr Todd[345], the PA, had interrogated all and everyone at Pishin and dismissed Mr Nizami from the teaching job. The other two interrogated with Nizami were, Abdul Karim Shorash and Munshi Khan Mohammad. They later made up a story that Nizami was dismissed because he was smiling at the time and Todd had asked him, "Why are you laughing?"

It was unexpected for a cautious man like Nizami to be smiling on such an occasion. His friends inferred jokingly that he was not smiling but that in fact on that day the barber had shaved his moustache closer than usual which gave him a look of a smile. Nizami did not agree and countered the joke by saying, "I was facing the PA with courage without fear unlike the others so therefore he thought that this act of bravery must have been performed by me, as the others appeared to be too scared to undertake it."

After the submission of the statement and the holding of the Sibi Darbar, the PA constituted a Jirga (Judicial Council) comprising the following five leading Jirga members, Khan Bahadur Abdullah Jan Kakar, Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan Tareen, Syed Ghulamuddin Shah, Abdul Ghaffar Khan Achakzai and probably Sahibzada Mohammad Ayub to try my case noting on the file that, "I refer this case for trial to you as you would be ultimately affected by the loss and gain of his doings, so therefore you consider in depth whether he is a criminal deserving punishment or not."

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Statement to the Court of Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC) Pishin

"I would like to clarify at the outset that my testimony should not be perceived as a premeditated contrivance on my part to influence or change this court's opinion. In fact, I am testifying at another court – the court of Allah, which is adjudicated by time, a prospective historian acts as jury and public opinion hands down the final, definitive verdict.

Allah's court is also governed by laws, coded by sections in the penal system and, as of this moment, I believe that this particular trial is underway under a different rubric in His court of law. There my trial is not titled 'Abdul Samad', but is put forward for hearing as a contest between 'Truth and Falsehood'. The contest, or more accurately, the battle between the two eternal parallels is interminable where the challenge put forth by truth is potent enough to annihilate falsehood.

Not governed by mundane debates, the verdict in the court of Allah is irrevocable where an individual is put through a practical ordeal rather than the use of banal cross examination to ascertain veracity. My temporal trial will test the probity and truthfulness of this court, a site where truth is sometimes decapitated whilst at other times crucified to prove that those seeking it are, in fact, truth personified.

Similar to how a judge feels occupying the honourable seat of justice, I too stand in this dock blissfully immersed in pride at the thought of its significance. Abraham's[328] example cited in the Quran testifies how he was thrown into fire to prove his truthfulness as Allah's prophet[329]. The other example is that of Hazrat Yousuf[330], who had to undergo years of incarceration to prove his innocence[331]. And Hazrat Moosa's[332] followers suffered a similar fate for showing allegiance to truth. Hazrat Essa[333], who as a Muslim I consider human[334], is ascended to the status of the son of God by millions of people, was crucified through a verdict handed down by a court. Whosoever needs verification of what I am saying can refer to the Quran. The famed Greek philosopher, Socrates[335] was forced by a court to imbibe poison to uphold the authenticity of his philosophy. The fact of the matter is that humanity has suffered and been a victim of a court of law's iniquitous judgment. How can we overlook the Inquisition[336],

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perpetrated in the name of religion to burn people alive following a religious denomination dissimilar to the ruling majority? Examples of the French[337], Irish[338] and Russian[339] revolutions are replete with examples of courts' dispensing brutalities rather than justice. Time has proved that courts, specifically set up for political victimisation, are not representative of any country. They represent a powerful clique of people employed to gain power through brutal means. We witnessed how a Russian court sentenced an individual to serve a life-sentence in the bitter cold of the Siberian jail, but that individual escaped the confines to become a dictator, immortalised as Lenin the Great by his followers.

The Irish freedom fighter, Eamon de Valera[340], was initially sentenced by a court. It was commuted to life imprisonment and eventually released after general amnesty. This great Irish leader had vowed to gain independence for his country and went on to head the Irish Free State. There are countless examples of people whose vilification in the dock turned into a fight for justice and truth. I view this dock as a site of reverence where venerable people have stood believing in its essence to dispense justice.

I have said this earlier also; that it is a matter of pride for me, greater than a royal status, to be in this dock – a dock where hundreds of thousands of martyrs sacrificed their lives in defence of their beliefs, when arraigned here. Now that I have been tried under Section 40 of the blackest of laws, the Frontier Crimes Regulations, it adds a heartfelt happiness to my pride, as my hopes increase to emulate the great leader of the frontier people, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. You may consider it a superstition or blind faith.

When Khan Ghaffar Khan was arrested a second time while leading a struggle for national freedom, before the current civil disobedience movement, he was also tried under this very section of the Regulations and he was punished with three years' imprisonment for not offering a bail guarantee. When he was freed after completing his sentence, in my view because of his silent sacrifices and not a gift due to passage of time, his people had awakened. The people had then rid themselves of their earlier weaknesses, which existed due to rifts, hypocrisies and lack of courage. The people were then ready for a struggle for freedom. I think that even if my humble self lacks the sincerity of

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the respectable Khan, the effect and results of sacrifices do not go waste. Even if my person is not as endowed and even if I am not as gifted to lead this nation, as Khan Ghaffar could, yet my humble services will not go unrewarded and will result in comprehensive changes. While the integrity and intensity of the earlier efforts may have been greater, I am convinced that a part of the country, however small that part may be, will not be unimpressed by the hardships that I endure. People will be converted if the leadership is sincere and effective.

I have been tried under this special law – bypassing the normal law of the land – a law which is not recognised anywhere in the world except this unfortunate land without a constitution. This stigma has been removed even from areas where it was acceptable till two years back. This is the malaise that allows our dear homeland to be deplored as the land without a constitution. This is the yoke of servility that the people of Balochistan are restlessly eager to be rid of. This is the dreadful, savage tool which has desensitised the government to the aspirations of the population. The youth of Balochistan are now rising to snatch this tool from the government with a newfound vigour and resolve. The youth of the province consider this law as the greatest obstacle to their development and growth. This despicable law has obliterated the difference between wrongdoers and the innocent in this Lilliputian[341] edifice.

This unnatural regulation allows the rights and powers of innumerable innocent orphaned children and widows to be snatched from society as a collective punishment for the misdeeds of some criminals. This is the power that has blinded the government to the possibilities of internal improvement. This is the law that denies the rulers here of being considered constitutional and the people of a longing for prosperity. The late Sir Alfred Hamilton Grant[342], when he was Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province, once in a speech wistfully longed to be recognised as a constitutional officer. His desire was fulfilled before his demise. I wish the rulers of this area feel the same urge of becoming constitutional officials.

I am sure that practice of this law has generated so much ill that the government has become suspicious of itself. The government thinks that wherever its weaknesses and misdeeds are revealed openly, it will only be natural that hatred against the government

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wherein one widow, who had been granted freedom of choosing another husband by the inheritors of the late husband, but his brother filed a claim and through the court received monetary compensation from the new husband for her remarriage. It proves that a woman cannot be a master of her own will under any circumstances; even if the bonafide inheritor frees her from any obligation. This government acknowledges the rights of the former heir also. So such a person can encroach upon her freedom and a woman may be sold as an ordinary commodity.

Under this government, all the residents of the whole province are denied the establishment of the greatest vehicle of communication in the modern age – a newspaper. This is a government under whose rule a religious leader is barred from educating his fellowmen. This government forces prisoners to eat their own food, or none. Here, under this rule, in a cold city like Quetta, prisoners are not provided firewood or beddings while locked up in police stations.

What shall I call such a government, if not inappropriate, obsolete and needing reform? Shall I call it a good government, appropriate and not in need of reform? I refuse to call black as white. My religion, my conscience, my faith, my people's history and my sense of truth demand that I call black as black. The mildest words that I know, or have heard, are that this is a bad government; it needs reform and it is inappropriate. The best that I can wish this government is to exhort it to reform itself, and conduct itself fairly. The truest prediction in respect of this government is that either it will reform or it will be removed. This is what I said and I say it now, and will continue to repeat this till I retain the power of speech.

Thus far it was my admission. Now I make a denial. I refute the prosecution's charge that I wrote these articles, and made these speeches, to spread hatred – nor any hatred has spread due to these, nor is there likelihood or fear of that.

It is my faith that through love, honesty, courage, sacrifice and non-violence I can save my religion, my country and humanity at large.

In my view falsehood, hatred and deceit, which includes clandestine activities of all sorts, are the worst sins. Next to this I consider violence a sin also, but of a secondary nature, because under certain circumstances I consider it not only justifiable but

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also necessary. For my own benefit, to avoid a loss, I would not harm a fly; but to protect the limitations on humanity imposed by God Almighty, and which is equivalent to peace and freedom for religions, even the killing of all living beings will not be a sin.

I hope, and I pray for Allah's support for this, if time and a situation demand I may sacrifice my dearest possessions, relatives and even my brother, mother and young daughter for the will of God. Perhaps I would have done so. But since I am a muslim; and for a muslim, Allah has already pronounced that a muslim and his assets are already sold to the will of God. Therefore, to say that I have tried to spread hatred against the government is a blatant, false accusation.

I still do not hate this government; rather I would be grateful even if it makes some ordinary changes in governance. I discussed my objectives and manner of achieving these with Mr. Wingate[343], Political Agent, Quetta. He was entirely satisfied. But this forthright gentleman clearly told me that till a general decision on the future of India was taken, the government could not permit any movement in Balochistan. This meant that Balochistan should accept its misfortune of being denied any reforms. And this resignation to a destiny by design is not possible.

Mr. Wingate, in one meeting, openly admitted that there was no disagreement between the government and us on objectives and processes. Now, at this time, I am the same and the government is the same. If there is a change, it must be in the sincerity of purpose. Perhaps the government considers the present time as inopportune for Balochistan to get its share of reforms, like planned for elsewhere. This contradicts my thoughts on the subject. My party and I are convinced that for the coming reforms we should be treated at par with other Indian provinces.

This does not mean that I have started hating the government, or I am trying to spread hatred. This is the first part of my denial: that I do not hate the government and have not tried to spread dissension and discord. However, if it is inferred that even without my intention, my speeches and writings may have spread hatred; I deny this also, because I am well-aware of the effect of articles on my country. Regarding my speeches, I am witness to their impact. I have seen those meetings also where hatred spreads, or is spread by some. I have heard slogans of 'shame, shame' and 'destruction to Britain'. I have also witnessed the

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passion and frenzy that spreads in a gathering by mere reading of a poem or just making one speech.

In contrast, I have seen the calm that prevailed when these of my speeches were made. I want the ardour of Pashtoon and Baloch youngsters to include patience and tolerance. As a result, after my meetings people developed sympathy for the people of Balochistan, as is evident from the recommendations of the Karachi meeting. If hatred had been spread there, the meeting would have openly adopted a resolution expressing hatred against the government of Balochistan, and not merely a suggestion for sympathy.

I am, therefore, convinced that my speeches and writings have not spread hatred, nor can that happen in future. In reality, if I am convinced that any of my actions could spread hatred against the government or an individual, I will voluntarily refrain from such an activity – even if that speech or writing is a religious duty.

Hatred against a government is spread not due to any speech, but because of the actions or inactions of the government itself; particularly when a government wishes to continue with its misdeeds; does not want to mend its ways and still desires the people to approve of it and wish it well. If the government responds to the aspirations of the people, and even slowly changes itself for better governance, people would like such a government rather than spread hatred against it. The speeches made and articles written ostensibly address the nation but their purpose is also to exhort the government to improve its performance. For example, my article that describes the conditions of jail was written solely due to this intention. If the government had brought changes in the jails' administration, then the world would have seen that even if the whole world became Abdul Samad, there would be no hatred against the government. But the government insists that the present poor conditions will continue, and still wants people to praise it. In such a case the spread of hatred is unavoidable.

Similarly, the department responsible for law and order can cause the spread of hatred when they use strict measures to maintain order without following the law. For example, in the Karachi meeting a Parsi brother described an incident with the Balochistan Police. He was not allowed to enter Quetta merely because his coat buttons had the Indian national flag pictures on

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them. He was asked to take off that coat if he wanted to enter the city, otherwise he would not be allowed to do so. Another Punjabi gentleman informed the meeting of all the hardships he had to bear at the hands of the police, while trying to inaugurate a muslim orphanage in Quetta.

A friend of mine, a resident of Sindh, whose father is the President of Nawabshah District Board and a great obedient vassal of the government, was gravely insulted when he reached Quetta in August 1932, to visit me in Gulistan. He was hauled up by the police and for several hours was made to wait in the dirty rooms of Quetta Police waiting halls. He was freed after being taken from door to door to several police stations.

Another example I have heard of is the party whose sign board of Tilak Hosiery Factory was objected to as it showed the name of the Mahatma inscribed on it. Or recall the incident when a Hindu shopkeeper was arrested as he perhaps tried to sell homespun cloth.

Can these incidents result in something other than spreading hatred against the government? If a government does not suffer from such weaknesses or does not insist on retaining such practices, it will be irrational to think that hatred against such a government will spread on its own. Legitimate and honest criticism should be tolerated, however bitter that may be. It should not only be tolerated but benefitted from, rather than trying, in vain, to hush up such criticism in the name of curbing hatred.

As far as I understand, the objective of a bail bond is to bind a good human being, as he would like to keep his word; or a greedy person will be dissuaded from an offence for fear of losing his money. Let me examine the second scenario in my own case – how much can the loss of money affect me? I am informed that the unofficial investigations of some government officers have revealed that over the last few years, I am in debt to the tune of Rs 15,000 due to participation in this movement.

If this be the case, then how can it be presumed that a person, who has sacrificed so much money in pursuit of the national movement, will forsake and alter his beliefs to avoid loss of a further few thousand? Additionally, when have my assets, and those of my family, not been appropriated to government coffers? Or can that be discounted? Over the last few years, we have paid

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the government thousands of rupees as collective penalty for the deeds of others. Heavens will not fall if a few thousand more are lost. In addition, government forces for their entertainment retreats, called parallels, cause loss to our estates, every few years, if not annually. That loss is estimated in hundreds of thousands. We have tolerated these losses. So it would not surprise us if there are designs to confiscate some funds of bail money. Only recently the political agent at Quetta has granted permission to a person to install oil engines in our area. This causes a loss of Rs200,000 and our personal share in it comes to Rs 10,000. If we can bear all these losses gracefully, shall we be overly concerned about confiscation of a few thousand rupees as a bail bond? That will never happen, particularly when I am participating in this sacred national movement as a religious duty.

As a muslim, it is my duty to expend all my assets in the way of religious duty. Allah addresses his prophet, in the Quran thus: "If you care more for your assets – your parents, your children, siblings, your acquired wealth, your running businesses, beautiful homes and lovely estates than the way of Allah and his prophet, then you await the wrath of Allah"[344]. So if ever, for the sake of the sacred movement, I dither from such sacrifices, I will be called a sinner forthwith and also be liable to punishment from Allah. Can a weak person do this if he is not blind? Secondly, however my speech may be construed, I have already said in my statement that I abhor hatred in all its manifestations, as a matter of faith.

I am by nature cooperative. It was in this spirit that I offered guarantees so that I may offer my cooperation to the government. I took several other steps under this sentiment, which my friends consider unprincipled. But I did that according to my natural inclination to cooperate. It has only resulted in the undesirable need to offer new guarantees before the expiry of the current bail bonds.

As I said earlier that though I have alluded to various reasons for the institution of this case, in my statement, the last undeniable reason that can be deduced is that the government sincerely misconceives that my political beliefs are presently inappropriate for Balochistan. Or the government believes that under the current circumstances if I freely ventilate my views, it will not be in the best interest of Balochistan. Therefore, the government considers it a remedy to require guarantees and bail bonds from

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Balochistan cannot be satisfied with unconstitutional and illegal court procedures. I wish the example was extended further; then all people of Balochistan would be part of this gratitude with me.

I thank the prosecution for their normal conduct – firstly because the platoon sent to arrest me was not improperly armed, and secondly by charging me under Section 90 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations they proved my innocence to the world. And after that their witnesses showed no reluctance in their statements and they read out, without any amendment, whatever was given to them in their hands.

I express my complete satisfaction with the attitude of the court during the proceedings of the case. For this I am thankful to the magistrate.

Before I conclude my statement, I wish to express a grief, that has given me unease; that I was unfortunately arrested during the days when a part of our homeland suffered the tragedy of an earthquake. The people of that area need help at this moment. If I had been free, I may have been able to serve them.

Hence my statement Abdul Samad Achakzai "

The Helplessness, Regret and Hesitation of the Jirga Members

The Jirga met two days before Eid in the political rest house of Pishin. My elder brother and Mohammad Ayub Khan Achakzai had come to the Jirga. The Jirga heard the statements of the police and my statement, which was read to them and had a deep and emotional effect on them and they were quite perturbed by it. When they rose for the afternoon prayer, each one of them except Ghaffar Khan came by me separately, lamenting their helplessness and the bad name it would cause them and their future generation. They also said if only Ghaffar Khan would agree, they were willing to disassociate themselves from this trial. But Ghaffar Khan was under the influence of EAC Sardar Jaffar, who they claimed was a very vicious and unforgiving person and would cause them trouble as well. Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan took my hands in his and while talking to me his tears fell on my hands. I told them that it did not make any difference to me as to who sentenced me. If the government was determined to condemn me, it would be done by an Englishman, a Sikh or a

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Cooperation of Sikh Sepoys

Aziz and I were confined to two compounds, each to himself just across the road to one another. The gates of the compounds were near and opposite to one another but locked most of the time. The gates would be opened whenever someone wanted to come in bringing our meals or for some other work. I was assigned a trusted numberdar prisoner of the establishment who would bring me food and dust the place. In addition, he would also watch out for anyone contacting me. Likewise, a trusted numberdar prisoner was assigned to Kurd as well.

After my talk to the superintendent and the request for putting the two of us together, the jail administration had considered the matter and instead decided to appoint trusted guards over us. The local Baloch and Pashtoons were ruled out for their natural affinity and sympathy towards us and so were the Hindus, most of whom were suspected of being sympathetic to the Indian struggle for freedom, as were Punjabi Muslims, who were considered our co-religionist and hence our sympathisers. They finally decided on Sikh constables, who apparently would have no sympathy with us and hence were trusted as guards over us. Consequently, four Sikh retired army soldiers, who were working as sepoys in the jail, were chosen to guard us. The Sikhs also after all were Indians and anti-British retired army soldiers, who had worked under British officers and observed their insulting behaviour. The two Sikhs constables, Dildar Singh and Sher Singh, became our trusted companions. They used to deliver letters between Mir Aziz Kurd and me.

Any activity once started usually keeps increasing till it comes to an end. So was this communication between us. The intensity of correspondence from Aziz increased the need for pencils and paper and blades to sharpen the pencils, which necessarily required taking into confidence the numberdars as well. On one occasion, Kurd wrote a letter on both sides of a prison cloth towel that was three feet by one and a half foot with the blood from his tooth. The numberdars were hardened prisoners with long sentences and were not only afraid of the jail staff but also expected relief in their sentence and other matters. They were least bothered with national causes and were all for themselves and one could not blame them for this attitude as their main concern was being freed at the earliest and in the meanwhile take

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To facilitate communications between Aziz Kurd and me, we used to give the numberdars tobacco (*naswar*). Since we neither kept any money with us nor did any other illegal work, we asked Mohammad Hussain Nizami, who was dismissed from his teaching job and was staying at home in Mach city, to supply us tobacco. But at once we were faced with a problem as the Sikhs were forbidden the use of tobacco by their religion. But bless him, Sardar Dildar Singh worked a way out of this difficulty by saying, "Nizami would have to wrap the tobacco in a few layers of paper and slip it himself into my pocket and here you would have to pick it out of my pocket yourself without my touching it."

With the arrangement agreed between Nizami and the Sikh constables, we used to receive letters and newspapers from Nizami, who in return mail would receive letters from us. Nizami would pay the sepoy half a rupee for each trip. Therefore, at a small cost of Rs15 per month, we established our otherwise severed links with the outside world. On two occasions, we even sent letters to 'Al-Baloch' that got published. One of the letters was in reply to a letter of Dewan Jamiat Rai, who had written a lowly letter to the Balochistan Gazette praising and recounting the blessings of British rule in Balochistan. In a strongly worded letter, we wrote, "With the coming of the British, the people of Balochistan could not even afford the minimum clothing that they had. The Pashtoon and Baloch of Makran, Kachi, Toba and Ziarat can be seen going about half clothed. Yes, the like of you, that came riding on a donkey from Dera Ghazi Khan, have prospered and now move about in Hudson[348] prospered." cars. Likewise, some Sardars have, We only indulged in this illegal activity because of the stubborn attitude of the jail authorities but otherwise always observed the rules.

Difference of Perception and Annoyance of Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd[349]

Within days of arriving at Mach Jail, Abdul Aziz Kurd had somehow managed to write a letter to the Khan of Kalat, pleading that he be set free. I came to know of it through Sheikh Ikram Ali while at the hospital but I did not take much notice of it, neither did I ask him after we got in touch. One day, he himself informed me of the letter to the Khan of Kalat, justifying it by saying that

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the Khan of Kalat was the national leader of the Baloch and the Kalat throne was the national Baloch seat of authority. While one could justify rebelling against the British, one could not rebel against the national authority which would amount to sinful betrayal. Therefore, he regarded asking for pardon of the Khan as legitimate. I was quite surprised by this rather simplistic perception and wrote to him in reply that his point of view would be correct only if the Khan was independent of the British.

The next day, he asked my opinion regarding the letter and whether I still regarded him as my friend and companion. I did not give him a straight reply to his question, which he repeated the next day, asking for a clear cut reply. I then wrote to him saying that companionship was always for a cause and along a line of action so if he was following the same cause and path as I, then we were companions otherwise not. "It all depends on your objective, besides we can be friends without being companions," I wrote. The response annoyed the Mir even when we were out of prison.

Learning the Holy Quran and Other Subjects

After the fast of atonement, I said to the superintendent that I would like to follow the study of books and learning. In particular, I said I wanted to learn English writing for which I requested his assistance. In reply, he said that the jail rules did not allow any specific concessions in this regard. Like others, I was allowed to keep one or two religious books with me, in addition to borrowing one English and one Urdu book from the jail library. As for the facility of writing, he would make inquiries for me.

I told him that as my home was far away, it would be difficult to get two books at a time regularly. We finally agreed that I call for a number of books at one time, deposit them in the jail office and keep two at a time with myself.

I was proficient in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Sindhi languages. I, therefore, wrote to my brother asking him to pack for me in a box a few volumes of the commentary of the Holy Quran (*Tafseer*), the statements of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) (*Hadith*), some books of Imam Ghazali on ethics and others that he could collect and bring them to the jail. I also asked him to collect other books from

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friends and acquaintances in the area so that when I was through with those he could deliver the others in return.

During the two-and-a-half years of imprisonment I went through 18 volumes of *tafseer* in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, including those by Bainavi, Jalalyan[350],Tafseer-e-Kabir[351] and books by Ghazali, Shah Waliullah[352], Shibli, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Ibn-e Khaldoon[353] and the poetry of Allama Iqbal and other poets of Persian and Pashto. Since I had all the time, besides praying and walking, I read and wrote day and night for nearly 10 to 12 hours.

While I was busy in studying these Arabic, Persian and Urdu books, the superintendent received his reply from the government, saying that I was not allowed paper and pencils and other writing materials. I wrote to the government asking that at least I be allowed a slate board and slate chalk for writing purposes. After a few days even that request was denied.

This was the attitude of the British rulers in Balochistan, who claimed that they were designated by God to civilise the backward people of the world. Compared to this attitude, when the Congress formed a government in NWFP with Dr Khan as its chief minister, he made learning of reading and writing compulsory in prison. For the purpose of education, an additional assistant superintendent was appointed in every large prison which is still in place in the province of NWFP.

Learning English

Soon I lost all hope of any facilitation by the government regarding writing. One day, it suddenly occurred to me why not use God's earth and stones for the purpose of writing and at once started writing with stones in the mud. I would read an English book and then whichever words I did know how to write, I would write on the floor and learn their pronunciation and meaning from the dictionary sent to me by Jam Noorullah Khan, who was an assistant Tehsildar at that time at Bori[354]. I still have that dictionary as a personal gift from him.

After writing each word five times, I would then use it in five sentences. I was not fluent in English so to begin with I would manage to cover one page in a day and when tired of writing, I would turn to reading. The problem was that my writing was limited to daytime alone as the floor of my cell was cemented and

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Jail nights were long. Evening meals would be served at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and half an hour later the inmates would be locked in the wards with the doors opening at 6 o'clock the next morning. It was, therefore, difficult to spend those long nights doing nothing.

Soon I noticed that the jail cell walls used to be white washed with thin mud up to three feet every Sunday to clean them from the spitting of prisoners. It was also easy to write on this mud plaster. But I did not want it to be seen by the superintendent and did not know how to rub off the writing. I soon discovered that the writing could easily be washed away when sprinkled with water. Things eased out and I started writing during the night as well. Thus doubling my learning to 20 words and writing 100 sentences each day and night. After finishing a chapter, I would immediately test myself by reading the chapter again and learning the words I had forgotten all over again. During the summer, when it was difficult to sleep early at night because of the heat, I would practice reading and writing till well past midnight. By then the night would turn cool and I too would be tired and sleep well till the morning, catching on sleep the next afternoon. Likewise, when I would wake up at night because of the cold, I would start writing.

Kindness of the Superintendent

I thought I would start my demand for a better class in prison after recovering from the weakening effect of the hunger strike. But once I started my studies. I got so busy that I gave up the thought, Arguing that it would only lead to wasting my time. In jail, I was not bothered by the quality of clothes and food or by the provision of a bed, chair or a table but I utterly disliked three things.

The night latrine arrangements were repulsive and still are. Class C prisoners, and at times those of higher class, had to relieve themselves inside their living wards or cells where they slept and prayed. I have, however, been spared this difficulty and was often provided with quarters that had a separate toilet. At other times, I would either not be locked at night as at Karachi, Haripur and Quetta prisons or locked late in the night. But in the beginning, I did not get these facilities and I would stop eating and drinking from early afternoon so that I did not have the need to use the

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Teaching an Illiterate

Wazir Khan Kaithran was appointed as numberdar with me who had the desire to be educated. He had picked up Urdu speaking in the prison and could read the Holy Quran. He asked me to teach him Quran with understanding to which I said that it was a long and tedious job and that as he would probably be withdrawn from me after a month like others, it would be better that I teach him how to read and write Urdu, which would enable him to study the Urdu translation of the Holy Quran.

He was very keen on learning how to read and write but did not believe that he could. He was convinced that reading and writing was a tough job requiring years and that it could only be picked up when one was a child. After my suggestion, however, he got an Urdu book from someone in the prison and wanted to start learning its reading which was beyond him but I did not tell him so lest he be discouraged. I started teaching him writing and reading like myself on the board of the earth with stones for pencils.

He could recognise the alphabets and their sounds. I taught him combining alphabets with one another. Since he had the time and aptitude, he would work for quite a while every day. I taught him writing in a way of my own by first combining every letter with the alphabet "A" (*Alif*) of Urdu. In the second lesson, I would double these words like "Ma, Ma", "Ba, Ba", "Ka, Ka" etc. I then taught him three letter words like "Bap", "Bath", and "Nak" etc. He was quite surprised at his ability to read and write these sounds and soon gained confidence and would distract me from my own work because he would find familiar words in the book that he had and come along to confirm them. He had his transfer postponed for three months to continue with the studies. When his transfer was ordered for the fourth time he accepted it, so as not to raise any suspicions. He managed to post himself with me again after a month. At the time of being transferred, I told him not to follow learning with others, fearing he may fall into the habit of learning by rote.

Balochi Language

In the meanwhile, I was assigned a Baloch numberdar from Dera Ghazi Khan named Qadir Baksh. It occurred to me to learn Balochi from him. I told him from day one to speak with me in

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to proudly boast of their bad habits and probed others as well. This bad social behaviour spread to other colleagues and backbiting became a rule rather than an exception amongst the party companions. So much so, that according to the two brothers, apart from me most of our companions were government informers and employees of the Crime Investigation Department (CID).

To me, making public one's weakness is like striping in public. Anyone, who comes to know the personal weaknesses of others, loses respect for him, so why should one lose respect and trust of others voluntarily, particularly of companions? The so-called educated and modern, pretending to be secular and progressive following the lifestyle portrayed in cheap European novels, regard probing others and openly indulging in anti-social acts as modernity and frankness.

Some Comments and Opinions of Abdul Aziz Kurd

I was once discussing with Aziz Kurd the reason why he was depressed and withdrawn all the time. He explained his state of mind by reference to his love for his family and when I told him that I too missed my kith and kin and yet kept myself cheerful, he in reply pointing to the jail compound wall said, "Look at that wall. It is also in jail but since it has no emotions it is not bothered by it."

He finally lost hope of early release when a year passed without any response from the Khan of Kalat to his plea of repentance. In the meanwhile, his family also got involved in a blood feud with the family of the Kurd Sardar. His cousin killed the brother of Sardar Haji Khan Kurd, the chief of the tribe. His cousin was killed in return the very same night in the government Levy post, but even so, his brothers Mir Durr Khan and Mir Abdul Rasool along with many of the family were arrested as the murder of the Sardar was not avenged by the killing of one from the public, I keeping with the Baloch Sardari (chieftaincy) traditions. In those days, the government offered to release me on surety and some conditions unacceptable to me which I turned down. On that occasion, Aziz Kurd said to me, "I suspect that the government will not release me till you are in prison. Given the state of affairs

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of my family, oblige me by accepting the conditions and when I am freed, you cancel the surety and come back."

Since all Pashtoons and Baloch take tea regularly, Aziz Kurd for two years without fail, when drinking milk in the morning and evening would say, "I wish they had mixed some tea with it." But in those days tea was not served in prison nor was its private use allowed. A mug of tea in the morning was initiated for the prisoners in NWFP during the first government of Dr Khan. Whereas in Punjab, prisoners would be given boiled grams or ground wheat porridge.

Experience with Hidden Telepathic Human Powers

Sometime during the year 1935, I am not sure whether it was prior to or after the Quetta earthquake, I suddenly remembered without any immediate reason a young female from amongst our relatives with whom I was not even very familiar. Of course I used to remember my other relatives every day but this was different. She stayed on my mind for days, almost for a whole week. So much so that I even discussed and mentioned it to Mr Kurd. But then that memory faded. After some days, I received a letter from home in which, besides other news, I was informed of the engagement of that girl. I realised that her engagement and my remembering her coincided and were hence connected but I still failed to discern the connection. After my release, I asked about the circumstances of the girl's engagement but still could not establish any co-relationship between the two events. Finally, I met the girl in question and asked her about it. She then told me that she was agreeable to the marriage proposal and liked the person with whom it was being arranged. Since her parents were not alive, the decision was in the hands of her three step-brothers; who could not agree on the proposal of engagement amongst themselves. One was in favour while the others opposed it. She had then thought that had I been around, I would have convinced her brothers in favour of the proposal because she was worried lest it be refused. I was thus convinced that humans do have powers to communicate in an invisible way over time and distance.

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On another occasion, I was waiting at the Qilla Abdulla Railway Station. The station master's office was equipped with the railway inter-communicating telephone, connecting all the stations between Jacobabad and Chaman. The telephone bell would ring at the station that had been called but at the other stations would only make sound of a click. The in-between stations could join in the talk if anyone so desired. While I was sitting, I heard the telephone click indicating that two other stations were in communication. Unexpectedly, I got up and picked up the phone receiver with the intention of talking to the Mach station master, Abdul Khaliq Khan of Mardan, who was a good friend. Mach is more than a 100 miles from Qilla Abdullah, on picking up the phone, I said Abdul Khaliq and in response he said that it was him. We talked for a while and later I thought why, without intending, did I pick up the phone to talk to Abdul Khaliq and it did turn out to be him? Besides, even on the normal telephone one first asks who is speaking. How did I know that it was Abdul Khaliq without first asking? I suspect it was also due to the telepathic powers of human beings, something that continued research may in later years find use for such as radio, telegraph and television are used today.

The Doings of Our Companions on the Outside

While I was in prison, our free companions were busy contacting people and campaigning amongst the public about our mission that was appreciated by the public. Soon after my arrest, Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi had left for London and stayed there for nearly a year. Since we did not meet again, I do not know of his engagements there. From Cairo, he had sent his famous Urdu poem that was published in the papers and became very famous. Some of its couplets are as follows:

Kasam us jail ki jis mein Jawaharlal rehte hain
Kasam hai Kurd aur Abdul Samad Khan ki sadaqat ki

I swear by the jail in which Jawaharlal is imprisoned
I swear by the honesty of Kurd and Abdul Samad Khan

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Khan, like an honest trustee of national resources, did not deem it appropriate to give the collection to Unqa and Nasim. They had written on their own to me asking to persuade Ayub Khan to give the collected funds to them and had on the other hand written to Ayub Khan, threatening blackmail and had even written some slanderous things about him in the Karachi newspaper. By the time their letter reached me and mine to Ayub Khan, they had transgressed against Ayub Khan to such an extent that he gave up working with the organisation for ever.

He said to me, "Use me in whatever way you deem fit, giving me assignments that I would perform to the best of my abilities. But do not ask me to work with the organisation. You may be able to tolerate their behaviour but I have no patience for this lot." Hence onwards, he maintained this relationship with me till his departure for Kabul to pursue the national movement from there. After some time, he lost faith in tolerance and peaceful resistance and preferred violent armed struggle leading to victory or death.

The Karachi companions received from Yousaf Ali Khan and other sources much more money than Rs 1,000 needed as security for the paper. But by then they were lost in the bright lights and life of urban Karachi and had fallen apart with one another. Mr Nasim had started a business to secure a better, comfortable future and Unqa, in partnership with another person, had started publishing another newspaper. A few others also started newspapers from Karachi for the cause of Baloch and Balochistan. Most of them were surviving on the charities or blackmail contributions of some infamous Sardars. Nasim, in partnership with another, restarted the old paper which continues to be published to this day. The extraction of money through blackmail was so common amongst the Balochistan journalists that even I was not spared in jail. To begin with, Mr Unqa wrote to me that I along with Sardar Yousaf Ali Khan, Nawabzada Abdul Rehman Khan Bugti and Sardar Rasool Baksh Mengal had sent him to Karachi with each pledging a payment of Rs 50 per month. Since I had not paid him my dues from the time of being imprisoned, which should not affect regular payment to him, he threatened that I send him all his dues or else he would go to court. But I sent him a stiff reply, saying that I was not a corrupt Sardar or public servant to give in to his blackmail and that he was free to take whatever course he deemed fit. Thereupon, he kept quiet.

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A Silly and Mean Tactic of the British Government

While I was in prison, the son of Khan Bahadur[363] Ainuddin Khan of Quetta, who lived in Afghanistan and is still there, came to visit my brother. He had handed my brother a letter claiming that it was from the Russian ambassador at Kabul.

According to my brother, the letter was in a very special envelope that was light coloured on the outside but black from the inside. Even when held against light, it was not possible to see the contents of the envelope. When he had opened it a photograph of the carrier fell from it, probably indicating that the person was trustworthy. Inside there was a letter saying, "When your brother was free we used to extend him monetary help. Now that he is in prison, you must probably be financially hard up. We are willing to finance your and his family expenses. Send us, through this messenger, your need for self and national work."

My brother had said in reply to the messenger, "My brother was always hard up on cash. He used to sell his lands and meet his expenses, I have no knowledge of this claim of financing as stated in the letter nor do I actively take part in the national struggle." He had thought of reporting the matter to the government but expecting him to be an agent of the government, he had sent off the fellow, scolding him harshly.

A similar incident had occurred sometime back. In my absence, he was visited by three native Indian Punjabis, a Sikh, a Hindu and Muslim. They had claimed that they were from the Indian bombing party and that I would often buy guns for them and have them delivered to them. They then proceeded to ask for whatever armament I had collected for them and any more that could be collected during the next two days. My brother scolded them, saying that he knew they were government spies, therefore, it was no use reporting them to the government. Besides, since they were guests at his place he could not give them a personal beating that they otherwise well deserved. Therefore, they were allowed to spend the night at our guesthouse and set off on their way early the next morning.

Likewise, some persons had attempted to deceive him on two other occasions but they were probably just plain thugs, swindling small amounts by my reference on one excuse or the

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shrieking of prisoners invoking the mercy of God. But the authorities continued to wait for the official unlocking timing. For them, it was more important to observe the rules rather than put out of danger the lives of prisoners. The doors were unlocked in the morning and the usual jail life began. There was no news of the outside world but the earth would shake every now and then throughout the day, with the tremors of low intensity punctuated by severe ones in between.

By the early afternoon, with the change of guards, there was no news of the destruction of Quetta city but there was talk of some loss at Quetta. When the guards changed at 6 pm more news trickled in. A Hindu SDO[365] had gone on his motorbike to find out about his relatives at Quetta, and on return he had brought with him six dead bodies that were cremated. According to the SDO, the whole city had been destroyed and nothing remained of it. Despite this information and the continued aftershocks, the authorities had the prisoners locked up for the night. There were several tremors during the night, causing wailing and cries of anguish amongst the prisoners because of which we did not spend a restful night either.

In the morning I called for the superintendent and asked him, "What are you up to? At a short distance at Quetta thousands have died and the tremors occurred at intervals the entire night and this place was destroyed in 1931. Do you believe that it won't be destroyed again this time," I questioned him.

He said in reply, "What can I do?"

I said, "At least do not lock the prisoners at night. Keep them in the open like in 1931."

He then asked, "If they run away or cause riots then who would be responsible?"

I said, "It is just your imagination that the prisoners would run off. Do you think that it is you that is holding them back under the circumstances? And did anyone escape in 1931, although at that time the jail wall had collapsed at two places? Besides, even if a few prisoners do escape would it be worse than risking the lives of hundreds?"

He said, "In 1931 the government had sent in a contingent of the army here. Currently, the difficulty is that I have no means to

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confer with the authorities at Quetta, as all the telephone and telegrams lines are broken."

After some more discussion he said, "I will try and reach the officials somehow and we will be able to arrange something by nightfall."

He then drove straight to Quetta in his car. He had managed to reach Quetta with difficulty and meet the AGG Mr Cater[366], a very proud and mean person, who himself had also been trapped in the earthquake. At Quetta, the superintendent had asked the AGG to give him a contingent of the army to guard the prisoners. The AGG had asked him in return how many prisoners there were and he had told him that there were 400.

The AGG had then asked, "And how many constables and warders do you have?"

The superintendent had replied, "Almost 200."

The AGG then said, "Can you imagine how many dead and wounded and displaced are left for me to manage with whatever remaining force I have? I have not seen the like of you, go and do what you have to do." The superintendent was back by the afternoon and later he and two others came to our compound and said, "We are looking for a place to keep the prisoners during the night."

I said to them, "There is no safe place here. Look somewhere else, the courtyards of the second barracks and the fourth are wide enough."

Quarrel with the Jail Superintendent

At about 6 o'clock in the evening, the jamadar brought us our meal and said, "Have they put iron rings around your ankles?"

I said, "No, what rings and why?"

He said, "Are you not going to sleep in the open at night?"

I said, "Yes we will be in the open and why the question about the rings?"

He said, "All the other prisoners have been ringed and so will you be, that will be tied to a chain, the other end of which will be tied to the tent of the guards."

I had heard of this chaining practice in use at the Pishin Jail and perhaps it still was. It was a very troublesome and humiliating

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arrangement. All the prisoners used to be tied by a single chain like animals and during the night, if anyone wanted to change sides, all the others would be woken up by the pulling of the chain. Likewise, if anyone wanted to relieve himself during the night, he would need at least four to five feet of the chain to reach the open drums that would be stinking there the whole night.

I then said to Aziz Kurd, "In prison one does come across such humiliating situations, what do you suggest we do about it? As far as I am concerned, even if I were to die because of the earthquake, I am not going to accept being chained willingly."

The jamadar, a Brohi[367] named Sher Mohammad, was listening to our conversation and said, "How can you refuse? It is a decision of the Englishman, and all others have been clamped in rings and chained and so will you be, therefore, do not cause yourselves extra trouble."

I said to him, "Do not worry, there is still time and take away the food as well as we refuse to take it till this matter is settled. Go away and inform your bosses and the Englishman." After a while Sheikh Ikram Ali, the assistant superintendent, came along. We told him of our decision, he went away and came back accompanied by the superintendent. We discussed the matter for quite a while but they, especially the superintendent, was in no mood to accept our point of view.

The superintendent finally said, "What difference does it make if you relieve yourself in front of others and others in front of you? I do not mind urinating here in front of all of you."

I said, "It may not matter to you but for us it is a big shame and if you do insist on urinating in front of me and I am free, I would walk away from you but when tied I cannot do that."

They went away and the other helpless prisoners were chained. At about 9 pm they came again and I said to them, "I suppose you are doing all this for our safety but I prefer death to this shameless humiliation. Therefore, I opt to be locked in instead." They actually locked us in, giving the keys to the Sikh guard with the instructions that we be unlocked quickly in case of tremors.

I laughed and said, "Do not endanger the life of this poor guard. The earthquake does not come with a prior warning, and within a span of a few seconds causes death and destruction."

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He continued and said, "No I do not mean that. Tell me of anything that you need and any difficulty."

I said, "One needs a number of things what can I complain?" He went on and said, "That is what I am asking."

I said, "The immediate problem is the current excessive cold. My cell is neither fully closed nor are there any facilities for heating it." He said, "These are natural happenings and beyond my control." I said, "If your authority is so limited that you cannot arrange for some fuel wood or coal then why ask?"

He said, "You seem to have taken offence, no one has forced you to be here in this cold. If you do wish you can opt for the comfort of your home here and now."

I said, "No, it is not correct that I am here of my free will. Remove you guards and open the jail gates and see for yourself."

He said, "Well if you really do not want to stay here, just write on a piece of paper that you would behave and I promise that I will not go from here but in your company."

I then understood that all this meaningless talk was only a prelude to this point, which he chose to raise so slyly instead of coming to it directly.

I was much angered by this sly attitude of his. After looking at him for a while, I said, "You appear to be a Christian."

He then said, "Yes I am a good Christian, so what of it?"

I then said, "Is not the self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ the foundation of the faith of Christianity? Was he not arrested and tried for rebelling against the government of foreigners and the imposition of their laws? Was he not tried for that sedition? Was he not tempted by such cowardly advice that you give me? Or was that not an option available to him? Had he chosen the easy way out, God forbid where would Christianity be today? I asked if you were a Christian because your advice goes against the ways of Jesus." He chuckled sheepishly and said, "You are thinking of martyrdom then continue in your ways."

Discussion with Another Englishman

The next morning, I was visited by the superintendent, an Englishman as well. He said, "The talk you had with the Inspector

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General Prisons yesterday had preoccupied me the whole night. I thought over it and could not sleep."

I suspected that he, like the subordinates of those days, was annoyed by my talk and said, "Why, I did not say anything wrong? Did I?"

He said, "No you did not say anything wrong. I, however, thought that in days gone by, the sufferings of martyrs were short events. It used to be a guillotine or one strike of a sharp sword. At most it used to be flinging from a high rock, a cup of hemlock or like in the case of Jesus Christ being nailed to a cross for a day or being thrown to the lions as in Rome. Even these days it is facing a squad of rifles, hanging to death or electrocution compared to which the method of your struggle is much more strenuous and demanding. Spending years in prison and inching towards the goal is a much more demanding option than all those."

Immediately after the earthquake, our communications with our outside companions Nizami, Aslam Jan and the jail authorities was about the destruction caused by the earthquake. On the third or fourth day, we received a message from Nizami in which he reported the death of Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan in the earthquake. Below he had written the Urdu couplet:

Rah gaye apnay liye aik khayali dunya
Now all that remains for me
Is nothing but my imagination's world

I was deeply grieved by this unfortunate event and wrote back asking for details. And below I wrote the following couplet of the poet Sahib[368]:

Chun shama zindaganay roshan dilan dampast Ama damay ka bayas ayahane almiyat

Da daeway pa shan da nekano zhwand yao dam wi Khu pa day dam da jahan zwandon tol sam wi

Like a candle, short lived Is the life of those who are good! But in this span the world's affairs Are orderly, set on the course of good

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Worries of My Relatives

On the third day after the earthquake, the superintendent told me that he had met my brother at the railway station who had come asking for my welfare as all the family was worried about my wellbeing and had reached Mach with difficulty. He was in a hurry as he did not know about the damage caused to our relatives and therefore took the train that was leaving for Quetta just then, not sure when the next train would be available. The superintendent had assured him of my wellbeing and that he would let me know of his coming as well.

People from all parts of Balochistan were either living at Quetta or were there temporarily pursuing some interest. The earthquake of Quetta was thus not just an isolated general human calamity of a large scale but had touched the lives of the people of every village of Balochistan. Likewise, some of our relatives were living there, others were studying there and some were there that night in pursuit of work. Many had been buried under the rubble but except for Saleem Khan, the others were not injured seriously. Saleem Khan's back had broken, leaving his lower half paralysed. He did not survive the injury, dying at a young age despite all the available medical help. Another family of the village that had gone to Quetta for medical treatment was all lost without any trace. Azam Jan and a few Piralizai youth were studying at the Quetta college and were living in the hostel. It was just their good luck that they had decided to sleep in the open on that fateful night and were thus saved. But after seeing the devastation of the city and the general confusion there, they had set for home walking.

According to Azam Jan, "To begin with, we thought only our hostel building had collapsed. In the early morning light, it became clear that the college and all the surrounding buildings had caved in. There were still tremors at intervals and we thought that this was the Day of Judgment and set out on foot. 'O you mankind, be pious to your Lord; surely the earthquake of the Hour is a tremendous thing[369].' When we reached Kuchlak we saw standing buildings and realised that only Quetta had fallen"

On hearing the news of the catastrophe, most of the village folk had set out for Quetta to look for their kith and kin. My brother had also set off in a horse cart fearing for my wellbeing because Mach had been destroyed in the 1931 earthquake when Quetta

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also be razed to the ground. On the way, I was stopped by the police, who asked me as to where was I going and I replied that I was going to the telegraph office to call for help from Gulistan. After looking at me for a while, the policeman asked if I was in my senses, to which I replied that yes I was and the policeman said, if you are in your senses then how do you imagine that the telegraph office would still be functional in the midst of all this destruction. With these words of the policeman I was reminded of the verses of the Holy Quran that read, 'You would feel they are in their senses and not drunk such is the force of God's punishment[371]',"

Master Mohammad Ayub Khan, who was a member of our party and is currently living in Afghanistan in pursuit of our national work, was also at Quetta on that night of destruction. He had come under a building near the fruit market. He said, "I was crying for help and some passersby heard me and came and after freeing my hands and head left saying, "You are okay. And now help yourself as we are moving ahead to rescue the others, who are most hurt."

It is also possible that some persons may have resorted to petty thieving, particularly the wayward lot as most of the middle class socialites of the nearby villages were probably held up by the destruction in their own villages.

The administration, most of whom were also killed and wounded in large numbers, however lost nerves and clamped curfew fearing plunder at a large scale in case the local people came from the surrounding villages.

The city was handed over to the army and the police. During the first day, the priority of the army and the police was helping their own officials and their own families about whom they knew or who had survived and had contacted them. The civilians were thus denied the voluntary help of the people. For a week or so they made efforts, saving the trapped living but then gave up. Alive people were dug up even after a week. All outside volunteer help, specifically that offered by the Congress, which had unlimited volunteers, doctors, nurses and experience of the not long ago Behar earthquake, was not allowed because of the government's own evil design. Only some semi-official organisations like St John Ambulance were involved in the rescue work. All the buried wealth of the city was left to the care of the

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making any effort for their freedom themselves unlike the French, Americans, Russians and the Chinese. They do not even struggle for freedom in a non-violent way like the non-Muslims of present day India and whenever they do rise against an unjust and cruel government, it is at the behest of those that pay them a reward or are then motivated by their personal and clannish likes and dislikes. They have yet to ever struggle for freedom and peoples' rule or constitutional rule. Therefore, while the wars of the British, Americans, Russians and Chinese are called the wars of freedom, wars of peoples' rule or the war for systems like socialism; those of the muslims are attributed to persons. Indeed all the civil wars of muslims beginning with the one between Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Muawiah[383], may they be blessed, to the Afghan civil war between Nadir Khan and Sakao are all remembered by reference to known personalities.

The war of tolerance and non-violence, the only way of correcting and checking home governments, is completely unknown to them. Therefore, common people do not find any place of mention in the so-called revolutions of Muslim countries. It is always portrayed as a fight between two persons that often happen to be two princes sired by the same father or it is between two generals or warlords and at times between the king and an outlaw dacoit. The victor of the two warring sides imposes himself on the kingdom and its people. It is the discretion of the victor to call himself a king like Raza Shah Pehlavi[384] of Iran or president like Mustafa Kamal Pasha[385] of Turkey and Jamal Nasir of Egypt[386]. The people play no part in these changes. They at most are unhappy with the ruling one, without a choice as to who should replace him and why.

It is the will of the victor and his coterie of supporters how to run the government, they may initiate some public welfare works and grant limited say and representation to the people as in the case of Mustafa Kamal, Mr Jinnah, Jamal Nasir and Ayub Khan. If, however, they choose to become monarchs with absolute powers, like Nadir Shah Afshar[387], Raza Shah, Sakao and Nadir Khan even then the populace has no choice but to praise them, raising the slogans of long live the king.

A glaring example of the helplessness and non-involvement of the people is the dismissal of the elected government of Mr

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I was taken aback by this insolent reply and asked, "Is this known just to you and a few other individuals or is it publicly known?" He said, "No, the army and the public also know of it".

I kept thinking of this dialogue all the way to Quetta, wondering as to how a country would face an enemy in the face of such a gap of trust between the government and the people. At this time the English jail superintendent had been replaced by Mr Sheikh Ikram Ali.

A Lowly Threat by the Jail Authorities

A few days later, Chaudhry Abdullah, the deputy superintendent, came along and said, "If you intend to go on hunger strike, then we will feed you milk and food by enema."" Baloch and Pashtoon regard enema as extremely insulting and vulgar. The threat of enema scared Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd to the extent that he gave up on the intended hunger strike. I, however, said to Mr Malik, "Yes I would go on hunger strike. You are free to do what you want but remember if you do anything dishonourable and insulting I will then go on hunger strike unto death even if the government accedes to all of my demands and I am released from prison. This fast unto death I will hold in response to your demeaning actions." The reporting of our intended hunger strike in the press throughout India, Sindh and Punjab unnerved the government of India.

The publicity instrument of the federal government, the Associated Press of India (API) released unabashedly and with impunity the false news that 'Abdul Samad is not a political prisoner but a criminal arrested for the crime of abduction.'

Mr Unqa, who was in Karachi editing a paper, was much angered by the false propaganda and wanted to avenge the slight by confronting the Karachi representative of the Associated Press physically. The API representative had then met him in a delegation, clarifying that the source of the news was not him and that they would publish a mild and disguised denial of it.

Setting Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and I Free

After a few days Abdul Aziz Kurd was set free against the earlier submitted surety and I remained behind alone. Not long before my intended hunger strike on June 7, 1936, after being locked up

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from a relative of ours and would therefore be releasing me at Chaman. I never saw or heard of the said surety nor was I ever asked about it later. Apparently, that was just a face saving move of the government. I continued with my political activities without being deterred by it. My brother told me that I was brought to Chaman because all of the officials were there in connection with the Joint Border Commission and they want to release me before the start of my intended protest hunger strike.

The train reached Chaman at sunset. As soon as the train stopped the EAC Chaman, Mian Nasiruddin, came aboard the train and we disembarked on the back side of the train and drove away in the car parked nearby to the political rest house. Waiting there was the PA Quetta, Mr Gastrell[398], with all the necessary papers.

On my reaching there the PA said, "Now that the government is releasing you, would you still be undertaking the fast? If you like you can come along with me to the Joint Commission meeting tomorrow. You will be able to observe the representatives of the free Afghanistan government, their ways and negotiations". He said the last part with a sly smile on his face. I took it to mean that he wanted me to witness the poor, uneducated ways of the Afghans so that I appreciate my life of slavery and be thankful for it.

I said in reply, "I cannot accompany you tomorrow as I am in a hurry to first of all pay my respects to my ageing mother. However, if the Commission is in session for some time I can come later." We decided on my joining the working of the Commission a week later. I asked the PA about the scandalous press release of the Associated Press of India. Laughingly, he replied, "It was not our dispatch. Those at Shimla probably wanted to counter the statement of Sir Abdullah Haroon by it."

I then asked, "How do you plan to remedy it?".

In reply he said, "We will do something about it. I will write to them tomorrow."

I was still dressed in the same jail clothes and was taken by the EAC to the residence of a relative in Chaman where my brother was putting up. A large number of people came to greet me. I did not even get the chance for a change of clothes which I did after sometime. Early the next morning, we left for Gulistan. Hundreds of country folk from the surrounding villages and a large number of relatives had come to receive me at the railway station.

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Amongst them was my baby daughter, aged four, whom I had left behind at the age of less than two years. I walked home at the head of the receiving crowd from the station, stayed there a few days and then went to Chaman to witness the proceedings of the Joint Commission.

In the morning, I drove with the PA in his car to the venue of the Commission's meeting. It was essentially a meeting of Pashtoons; the councillors from both sides were Pashtoons and the matter to be adjudicated concerned Pashtoons. But since it concerned two countries, there were certain procedures and formalities to be followed. On one side of the boundary line was pitched the camp of the British and on the other side the camp of Afghanistan.

The Commission would meet in each of these camps on alternate days. The official British flag was hoisted on our camp whereas the Afghan camp had the national Pashtoon flag erected on it. The tent where the deputies met would have both the flags hoisted on it. The head of our delegation was the British PA and that of theirs a Pashtoon official. Both the alien flag and the presiding officer were a great burden on my mind and I was, therefore, regretting having come to the proceedings of the Commission.

That day the Commission was to meet at our camp. As a sign of protocol we all, led by the Englishman, went half way to escort their delegation. We formerly welcomed them, shook hands with them and invited them to our camp. The seating arrangement was such that the two leaders of the delegations sat side by side on the floor, with the delegates of each side sitting on the side of their leader, the two groups ultimately forming a joint circle. At the back of the delegates sat officials and clerks recording the minutes of the proceedings. Since I was neither a delegate nor an official, the question of my seating arose immediately. After a while the PA suggested that I sit between the two delegation heads. The head of the Afghan delegation, who was an educated and sophisticated person, readily agreed and jokingly said that I would be a judge between them, adding that they were happy to have me as the judge between the two camps.

When the councillors came to order, a case was put for adjudication. All the talking was done by the presiding officials with the delegates quietly observing. Most of the discussion was on procedure and modalities. The delegates would be asked at the end for their concurrence by the concerned delegation head or in

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the two British officers and a lady as false, injurious to our reputation and an insult; and now that the Joint Afghan and Balochistan Commission was in session the matter be placed before it for adjudication. After a few days, he replied that the government considered that issue settled and did not want to reopen it.

Not many were in favour of my application because of the extreme hatred against the British. They would Argue, "Our application can be interpreted to mean that we feel insulted and belittled by such a bold retaliatory event that was in keeping with Pashtoon pride."

In reply I would Argue, "Arresting an innocent person or abducting one is wrong whether it be committed by the British or by us." They would Argue, "Yes it would be wrong if the act of abduction was for robbing or ransom but to abduct in exchange for our men as a bargaining chip is not wrong but a justified move. Warring parties accept it as a legitimate tactic in war."

With great difficulty I was able to satisfy them by saying, "All that I want is the truth, that it was not at our instigation and behest and revealing the truth is nothing but correct."

Haji Abdul Ali Piralizai, who lived in Kandahar, had come visiting in those days. He was also of the view that this case would perhaps cause difficulties for Mullah Khair Mohammad, who was also his brother-in-law.

A few days later, the government issued a press note saying, "Abdul Samad was arrested this time on political grounds under section 124 of Indian Penal Code. Sometime earlier he was also arrested on abduction charges." The press note was a clarification of the blatant lies given out by Associated Press of India from Shimla a month earlier.

I spent a month at home, receiving visitors and attending reception feasts arranged by my relatives. In those days that was the only way of showing your love and appreciation for a person, an event involving excessive extravagance. Although I did not approve of the expenses, the event facilitated meeting large number of likeminded people in relaxed surroundings.

I then left for Quetta after a few days. The city was still a collection of mounds of rubble following the earthquake of nearly a year ago. The work of clearing the rubble was in progress. In the

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and slept care free. I felt them during the next day once or twice to make sure nothing was amiss. When we reached Lahore station late in the evening, there was a great rush of passengers, making it difficult to disembark from the train as in the past passengers were in a rush to embark and disembark. I got down with great difficulty and proceeded straight to the party meeting being held at the residence of Mahmood Ali Kasuri. When I came back to the party office late in the night, I realised that my notebook and the money were missing though my pocket was intact.

I was quite upset and thought of reporting the matter to the police or at least sending a message to the train guard or follow the train in a taxi. I entertained these feelings of annoyance and anxiety for a minute or two but I soon decided against it, telling myself that it must be left to providence. If I inform the police the money may be found or not but it may put those young foresters in unnecessary trouble and questioning by the police. Besides, the police would call me several times till the closing of the case. If accidentally fallen and found by those literate companions of ours, they would know my address and return it. Otherwise, whoever finds it would destroy all the identification clues and with that I forgot about it all and did not even relate it to anyone till now, not even to my son and his uncle. For my immediate needs, I borrowed Rs 1,500 from GM Bhurgri[405] of Sindh which I sent him on my return to Quetta and also repaid the original loan.

Because of my belief in the natural principle of reward and penalty, I have never lost nerve during these hard and trying phases of the national struggle. Neither have I ever been disillusioned or deterred by fear of family and personal losses. I am firm in the belief that because of the working of nature, my work is never stopped for lack of funds. Whenever in need it was provided for by ways and means quite unexpected or anticipated.

On one occasion, the Evacuee Custodian Department sent a notice of one week to Fazal Ahmed Ghazi to pay Rs 500 as the rent of the building, which he had given to us for use as party office. Failing the payment, the premises was to be forcefully evacuated by a nominated date. Fazal Ahmed, Hashim Khan and some other party workers were in prison and I along with another had gone to Karachi to arrange for their bail. Only Maulana Taran was left behind and he too had gone home. The police had, therefore,

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pasted the rent and evacuation notice on the door of the party office building.

Taran and I came back to Quetta just a day before the last date of the notice. It was Sunday and all the offices were closed. The officials had prepared for the forced evacuation of the premises. As luck would have it, I sent Maulana Taran and I went myself as well to acquaintances for a loan but failed to secure that small amount. In the morning, Maulana Taran and I came to the office helplessly awaiting the arrival of the police or the opening of the offices so that we could apply for a court stay. Unexpectedly, my nephew Abdul Hamid Khan came by, he was a government servant posted at Loralai from where he had come the night before. I had no expectations of him as his salary was small and was supplemented by me and his father. Even so I asked him, "Do you have any money?"

He replied, "How much?"

I said, "Whatever you have."

He replied, "I have got some money to buy a radio with."

I took that money from him, gave it to Maulana Taran, who had it paid in the treasury. I have experienced many such occasions making me firm in God's law of quid pro quo. These experiences and belief in the law of nature force me to thoroughly think out my actions, speculations, and thoughts, believing that I would be confronted by my doings. This is not in the form of explaining my conduct nor do I claim that I have done no harm without intending or even purposely. But even then I have not overlooked or forgotten the tenets of penalty and reward. This, as far as I can understand, is *"Taqwa"*, abstinence and temperance of behaviour. This is what *"Deen"* and faith mean. There are degrees of abstinence and faith and those with unwavering faith cannot do evil or cause harm to others.

Extension of Press and Publication Act to Balochistan

I have mentioned earlier that before my second imprisonment, I had asked the government for permission to print a newspaper in Balochistan, just like in the rest of the provinces of India. This could only be done if the government had extended the Press and Publications Act to Balochistan. I have also mentioned that

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foreign Secretary Metcalfe had promised Sir Yakub and Sir Maulvi Mohammad Shafi that he would extend all help in this regard. Therefore, sometimes in 1935, the Agent to the Governor General Balochistan (AGG) Sir Alexander Cater[406] had agreed to accept the implementation of the Press and Publication Act in Balochistan at the behest of Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, following very forceful recommendations of the Central Government at Delhi. Mir Atta Mohammad MArzhazani of Sibi was the first to be permitted to publish and distribute a newspaper and he started publishing a weekly paper Kalimatul Haq from Karachi whose editor was Mr Nasim Talvi. I was wanting since long to publish a newspaper from Quetta so as to publicise our political views. Therefore, immediately after my release I applied for the installation of a printing press and publication of a newspaper at Quetta. The permission was granted some 10 months later. I then appealed to the people of Balochistan for contributions towards the installation of the press. My intention was that in this way many people would know of the press and the newspaper in advance and would be involved with it, besides the press would not be owned by me or any other individual. I planned it to be a public trust instead. My intention was also to attract to a central place and a national cause those young individuals, who were then publishing their own newspapers and financing them with difficulty. Their talents, I had hoped, would be devoted to the paper and national issues against proper remunerations free from the doles of government officials and tribal chiefs or blackmail extortions. I did not, however, succeed in this effort.

These were the years of the great global depression of the 1930s. India was in the grip of poverty, inflation and economic depression. Balochistan was specially facing hard times due to added losses caused by the earthquake. People, therefore, did not have spare funds, especially the Pashtoons, who were neither in government service or business nor did they have feudalistic estates and income of the Baloch chieftains. Raising contributions under the circumstances was thus a very tough job.

I have said it earlier that much of the national political work in those days was done by the few literate youth, who were in the service of the government but they were frustrated and anti-government as their progress in their career was blocked by the immigrant officials from Punjab. Therefore, the task of collection for the proposed press and newspaper was also entrusted to

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Part Four

Meeting the Khan of Kalat

Jam Noorullah Khan was working as the finance minister in the State of Kalat. He had approached the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan[410], in connection with donations for the press. The Khan had asked me to come to Quetta and that he would meet me in person. He had, however, instructed Jam Noorullah Khan to call me through someone else. He was probably shy of the British government and intended to meet me without their knowledge or maybe he wanted to create the impression that I had sought a meeting with him rather than he himself taking the initiative, which would be contrary to the protocol of the Khan.

Jam Noorullah had then asked one Abdul Khaliq Khan to call me telegraphically to Quetta and then send me to the residence of the Khan. Abdul Khaliq Khan was then a clerk in some office and we were mere acquaintances. When I received his telegram at Gulistan, I was not certain of the identity of the sender as I knew a few others by the name of Khaliq Khan. The telegram gave me no clue as to which Khaliq Khan had sent it. I was thus in a quandary but nevertheless I came to Quetta and started looking for the Abdul Khaliq Khan that I did not know. After a few hours, his name occurred to me and I learnt that he was putting up at the Dar Bungalow where I went to meet him and he then gave me Jam's message.

I went to the residence of the Khan of Kalat at 5 pm and met with Jam Noorullah. He informed the Khan of my arrival who called for me promptly. On the way to his official quarters, I asked Jam questions about the Khan, his habits, attitudes, likes and dislike etc, merely to acquaint myself with his personality. This first meeting with the Khan went off so well and was so long that he had me stay for dinner and I stayed there till about 11 pm He donated Rs 2,000 for the press and we became good acquaintances for future.

Despite our frequent meetings, and long discourses and discussions spread over nearly 23 years, we did not attain unanimity of views nor did we work for any considerable time towards any common objective. We mostly held discourse with each other having a different point of view. He was an intelligent and virtuous person but being a state ruler, he was fully under the

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grip of the British and was wary and apprehensive of them. As was the policy of the British, they would check him by using the tribal Sardars and his courtiers as a pressure group, making him insecure. As is the case of all wealthy and powerful feudal lords, he was surrounded by friends given to easy ways and habits, unable to stick to a point of view for long. All those sincere courtiers and those in his service were forever complaining of his inconsistent behaviour. On one occasion, in the presence of Jam Noorullah Khan in a gathering of the enlightened progressive young nationalists, someone had reportedly said to him, "Khan all of our meetings and prolonged discussions lead to nothing because after all this talk and discussion you follow the advice of Badal and Abdul Aziz Risaldars." The named two were close personal valets of the Khan. The court gossip was that he was under their influence due to his indulgence in local drugs like marijuana and cannabis and was hence inconsistent in his views and stance.

I am, however, of the view that he was semi-literate and therefore quite unable to gauge and fathom the fast changing international situation nor did he have the time to analyse it. On the other hand, he wanted to follow the strategy of Mughal Emperor Jalaluddin Akbar[411] to do a lot of things for public welfare and to surround himself with men of knowledge and vision to achieve some of his worthy aims with their help. He truly tried it and attracted a number of enlightened young Baloch to his court, paying them generously and appointing some of them as his ministers. He also employed experienced, retired, knowledgeable Indians, Pashtoons and even Englishmen at his court. Some of them left half way because of their personal wayward and cheap habits and others because he, unlike Akbar, was not sovereign and rich enough to pay them to the extent that they would be free of the necessity of looking up to the British. Their energies were wasted between showering undeserved praise and keeping an eye on him in the interest of the British. The worst was that he did not realise his fallen status and the occupation of Kalat State by the British. Instead, he continued to imagine himself an independent ruler like his great ancestors Mir Naseer Khan, Mir Mehrab Khan and Mir Khuda Dad Khan. He was firm in the wishful belief that with the help of others' cunning and deceit, he would achieve that independent status without any outward struggle. He did not realise that his little patch of Baloch land was neither sovereign in

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the past nor could it aspire to have that status in the shrinking world of today.

I tried to convince him that the fate and destiny of nations could not be changed overnight with a magic wand rather it needed selfless hard work stretched over several decades if not centuries. I suggested that he give priority to public education for the next 10 to 20 years, diverting maximum resources to the education of Baloch youth and establish a college and a university at Kalat or Mastung where poor students study at state expense. The graduates of these institutions would look after the development and the administration work of the future progressive Kalat State. Secondly, I suggested that he take interest in the development of his agricultural property at Kalat which would be an additional independent source of income for him and would also serve as demonstration to other Baloch chieftains, turning them into progressive agriculturists.

He was not willing to apply himself to these demanding jobs, nor did he want that the Baloch should awaken and adopt democratic ways of life and follow individual interests. He, like a totalitarian conscientious king, wanted that everything should be done as his will and at his command. Therefore, at times he would patronise the party of the progressive enlightened Baloch youth and when that organisation would be nearing maturity and gaining self confidence, he would destroy his own creation, fearing that they would grow too big for him to control and crush them quickly with brutal force. He was never loyal to any group and used deceit and patronage to achieve his ends. He would pitch the youth against the ancestral chieftains and later persecute the youth by officials and ministers of the state. Such tactics of divide and rule were soon exposed, therefore, he never secured the loyalty of any group nor did he have true friends and well-wishers. Those, who were his true well-wishers, met his wrath or then withdrew into oblivion because of his inconsistent policies. It was a fatal game of deceit that he and those around him played with one another.

This inconsistent, self-centred style of his rule did bring about some awakening in Balochistan and Kalat. But then it also did a lot of damage as well. I am convinced that he could have benefited the region and its people by his actions in many ways which he did not. In all backward people, individual and family

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patronage rather than hard work and knowledge are the powerful sources of individual growth and so it was in Balochistan. His influence, supported by hundreds of years of his family's rule, was equaled by none not just amongst the Baloch but also amongst the Pashtoons where he had a following because of the well known traditions of his family of yesteryears.

Because of the contribution of the Khan of Kalat and the help of Jam Noorullah Khan and Mir Shahbaz Khan, the other Baloch Sardars also extended a helping hand in financing the setting of the press and publishing the newspaper. By the end of the year, we had a collection of Rs 8,000 which was equally contributed by Kalat State Baloch and British Balochistan Pashtoons.

Working with the Khan at Kalat

Political parties and political activities were not allowed in those days in British Balochistan, therefore, we had not formed a political party. At Kalat, however, despite the mercurial traits of the Khan, he not only tolerated national politics and political parties but indeed was inclined to encourage their formation. I, therefore, met the Khan several times and held detailed discourse regarding nationalism and the difficulties and needs of the people. During one such meeting he said to me, "Analyse the Jirga system and its working and give me a report for its betterment and reform."

I replied, "I can analyse its ideological foundations and historical background but cannot suggest any reforms till I witness the working of the Jirga at the Kalat court and have access to government files regarding its rules and administration."

Since he was apprehensive of the British administration and his council of Sardars, he did not want to have an open official relationship with me in this regard. So we agreed that at the time of the Kalat Jirga at Mastung, I would go there under the pretence of collecting donations for the press. There I would stay with Jam Noorullah Khan and witness the proceedings of the Jirga in his company and hold discussions with the members thus becoming acquainted with their working, and thereafter I would draft a report for the Khan.

I completed the report with the assistance of some enlightened Baloch youth by the summer of 1938. In the autumn of the same

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year, I went to Kalat at the invitation of the Khan at the time of the Jirga meeting at Kalat, finalised the report and submitted it to him.

While the bulk of the report concerned a critique of the history and basic principles of the Jirga system, there were a number of reformatory recommendations as well. The report suggested large scale basic reforms in the Jirga concerning its expansion to include the representatives of the lower strata tribes (Jat, Jamot, Dewar) and the inclusion of some elected members as well so as to weaken the powerful Barohi Sardars of Sarawan and Jalawan (Upper and Lower Kalat). Likewise, it was recommended to extend the Land Revenue Act to the Baloch and Barohi tribes as well because the non-Barohi tribes had become too poor to support the expenses of Kalat State. It was also recommended to cancel all the extremely repulsive statutes that discriminated between the Barohi and non-Barohi tribes and between the Sardars, Sardarkhels and the common tribesmen. The report was thus in two volumes, one specific to the Jirga and other relating to the total administrative structure, inter-tribal and intra-tribal relationship.

These reforms could not be adopted immediately because for one the British, who had introduced this repressive system, were well aware of its benefits to them and would thus resist any reforms weakening the system. Secondly, the Barohi Sardars enjoyed a status equal to the Khan of Kalat according to the Kalat State constitution. It was a confederation of the Barohi Sardars, the Khan and lower strata tribes and tillers, known as the Barohi Confederacy. While the Khan of Kalat was chosen by the Sardars, the Khan and his administration, however, did not govern the Sardars and their tribes, who were autonomous in their intra-tribe affairs but the administration of the Kalat State was to be approved by the Council of Sardars. The worst was that in case of a dispute among the Khan and his administration and the Sardars, the British government's representative, the Political Agent was the sole adjudicator. His word was final.

Over time, however, the Khan on various pretexts and occasions introduced some desirable reforms and changes in revenue collection. For example, the law was amended to do away with discrimination between the Baloch and non-Baloch tribes regarding blood money and adultery, likewise some excessive

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Khan soon got wind of the statement and took badly to it and became annoyed with all the youth present there including Jam Noorullah Khan.

Later, I mentioned it to the Khan in private saying that the remark was made in jest and in good humour besides there was nothing wrong with it as in this age of democracy the youth all over the world looked forward to establishing the rule of the people. If he did not have the capacity to tolerate the wish of the young men, what would he do when someday the power to rule would be transferred from him to the people? Besides, if he believed in the establishment of democracy that was demanded all over the world and desired that the British should quit India, inclusive of Kalat, for the people, but with him continuing as an absolute ruler of the 18th century, then he was totally mistaken. He would be free of the British only if he readied his people to win the war of freedom from the British and this awakening of the people could be brought about by none other than these very youth. The remark was made in good humour in the style of the youth of today who did not hesitate to say what they felt. On that occasion, I related to him the story of a letter which Nawab Ismail Khan's son, Mr Madni a student at that time at London and currently an officer of the Central Superior Services of Pakistan, had sent to Mr Mohammad Amin Khoso. Mr Madni had addressed Amin Khoso as HE (His Excellency) the governor of Jacobabad, and signed himself as His Majesty. We had a hearty laugh at it but he continued to maintain his grudge against the nationalist youth and soon had the group of nationalist servicemen disbanded, including Jam Noorullah Khan.

To begin with, he wanted to transfer Jam Noorullah Khan but when the other young officials threatened to resign en masse in sympathy with him, the Khan let him continue. Over time, however, he took away all work from Jam Noorullah but continued to pay him. Jam asked me to intervene, which I did and the Khan agreed to send him back to his job of Tehsildar in British Balochistan.

The Illness of My Brother

My brother fell ill in the summer of 1936. His lower jaw was afflicted by necrosis. It was quite a bothersome disease; puss would continuously develop in his mouth which he would

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said to him, "All Englishmen are not alike, most of them distrust the local population nor is the government representative as in England. You witnessed the attitude of Col Rogers."

He said, "Yes I agree but not all Englishmen are bad either."

Back at his office, he talked to a number of officials of the Military Hospital, asking for permission to perform the surgery given the urgency of the case but to no avail. Dr Davis was much disappointed by their refusal and with heartfelt regret said to me, "I am sorry, I am helpless, the facility is limited to the treatment of army personnel. There is nothing that I can do about it." And when I wanted to pay him for his consultation, he declined to accept the fee saying, "I have not done anything for you, why should I charge you any fee?" I came back and thought of a way out.

A few days later, a Sikh doctor, who was the Assistant Surgeon at the Civil Hospital, came by and said to me, "Col Rogers, the civil surgeon, has asked me to operate on your brother and scrape the jawbone. I have told him and I am also telling you that I have not performed such surgery before. I am therefore telling you lest I cause any damage. If you are still willing I will undertake the surgery or else you take him away from here."

I asked him, "Why is the civil surgeon not performing the surgery?"

He replied, "Because he is also not competent to perform the surgery."

I was greatly disappointed by this callous attitude of the surgeon who would endanger the life of a patient in such a casual manner. I then asked the Sardar to suggest some other surgeon and hospital because the treatment was absolutely necessary. He recommended Mayo Hospital, Lahore as the best place for the purpose where the surgeon was Col Barucha[412], a Parsi gentleman. The treatment there, however, would be a little expensive, he emphasised. I came back and informed my brother of the situation. In response he said, "Take me back home I do not want to go to Lahore."

He was quite adamant in his decision and I knew why. He was aware of the expenses already incurred and knew that I had no money for the Lahore alternative and therefore did not wish to burden me with the expenses any further. But I prevailed upon

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wanted to remove the grievances of the public by reforming the system so that it gained permanency and was institutionalised. The corrupt and degraded Jirga members, Sardars and officials failed to appreciate this fine point in his scheme and instead felt that they were being constrained and weakened. Hence, strife ensued between them, with the Sardars resisting and refusing his reforms hoping that the AGG would feel threatened and give up, leaving them to their ways unchecked.

The AGG, however, persisted in his efforts. He had Col Shah of Peshawar posted as an Assistant Political Agent (APA) at Pishin as a check on the EAC. The Sardars, alarmed by the move of Parsons, formed a sort of an association under the leadership of the Jogezai Nawab. They too pressurised the AGG saying that either Balochistan follow the tribal tradition meaning a free hand for the tribal chiefs or then the Islamic law of Sharia be enforced. The Sardars and the government nominated elite councillors had by now learnt a few tricks of their masters, the British. They knew that the Pashtoon were a God fearing religious lot and would go to any extent in the name of Sharia, even if it was against their own interests. Therefore, whenever the rulers wanted to exploit the people or raise them in revolt they would do so invoking the otherwise neglected and forgotten God-sent-faith and the Holy Book. This time too the Sardars and lower rank elite succeeded in raising the tempers of the populace, especially in Zhob. Parsons, however, fully realised the worth of this gathering of mice gathered together to bell the cat.

The AGG did not give in to these blackmailing tacts and countered the Sardars with trusted civil servants like Captain Shah and Gul Mohammad Khan, who was then the EAC at Qilla Saifullah, the hometown of Nawab Jogezai. In addition, he mobilised those tribal elders, who were hostile to the Nawab; a group patronised and maintained for this very purpose by the British. In the end, the Jogezai Nawab apologised to the AGG by using the good office of Col Shah but publicly pretended that the government had conceded to the demand of enforcing Sharia. In other words, euphemistically, the Nawab made the British convert to Islam. I personally saw the Nawab's telegram proclaiming this claim with his son Jehangir Shah, then studying at Pishin. Since I was aware of the truth behind the scene, I had a good laugh at it. On that occasion, the Nawab Jogezai, in company of his relative and equal Sardar Zarghoon Khan called on me at Quetta with the

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view to entangle me in the Sharia trap but I ignored them and remained aloof towards their demand. The same year, the AGG, Col Parsons, gave me permission to set up a press and publish a newspaper, 'Istiqlal', for which I started a national fund raising campaign mentioned earlier.

Soon after my release, I sent a letter to the AGG asking for an interview regarding the administrative and political setup of Balochistan. In a delayed reply he wrote to me that he did not see the necessity of discussing the Balochistan administration with me but if I wanted to meet him I may, which was not acceptable to me. Later, I was told by Mr Jangiani, the Quetta representative of a number of big Indian newspapers, that the AGG had written a noncommittal letter as he did not know me well and wanted to acquaint himself with me and my ways. The AGG, however, would make queries of the officials, including Mr Jangiani, regarding me. On one occasion, in a reported news item, Jangiani had referred to me by the title of "Sardar". The AGG had called him and said to him, "Abdul Samad is not a Sardar then why have you called him so? Have you written it on your own or was it told to you by him?"

In reply Mr Jangiani had said, "I wrote it on my own as he writes his name as just Abdul Samad without even the suffix Khan." In reply Col Parson had said, "Is that so! I thought he had asked you to add the prefix of Sardar to his name." He had then asked some more questions of Jangiani about me.

Captain Shah

Captain Shah was an educated, well-groomed, young Pashtoon officer. He was a graduate of Islamia College, Peshawar and one of those native officers that were known for their harsh treatment of Khudai Khidmathgars or Red Shirt workers during their 1930s anti-government movement, like the notorious English officers Mr Caroe and Mr Cole. When posted in Balochistan, following the style and manner of Mr Parsons, he was considerate in his treatment of the public. In his public dealings, he tended to protect the populace from the exploitation of local officials. In the manner of his English mentors, he kept to the law and indeed encouraged people to ask for their dues within the ambit of the rules. He would reprimand Mian Nasiruddin EAC and his staff

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for their excesses with the public. I used to hear of this attitude of his but did not get to meet him till long after.

One late afternoon, while I was refereeing a football game of the village youth and my relatives, a servant came running and told me that tractors had entered our plot of barley that was adjacent to the railway station and wanted to add it to the adjacent airstrip. I left the game, went to the site and said to the workers there, "This is my land with a standing barley crop, with whose permission and directions have you started to plough the plot?"

One of those present there said, "We are government employees and have been ordered by our officer to plough this field."

I said to them, "Now tell me, are you voluntarily going to withdraw your tractors or do you want me to force your withdrawal? Your officers have no authority under the law to plough my standing crop." They showed more sense than their bosses and withdrew the tractors.

The next day, the Tehsildar Pishin, Mir Khan Gishkori, a Baloch, came along. He was visibly shaken and annoyed. He was surprised at what I had done and said, "What have you done Khan! You have stopped official work and wasted the time of so many men and machines. It is a loss of thousands of rupees per day and you have done all this on your own without informing government officials."

I then said to him, "I do not regret what I have done, I will still not allow anyone to destroy my crop and land. Besides, what kind of government is this that destroys private property on its own, is the law only for us or is it also binding on you lot? If you want the land, there is a way in the law. You either purchase it or lease it. Failing an agreement the government can acquire it at its own nominated price. Not even the most ignorant would start ploughing a standing crop without prior agreement of the owner."

He felt small and confused and said, "Alright you come along with me to Pishin and discuss it with the higher officials there."

I said, "I will accompany you only on the condition that the work here must stop or I will not go willingly with you."

He was an arrogant and undisciplined local employee of the British and did not take well to what he heard. But under the circumstances he had no choice and finally said, "You are

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definitely an exceptional person, I dare you to speak like this with the higher officers. You are talking so defiantly to me just because I am a local and do not want to annoy you."

Reassuring him I said, "Mr Mir do not misread me. I will say this to anyone and everyone and if I was to care for anyone it would be you because you are a local whom I respect. If an outsider talked the way you did and did not adopt a civil attitude, you would witness my response and would stand warned for future."

With this discussion, we drove in his car to Pishin, straight to where Captain Shah stayed, at the earthquake proof huts in the Municipal Garden of Pishin. The Tehsildar went in and later called me in as well. Captain Shah talked sense and acknowledged his mistake. Then we talked about politics and became well-acquainted with one another in our very first meeting. Sometime later, he was appointed the Political Agent Quetta[414].

A few days after the visit to Pishin, the government approached us to give them increased water supply from our Karez in view of their need in anticipation of the Second World War. By the end of the 19th century, the railway department had taken on lease 1/36 of our Karez water for a nominal payment of Rs600 per annum only for the use of railway steam engines and the adjoining station's rest house garden. In preparation for WWII, they were adamant to increase their pipe to transport additional water in case they needed it in future though we did not agree to this. A railway engineer, who had come for the purpose, came to meet me at Gulistan. He wanted me to bribe him and make the other Karez owners agree to their demands. When I declined, they wrote to the government and in this connection Captain Shah and a representative of the railway came to negotiate with us. They had called together the owners of the Karez and we were meeting at the head of the Karez where the distribution between us and the railway occurred. The Englishman Col Bremner, the PA of Quetta, arrived on the scene. After exchange of pleasantries he said to me, "I have come to see you, let the others carry on with their work".

I said, "Can we discuss the matter here or do we have to withdraw to privacy."

He then said, "It is about your land adjacent to the air strip. The air force needs it for a few days to train some of its officers. If you

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lend me its use, I will be much obliged. They have no funds presently to compensate for the loss caused to you. I have, therefore, come to make a personal request to you."

I replied smilingly, "Now that you have come I cannot refuse you. The land is yours but the standing crops belong to a tenant. I do not have the authority to grant that to you on my own, besides what of the cost if the land is damaged?"

He said, "That is logical, in case of any damage to the land they will have to compensate it as for the standing crop for that I will make payment."

The tenant owner was there as well and we agreed on a compensation price of the crop as Rs 100 which was paid by him on the spot. On that occasion, he offered me a cigarette which I declined. After a while he observed me lighting a *"biri"* (Indian tobacco wrapped in a leaf) and had taken affront to my refusing his cigarette. Later during our conversation he said to me, "I want to visit you at the village along with my wife; will you keep us as your guests?"

I was surprised by this unexpected informality and replied, "A Pashtoon's doors are forever open to guests, and therefore there was no need to ask. However, I thank you for informing me in advance. You are welcome any time you wish." With that he left and our meeting with the railway representative and Captain Shah also concluded without reaching an agreement.

I kept meeting Captain Shah off and on and still did till recently. While PA at Quetta, the most important thing that he said to me was, "The government is sending Mian Nasiruddin, the EAC Chaman on long leave, because Col Parsons does not approve of him. Would you like it if we were to appoint you the EAC Chaman in his place? You will thus be able to serve your people the Achakzais."

At that time this was an exceptional offer. Local people would at most be recruited as assistant Tehsildar and promoted after long years of service as Tehsildar. Only a few lucky and efficient would be promoted to the rank of EAC. They probably counted on the offer to be acceptable to me. But I am thankful to Allah that I did not even think of it for a moment and instantly responded with a laugh.

He asked, "Why did you laugh?"

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I replied, "Because the time of such talk and my acceptance of government service is well passed."

The Trap of Mr Mian Nasiruddin

Mian Nasiruddin was a senior employee of the government of India. At one time he had well-served the interests of the British at Mecca and other Arab lands. The government was pleased by his work and hence had appointed him as direct EAC in Balochistan for long. He belonged to Punjab and had later settled in Jammu, Kashmir. He was a hardworking and dedicated government servant. He always maintained good relations with me and with the rest of our family personally. He was given to respecting the established families although he was a staunch opponent of the demand of employment by the local people, which I strongly supported and propagated. Even then our personal relations remained good. He readily did small favours for me and did not cause me any damage that I remember except once.

In the years 1940-41, as Director of Information and Publicity, he however did desire that my paper, 'Istiqlal' like all the other newspapers should against payment do publicity work for the British war effort during the World War-II years. It was during those days that the government confiscated the Rs 2,000 surety of my newspaper and later had its publication suspended. Mr Jangiani and I, with the assistance of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, approached the government of India in this regard, refuting all the allegations of the government of Balochistan. The government of India then demanded an explanation from the government of Balochistan in that connection. Mian Nasiruddin along with Sardar Bahadur Gurdet Singh approached Mr Jangiani several times, telling him not to assist me as I and the paper were against the interests of his people the Hindus, Sikhs and all other immigrants. It was alleged as the policy and aim of my newspaper and myself to expel all immigrants that had come to Balochistan in pursuit of a livelihood. They had said to him in confidence, "After a lot of scheming and difficulties, we succeeded in suspending the publication of 'Istiqlal', whereas you are assisting him in the effort of its republication and doing a lot of publicity in that respect in the Indian press."

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I, however, regarded this act of his as part of his duties and his right to defend his community's interest and continued meeting him cordially and always protected his interests. In the year 1947, after the partition and freedom of India, he was arrested by the government of Kashmir and when I met Sheikh Abdullah at Delhi I said to him, "The detention and imprisonment of this person for my sake and that of Mr Ghulam Abbas[415] for his past national struggle do not suit the state government of the post-independence India. If there is no other way let them come over to Pakistan." I am thankful to him that he did as I suggested, allowing them to migrate to Pakistan. Mr Mian is currently employed on a post at Mekran.

While the EAC Pishin, Mian Nasiruddin, would plead with me, "Do come to Pishin now and then especially when the Jirgas are in session. I would benefit by your opinion in some matters and you would have the occasion to meet the Jirga members and guide them as well in their working." Whenever on a visit to Gulistan, he would make it a point to meet me and consult me regarding the problems there. I did not suspect the reason behind this benign attitude of his and did not look with suspicion on his friendly attitude, only looking at the positive side of it.

Sometime later, some of our youth had a quarrel with those from Abdul Rehmanzai village, in which some had sustained light injuries while others were detained at the local Levies post. They were produced before the assistant Tehsildar, Gulistan. I also went there on the occasion and reprimanded the young men and their guardians. Those of the two parties present suggested that Mr Shah Mohammad of Abdul Rehmanzai village and I reconcile the two sides to which I agreed and to which both the parties also gave their consent. I thought we would bring the two parties together face to face and after some talk ask them to shake hands and to forgive and forget. But when I queried the Abdul Rehmanzai boys regarding the cause of the incident, they denied being involved in any brawl and started talking like experienced litigators. I then realised that they and their elders had no trust in me and the proposed reconciliation. They feared that if they were to confess to having participated in the incident, they may be declared offenders and as our boys had sustained more injuries, they feared being punished. I then told the Tehsildar that I could not settle this incident and came away.

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For some strange reason, when referring the case file to Pishin, the Tehsildar had also sent with it a letter of authority regarding the reconciliation suggestion. After a few days, a letter came from the sub-district headquarters, Pishin summoning the two conciliators for settling the case at Pishin in a Jirga. I wrote in the letter that I was neither an official member of the Jirga nor was I going to go to Pishin for the purpose. The next month, a similar notice came which I returned with the same remarks. The third month, the Tehsildar was instructed to send the guaranteeing parties and the nominated conciliators to Pishin.

The Tehsildar confronted me with the letter from Pishin, saying if I did not go there willingly he would have to arrest me and send me to Pishin. In reply, I wrote to him, "I am not willing to go on my own. If you are to arrest me that is for you to decide."

He had sent my response to Pishin telegraphically and was instructed to forget all about it. A few days later, I received another letter from Mian Nasiruddin apologising for the above correspondence and stating that it was done without his knowledge.

Most of those familiar with the ways of the government were of the view that it was all plotted by the Mian to somehow make me a member of the official Jirga and thus isolate me from the public. They had succeeded in involving Abdul Ali Akhundzada in the Jirga system through such tactics, turning him into a man of the government whereas he used to be regarded as a public figure.

Test of Col Bremner[416]

Col Bremner, the Political Agent Quetta, was an Englishman of the stature of the famous Col Lawrence[417] of Arabia. He too, wearing a huge beard, had worked in the Arab world for the British cause and had strengthened British standing there. As mentioned earlier, on a visit to Gulistan he had expressed the desire on his own to come there visiting as my guest for a few days to which I had agreed. But later when I thought over the proposed visit and its consequences, I found the proposition inappropriate. Because, to begin with, on his arrival in our village there, like all suppressed and deprived people, the village folk would crowd around him asking my recommendations for their legitimate and otherwise favours. If I was to agree to the request

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of the people, I would stand obliged to him and guilty in my conscience and in case of denial I would be annoying the people. Besides, the Pashtoons more than any other people not withstanding their own individual character, expect the highest standard of purity of character, almost angel like from others particularly their wives and their leaders, and therefore they lose faith in them rather quickly.

Most clerics and those claiming theological standing attain a high standing amongst the public because of their apparent correct acts and posture. But often when beckoned by the powers that be, they get stuck to their favours like flies to sweetened glue and become a part of the anti-people lobby like the rest of the government machinery. Such change in attitudes convinces the people that their initial national and people friendly posture was only to curry favour with the rulers and after achieving that they turned their back on the people and their issues. Despite being conscious of these reactions, I have been accused of such opportunism on several occasions, one such experience is as follow.

I think it was the year 1956 or 1957, a relative Haji Abdul Rehman Khan after taking all precautions came up to the party office and said to me, "My son has absconded to Afghanistan, taking with him a truck of mine, therefore, give me an introductory letter for some officials there who would hand over the boy and the truck to me."

I said in reply to him, "I do not know any specific official there to write to; however I hear that Fazal Mohammad Khan Salehzai is an influential tribal leader there who is known to you as well. Go and tell him of your problem, giving him my regards as well and I am hopeful that he will help you out. I cannot give you a letter, because of the Pashtoonistan issue we are suspects and a letter to anyone influential would only worsen the matter."

While he was still there, I telephoned the commissioner Quetta division and discussed some issue with him on the phone and decided on a time to meet and further discuss the issue. The telephone and my appointment with the commissioner made Abdul Rehman Khan distrustful of me, believing that I was a government agent. He got that impression because talking to government officials on phone or meeting them was the privilege of other officials of the government since the time of the British. For the public and the elite to meet them, there was a rather

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degrading procedure after waiting for days if not weeks at times for an interview on certain designated public meeting days. The tribal elders and elite used to bribe the peons and clerks of the officials and plead with them for an interview with their bosses. On the interview days, there would be a crowd of expectant interview seekers. The clerk would take in the list of all those present to the official who in his turn would call a few that he wanted to see and tell the others to come the following week. The same routine would be repeated the following week, therefore, my casual telephone call to the commissioner and the discussion with him and the prior appointment for a meeting convinced Abdul Rehman Khan that I was a government favoured man.

Because of our tradition of hospitality, I could not refuse Col Bremner visiting me at the village. Some days later, I visited him to settle on a date after making up my mind to tell him that my elder brother would be hosting him because I would be away due to my other engagements. When I called on him, contrary to the tradition of officials, he called for tea and we stayed talking for a long time discussing issues of the province and the difficulties of the people. As for the proposed village visit, much to my relief he pleaded being busy at the time, leaving it for some time later.

After this meeting he made it a habit to stop his car and get down and chat with me whenever he came across me, walking in the city. He would do this even when his wife was with him, standing aside talking to me of unimportant things for quite a while. I suspect that he wanted these meetings to be observed by the passersby who would become suspicious of my conduct. I was aware of this negative outfall of these casual roadside chats but did not know how to end them without being impolite.

One day, I visited him after office hours regarding some matters. He still had a number of files and notes that he was going through and said, "I have a lot to do which does not give me any time off. The AGG has entrusted this additional task to me. He suspects that the officials have embezzled the amount of the relief allocated for settlement in the surrounding villages. I have to go through these files till late in the night, much to the annoyance of my wife, who feels neglected. She complained to me the other day and accused me of having married the official files with no time for her." Then he spoke in praise of his wife saying, "Though young, she is an excellent, trustworthy person. Some days ago a

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prominent person of the city had brought her a carpet which she had returned, scolding the fellow in return and had him sent to me with the servant. I also scolded him and sent him away."

I thought to myself that the guy is talking highly of himself, so let me probe him a little and said, "It is commendable that you are probing the embezzlement of the officials, who could not even spare these wretched victims of the destructive earthquake. It only shows your dedication and concern despite your wife's complaints on these matters. I, however, fear that your hard work would bear no fruit and go to waste."

He asked, "Why do you think so?"

I said in reply, "This is such large scale larceny that its details are the talk of the city. Proving it should not be difficult. They must have recorded that the hutments were constructed for so and so in such and such village or that so much cash was awarded to such and such individual to undertake the work himself. All you have to do is to go on a visit and tally the record with the ground facts and ask the nominated persons whether they were given any cash aid. In case they do not talk, threaten them with misuse and misappropriation of government resources and they would tell the true position. The people here have over time learnt to interpret the ways and means of your government. It is openly said that as a rule, whenever the government does not want to know the facts in any matter that concerns the public, it constitutes commissions and committees for its investigation. The rehabilitation work would have been done well and in time had it been trusted to honest, local officials of the like of Abdul Wahid Khan and his Tehsildars. Now that high placed British officials are involved, this investigation would reach a dead end without fixing any responsibility."

He then said, "You are biased against all government initiatives. It will not be left at that".

I then said, "We will see. Besides, you unnecessarily deprived your wife of that carpet. When the highest placed British go about taking bribes as gifts what difference will it make if your wife accepts or returns a carpet."

He took offence and said, "How dare you accuse British officials of inappropriate behaviour right to my face?" I said, "Do not feel offended. I have said nothing that I cannot prove. See the news in today's newspaper concerning the tour of Viceroy Lord

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Willingdon[418], who is currently on tour of Baroda. Has not his wife[419] accepted highly priced and precious things from the Maharaja?"

He then sheepishly said, "Yes Lady Willingdon is known for this habit. Once while I was posted at Kach, the viceroy came on a tour accompanied by his wife. She emptied our house of everything of value let alone that of the Raja's. Anything of value whether it was a good painting, antique utensils, a carpet or anything else that she liked, she would offer to buy at the purchase price thus forcing us to gift it to her."

Not long after on the occasion of the King's birthday, I was officially invited to the reception being held on that occasion by the PA Quetta. I was already wary of the attempts of the government at drawing me into their circle hoping to ultimately make me their confidant. To be honest, I was bothered by these attempts more than the hardships of prison life. When I received the invitation, I thought of the response and replied, "Although the King of England is also the King of India and is above politics and thus harmless and beyond offence and hatred, as the government of India is ruling us by force without our consent and since that government is celebrating the birthday of the King I cannot participate in it." I sent this open reply by the same official route as the open invitation that I had received.

The noting was leaked to the press after a few days by Mr Abdul Karim Shorash, who was at that time a clerk of the assistant Tehsildar Gulistan, responsible for processing official correspondence. I was hoping that with this response the rulers would change their ways and give up on me. They, however, did not letup, much to my regret. Col Bremner then started spreading rumours against me with the view to bring about a wedge between me and my relatives.

A person wanted to set up a mechanical flour mill at Gulistan to which the water flour mill owners, mostly my relatives, were opposed. They were of the view that it would render the water mills useless, causing us losses which will also lower the revenue of the government. The matter was taken to court for adjudication. The mechanical flour mills' owner pleaded that the water mills, despite being many in number, were slow and unable to grind the corn in time, sometimes involving waiting for more than a month and that the millers took bribes from the people for

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milling their corn out of turn. The stand of the mechanical mill owner was not altogether incorrect. At that time my newspaper, 'Istiqlal' had printed and supported the view of the mechanical mill owner, adding that if the water mill owners wanted to block the mechanical flour mill, they would have to resolve the complaints and difficulties of the people, their clients.

A few days later, Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Gulistan Karez told my relatives that Col Bremner had told him that I had asked him to allow the flour mill and that the objections of the water mill owners were frivolous. This had offended my relatives as they faced a loss of Rs 400,000 to Rs 500,000 a year. Syed Yaqoob of village Lajwar in our vicinity informed me about it. When I made further inquiries, Ghaffar Khan had made the statement in front of a number of people and had he denied it others were willing to confront him as witnesses. I wrote in the newspaper under the heading, "Who is responsible for these unfounded allegations?" and then wrote that I had neither discussed the matter with Col Bremner nor had I rendered any advice to him.

On another occasion, while he was the commissioner for a while and Captain Shah was the Political Agent, I was walking with Jam Noorullah Khan in the newly constructed market place. I heard a car pass by that blew its horn without my looking at it. Jam Noorullah said, "Commissioner Bremner passed by in his car, he honked to gain your attention and probably he wanted to talk to you." I said in response, "Just as well that I did not notice him or he would have stopped and talked of irrelevant things in a disjointed way."

A few days later, he met me in the office of Captain Shah and remarked, "He is a very proud person, the other day I greeted him and he did not bother to acknowledge." He walked away before I could respond to his remarks.

I then sent him a note saying, "We were busy talking and I did not notice you or I would have definitely acknowledged your greetings in a very appropriate way as is due from a Pashtoon and Muslim. Your calling me proud is, however, contrary to the fact as I know myself better than anyone else. I have no worldly possessions that others take pride in. I am neither an outstanding person nor a big official, I am neither a rich person nor highly educated nor am I a known theologian and religious scholar so what would I be proud of? If you have said this without meaning

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it, I would not mind it either. But if you actually mean it then I consider myself unlucky to have a knowledgeable person like you think of me thus."

What I had written was away from the ordinary and I was not sure of my English writing so before sending the letter, I showed it to Jam Noorullah, who was a graduate with honours in English Literature from Bombay University. He went over it and said, "It is perfect, I still considered you a middle-chi (middle level educated). You have improved your English a lot. Such letters cannot be written by graduates of today."

Much later, I came to know that this appeasing and friendly attitude in public of the British officials towards me was not just customary casual politeness. It was indeed a well-thought strategy to have me on their side by being apparently kind and polite to me, specially after the hardships of prison failed to break me and I am thankful to Allah that I did not get stuck in this dirt nor was I tempted for a minute by the worldly comforts which the British government could bestow upon me openly during their short lived rule.

Hazaar daam se nikla hoon aik jumbash mein Jise gharoor ho, aa kar karay shikar mujhayZar damoona mi shlawali pa yao zhgal di Ka sok na mane da dhol dai ao da zhranda

From a thousand snares I have escaped In but
a movement of my form;
Those who pride themselves upon their skills
Let them now come to hunt me!

Establishing Aziz Press and the Annoyance of My Companions

By the end of the year, I had collected sufficient funds that, according to the estimates of Mr Mahanand, were enough for purchasing the press machinery and the supporting material for installing it. He resigned from his job and the two of us went to Lahore to purchase the press machinery. Before departing for Lahore, I rented space for installing the press and quarters for staying close to it. At Lahore, we bought the entire machinery, brought it to Quetta and installed it. While Mr Mahanand was

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busy supervising the installation of the press, I was pre-occupied with the search for persons, who would manage the press, the newspaper and conditions under which the business would be run.

I did not want to take the responsibility of managing the press because I was the only one, who could go in pursuit of party work to other places and organising the party in the villages and districts required a lot of time and travel. I was aware that the manager of the press and the newspaper would perforce be staying at Quetta as a full time worker and would not be able to pursue other tasks elsewhere.

Besides, a few in the party were familiar with the press and its working and had given up their jobs to work for the national cause and the party, and were therefore better suited for the job. And there were some other enlightened people in the province who had not taken up politics purely due to financial constraints.

So I thought that instead of managing this press and newspaper as personal property and hire some companions as workers and maintain control over the enterprise of which the profit and loss would be deemed to be personally mine, (I considered making the collected donations, press and newspaper a national trust and appoint a group of trusted companions as board of trustees, who could then collectively run the whole enterprise. Thus the work would be done efficiently and the workers would also not deem themselves the employees of someone. They would deem it their own work, run the press well and the donations would not be wasted and be used in eternity. This could then become a training ground for the vocation of printing. Just like everywhere but particularly in Quetta Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Sikhs work in them and the owners make a lot of profit.

I discussed it with other friends. Most of them agreed but for Mr Jam Noorullah Khan. Not that he had objections to the working of the trust, which could be discussed and elaborated further since I was prepared for any changes, but rather the very idea of a trust was not acceptable to him. He said to me, "I do not think our people are ready to work with one another especially when it involves monetary, authority and beneficial dealings. Past experience shows that our colleagues could not work with one another either for one reason or another, for example Mr Kurd and Mr Unqa could not coexist for a week, Mr. Naseem and Unqa

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quarrelled and fell out with each other, Naseem and MArzhazani also did not tolerate each other, Naseem and Ayub Khan and Unqa did not set a good example to be tried again specially in such an important matter, trying the tried is not wise. This Banmati[420] family of yours will also end up the same way. Nothing has occurred as yet, people trust you and have given you donations without laying the condition that the envisaged press be run as a national trust. Therefore, you initiate it as your own but run it as a trust. Slowly and steadily gather tested people of your choice and once you realise that the work can be run then if need be, trust them otherwise do not consider it your own but rather run it as a trust"

I said, "I cannot take this demanding responsibility in addition to what I am already doing. Besides, managing a press and newspaper would require my full time stay at Quetta and I am the only person in the organisation that can travel for political work on my own expense. If I stay back for the press, who will do public work? Staying at Quetta is also difficult for me since if nothing else it requires Rs200-300 per month as living expenses. I would require a place to live in that would make personal and professional guests inevitable. I cannot take anything out of the newspaper or the donations. Whatever legitimate labour I perform, from the onset I have considered remuneration for public work unacceptable and some such other things"

Mohammad Amin Khoso, who was a radical communist at the time and given to exaggerating every matter calling it his analysis, had an entirely different point of view. He did not want me to publish a newspaper. He would say, "Newspapers are an important weapon in the political struggle. This may be true for other people and places but did not apply to our people and province. The newspapers published here are as Mir Mahmud Khan (the former Khan of Kalat) had said *lorian dooms* (village jesters)". The term *doom* was reportedly used by Mir Mahmood Khan, a former Khan of Kalat, for newspapers and their reporters. (It was said that the Khan had gone to Delhi along with his senior minister, Qazi Jalaluddin Khan. There some newspaper reporters had come to meet him. The Khan was not aware of newspapers and its reporters and had queried his minister about them. The minister had told him that they wrote stories about those they met, good ones about those they liked and bad ones about those that did not please them. The Khan had then remarked, "Oh I

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understand! They are *dooms* that is what we call them in the villages") Khoso went on to ask me, "Look at the newspapers of Sindh and Balochistan that barring a few papers run by Hindus is there a single newspaper that is not a *doom*? Or that writes serious and knowledgeable things? Or if anyone reads or ponders over them? One will get some money from somebody or have himself treated to tea in some hotel and on his intimation will write slanderous things about a government servant or anyone else. Tomorrow he will take money from that slandered person and say that what was written before is not true, that person is in fact a good person. They all thrive on slander and exaggerated praise depending on what they had been paid and by whom. And if not this then one or more persons will take a bribe and write slanderous things about the newspaper and its owner. Ironically, both the newspaper writers will be constantly together and in league with each other." Amin Khoso then concluded by saying, "Maybe not somewhere else but here I tell you, press and newspapers are not the job of a dignified and self-respecting person. Furthermore, you want to establish a serious, independent and national newspaper. Even if this happens and the paper runs then of course it will attract the attention of people and weaken the other newspapers. The blackmail money they now receive for slander will cease. This will be the victory of your newspaper but not yours since these people will become your enemies and begin to slander you, lie about you and cause you harm. If someone gets annoyed with you then they will get back at you through these newspapers. And if someday you gain enough status to cause the government to propagandise against you, it will be very easy for it to set these newspapers on you since it will be a matter of vested personal-financial interests. The current newspaper people, who used to be lowly educated and poor to the extent that they could not even find a Rs 30 to 40 government or private job, earn a great deal of money and keep the company of exalted persons through the easy task of abuse. Weak and corrupt rulers and leaders are afraid of them and resort to sycophancy. How can they bear being separated from these perks for the sake of kindness, nation, homeland and independence? All of them will fight you and it is possible that this press becomes the grave of Balochistan's political life and organisation."

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I said, "I agree with all that you say (and it is true that I confronted each of these things) but you tell me can we give up on a strong instrument in the national fight like the press due to this fear? Besides, your analysis is all based on materialistic interpretation of monetary loss and gain, I admit that like in other walks of life bad people will also exist here or will appear but how should I admit that the basic goodness of a person's heart will disappear? And not a single good and devoted person will be found that will strive out of the nation's love and for God's grace, without any selfishness and lowly aspirations. Furthermore, if not all then at least most of his living needs will be met. Whatever the result may be, we must try. We will see in future what happens." He did not agree with me and I also did not agree with him. I sent a statement to the newspapers. It is, however, a matter of fact that in later years I faced all those allegations that Khoso had forecast and hypothesised.

I issued a press statement saying, "The press will be named "The Aziz Press" in memory of Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi because Aziz was the pseudonym that Nawabzada Magsi used in his poetry. The press and the newspaper 'Istiqlal' that would be published subsequently and all the contributions collected for the purpose will be run as a national trust.

The board will draw up its own aims and rules. Just like the others, I too will be a member of this board. The following will be the members of the Board of Trustees of the envisaged Aziz Press Trust: Mr Mohammad Ayub Khan Achakzai, Mr Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, Mr Mir Atta Mohammad Khan Margazani, Mr Mir Shahbaz Khan Nowsherwani, Mr Mir Mohammad Amin Khoso, Mr Mohammad Hussain Unqa, Mr Mohammad Hassan Nizami, Mr Mohammad Nasim Talvi and Mr Abdul Samad. The first task of the board would be to draft rules and regulations for operation of the trust."

In the beginning of the year 1938, during the month of fasting, the Anjuman-e-Afghania, an association of Pashtoon usurers from Balochistan, invited me and Maulvi Ghulam Haider Baghi, currently in Afghanistan pursuing our national cause, to their annual convention at Bombay. While the Maulvi had set out earlier on his own, I left for Bombay following him.

On the day of my departure for Lahore, I sent a telegram to Unqa and Nizami for a meeting at Mach Railway Station and another to

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Aziz Kurd for a meeting at the Sibi Railway Station. I am not sure whether I met with Unqa and Nizami or what we talked about but I did meet Mr Kurd at Sibi. He was not his usual warm and forthcoming self but was sullen and gruff. I thought he was preoccupied with some personal concerns.

When I said to him, "I am on my way to Lahore and then to Bombay and have requested a meeting with you to inform you that I have released a press statement burdening you with the heavy national responsibility as a trustee of the national press and newspaper so that you stand informed and are ready for it." He did not take well to this information and became a little more agitated and said, "We will see when you return."

I did not take particular notice of his statement. It was only much later that I came to know that on receiving my telegram he had got the impression that I was upset by the vicious propaganda against me in the press initiated by Nasim and would request him to use his influence in checking Mr Nasim. In return, he would ask me about the propaganda by Mohammad Aslam Khan in the press. Therefore, he looked sullen and serious at the time of our meeting. But when he heard me and realised that not only was I not affected by the arrogant doings of Mr Nasim but had rather recommended him as a member on the proposed board of trustees he felt small and regretful.

I had given a lot of thought to the names of the Board of Trustees. The above named persons were the only ones that had some knowledge of the working of the press, were educated and not in government service and were also not pressed for a means of livelihood. I did not want anything in return but was giving them a ready establishment and the remaining funds to run it with. Therefore, I had not taken their prior consent. I was confident that all and each will readily accept the proposal. Alas! One cannot always predict the aims and desires of others correctly.

I was still at Bombay when few of the nominated gentlemen through a press statement in Nasim's paper, declined to be on the board of trustees only for the reason that I had nominated them all on my own. They had questioned my right of nomination saying that the board would need to be appointed by the people of Balochistan along with some other irrelevant annoying things.

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Shahbaz Khan and myself calling it, the Aziz Press Management Committee. The minutes would be recorded.

The committees appointed me the manager of the press and the newspaper, authorising me to engage workers and incur expenditure. They also set a monthly stipend of Rs 150 for me of which I did not draw a penny despite performing the management task for years and at times performing the work of three to four persons. Since all the collected donations were spent on procuring and installing the press machinery, we needed at least another Rs 2,000 – 2,500 for running the press and printing the newspaper. Since I was a full time manager, I suggested to the other two members to undertake the job of additional collections but they were not ready to undertake the task. I came to the conclusion which Jam Noorullah Khan had postulated at the very outset, that all the committees and boards were unworkable whatever was to be done had to be done by me alone.

Later experience made it clear that it was all for the best that the idea of the national trust did not materialise, saving me and others from a lot of trouble. My companions in particular and others in general had no idea of pursuing an objective with devotion or maintaining a record of income and expenditure. Except for Mr Nizami and Mr Yaqoob Khan none that worked in the press and the newspaper maintained a record of income and expenditure let alone a balanced account. Whenever I demanded a record of expenditure, some would leave the job and become annoyed while others would hide and lose the books. Even in the case of Nizami, he just maintained his own record and not of the others working with him, nor did he regard it his responsibility. Whenever I was imprisoned or was away for some work, thousands of rupees of expenditure in the press would go unaccounted for. Instead, those working there would blame it on one another. It happened when I was imprisoned in 1942 and the press management was entrusted to four or five trusted associates and again in 1950 when Mr Azam Jan, the manager of the press, went to Afghanistan and the press was taken over by Mr Abdul Samad Durrani and the newspaper was jointly run by him and Mir Gul Khan Baloch.

When I was freed from prison, there were no accounts of the expenses or account books. Mir Gul Khan, who had subsequently separated from Mr Durrani, told me that till the time of Azam Jan

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government and the new administrative boundaries that divided grazing pastures between two independent countries Afghanistan and British India, the profession of animal husbandry died as well. The old Pashtoon trading community, due to their familiarity, went in pursuit of a livelihood to the cities of India where business was not easy for them or they did not know it well. Otherwise, they would have performed the same tasks here in their homeland. Entry into business was difficult due to their small monetary resources, competition of the locals and unfamiliar surroundings. They, therefore, got engaged in small scale peripheral businesses, door to door vendors selling cloth, dry fruit and spices of Afghanistan or a carpet or two. To sustain themselves on a small investment and cater to the needs of the families left behind, they perforce had to charge very high profit rates. Their clients therefore were poor peasants in the countryside or the urban needy, downtrodden and wavered professionals and even that on credit. So whatever form their dealings took it amounted to usury. For example, they would sell an article for twice the price on credit for half a year or a year. Their clients would either use it or sell it on half price.

Recovery was difficult since they were dealing with the lower and wayward class poor. They could not go to court, therefore, they would use high handed methods and force to recover their debt. Overtime, they gave up the medium of trading in materials and instead started loaning small cash at exorbitant interest rates since their clients were individuals, who would not be given a loan by a bank, businessperson or government nor did they have any collateral or guarantor. The probability of return was also very low. Therefore, they charged very high interest rates on very small amounts. Because of the risk involved in the collection of the loans without legal cover and the lowly status of their clients, they would often use physical high handed methods for its recovery. The loan used to be often at 25 percent per month or at times one Anna (a coin equal to 1/16 of rupee) per rupee per day. The well off that had some security would be charged two annas per rupee per month. Later, it included the relatively well-off middle class salaried individuals who needed loans to meet their bad habits of gambling, alcoholism and other vices. Whatever the case, their dealings were generally with the lower strata of the population requiring high handed tactics. Therefore, for years thousands of Indians all over the country were their clients, who

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had to face the pressures of these money sharks. National leaders and newspapers were demanding that the public be saved from the curse of the usurers. The British government, however, remained indifferent to the situation, I suspect with the intentions that Pashtoons should earn a bad name in India and the Indians should regard them as cruel callous villains and should be scared of them.

The British as a policy wanted to propagate the Pashtoons as callous and cruel thereby showing that it was the British force and tactics that had kept them in check otherwise they would swoop down on the country like in the past. This was the usual propaganda that the official English press spread against the Pashtoon and the high British officials related in the central legislature at Delhi. In support of their claim, they kept free in name the Tribal Areas in the North West that would forever be causing small scale trouble on the North West Frontier in the form of raids, abductions and robbery.

However, when under the 1935 Act, the Indians, particularly the Congress government got some share in power they, along with other evils, looked into this troubling matter as well. They passed legislation regarding the practice of usury which made thousands of Pashtoon money lenders nervous and insecure. Therefore, they sought ways and means to protect their unpopular living and formed a party.

These Pashtoons had the characteristic that in the month of fasting (as is the attribute of Pashtoons irrespective of their means of livelihood and its legitimacy, be it highway robbery, would punctually observe the offering of the daily prayers and fast during the fasting month) most of them would fast and since they would be constrained by the fast, they would normally observe this month leisurely as a semi holiday. As a practice they would collect from all over India at Bombay by the thousands, spending the night at the Paloze ground in merry making, folk dancing and wrestling till early dawn, take their pre-dawn meal initiating the fast, sleep till late in the afternoon, say their prayers, pursue their business interests, open their fast at dusk and initiate the nightly entertainment.

The Anjuman-e-Afghania had decided to hold its annual meeting during this month at Bombay and had invited Maulvi Baghi and me to it. I suspect that they invited me to the annual function

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firstly with the view that I would use my influence with the Congress leadership and persuade them not to legislate on the subject or at least have the Pashtoon business excluded from it. Secondly, the Anjuman-e-Afghania was formed at the initiative of a few young Kakars of Quetta and Hindu Bagh which the Pishin Syeds, Tareens and Achakzais did not appreciate and did not join this organisation since they saw it as useless and considered it an organisation of Kakars. Therefore, the leaders of the Anjuman expected that I would urge them to join and strengthen the association. When I received their invitation, I considered it and decided to go for it if only to warn them that the times of their hardy and illegitimate business were over in India and that they should wind up their business concerns in India and seek a livelihood in Balochistan. So Ghulam Haider Baghi, a cousin Mr Abdul Wadood Jan and I went to it. Due to living in the comparatively free areas of India, they had learnt the ways of public meeting and political organisations. They gave us a hearty welcome, organised big gathering and showed us lavish hospitality. On my invitation Jairamdas Daulatram[423] of Sindh, member of the Congress Executive Committee, attended the meeting in the city on the initial evening; in addition to individuals belonging to other political organisations like the Khilafat Movement and Muslim League.

However, when I explained to them in private and public talks my political stand on the issue that their business was no longer going to be sustainable in India, the country was not as yet sovereign therefore these activities were allowed. Now India has found some self-rule and soon will be completely autonomous. God has given them their own homeland and our land also has resources. Even if the population is doubled, it can sustain us. Till now the benefits, employment and business opportunities were taken up by others because it was the preference of the British. The vast lands of our area are arid because firstly the government does not develop it and secondly because our people have neglected it. Thousands of youth, who are away from their homeland in search of employment and are spending a tough time here, if they work hard at home and just as the people of India that are struggling for autonomy and development, they confront the government, die, are imprisoned but still continue in their struggle; if we had emulated them or begin to do so now then our area can also be developed and gain autonomy.

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their earnings were very small with hardly a few managing to save Rs 100 to Rs200 a month. Most were actually paupers unable to save Rs 1,000 or so that they could take home as face saving earnings. Their work was hard and disgraceful and their living conditions despicable. Previously, I regarded them as cruel and their clients as pitiable but on closer observation now I was convinced that their plight was more pitiable than that of their poor clients. They were forced by the maladministration of the British to leave their heaven-like land and respectable status for this torturous insulting living. After spending nearly 13 days with them, my cousin Abdul Wadood Khan and I left for Karachi by sea, while Maulvi Ghulam Haider stayed back. This was my first sea voyage and I have not travelled by water again till date. I travelled in third class but since the voyage was novel and short, about 2 to 2-1/2 days, we reached Karachi in comfort. On the way, we did not face any difficulty that occurs during a sea voyage such as vertigo and vomiting caused by sea-sickness even though other passengers were afflicted by it. Most of the time was spent walking around the ship, observing the sea and talking with the crew. Our sleep and appetite was good.

An Unexpected Episode

Following the style of slogan-raising in Indian public meetings, in the gathering of the Anjuman also they would raise various slogans such as *Nara-e-Takbeer*[425], *Balochistan Azad*[426] and for me they would say *Quaid-e-Azam*[427] Abdul Samad Zindabad. Since Pashtoons were not familiar with sloganeering, the response to the slogans would get mixed up at times. At times instead of *Allah-o-akbar*[428] they would say *Zindabad*[429] and sometimes *Zindabad* would be replaced by *Azad*[430]. After our departure, the association's office holders had concluded that since I did not help them in any way; neither did I talk to the Congress leadership nor make the Tareens and Achakzais join their association so they passed a resolution saying, "We withdraw the title of Quaid-e-Azam from him and instead bestow it on Mohammad Ali Jinnah." Ever since then the title has stuck to Mr Jinnah and eventually became his national title.

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The Press and the Newspaper Istiqlal

On my return from Bombay, the press was installed and I started looking around for technical expertise that was not available at Quetta as this was the first ever lithographic press in the city. There were no technical men and calligraphers to be found. I, therefore, had to bring them from Punjab. Because of the severe cold in Quetta, these workers would give up after a few days. At the same time I also started looking around for editorial staff of the newspaper and recruited Mr Quddus Sehbai, currently the representative of 'The Pakistan Times[431]' at Peshawar. He was then teaching at a private college at Karachi for Rs 70 a month. He was a bachelor living in Sindh Zamindar Hotel[432] and because of his progressive socialist views, he was chummy with Mohammad Amin Khoso. We hired him for Rs 100 a month and took him to Quetta and started the newspaper.

The 'Istiqlal' was a weekly Urdu newspaper with an occasional write-up in Pashto. The editorial was mostly on matters of Balochistan and was usually written by me. Most of the news was of local interest. Mr Sehbai used to write a weekly article on local government besides national and international news captions and edit the details.

In the very first editorial I had displayed the desire, "It is not my choice that I write this editorial as I do not seek writing editorials as a profession. I tried my best to entrust this job to a colleague that would be familiar with the job and had a liking for it but I failed. I will thus continue to do this job till I find a suitable person for it." It was for the first time that Balochistan had its own local newspaper. 'Istiqlal' mostly reported local news and pinpointed peoples' problems besides at the time of collecting donation it was publicised a lot and people had even paid their annual subscription at that time therefore it was well received by the public. We started 'Istiqlal' as a six-page full size newspaper and printed 2,000 copies. No newspaper in Balochistan has attained publication at this level up to date. It also became popular with government functionaries. The AGG, Sir Parsons[433], who could read Urdu would, asked for the first copy after publication and studied it thoroughly. Other government officials showed similar interest.

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Some Difficulties and Distasteful Experiences

In those days in Balochistan, as is presently the case, the postal service was not well organised. Some cities would receive post in one day by rail or through bus service, some others would receive it in two to three days and still others after a week or more. There was, however, no postal distribution system at the villages except at those in the vicinity of Quetta and Pishin that would receive post once or twice a week including the villages on the periphery of Quetta municipality. Places like Gulistan, Bori[434], Chaman, Fort Sandaman[435], Sibi, and Usta Mohammad had no postal distribution system. The post would remain at the post office to be collected by the addressee himself whenever he came by. Correspondence to the villages was mostly sent through shopkeepers, who would then pass it on through clients of that village. Because of this nonexistent postal service the paper would not be received in time by the entire readership.

1. The postal arrangement at Kalat and other states was even worse. Therefore, most of the papers that we sent would be returned after a week as unclaimed which was also the case where the post did go, but because the post offices did not deal in monetary transactions they could not handle value paid (VP)[436] post; the paper was thus faced with a loss besides its circulation was curtailed. Surprisingly, in Kalat some foolish companions of Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd (they were not on good terms with Jam Noorullah with whom I was friends) had made up their minds and also convinced some other people, that till the newspaper was available for free they would read it but would not accept the VP nor reply to the letters.Some immigrant government servants would also tell the people not to contribute towards the paper because they may get into trouble with the government because of it. Likewise, the immigrant postal employees would at times not deliver the newspaper VP because the 'Istiqlal' used to plead the cause of the locals for public service vacancies and used to bring to limelight the wrongdoings and inefficiency of civil servants. The paper was also denied government advertisements, which we did not seek for a long time anyway. But despite all this, being the only newspaper of the province, most people would seek it as there was no substitute and the trading class would use it to advertise their goods.

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2. Sometimes, when on my way in pursuit of some routine work, much to my embarrassment people would stop me and give me money as their subscription for the paper. The handing of subscription in this manner would look like giving dole to a needy person and I would go to great lengths explaining that the newspaper and I were two different entities with the latter having an office and prescribed method of contributing to it. But alas, such was the state of innocence of the people that some would even take offence to my telling them the procedure and invariably everyone would say, "You are a strange person, other newspaper representatives chase us asking for money and do not even mind being refused whereas we are willingly paying you and you tell us to send it to the newspaper office."

3. Similarly, one day in Jacobabad Mir Bahawal Khan Khosa, who was a witty and knowledgeable person, made this unexpected joke to me, "Khan, who is the *bheekmongo* of your newspaper?" I asked "What is that?" He replied "So and so is the *bheekmongo* of some such newspaper and so and so is the *bheekmongo* of some other newspaper. That is why I asked who is the *bheekmongo* of your newspaper." I said "They are assistant and joint editors of those newspapers which my newspaper lacks. Do you call such juniors and helpers *bheekmongo* in Sindhi?" Khoso laughed, "No, *bheekmongo (a Sindhi language word)* means mendicant a beggar. Those people are not helpers or juniors. They are not good at reading and writing nor do they contribute to the newspaper or even go to office. Their job is to roam in different areas like orphan beggars. They have donation receipt books with them. They collect money, sometimes themselves and at other times on the recommendation of government servants and social elites, distributing genuine and fraudulent receipts. I thought you would also have assigned a *bheekmongo* to your newspaper." This practice is still followed by some newspapers of Balochistan.

4. It was the early days of the newspaper, my cook was away on leave, so I went to a hotel for breakfast one morning. While I was still there taking breakfast Haji Fateh Khan, who was running a cloth shop opposite to the hotel, came over. After the usual greetings he said, "Khan how much would it cost if one was to write something abusive and derogatory about someone else in your newspaper?"

"Why," I asked.

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"I have a deep grudge against such and such a person," he replied.

I was saddened and gradually explained to him, "Abusing others is not a decent thing to do, nor are newspapers for such purposes. They are to serve the people and propagate high national objectives."

He was surprised and said, "I do not know about you but all the others do it for a price." He was right because the Balochistan newspapers still indulge in this kind of blackmailing activities. At times, newspaper people would gang up to blackmail a decent wealthy person with one of them writing true or false stories about him, another defending him and the third serving as a go between. They would distribute the extorted money equally among the three of them. Such a conspiracy was related to me by Abdul Samad Durrani which Mr Nizami and Maulana Obaidullah had hatched involving Mr Noor Mohammad Gola. Even though he was remorseful, most newspaper people did not even regard this as unbecoming and evil.

5. One evening I came home late and found Sardar Mohammad Isa Khan Mohammadzai, an assistant Tehsildar at Quetta, waiting for me. He used to live close to us on Anderson Road. He was outspoken, with a good sense of humour and was well-known to me. He sat for a while indulging in some small talk and then left without saying anything. He came again the next day and left without saying anything special. I became suspicious that he could not have come just for socialising. A few days later he came again carrying an issue of the paper 'Balochistan-e-Jadeed' and said, "Khan, look at this, Mr Nasim, the editor, has written all these defaming things about our EAC Maulvi Imam-ud-din. Why do not you write something in your newspaper to counter it?"

And when I told him that I did not do such things he was annoyed and failed to appreciate my stand. I even said to him that the paper in question had not written concerning an issue rather it had written some very personal remarks pertaining to the EAC's physical appearance that his head was like an eggplant and his ears were like those of a rabbit. So if even I was to write a refutation, how would he want me to write it? Should I then say that his head was like a turnip rather than an eggplant? I also said to him that more than half of Nasim's newspaper was full of

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writing against me which I did not contest or refute so how could I do that on behalf of the EAC? But because he wanted to please his boss, he became annoyed with me at my refusal.

6. Sardar Baldave Singh, EAC Pishin, was under transfer. He did not enjoy a good reputation generally. He was a good friend of a very dear friend of mine, Spin Ghilzai, who came and said to me, "Just for my sake write something in your paper in favour of Baldave Singh." I tried my best to convince him that newspapers were not for this purpose but to no avail. Finally, I asked him to name a single good quality of the fellow so that I write something about it only to please him. He thought for a while and said, "If he had anything good about him then why would I be pleading his case with you to write undeserved praise in favour of him?" When I did not give in to his request he, like the others, got annoyed. I have recorded the above few instances because I was deeply hurt and disturbed by them at that time and remember them still and secondly I record them to cite the difficulties in the way of national politics.

Another difficulty that I faced was the request for recommendations not just to government officials but even to purely private business parties. This unbecoming habit had afflicted all the people, who regarded favouring and recommendations as a sign of friendship and kinship like a plague. I was averse to the habit from the very beginning, especially in cases involving the government. But things were so bad that people would even ask for recommendations to private practicing medics that would charge a fee for their services. Such demands of the public would often waste a lot of my time and resources. Once an elderly uncle of mine came asking that I accompany him to the civil surgeon, at that time I was about to leave to meet director education with whom I had fixed an appointment, and therefore asked him to wait till the next day. He got annoyed and walked away angrily saying, "If you do not want to help me then say so, otherwise why make such excuses? So what if you have an appointment, you would at most be late for the meeting by a few minutes." I, was, therefore, left with no option but to go with him and reached 10 minutes late for my meeting with director education, Mr John Sargent[437], apologising for the delay.

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Departure of Mr Sehbai

Mr Sahbai worked with me for a few months, initially staying with me but later moved to take shared accommodation with someone else. They could not get along well and while I was at Lahore, he had left the job and gone away of which I was informed telegraphically at Lahore.

I, therefore, started looking for another editor at Lahore and was told about two persons, Mr Waqar Ambalvi and Mr Akther Sherani, who were without a job at that time. I talked to Mr Akhter, who accepted the offer but the next day when I went to his place in the evening he was not there. Since he was living close to the fruit market, I went to his place again later in the evening. When I was returning after the last visit, I saw him coming along with another person, completely drunk and could only walk with the support of his companion. Seeing him in this drunken state, I gave up on him and contacted the other persons, who did not suit me either. I then met Mr Bari whom I knew since the days of the newspaper 'Azad' and told him of my need. Together we went to meet Mr Chiragh Hassan Hasrat[438], who introduced us to a young man named Mr Allah Baksh Saleem.

Working with Allah Baksh Saleem

Mr Saleem was not a highly educated person but was good at Urdu drafting and composition writing and hence suited my need. We decided on a salary of Rs 60 per month and he came along with me to Quetta. He was hardworking and willing to learn and soon got himself acquainted with the complicated problems of Balochistan. He was an enthusiastic, straightforward young man and had spent several years with Allama Masharaqi[439] as a close confidante and party worker. He was acquainted with all the public as well as private aspects of his life and was therefore suspicious of politicians and national leaders. In the beginning, he stayed with me for some time and would look upon me with suspicion. But when he observed our Pashtoon way of life and saw that we all lived together like equals, shared the same food and were free to criticise the views of one another like equals after working hours, he began to trust me and we soon became good companions and colleagues and worked together for several years. I was surprised that seeing the week financial position of the newspaper, he voluntary reduced his salary from Rs 60 to Rs

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40, something unique and exceptional that I have yet to see in another worker especially in a Muslim worker. Saleem was expelled from Balochistan during the Second World War years for his activities on behalf of the National Labour Party[440] which he and a few other companions were doing on their own without my knowledge and consent. For some time, he did different jobs in different cities and finally settled down in Karachi, got married and took up a government job. He continues to be a good friend of mine to this date.

Bitter Experience of Labour Management and Clash of Interests

Because of the nonexistence of lithographic publication facility at Quetta, most of the government printing work would be sent to Karachi and Lahore by the local press owners at very high rates and cost. The publication of private work used to be typed instead, because of the high cost of having it litho printed at Karachi and Lahore. When our press was set up, most of the lithographic printing was entrusted to us. I was a complete stranger to the working of a press and my colleague Mahanad, although an expert at type setting and printing, was unfamiliar with lithographic printing. Therefore, we would hire those with experience at lithographic printing from Lahore but such persons were difficult to retain because of the extreme cold weather at Quetta. Finally, on the recommendations of the people at Lahore who had supplied to us the press machinery, we hired Mr Abdullah, a machine man, who also said that he was familiar with lithographic printing.

When Abdullah started working, the writeup on the lithographic plate would get deleted requiring re-writing leading to waste of time and resources and when I would ask for the reasons, he would blame it as the fault of the printing machine. We continued working in this faulty manner for several months, wasting a lot of time and getting a bad name.

A Pashtoon calligrapher, Gul Sardar Marwat, would quietly suggest that the fault was not with the machine rather it was with the mechanic. The press worked under these conditions for almost a year, causing financial losses. One day a Hakeem, a homeopath doctor, who was known to me, came by and requested

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if I could hire his son-in-law, who knew printing work and was unemployed. I asked him to send the boy over for us to see his work. When he came, I told him of our problem, he looked around the press and told me that Abdullah was not proficient at setting the lithographic plates and hence this chaos occurred. I asked him to come the next day and work on the machine.

Abdullah, however, resisted the appointment of the new person and refused to let him come near the printing machine. It was with great difficulty that he finally agreed to quit the job despite my assurances that the employment of the new boy did not mean that we would not be keeping him. Before leaving, however, he had tampered with the machine and had we worked on it without checking, it would have been badly damaged. Suspecting foul play, I therefore asked the new machine man to check it before working on it. The printing work then started at full capacity, the daily output exceeding tenfolds that of the last one year.

In the cities of Karachi and Lahore where there were a large number of publishing presses and the demand for their work was high, each printing job was performed by a specialist, who would not know anything about the job of the others nor would he have the time for it. At Quetta, where there were no skilled workers, we expected Abdullah, who was basically a machine man, to also perform the job of the printing plates setter which he claimed he knew only to get employed. He was not honest enough to confess his shortcomings and the other workers in solidarity of labour also did not want to expose him without showing any concern for my losses as owner and manager. In the industrial world of today this clash of interest between the investor and labour is inherent because the toil of one is the gain of the other. This is particularly so in the less developed countries where the capitalists and the state have done little for the betterment of labour. There is no institution that finds work for labour or provides them a living allowance when unemployed. When I thought over the attitude of Abdullah and the sympathy and solidarity of the other workers with him, I did not blame them under the circumstances because Abdullah had two choices; to cling to his job and manage a living of sorts or face unemployment and starvation. In the absence of any state relief ,these labourers could not be expected to rely on the belief that providence is the provider of sustenance. Although I was not much offended, after this bitter experience, I like all other owners perforce kept an eye on the doings of the workers to

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began by saying, "Although I was a member of the welcoming committee the speech just delivered by the head of the committee was not put up for approval of the committee, therefore I disassociate myself from that part of the speech that says that strikes damage the interests of labour and should therefore not be supported. On the contrary, my claim is that no strike is injurious to the cause of labour and that unions should have their members ever ready for a strike especially under the current circumstances of the country where the law and constitution do not provide any relief to labour. What others call losses of labour are not losses in fact because these are only temporary difficulties that one faces in any struggle be that violent or peaceful. Strike is also a battle and in all battles some combatant colleagues get injured while some even die. I have yet to witness or envisage a battle in which combatants are not injured be it that of arms or nonviolence in which participants also get imprisoned and their homes and properties are destroyed."

The participants of the gathering much appreciated this stance of mine and welcomed it by a prolonged ovation. In addition to others things, I criticised the destruction of excess food grains produced in the developed countries that was burnt and destroyed to protect the high market prices instead of making it available to the workers at lower prices. I then also talked about the negative effects of the capitalistic way of production, which was much appreciated by the convention audience. The chairman of the convention in his address said, "While the convention was to continue for another two days and I have pressing engagements at Lahore I was not sure whom to appoint as the convention chairman in my absence for the remaining two days. But now that you have Abdul Samad Achakzai amongst you, I nominate him in my place as the chairman for the remaining two days." I, therefore, took the responsibility of chairing the meeting for the remaining two days.

Visit to Peshawar, Bacha Khan and His Organisation

Since Bacha Khan had invited me on numerous occasions, in the winter of 1937 I went to Peshawar to see for myself their party organisation and political work of Pashtoons. I spent the night

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with Barrister Abdul Qayyum Khan, whom I had met at the Central Legislature at Delhi. I was not sure whether Bach Khan was at home or out on a tour but Qayyum Khan hinted that he may be coming to Peshawar the following day.

In the morning, while Qayyum Khan left for the courts to follow his legal cases, I went with Younas Khan to visit the famous Islamia College, Peshawar. Younas Khan was the food provisions contractor to the college hostels and lived on campus. College students used to call him *"chacha"*, uncle. I spent the night at the college and met some students from Balochistan amongst whom was Malik Mohammad Saeed Khan of Mastung and another was Maulvi Abdul Majeed Khan Punjabi of Quetta.

It was raining and all the streets and roads of Peshawar were slushy and muddy, therefore we went late to the city. In the meanwhile, Bacha Khan had come to the city and left for his village Uthmanzai. I, therefore, took a bus to Charsadda and from there in a horse carriage went to Uthmanzai and spent three days with Bacha Khan and his younger son Abdul Wali Khan.

Later, we went on foot to some of the surrounding settlements that the Khans of the area had established on their agricultural lands. We spent the day with Mr Obaidullah Khan, the son of Dr Khan Saheb, and for the night went over to Mr Saif Ali Khan, the elder brother of Sardar Ali Khan, who was the head of Jamat-e-Islami at that time.

The next day, January 26[441] was the anniversary of the Indian freedom day. We went to Mardan to attend a huge public meeting arranged on that occasion. After the public meeting, we spent the day with Qazi Attaullah Khan and returned for the night to Uthmanzai. The next day, I took leave from Bacha Khan and left for Quetta.

During this visit, I observed two contradictory aspects of the lives of the people of NWFP. I was pleased to note that the populace was fully awake politically and the freedom movement had created strong bonds of fraternity amongst all the strata of society, rich and poor, young and old. While going to the public meeting at Mardan in the morning and returning in the evening, I observed many groups of people from the surrounding villages in a radius of about 15 miles going to the meeting and later returning in groups. These groups had all strata of society in it, the rich and the poor, the youth and the aged and even children.

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Some groups had with them their own drums and *surna* that they were playing merrily. The whole atmosphere was indicative of the total awareness of the public and their strong fraternity with one another.

Along with this public awakening, I also observed widespread lawlessness, insecurity and fear, which perturbed me extremely. The poor and the rich, the Khudai Khidmatgars and others were all insecure and in the grip of fear. Everywhere one could see public display of guns, pistols and armed bodyguards and collective village guards and yet people got murdered and injured as a routine.

This state of widespread lawlessness and insecurity was deeply disturbing to me as we had no experience of it in our area. Things were so bad that some people would go to a mosque in the company of armed guards and even when going to meet the call of nature at night, they would be accompanied by armed guards. When I inquired about these awful happenings, I was told that the persons were involved in enmity and blood feuds. After dark, no one felt secure even in the privacy of their homes without an armed guard-picket nor did anyone venture out unaccompanied without several armed men.

We went to visit a Khan at Uthmanzai village in the evening, long before sunset. His house was like a fortress with high walls and a huge gate with a smaller opening for entrance. We knocked the door and someone from inside asked for our identity. In reply Bacha Khan told him that it was Bacha Khan because everyone called him by that name in the surrounding villages. The person went away and came back with another, once again asking for our identity and looking through the peephole of the gate one of them asked, "Who is that with you?"

Bacha Khan replied, "He is a guest of mine from Quetta."

The gate was then opened and we were let in. Inside, I observed a third person standing with a loaded gun.

We arrived in the evening at the home of Saif Ali Khan. After a while Bacha Khan asked for a radio since his radio was out of order. The host said that he would send for the radio of his brother and invite him over as well. It was still daylight and three fully armed persons got ready to fetch the radio and its owner Sardar Ali Khan. I was surprised and could not resist asking

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"Does he live so far, necessitating all these precautionary measures?"

His brother said, "No, he lives just a mile away but since it is evening and the place is deserted, we have to take precautions and be armed and prepared."

Sardar Ali Khan came after some time but in the company of an additional four armed guards because he had to go back later. Later in the evening, when I came out I was twice checked for my identity and the reasons for being there by armed guards.

Later, when alone with Bacha Khan, I inquired the reason for this open and pervasive state of insecurity. He gave the short answer that it was the outfall of British rule and maladministration. I did not pursue the matter any further but was not satisfied with the explanation.

It is true that government administration and policies do affect the cultural behaviour of the public especially in the East. But till some basic reasons exist in the habits and cultural life of a people, particularly economic and resource apportionment; the flaws of administration cannot create permanent wrongs. Government is a creation of people's lives and culture. Neither a foreign nor a local government can be created and run that does not reflect the life of the people. Since my stay was short despite being deeply concerned and seeing the destruction of the nation, I did not investigate the matter fully. I comforted myself with the belief that now that the people had awakened politically and were struggling to change this alien rule for self-rule, this unfortunate and destructive aspect of Pashtoon life would also be tackled and changed for the better.

Over time, however, instead of abating, this malignant state of insecurity, crime and murders have increased. Twenty three years later, when I write these lines in Haripur Jail, NWFP in the year 1960, I am told by the prison inmates that lawlessness and insecurity have increased manifold and are still on the rise. Newspaper crime reports tend to support the general impression of the deteriorating state of affairs.

Despite the fact that after independence, on several occasions every year thousands of prisoners are set free and the sentence of thousands of others is reduced by several months, all the prisons are full to capacity. Last year, in the month of October, on the occasion of the anniversary of the present Martial Law

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lustful demands. They have over time lost all sense of decency that neither they, the family of the musician or those patronising them regard this way of life disgraceful.

Mehar Dil Khan of Hoti, a staunch Khudai Khidmatgar and a wealthy landlord of standing and good reputation, related to me recently at Haripur Jail what a musician of his village had said to him in these words, "Khan I am thankful to God that He has saved me from the disgrace of playing music for dancing women of other families. I always have my own kinfolk, mother, wife, sister or daughter for whom I play music." They have over time, like the lower caste Hindus, accepted this mean and menial job as their God bestowed destiny.

I am of the view that the main reason why most of the brothels of United India and currently of Pakistan are housed by honourable Pashtoon women, an indelible mark of shame on the face of all Pashtoons, is this inequitable distribution of property and its consequential grinding poverty. Even the young boys of these musician and landless tenants are the target of the lust of well-off land owners and Khans. Therefore, the whole of NWFP is plagued by the shameful practice of pederastry which in turn then catches up with the well-off families as well through their servants and menial workers.

It was expected that Bach Khan's Khudai-Khidmatgar party and its government would seek a solution to this fundamental inequitable distribution of wealth. But they did not remedy it because for one, the ministers and party leaders were mostly from the land owning Khans, some of whom did not want to lose their possessions at their own hands. Secondly, the provincial party governments never had full powers and were forever saddled with powerful alien governors. They did try to bring about some changes but were restrained by their alien superiors. For example, changing the village Numberdari (headman ship) system and saving the public from the illicit extortion of the Nawab of Teri[442]. The party did not get the chance to be tested either because after independence the government was taken away from it and given to the Muslim League otherwise it was expected that the party would have to reform the system as its root of power was in the populace that formed the majority of the landless whom the party had fully politicised. Besides, the party chief Bacha Khan would forever proclaim in public meetings that all Pashtoons were equal

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These leaders also signed a declaration stating that Pakistan was our country and they would cooperate with every government in all constructive endeavours.

After the formation of the party, when Abdul Samad Achakzai reached Quetta, he was arrested under the Balochistan Public Safety Act (Amended) 1947, on March 14, 1948 from Pishin. He was incarcerated for a month in Quetta Jail. This was the first use of the Act in the newly formed state of Pakistan and Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was the first political prisoner of the country. On 9th April, his imprisonment was extended for a month. On 13th May, he was shifted to his home in Inayatullah Karez and was put under house arrest for three months. On 3rd August, he was arrested once again and on 4th August he was imprisoned in Mach Jail for six months under the same Balochistan Public Safety Act (Amended) 1947. These six month extensions would continue for another six years, the details of which are as follows:

Mach Central Jail

1. January 27, 1949: Imprisonment extended for another six months
2. August 1, 1949: Imprisonment extended for another six months Haripur Central Jail (District Hazara) – transferred on September 14, 1949
3. January 25, 1950: Imprisonment extended for another six months
4. July 28, 1950: Imprisonment extended for another six months
5. February 1, 1951: Imprisonment extended for another six months
6. July 21, 1951: Imprisonment extended for another six months
7. January 4, 1952: Imprisonment extended by AGG for another six months
8. July 8, 1952: Imprisonment extended for another six months Mach Central Jail – transferred in August 1952
9. January 29, 1953: Imprisonment extended for another six months
10. July 29, 1953: Imprisonment extended for another six months Quetta District Jail.
11. January 10, 1954: Released

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calmly and seriously thought over the problem and decided to offer the physical sacrifices to protect my basic human and democratic right and was intending to start a hunger strike till death, but was released on May 13, 1948. After considering the issue at hand thoughtfully, I can only think of two reasons as its causes. First, some incompetent informer or toady may have given some wrong information to the government that may have caused this action. Such information and thinking should not be acted upon without going through the process of proof and rejection at court. Otherwise, it can only be considered as suspicion. I am sure you know the value of suspicion in the eyes of humans, democratic as well as Islamic values. This justification of any emergency law, imminent condition, itself is to prevent an untoward situation needs to be investigated. But denying investigation to the extent that even the accused be not informed of the allegation cannot be justified under any circumstances.

Some young men of this area motivated by love of their country started the freedom movement here under very harsh and trying conditions. I was privileged to be their leader. In addition to facing hardships here, we informed the public opinion leaders outside the province of Balochistan about the real harsh system enforced in Balochistan and for this purpose in addition to others, I also met Quaid-e-Azam on behalf of our party and I am therefore the first from Balochistan to discuss our conditions with him. I met him in August 1931 at his residence, on the occasion of his departure for the Second Round Table Conference.

A peculiarity of this meeting that I remember was that Quaid-e-Azam could understand Urdu but was not fluent at speaking it and my English was weak, so he spoke his part in English and I spoke in Urdu.

Since then, an up to date under our own party policy we kept up the struggle under very harsh conditions for the only aim of freedom of our homeland and gained for ourselves this worthy status. In this province, a political movement was established with sacrifices of our organisation. In those days what to speak of Balochistan, the Muslim League had not attained that status in India, which it did later under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam although undoubtedly in later years where our struggle against foreign slavery was the same but ideologically we remained separate from the Muslim League and I am one among those, who

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remained opposed to the division of India honestly, democratically and peacefully to the end. But when Pakistan came into being, in spite of our opposition we accepted it as our homeland and made its existence, unity and strengthening the aim of life and kept expressing this continuous ly.

In early March 1948 on the occasion of the formation of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, when the declaration about PPP was made by the non-league parties, I was one of its signatory. In that resolution, in addition to the earlier stated aims, it was also declared that we would coordinate with the government in all its constructive endeavours.

Before ending my letter I deem it necessary to draw your attention to another matter for which I am enclosing a copy of my letter to the PA & Agent to the Governor General (AGG). In these letters, besides other matters, I have said that I fail to understand the present treatment meted out to me. Besides, with such an attitude of the government, it is not clear whether the government wants to cultivate the love and patriotism of the people or hatred and discontent. In addition, such an attitude and treatment will inculcate the habit of speaking the truth or suspicion and dissent.

I, therefor, hope and expect that you will inform me of any allegation that your government has against me. Alternately, allow me to refute any such suspicions and explain myself in a court of law which should also be satisfactory to the government. Such an event will not in any way limit the permanent authority of the government, but will on the contrary convey a message of foresight and justice to the citizens of the country and will dilute all the grudges that anyone has in this country against me.

But if your government and officers do not adopt this suggested course of action, then I would be justified to fast into death or to live as a respectable and free citizen. This action of mine will convey the message of a life of suppression to a large number of people and whether they will struggle or not for their democratic rights is another matter.

Yours Sincerely
Abdul Samad Achakzai

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Inayatullah Karez, Gulistan,
June 7, 1948

Respected Governor General Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I warmly welcome you on your visit to our province.

I hope you are in the know that on March 14, 1948 I was arrested by orders of the PA District Quetta/Pishin under the Balochistan Public Safety Ordnance and was imprisoned for two months. Later, I was put under house arrest in my village for three months, by the orders of the Governor General with my movement restricted to a radius of five miles under the 24 hour watch of two Levies. In this regard all my efforts to know the reasons from the government are of no avail up to date.

I am sure that you would agree that my so-called present freedom is worse than imprisonment.

Besides, no self-respecting person would like to live in a country where he would always be a suspect and is forced to undergo severe punishment for crimes not committed and definitely not in his own county where plenty of attractive opportunities and pleasures of life with kith and kin exist.

Under these circumstances, the only option available is to be content with imprisoned life or going into self-exile from the country of my forefathers, for whose freedom I have rendered many sacrifices and faced hundreds of difficulties. And for which I still have the desire to render more sacrifices only to make this a glorious country so that at the end of my life I leave it as a priceless present for the coming generation.

Even the thought of this eventuality of abandoning my own country is extremely painful and agonising. Even so, in the face of perpetual pain, continued targeted suspicion and the indignity of toeing the official line, this becomes the only alternate choice. Personally I am neither convinced nor can I opt for a life of pretence of support to the persons or the party presently in power. As for being imprisoned, that is nothing new to me.

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If there are any differences between me and the ruling party that cannot be accommodated in a democratic setup, they may be conveyed to me as I do not even know the reason for my present predicament.

I have addressed a detailed letter to the Prime Minister regarding my present position, a copy of which is enclosed. Apparently he is not inclined to do anything about it. I, therefore, ask your kind self to intervene on my behalf so that I can spend a democratic and peaceful life in my own country. The present degrading, inhuman and unjust restrictions are not only difficult but profane and cowardly according to my belief.

I expect your kind response to this letter by June 20, 1948 after which I intend to release the letter to the press. And for my self respect and satisfaction, I will take some other steps based on nonviolence and justice.

I would be most pleased if granted an interview with your good self to explain my position.

With lots of respect

Yours Sincerely,
Abdul Samad Achakzai

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Letter to Dr Mahmood Hussain, Chief of Reforms Committee for the Resolution of Balochistan Issue

Respected Dr Mahmood Hussain[468] Sahib,

Minister for States and Tribal Regions, Government of Pakistan and Chief of Balochistan Reforms Committee

At the very outset I thank you for the sentiments expressed by you during your visit to Balochistan regarding the proposed reforms in that province.

You had said that you wanted to know my views regarding the reforms in the province of Balochistan and had also officially sent the questionnaire to me regarding the reforms to Haripur Jail.

However, you would be astonished to know that I have not received the officially posted questionnaire up to date because all my mail is sent back to Quetta for the scrutiny of the Crime Investigation Department (CID) Balochistan. You can imagine if that is the state of the official letter what happens regularly to my personal correspondence.

I have stated the above so that you do not blame me for the delay in my response and consider it as apathy to the very important issue of reforms in Balochistan. The superintendent of the jail informed me on the 8th instant about the permission of CID Quetta to respond to your questionnaire and I am replying to the questionnaire published in an Urdu newspaper. I pray that my response reaches you and your committee ponder over it in the same good spirit as expressed by you when sending me the questionnaire officially. It is laudable and admirable that because of your efforts the important issue of Balochistan reforms has taken central stage and you and your committee have left no stone unturned to understand the issue.

However, let me add that when you visited Balochistan for the purpose of fact finding, all the politically aware, educated and patriotic people among the bona fide dwellers of the area were either imprisoned or burdened with heavy bail guarantees. Some of them, including Qazi Mohammad Essa[469], were forced to saadieu to their homeland. Those politically conscious people,

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persons. What was told to you was either official consciences and interests of tribal chieftains or the desire of those Muslim Leaguers, whose ultimate goal is clinching power immediately contrary to contemporary democratic needs. You will probably find very few educated elements in it if you thoroughly go through your fact finding notes.

The lingual structure and history of British Balochistan with a population of half a million confirms the statement of a British Foreign Secretary that the name of this province should have been British Afghanistan instead of British Balochistan.

Therefore, the lasting and permanent solution to the socio-economic progress of Balochistan does not lie in the extension of the 1935 Act. The only solution to the problem of reforms in British Balochistan is to take a bold step by demolishing the unnatural boundaries of British Balochistan and merging the Pashtoon inhabited areas of Balochistan with the contiguous North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Such an act will automatically extend the reforms enforced in NWFP to these areas of British Balochistan.

These reforms will be genuine and have far reaching results. It will provide opportunities to the Pashtoons of Balochistan to acquire knowledge and make progress in an environment suitable to their nature. Besides, it will also lessen the financial burden on the centre that it would have to bear in case of setting up a separate small province.

As far as the Baloch areas are concerned, these can be merged with Baloch states and Dera Ghazi Khan to create a natural Balochistan province as has been desired by the Baloch of Dera Ghazi Khan and welcomed by the Baloch of Balochistan.

I fear that in the current atmosphere of Pakistan, this proposal will be deemed as a separatist movement of Pashtoons. Therefore, I hope that the honourable members of the committee will realise that I am making this proposal or suggestion to dispel the original and main reason of separatism. The anxiety of the Pashtoon people currently living under different forms of government is not restricted to any party or individual. Rather every Pashtoon and political party has the desire to abolish the artificial division among them and put all the Pashtoon inhabited areas in a single administrative unit.

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Principles Committee[475] including the East Pakistan organisation of the Muslim League as well as the East Pakistan members of the committee.

I understand that the government of Pakistan and its people at the helm of affairs are also aware of the factual position and have no objection to it as reflected in the recommendations presented in the Constituent Assembly by The Basic Principals Committee. They have suggested a few changes in the present boundaries of the provinces. However, it is my considered opinion that the suggestions in the constitution would involve a long procedure. Therefore, before the drafting of the constitution there is the need for taking a bold decision that is backed by public opinion.

In the presence of this fundamental and lasting solution any other would only be a temporary adjustment. The effort and expenses being made for it, will not yield desired results. However, if even then the government wants to make some temporary changes in future, the following may be considered:

1. Reforms should be enforced according to 1935 Act.
2. Freedom and authority will definitely have better effects as compared to the present dictatorship.
3. The experience of Balochistan Council failed completely due to the nomination of advisers and members and their powerlessness. It was destined to meet such a fate.
4. Unicameral legislature will be sufficient to eradicate tribal discrimination created by hereditary powers and previous form of government.
5. Adult franchise will determine the true representation of the province.
6. Yes, for the special representation of women and workers.
7. In any case, there should be joint elections. If there is considerable population of non-Muslims in a city or in another constituency, then the constituency or constituencies should be demarcated in such a manner that their representative or representatives have more chances to get elected. If this is not possible, then members should be nominated on the basis of appropriate population. The nomination should be made by the provincial government in

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such a manner that minorities living in different areas get a chance of nomination at the same time or on their turn.

8. There should be reserved seats for men and women. Such arrangements can be made for tribal chiefs, if they want, on the condition that no tribal chief will contest from an other constituency.
9. The constituencies should be regional.
10. Elections should be held directly with the voting of adult citizens. Polling station should not be more than 10 miles away from the residence of a voter.
11. There should be no nomination of minority members other than the situation given in 7.
12. This question should be left to the future legislature of the province.
13. No. It is not possible rather political reforms are being suggested for the very economical welfare.
14. Yes.
15. The province has great potential in the sectors of forests, livestock, industry and hydropower. The details should be left to the future government. However, this purpose will definitely need time and aid from Centre.
16. Presently it is difficult for the province to generate considerable amount of revenue from taxes. Therefore, the major portion of this burden be shared by the Centre in the shape of aid. However, the province can make adequate saving by taking austerity measures with regard to new expenses and reducing its previous (ongoing) unnecessary expenses.
17. Like other provinces, there are some elements in Balochistan, who evade taxes on the pretext of estates, exemptions and other concessions. The future government can eradi cate or reduce such elements by following the measures taken by other provinces according to circumstances.
18. This question has been answered in 5 and 16. In short, for the time being the province will be in deficit, relying on aid from Centre permanently. The amount and type of deficit and aid depend on the normal administration that will be introduced by the coming government. However, system and

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administration should be based on austerity to reduce the deficit.

19. Such people, who haven't a little irrigated or arid land and do not cultivate it, are next to nil in Balochistan. So 95 per cent people are associated with agriculture. However, they cannot depend wholly on agriculture owing to uncertain and impermanent sources of irrigation, so they also keep livestock and work as labourers.
20. The presence of nomads and lack of ownership documents of land are not the causes of decrease in agricultural activities. As said in 19, lack of sources of irrigation has forced people to stop farming.
21. Shortage of employment opportunities and sources of irrigation are the very causes of presence of nomads. Permanent sources of irrigation and provision of employment will certainly end nomadic life in the province.
22. Till enforcement of cheap, prompt and Islamic system of judiciary in Pakistan, appropriate court of justice should be an elected and gradually authorised council (Punchaiyat), to replace the present Jirga system
23. No one in the province is satisfied with the hereditary and nominated Jirga. However, it can be improved by turning it into an elected system, gradually authorised as Punchaiyat system. The Jirga system and Frontier Crimes Regulation are focused on maintenance of peace instead of providing justice to people. What will be the use of appeal when there is no importance of proofs, procedure, precedence and even documents in this system? However, this present system of monitoring can be improved till formal social and judicial laws and customs are made the base for the future Punchaiyat system.

Wa Billah-e-Taufeeq
Abdul Samad Achakzai
Haripur Central Jail
February 13, 1951

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The Aims and Objectives of Wror Pashtoon Party

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai along with his friends Mohammad Hasham Khan Ghilzai, Maulvi Rahmatullah Mandokhel, Fazal Ahmad Ghazi, Sain Kamal Khan Sherani, Malak Mohammad Osman Kasi, Mohammad Akbar Khan Achakzai, Kamaluddin Kamal Sherani, Malak Mohamamd Yousaf Piralizai, Abdul Khaliq Kasi, Malak Amir Jan Mehtarzai and Gul Hasan Khan Mandokhel formed a new political party Wror Pashtoon (Pashtoon Brotherhood) on April 24, 1954. Its aims and objectives were:

1. The formation of an autonomous province within Pakistan comprising all the contiguous areas populated by Pashtoons named Pashtoonistan. And to foster brotherhood amongst them.
2. To selflessly strive in the province of British Balochistan for a better life of all Pashtoons and the development of their faith, language, livelihood, culture, education, training and overall socio-economic development.
3. To work and to consult with the other neighbouring Pashtoons within Pakistan on the matters of common interest, help them in their socio-economic development and work for the betterment of our country.
4. To serve humanity without any reward as guided by Allah (Shariat) as dictated by the values of Pashtoonwali and Pashtoon history and to beckon all human beings particularly the Pashtoons to the right path of truth, chivalry, bravery, empathy and peace.
5. To achieve the above we will act legitimately, lawfully and in the right path, at no time or in any circumstances give up tolerance and non-violence.

The Membership Oath of Wror Pashtoon

District:_____ Village: _____

I_____son of _____

accept all the aims of Wror Pashtoon and join this brotherhood after paying the subscription fee of 4 annas per year. To achieve

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these aims, I will strive for the sake of God to the extent of my ability as a Pashtoon. I will not be deterred by any hardship or loss in this endeavours. I will not fear any being apart from Allah. God Almighty is the witness of my oath.

Within a short period of three years the party offices were established at headquarters of every Pashtoon District. The party organisers would regularly hold public meetings, specially on festivals and occasions such as Eid, where people wold gather for celebrations. The party officials would speak on the topic of dismemberment of one unit of West Pakistan and the formation of an autonomous Pashtoon province of pashtoonistan. As a result of their campaigns the people at large were educated in national politics. Every village had party ticket holders who would hoist the party flag.

Arrest in Loralai, 1955

Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was again put under house arrest in his village on July 17, 1954. The publication of Paigham-e- Jadeed, the weekly organ of Wror Pashtoon and monthly Pashto was also banned for one year. After completion of the yearlong house arrest, on July 21, 1955 Ghaffar Khan invited Samad Achakzai to visit NWFP as part of the Anti-One Unit Front which had been formed on July 29, 1955. The visit commenced on August 7, 1955. He visited Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, Bannu and the tribal areas. The main point of his speeches was the demand for the formation of a united Pashtoon province in Pakistan. The visit continued till August 17, 1955.

Afterwards, he invited Abdul Ghaffar Khan to Balochistan. Bacha Khan accepted the invitation and was scheduled to reach Quetta on September 17 but he was arrested and imprisoned at Mach Jail. Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar accompanied Samad Khan Achakzai on this tour. They were accompanied by Malik Abdul Ali Kakar, Maulvi Obaidullah Akhundzada and Maulvi Abdul Khaliq Tareen. They visited Chaman, Qilla Abdulla, Loralai, Hindu Bagh, Kanr Mehtarzai, Saranan, Zhob and other areas. The main demand of the speeches was the formation of a united Pashtoon province and opposition to the One Unit Scheme. Samad Achakzai was arrested from Loralai on the orders of the Chief Minister West Pakistan, Dr Khan Sahib, on October 25, 1955. It

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was alleged that he had hoisted the flag of a foreign country. He sent letters to Dr Khan Sahib wherein he rejected the allegations and also sought a trial.

He was released on January 31, 1956. Along with Ghaffar Khan, he was again arrested on June 13, 1956. They were charged wit sedition and kept in Lahore Jail where they were tried in the court of Justice Shabir Ahmed Osmani.

Post Independence: Incarcerations and Trials Testimony in the West Pakistan High Court, Lahore October 25, 1956

My Lord, it will be appropriate to begin my statement in this honourable court with these words from the Holy Quran, which binds the individual and national dealings amongst muslims. These holy verses are binding on the rulers, the ruling officers and subordinates as well as between two individuals in their dealings with one another. As a follower of Islam, it has always been my endeavour that I should regard these as the guiding light in my relations with others. It is my belief that if the Muslim world, nay all humanity, accepts these as the founding principles and practically follow them, a large number of our quarrels and difficulties in our lives will be solved; "Cooperate with one another in the righteous ways and abstain (from evil) and do not cooperate with tyrannical regimes (Istabdad)[445]."

Allow me sir, to relate a few personal experiences prior to and after the establishment of Pakistan. It is my stand that these events if not directly related to the present trial are definitely related to it indirectly.

Khilafat Movement[446]

I was born in 1907 in a religious and educated family in the Muslim majority province of British Balochistan. I was not only raised in an Islamic atmosphere but was educated on religious lines for eight years by my father and established religious teachers at home in Persian, Arabic, Pashto language, *Fiqh*[447], *Hadith*[448], *Tafseer*[449] and other relevant Islamic subjects. I was later

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admitted to a government school for formal secular education. It was thus natural that I was impressed by the Khilafat Movement to the extent that while still in the initial classes at school I decided not to join British government service, although in those days the only objective of education was to seek government service. I am thankful to Allah that despite many tempting suggestions later, I adhered to my decision till the end of British rule.

Balochistan

When we utter the word Balochistan with or without the prefix 'former' few people can imagine the condition in today's Balochistan. Its condition in the past, that is the second decade of the 20th century, can be well imagined despite that the region is called Balochistan, the homeland of the Baloch, excluding the Baloch states the majority of the population of British Balochistan comprises Pashtoons whose language, culture and race are akin to that of the people of North Western Frontier Province (NWFP). The Pashtoon inhabited parts of Balochistan that had the nomenclature of British Balochistan are contiguous to NWFP. The population of the area is less than that of many big cities of Pakistan, at about 500,000 (half million) that is thinly scattered over a region bigger than many provinces. Only three out of 20 of its sub-districts (tehsil) fell under the constitution of India with the remaining termed as Tribal Areas, currently (under the One Unit of West Pakistan) called special areas.

Consequently, the administration in these areas was unaccountable and dictatorial rather than law and constitution based. Even today, similar to the days of the British, the areas are ruled under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), Jirgas, Sardars and other government appointed authorities (tumandars). The writ of the High Court and the Supreme Court does not apply there, although these parts were initially parts of British India and today the Republic of Pakistan. Even today, as in the past, the provincial and central governments have no control over its administration, law and order and budget. At that time these heads were the responsibility of the Governor General and today they are controlled by the President of Pakistan. Another important aspect to be considered is that at that time the people from the rest of India could not freely enter this province. Those

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coming to the province were to register not just their names and address with the police but also the duration of their stay and place of stay in detail that was subsequently strictly checked. Most intending visitors were sent back. Anyone wearing Khadi clothes was not allowed entry nor was anyone allowed to wear Khadi clothes or carry any insignia of a political party. Often otherwise respected personalities were turned back from the railway station. Blocking Bacha Khan's entry and his arrest is only a recent happening. In those days, there was neither printing press nor any newspapers in British Balochistan. The Press and Publication Act was extended to British Balochistan in 1936. Balochistan lags far behind other provinces but even the present day province has no similarity with its past.

First Arrest

You can probably gauge the kind of Balochistan that I had decided to serve, in the company of a few devoted and unique colleagues. We wanted to form a party that would in nature be a forum for discussion and was truly the need of the day. When I along with my elder brother, who is a non-political conscious and generous person, and Mohammad Ayub Khan were imprisoned long before the creation of Pakistan, we were not surprised at all. However, we were at a loss to understand the nature of allegations brought against us by the British government.

The excuse, however, was soon provided. Twenty days after our arrest, a few people of our tribe, without our knowledge, abducted two British officers and a lady from Quetta-Chaman road. This was merely retaliation against our arrest, their Khans (leaders). They had also let it be known that the abducted would be freed in return for our freedom. The government was quick to condemn us against this act as if it was committed at our behest and urging. They were, however, convinced of the falsity of their allegations.

The difficulties and harsh times that our families had to endure, the collective fines, the aggression and counter-aggression convinced me that during the political struggle the conscious or unconscious resort to violence was unproductive and therefore I decided to abstain from and discouraged the use of violence. To this date, I uphold this decision. At an early age, the path that I chose for the future was the result of my own experience and

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inner self- enlightenment. The choice of non-violence was independent of any outside influence of a person or organisation. Nor had I till then been in touch with any such outside person or organisation. Because of the non-existence of the press and political organisations, our arrest, condemnation, imprisonment and its background

remained unknown to the outside world as well as the populace of Balochistan. Following the Gandhi Irwin Pact, a Punjabi trader, at great personal risk, wrote to the editor of a Lahore-based newspaper, 'Zamindar' about it. The editor of 'Zamindar' demanded our release under the pact. British officialdom, perhaps to avoid further propaganda, released us before the completion of our imprisonment.

Meeting Indian Leaders

In the last week of July 1931, my colleagues sent me to Bombay to meet the Second Round Table Conference delegates, who were going to London and inform them of the situation of Balochistan. Mahatma Gandhi was chosen as the representative of Congress to the conference but he had not decided about going to London. On my way to Bombay, I met him at Ahmadabad where he was staying at the time. His attitude was sympathetic and he invited me to travel with him to Bombay and suggested that I stay with him there to have easy access to the delegates, who would be meeting him. I stayed there with him for 15 days and met all those that came to meet Gandhi. I personally contacted those, who did not come, amongst them the Quaid-e-Azam needs special mention. The contacts that I made during those days turned into lifelong friendship. Amongst those that I met was Bacha Khan with whom I have deep relations to date. In Bombay, I made a third decision of donning Khadi, which I liked instantly because it had become a fighting symbol against British imperialism.

Muslim Press And Balochistan

During 1931-32, beginning with Nawabzada Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi, a number of young men of Balochistan wrote in the press of other provinces informing the outside world of the conditions in Balochistan. Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan wrote an article

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regarding Balochistan in the daily 'Masawat' Lahore for which the Kalat Jirga imprisoned him for 18 months and fined him Rs 10,000. In this struggle, the Muslim press of the Punjab gave us invaluable support. The daily 'Zamindar' and its owner Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan, the owner of the daily 'Inqilab', Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik and Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehar were in the forefront of this publicity help.

The Balochistan Movement In Sindh

In Balochistan, the government was relentlessly strict in crushing any movement there. I was under strict surveillance. My activities of where I stayed and with whom I spoke were minutely observed to such a degree that the police would awaken my hosts during the night and make queries about me. As if that was not enough, the host would be called to the police station the following day to be subjected to further harassment. This practice is still followed, though with less intensity. Under the circumstances, the nationalists of Balochistan decided on establishing their movement outside Balochistan. Some of us had friendly contacts with the Congress leaders. I, in particular, had close contacts with Bacha Khan and Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan. Our aims coincided but we recognised that given the circumstances in Balochistan it was not possible to organise the populace in support of national movements. Thus, instead of joining those movements, we decided to call a conference of the residents of Balochistan and the Baloch of other provinces at Jacobabad, Sindh in December 1932. I presided over the conference. Thus was laid the foundation of a movement, which aimed at adopting reforms in Balochistan and organising the Baloch everywhere.

All India Muslim Conference

In 1933, at the suggestion of Maulana Shafi Dawoodi and Syed Murtaza Bahadur of Madras, I joined the All India Muslim Conference and became a member of its organising committee. The conference was working under the presidentship of Allama Iqbal and a number of Muslim leaders, who had formed the Muslim League, were also its members. In Punjab, besides the title holding class, Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehar, representative

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of the middle class intellectuals, was amongst its members and worked with young hawkish elements.

Accusations And Charges

In December 1933, the second session of the Balochistan Conference was held at Hyderabad, Sindh. The Baloch of Sindh participated in it with great enthusiasm. The Conference was presided over by Mir Bandae Ali Khan Talpur, a former chief minister of Sindh. It was decided to ally the Conference with the All India Muslim Conference and to establish its branches all over India. These details are necessary to counter the hollow propaganda that was started against me by the Muslim League in the years after the creation of Pakistan. The false propaganda was supported by those selfish leaders of the Muslim League to gain cheap popularity with the masses. It was propagated that I was a Hindu, agent of Hindus and a traitor by those, who wanted to exploit the benefits of the freedom of Pakistan without suffering for it. Their politics in its entirety was based on hollow accusations and abusive language. Even today, they continue to lay baseless accusations against me. At times they dub me an agent of Afghanistan and at other times an agent of India only because I, unlike them, refuse to join in the damaging war of abuse against India and Afghanistan. As a consequence of these hollow accusations of nine years since the creation of Pakistan, I have spent only one year and eight months without being imprisoned or put under house arrest. Even this period of freedom I have enjoyed in four phases, the longest was six months. To justify such atrocious treatment, I was not even once prosecuted in a court of law and despite my continuous pleading I was never informed of the crime I committed. I twice approached the High Court and on one occasion I was set free while my case was pending in the court and the second time I was set free by the court. These details bring out the position that while I and my colleagues were groping under the burden of our difficulties and when the need arose of joining the All India Organisation, our collective preference was to join the Muslim movements of the country.

After the Hyderabad Conference, the government of Balochistan was greatly perturbed that as an All India Conference the branches of the Balochistan Conference were to be set up in

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Balochistan. The government not only arrested me on my return to Balochistan but also decided to simultaneously take action against all important workers of the Balochistan Conference. Nawabzada Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi was removed from the headship (Sardari) of his tribe. Some were arrested while others left Balochistan to continue the Conference work elsewhere. I was tried under Section 40 of the FCR for my speeches at Hyderabad and Karachi. During the trial, at the behest of the investigating Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), Section 124 FCR was added to the alleged charges. The District Magistrate (DM) on the recommendations of the Jirga awarded me three years imprisonment. This is a sample of justice which the people of Balochistan are still faced with. On that occasion, in the Muslim majority province the British rulers were arrayed against our purely Islamic movement. Especially when the movement had joined hands with the Muslim Conference, it was natural to expect support from the Muslim leaders of India particularly the leadership of the Muslim Conference. But none of our title holding leaders uttered a sympathetic word in our favour. Taking practical supporting action for us was out of question even though our workers went to each one of them. Thus all expectation of support from them dissipated but instead of approaching any other organisation, we depended on our struggle and sacrifice. We were in prison when the 1935 earthquake occurred and the sufferings and destruction of the central city (Quetta) of Balochistan at the hands of nature and the government are well-known to all. I volunteered to cooperate in the rescue work of the earthquake but the government released me 14 months later albeit earlier than my imprisonment sentence and that too because in keeping with Pashtoon traditions I had threatened to go on an indefinite hunger strike. The tradition of hunger strike is still in vogue in the Pashtoon lands where for peace and its continuity in place of government power, the moral influence of outstanding leadership produces better lasting results.

The Press And Publication Act

It was the result of our seven years of struggle that the government in 1936 extended the Indian Press Act to Balochistan. After my release from prison I set up the first press and started the first newspaper 'Istiqlal' in Balochistan. The newspaper was

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murdered by the Muslim League government in 1950 by arresting its editor under Section 40 of the FCR and did not allow its second declaration. In 1938, the first ever political organisation, Anjuman-e-Watan was initiated in Balochistan and I became its president. The aim of this organisation was the extension of constitutional reforms to British Balochistan. Non-violence and constitutional ways were its basic working principles.

The Muslim League

We were then in direct confrontation with the British government to pave the way for national reconstruction. But when it was time for real effective struggle, we were confronted by the rulers of the princely states, Sardars, Jirga members and the mixture of other elements of whom there is no dearth in Balochistan. These elements were not only used by the government as a support for its tyrannical ways, but being the creation of the government they, at the incitement and pleasure of government officers, were even ready to render most degrading services to please officialdom. As government toadies, they had imposed various taxes on the people. Whenever the need arose, they also used violence to suppress them. It was impossible for a national political organisation to ignore such oppressive anti-people groups created by the authorities. We had to confront and struggle against some of these sardars. During one such confrontation, the Congress helped us through one of its executive committee members of Sindh, Mr Jairamdas Daulatram, because some of those affected by the tyranny of the Sardars were residents of Sindh.

We were much surprised to see that in 1938, at the behest of British officials and some of their subordinates Muslim officers, these Sardars were directed to form the Muslim League in Balochistan. The Muslim League was ultimately formed under the patronage of His Highness the Khan of Kalat and some other tyrant tribal Sardars. For many years, the people aptly called it, the 'Sardar League'. Thus, with the Khan of Kalat's monetary support, the Muslim press and a clique of Muslim leadership, the Sardar League came out in opposition to us. They lent support to the dictatorial tyranny of the Sardars at that time while Jawaharlal Nehru, as leader of the States Peoples' Conference[450], was visiting the Hindu states of Jodhpur, Udaipur and Kashmir in pursuit of the abolishment of all states. One can judge the feelings of the

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people of Balochistan from the following factual incidence. The first secretary general of Balochistan Muslim League, Mir Ata Mohammad Khan, who at best could be classified as a progressive educated landlord and a Jirga member, resigned from his post immediately after the first meeting of the working committee because he regarded the election of some Sardars to the working committee as shameful and against the interest of the party.

The Visit Of Bacha Khan To Balochistan

Our party gained popularity in all parts of the province due to the sacrifices and selfless work of our workers and the people looked upon it as a fortress to resolve their issues. In 1939, Bacha Khan visited Balochistan on our invitation and toured it extensively. The government on several occasions raised hurdles in the successful visiting tour of Bacha Khan. On the last day of the tour, a Hindu officer along with a Baloch landlord, member of the Muslim League, had violently attacked the meeting.

The Indian National Congress

Although my opponents are trying to defame me both in Balochistan and outside of it by calling me a Hindu and the agent of Hindus and other such names, it is a fact that neither have I been a member of the Congress nor did the Congress exist in Balochistan prior to mid-1946. Even so, our own party did not have any organisational affiliation with the Congress then. Our point of view was that we were tired of and burdened by British rule and it was our belief that getting rid of it would not only be beneficial to us but also to the entire Muslim world. On these grounds, the Anjuman-e-Watan independently decided not to help the British in its World War-II effort. Therefore, despite no relationship with the Congress, when Gandhi Ji initiated his individual resistance (satyagraha[451]) the Anjuman offered the services of its 50 members towards this movement. Similarly, we participated in the Quit India Movement of 1942 on our own.

Pakistan As An Ideology

I have earlier stated how and by whom the Muslim League was set up in Balochistan. I have also stated that the opinion that we formed about the Muslim League leaders was in the light of our own experience. Under the circumstances, not to suspect the

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concept of Pakistan and deem it a deception of the British would have been quite unnatural. Besides, in Balochistan with the ratio of Muslims to non-Muslims much higher than anywhere else in India, the question of Hindu dominance was irrelevant. In Balochistan, the Muslim and non-Muslim immigrants from other parts of India jointly exploited the local population in the field of commerce, services and education and were plundering the province. The Muslim immigrants always supported the non-Muslims from their provinces against the locals. Besides, we had full confidence in the ability of Muslims to face all problems and solve their own difficulties in united India.

In its Karachi resolution of 1946[452], the Congress assured the formation of autonomous linguistic provinces in free and independent India, which is currently being implemented there. That resolution gave us a lot of hope for a better future of Muslims in India, particularly in Kashmir and the Muslim majority provinces. If ever the need had arisen, such autonomous provinces would have given us a greater and better Pakistan than the present one about which the Quaid-e-Azam on one occasion used the term "Moth eaten[453]" Pakistan. Such a Pakistan would certainly have been free of the current shortcomings because of which even today tens of thousands of families are suffering. It could have avoided the division of Punjab and Bengal and the controversy of plebiscite in Kashmir and the disruptive exchange of population. It was for this reason that we did not support the concept of Pakistan and our party entered into an alliance with the Congress in 1946 to reject the concept of Pakistan and thus deny the British the opportunity and excuse to delay the freedom of India.

Today, even nine years after the existence of Pakistan, if one looks at the conditions in Balochistan with neutrality, the conditions there have not changed at all. The FCR is still the law and the rights of the people are trampled under officialdom with impunity. Our representatives in the provincial and central legislators are still elected by those Jirga members, who were nominated by the British for endorsing their treacherous doings. In Balochistan, the laws enacted by the legislature cannot be adopted till the all powerful governor gives his consent. There are still no elected institutions in Balochistan except the Quetta Municipality and that too besides a government nominated chairman and nine members has 10 elected members under a

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limited franchise, just like in the days of the British. All this shows how correct our apprehensions were regarding the Sardar League. Prior to the creation of Pakistan, at the behest of the Muslim League, it was openly being propagated in the press to create a princely state on the pattern of the Kalat State in the Pashtoon areas of Balochistan which was to be headed by Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai under the overall tutelage of the Khan of Kalat.

The Muslim League leadership was always reluctant to explain its point of view regarding Pakistan. The Committee of the Muslim League, led by Nawab Ismail Khan[454], was on an organisational visit to Balochistan. After some discussions at a private reception, the committee members invited me to join the Muslim League. I explained to them my point of view. After a lengthy discussion, we drafted a collectively agreed statement that said that if the majority of Muslims of a Muslim majority state were allowed to decide their future, the Muslim League would cooperate with the Congress in its struggle for the freedom of India. And if the Congress turned down the proposal, our party would join the Muslim League. In the end, Nawab Ismail refused to sign it saying that we should settle the issue with provincial Muslim League as the All India Muslim League could not be a party to the issue. Other such occasions arose as well from which I concluded that the Muslim League would accept only that decision, which was first accepted by the British. It was not possible for us to lay so much trust in the British.

Pakistan As A Country

Immediately after the creation of Pakistan, the Executive Committee of Anjuman-e-Watan resolved that, "we are the loyal citizens of Pakistan and are ready to offer all sacrifices for it."

The corrupt and insincere leaders of the Balochistan Muslim League, who were masters at the defaming game, likened our sincere resolution to hypocrisy and felt it a threat to their nominal leadership and exploitations.

Arrested in Balochistan

Immediately after the creation of Pakistan, I was arrested on the orders of the District Magistrate Quetta under the Balochistan Public Safety Act and was imprisoned for two months and later

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put under house arrest, for three months in our village. While under house arrest a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anjuman-e-Watan was convened over which I presided. In this meeting, we once again announced that Pakistan was our home and country. After the meeting, I wrote two letters[455] to Quaid- e-Azam and late Liaquat Ali Khan, drawing their attention to my injudicious house arrest and assured them that following the Quranic verses quoted earlier in this statement, we would cooperate at every level with the government and the Muslim League in pursuit of the development of the country. Though the letters were not responded to, they were published in the newspapers. Prior to the expiry of my house arrest, I was arrested under the same regulation by the orders of an English Agent to the Governor General (AGG)[456] and imprisoned in August 1948. I was never told the reason for the arrest although a number of my colleagues and I demanded it of the government. After the sad demise of Quaid-e-Azam, the safety regulations were amended to provide for extension to imprisonment every six months and thus my detention was extended for another six months. In August 1949, I was shifted to the central prison Haripur from where I was transferred back to Balochistan in 1952 and was released in January 1954 while my writ petition was under consideration in the court of the Judicial Commissioner Balochistan.

After my arrest and imprisonment, the members and no members of our party announced that if the government proved any allegations against me in an open court, they were willing to take disciplinary action against me. But the government and its policy makers were not willing to hear any such logical plea and started persecuting our party members, particularly Mohammad Ayub Khan was targeted and harassed in a number of ways. Because of my prolonged arrest and detention, harassment of my relatives by the police and the aggressive attitude of the League government, Mohammad Ayub Khan and other prominent members of the Anjuman-e-Watan decided to leave the country and in 1950 migrated to Afghanistan. They were later followed by hundreds of others. How did the Muslim League government and its petty officials harass various people, I do not want to repeat in detail for lack of time, space and exact information, however, the following is in my knowledge:-

A committee of the local Muslim Leaguers was assigned the task of checking ration cards in Quetta city. The committee, amongst

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others, recommended that since Mohammad Ayub Khan and his family get their food from a hotel, therefore, their ration card be cancelled.

The police ordered Mohammad Ayub Khan to appear in a case as owner of a truck whose driver had committed a wrong for which the driver should have been called. Ayub Khan was made to wait in front of the police office from early morning to late afternoon every day for a week only to be told that he should come the next day. A relative of mine was recommended by the public service commission for studies on a government scholarship in the USA. When the application of the candidate for a passport reached the District Magistrate Quetta, he recommended to the government that as the candidate was my relative it was a mistake to select him for studies abroad and that mistake could be corrected at this stage by refusing him a passport.

The provincial Muslim League sent a delegation, led by its chairman to Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister, to bring to his notice some issues. One of the issues related to the above mentioned scholarship and the other concerned the quota of sugar that my brother received for the preservation and sweetening of his farm fruit juices. To save himself from further harassment, my brother on his own gave up the business activity.

My relatives, party men and tribesmen put up with all kinds of harassment by the government and the League and many had to leave their hearths and homes seeking refuge in other countries. Some of these migrants returned after my release from jail.

I suggested to the government that they be not troubled and persecuted as an incentive for others to follow. The government did not agree with me and had some of them severely punished under the FCR as no case could be initiated against them under other ordinary laws. Some of them are still suffering in various prisons.

After my release, I initiated correspondence with Mohammad Ayub Khan with the consent and knowledge of the government. I was discouraged in my efforts by the harsh sentences to Arbab Abdul Qadir Kasi and Malik Akhtar Mohammad. The two were handed over to Pakistan by the Indian government. In July 1954, I was arrested once again without any valid reason barely six months after spending six years in prison. I was put under house

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arrest in the village following the Daultana Secret Document Policy.

Wror Pashtoon (Pashtoon Brotherhood)

Although I was severely ill, suffering from a bad gall bladder and damaged kidneys, after spending six years in prison, I was released in 1954 and was advised surgery by a medical board. My former colleagues and young activists gathered around my sick bed and started discussing with me the affairs of Balochistan. At their urging, we soon formed a new party called Wror Pashtoon with the view to work for the formation, within Pakistan, of an autonomous unit of Pashtoonistan consisting of the contiguous Pashtoon populated areas. This identity was to be formed by means of a non-violent and constitutional movement. I was appointed the convener of this organisation. In a short time, the movement spread widely in all Pashtoon areas. When I went on a tour of this region, the people welcomed the movement and accepted its programme with enthusiasm. In the meanwhile, the government announced the One Unit Plan for West Pakistan, which was rejected by Bacha Khan from Karachi, where he was at the time, on behalf of the Pashtoons. His brother Dr Khan had also advised him accordingly. Similarly, the plan was rejected by Pirzada Abdul Sattar's[457] cabinet of Sindh.

Meeting Mr.Gurmani

Apparently after the postponement of the proposed One Unit Plan, the divisive forces had another plan, at least for the Pashtoons of British Balochistan. This plan was announced in its totality by the then interior minister, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, according to which British Balochistan was to be merged into the Balochistan States Union. I met Mr.Gurmani and diverted his attention to the future needs of the Pashtoons and Baloch and their fears regarding the loss of their language and culture in these times dominated by race and nationalist concerns. He agreed that to protect the rights of the Pashtoons and alleviate their reservations. It was necessary that the medium of instruction in their schools should be their mother tongue Pashto. He also agreed that education in Pashto could be attractive and beneficial if the vernacular official and private works were done in Pashto. He was also aware of this truism that the development of the vast

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areas of Balochistan would need and attract population from elsewhere with the possibility that the current meagre local population of 12,00,000 would be turned into a minority. I was told by him that the people of the western districts of Punjab are called as 'janglis'[458] by immigrants from the eastern districts of Punjab. Mr Gurmani is himself a resident of the western districts. He also suggested some measures in this connection, for instance that primary education to the Pashtoons be imparted in Pashto and Pashto be used as the working and recording language of some offices. These suggestions would ultimately lead to a bilingual province that appeared unfeasible because of the small population and low revenue base. He was not inclined to accommodate our reservations in the proposed scheme of things and neither was he ready to accept another natural solution of merging the Pashtoons areas into the contiguous Pashtoon inhabited NWFP.

Forfeiture Of Newspapers

When in July 1954 I was put under house arrest in my village, I was forbidden to write and make public speeches or meet people from outside the village. Simultaneously, the publication of the two papers of 'Wror Pashtoon', the monthly *Pashto* and the weekly *Paigham-e-Jadeed* was suspended for one year. The declarations of the two publications were later cancelled by the district magistrate because they were not published due to their closure by the government. These declarations have not been restored to date. I was never to find the reason behind my house arrest which the local officials did not favour either. It is, however, being speculated that it was the first step towards clearing the way for the imposition of the secretly envisaged One Unit Plan.

Dr Khan Sahib Joins The Government

While I was under house arrest, Dr Khan Sahib suddenly realised the benefits of the One Unit Plan and was appointed a federal minister and the chief minister of the envisaged West Pakistan Province under the One Unit Plan. In the meanwhile, he frequently visited Balochistan, which was demarcated as his future constituency. On the occasion of these visits, he would often invite me to Quetta, but I could not agree with his and the then AGG Sardar Bahadur Khan's views. They would Argue that

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the Pashtoons, instead of ruling one province, would rule over the entire West Pakistan. In July 1955, all restrictions were removed from me for a short while that was like a flashing spark in this tiring extended irresponsible drama.

Preparations For Free And Impartial Elections

In the last week of October 1955 when it was announced that the elections for the West Pakistan Assembly would be held at the earliest, it became known that the fate of unfortunate Balochistan would be decided by the same Jirga as the electoral college that was nominated by the British. As a candidate, I went on the election campaign tour to Loralai. There I delivered an election speech and within a few hours of the electioneering public speech I was arrested under the Balochistan Public Safety Act on the orders of the District Magistrate Loralai and was held for one month in the Loralai Jail. After a week, on October 4, 1955, the West Pakistan government ordered my imprisonment for another six months. The Pashtoon chief minister, Dr Khan, in a press conference alleged that I had hoisted the flag of an enemy foreign country and saluted it. He declared me a traitor that should be shot dead. He further announced that he would examine the case himself and that the accused would be provided the opportunity for clearing himself in an open court.

After hearing this exceptional announcement from no less a person than Dr Khan, some circles showered praise on Dr Khan. More serious circles, however, knew that to protect his ministerial chair and the claim of holding free and fair elections in the Pashtoon region, the allegations of traitor and treachery and conspiracies against a person by the ministers was employed as a routine. We waited for a while for Dr Khan Sahib's government to prosecute a traitor in the open court but it kept mum. My relatives then filed a habeas corpus[459] petition in the Karachi High Court which the government did not come forward to contest. I was ultimately set free after a detention of three months but by then the free and impartial elections in Balochistan were over. Not only was I arrested and dubbed a traitor to alienate me from the voters but they also struck off two Jirga member voters, that is 10 percent of the electoral college, from the voters' list just because they were

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my friends and had dared to visit me in Loralai Jail. This is one example of those free and impartial elections that took place in the Pashtoon region for the so-called representative assembly. Moreover, the party in power deemed it correct to exclude a large percentage of voters from the limited, nominated electoral college.

It was not for the first time that those, who did not toe the government line were excluded from the voting Jirga list. Some other examples are as follows:-

Malik Abdul Ali Khan of the Quetta Pishin District was expelled from the Jirga only because he was a member of the Wror Pashtoon Party. Because of his contacts with our party, a Jirga member, Sultan Mohammad Khan Durrani, was expelled from the Jirga list. And when he openly disowned these contacts his membership of the Jirga was restored.

Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali was a member of the Shahi Jirga that at the time of referendum in 1947 acted as the electoral college that decided the fate of Balochistan in favour of Pakistan and had also elected Dr Khan Sahib to the central legislature representing Balochistan. He was removed from the Shahi Jirga on the suspicion that he had financially helped a legal political party, Wror Pashtoon. His membership of the Shahi Jirga was restored perhaps because of appropriate changes in his behavior. He was expelled once again from the Shahi Jirga because he and some other Baloch Sardars had sent a joint telegram to the Governor General opposing the One Unit Plan of West Pakistan.

This is the freedom that these Jirga members enjoy, that are entrusted with the sacred task of choosing the representatives of the Pashtoons, who are considered to be equal brothers of other citizens of democratic Pakistan. The Wror Pashtoon flag that I had hoisted at the party office at Chaman because of which I was called a traitor, and the Chaman office, ransacked by the Maliks of Chaman, still remains hoisted and flutters on the party central office at Quetta. The interesting aspect of the foolish episode is that to date neither has Dr Khan Sahib nor his government felt the need to enlighten the public about such irresponsible foolish announcements. And if it was a mistake, they should at least announce it as that and punish those, who were behind such a glaring lie. Likewise, all those newspapers that on the basis of the false statement of Dr Khan Sahib used derogatory language against me, did not bother to investigate the status of the

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allegations. Is it not treachery to falsely dub an innocent citizen a traitor?

The Present Trial

This long story brings out the position that the ruling party was determined to suppress and belittle the opposition or what it thought to be opposition by a weak individual like me and our party. To achieve this objective of suppression, they did all they could, hidden from public criticism, so that they could keep the public busy with hollow slogans and false promises and exploit them blatantly, covering up their inability to solve their problems or grapple with them earnestly.

Now that their unholy game has been exposed and they cannot use state power against the people freely, especially now that they have taken refuge in the cover of the Republican Party[460] rather than the Muslim League, they have decided to drag us into courts with false allegations. They are hoping that they would get a favourable judgment as they have access to state resources and can hire better legal brains to present their case.

Pashtoonistan

Before ending this statement, I deem it appropriate to state that it has been an important aim of my life from the beginning to create a separate administrative unit of the Pashtoons called Pashtoonistan consisting of all those contiguous territories of Pakistan in which they reside but which are currently under the inherited British

laws and rule, divided under separate nomenclatures and administrations. The struggle for such a united administrative unit was never separate from my life nor can it be separated from my life by fear of violence and persecution. This suggestion is as useful for the collective progress and prosperity of Pakistan as it is for the eight million Pashtoons, who form 20 percent of the country's popu lation for the following reasons:

In these present times education and its standard are regarded the basic necessary condition of development. Worldwide, education experts are agreed on the premise that the best route to education is teaching in the mother tongue. Effective and useful education can best be imparted in a living language. A language that is used

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in offices, at business centres and by learned persons so that it can be used to educate the populace at least to primary level which almost everyone in society can attain. The mother tongue of the Pashtoons can only be used as the language of education in a Pashtoon province Pashtoonistan where education, the working of provincial offices or a part of it and commerce are conducted in their own language, Pashto.

A distinct feature of present day governance is to arrange free and compulsory education for the populace at least till the primary level. It is probable that we too in Pakistan during the coming two to five decades will be able to implement the provision of free and compulsory primary education for all. World-wide experts are convinced and it is our own experience as well that for reading and writing, primary education is sufficient provided it is imparted in the mother tongue and this objective can only be attained by the Pashtoons after the formation of the Pashtoonistan province as far as the education of the Pashtoons is concerned. In other words, without Pashtoonistan the Pashtoons will be denied the benefit of higher achievements emanating from universal primary education of the country.

The Pashtoons will be left far behind in the field of higher education compared to those, who are educated in their own mother tongue or a language near to it like Urdu and Punjabi. Obviously, no conscious Pashtoon can willingly accept such a situation.

Apart from the issue of language, it is worth considering how staunch the Pashtoons are regarding their cultural practices and way of living. It can be adjudged from the nominal influence that the various races of the world including, Greeks, Iranians, Arabs, Mughals and the British have had on the culture and living ways of the Pashtoons despite conquering their country and ruling over them since centuries.

Apart from their attachment to their ways of living, the Pashtoon is also deeply attached to his homeland. For example, in 1947 when the Pashtoons participated in the battle for Kashmir, they were ready to die in an alien land but were not willing to leave the bodies of their dead comrades that were all taken back to their own homelands.

Nor does the settlement of the Pashtoons elsewhere affect their culture and private life. The British tried to settle them in Punjab

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but without any success. Some elements have recently made such suggestions but the government should refrain from repeating the experiment.

Pashtoonistan And Afghanistan

Some people are misled into believing that the local Pashtoons started the Pashtoonistan movement under the influence of Afghanistan or that this is to bring the Pashtoon homelands under Afghanistan. Some allege that Pashtoonistan means the existence of an independent identity outside Pakistan. I announce with the full force of my belief and conscience that all this is wrong, No Pashtoon can even think on these lines. However, it is true that the Pashtoons are not satisfied with their present conditions and neither should they be.

Complaints

Even though Pakistan is currently declared a democracy, 75 percent of the Pashtoon population of the country that are residents of the so-called special areas are denied the right of voting which is the highest and primary benefit of freedom.

The above mentioned population is, by the very constitution of the country, denied the benefit of access to free and impartial justice of the higher courts in this democratic country.

The representatives of the Pashtoons of these areas, chosen from amongst their Jirga members that were nominated by the British government, would join the representative bodies at the provincial as well as the federal level only to strengthen the government party and to be used against the elected opposition. The laws and decisions passed by these democratic institutions would of course not be applicable to the representatives of the special areas.

A large majority of the Pashtoons is still, like in the times of the British, living and governed under a dictatorial setup. They have been entrusted to the rule of an all-powerful individual, the provincial governor and his subordinates under the FCR and the Jirgas. This is an ugly mark on the current democratic setup, its judicial system, judiciary and indeed democracy itself.

All those areas with a majority Pashtoon population despite being contiguous would continue to be under different regional and

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administrative units formed by the British under different nomenclatures.

This distinct and extremely differential and discriminatory treatment of the Pashtoons was regarded judicious by the British made laws and also now by our own constitution. In the meanwhile, our government at the national and international level rightly condemns and supports the struggle against the apartheid laws in South Africa that affect its citizens whose forefathers had cultural and racial affinity with us.

On important internal issues like the One Unit Scheme, the Pashtoons instead of being treated as equals are treated as second grade citizens and camp followers. Similar to the time during the British Raj, Pashtoon public opinion is purposely set on the path of dishonesty. Some individuals are first bought and bribed and then shown to the world as the true representatives of the Pashtoons.

If the Pashtoons are regarded as equal shareholders of state resources (internal and international capital spent in the country), then it is for all to see that they are being exploited in this field even more than in the political and cultural areas.

It is no more a secret that the Pashtoons and the people of other small nationalities are being bought and sold by the so-called elder brothers of Punjab and Bengal on one another like a pack of slaves and other traded commodities. The West Pakistan One Unit Scheme and all the other constitutional bargaining are a sample of this selling and buying that took place between the so called leaders of both the wings of the country during the recent Dacca session of the National Assembly. Many a price tag has been disclosed presently and probably more details would emerge later. Can any human or a group of humans expect from another human being to ignore such wheeling and dealing under threat of persecution and condemnation?

We Pashtoons are aware of the intent and struggle between the Punjab and Bengal leadership over the last nine years that they have waged to protect their language and culture from the domination of each other. At times this tussle takes a very dangerous turn, culminating in the half hidden threats of separation. Is the struggle for the protection of one's language and rights a luxury that is the privilege of the numerically strong only or is it available also to the smaller nationalities as a

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democratic right through non violent means and within the bounds of the constitution? If the latter part is true then why are thousands of our leaders and workers persecuted? Why are our publications throttled; and why are prohibitive restrictions laid on our party because we are struggling against One Unit to protect our mother tongue and other rights from a very high numerical superiority of Punjab?

All the above and their consequences and the basic cultural differences between the Pashtoons and others cannot remain hidden from knowledgeable and conscious Pashtoons. And therefore, I am convinced of the formation of Pashtoonistan sooner or later and that every Pashtoon would work for this aim and will be an equal participant in the governance, freedom and democracy of Pakistan instead of merely existing for the benefit and prosperity of all Pakistan. There is a Pashto proverb that says, "Spring's plenitude turns meaningless if access is denied to my cattle." It is easy to understand that if one fifth of any country's population is denied prosperity then how can that country be at peace? Being a devoted servant of my people, I know of their ways and can feel their pulse. It is my considered opinion that under the circumstances any foreign power can use the situation to its advantage. I have been trying to bring this deteriorating situation to the notice of the people of Pakistan and our government. Let the Pashtoon be equal partners in the benefits and responsibilities of the country. Create an autonomous Pashtoon province in Pakistan and we can convince the Pashtoon, who are a highly democratic people, and would overlook their multifaceted ties with Afghanistan. Do not deprive Pashtoons of the benefits of a democratic government and their cultural values, if you at all desire that they be not influenced by Afghanistan with whom they have historical cultural ties. This is in brief the gist of my conviction and the basis of demand for an autonomous Pashtoon province, 'Pashtoonistan'.

Pashtoonistan And Balochistan

I was born and bred amongst the Pashtoons of Balochistan. It is only natural that their needs and problems were a priority for me from the very beginning. I realised very early in my life that the main cause of our backwardness and helplessness is the faulty education system as it is not imparted in our mother tongue. It

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was therefore that at the 1932 Balochistan Conference it was resolved that primary education be imparted in the mother tongue of the students. It may be noted that the Jacobabad Balochistan Conference was the first-ever national conference of its kind. In united India, the basic cause of my allied relationship with the Congress was its adoption of the resolution at Karachi to that effect which I supported vehemently. The resolution pledged to form autonomous linguistic provinces in free India. I was aware from the very outset, and still believe, that in Balochistan where a small population of 600,000 speak Pashto, Balochi, Brahvi, Sindhi and Multani, the Pashtoons cannot be taught in their mother tongue and as far as the Pashtoon population was concerned the only solution was the formation of an autonomous Pashtoon province of Pashtoonistan consisting of all the contiguous areas populated by the Pashtoons.

In 1951-52, when the government of Pakistan constituted a committee for constitutional reforms in Balochistan headed by Dr Mahmood Hussain[461], I received its questionnaire officially at the Central Jail Harripur where I was then imprisoned. Even then I demanded that Balochistan be bifurcated and the Pashtoon inhabited areas be combined with the contiguous North West Frontier Province (NWFP). This, I Argued, was the only natural and scientific solution to enable the Pashtoons to get their education in their mother tongue Pashto.

In 1943 some leaders of Muslim League that included Mohammad Hashim Khan Ghilzai, Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali, Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani and others came to me and asked what constitutional reforms I would suggest for Balochistan. They were going to Karachi for a meeting with the President of Muslim League Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah regarding a bill in the Constituent Assembly for reforms in Balochistan. I told them that in the Balochistan of today no reforms could be of much use because its small population spoke a number of languages. Therefore, I suggested that the least that could be done was to join the Pashtoon areas to the adjacent NWFP. These gentlemen later told me that Mr Jinnah was also in agreement with this suggestion.

For the Pashtoons of Balochistan, Pashtoonistan province is important because their small population of 400,000 could not and cannot sustain a separate provincial unit. But if these Pashtoon

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inhabited territories are joined with adjacent NWFP then the total Pashtoon population will swell to eight million or even 10 million in which their language and culture would be protected despite immigration from other provinces.

During the last few years, the government of Pakistan has spent a large amount in the field of education and as a consequence there has been a substantial increase in the number of schools at various levels and the teaching staff. Apparently, this is a positive move for which the government can take credit but its usefulness can be judged by comparing the enrolment ratio at primary with the higher secondary level that plunged substantially due to a high dropout level. Likewise, the admission of Pashtoon students to the only college at Quetta and Aminuddin Medical School speaks of the low merit of Pashtoon students. The main cause of the national loss is the waste of time in learning in another language that is not their mother tongue. For this reason alone, the province of Pashtoonistan is an urgent need of the Pashtoons of Balochistan. In case this does not happen then the possibility exists that in a decade or two because of migration from other provinces, in the wake of their investment here, which has been allowed, the local Pashtoons may have to live in their own province as a cultural and linguistic minority. Under such circumstances, people can only be disheartened and look for other solutions. Such a scenario cannot be good tidings for the happiness and peace of the country.

The Tribal Areas

It is a truism that all that the colonial British taught the tribes of the tribal areas, agencies and border states, that constituted nearly 75 percent of the Pashtoon population, was the use of the gun, receiving their monthly salaries and the bi-annual or annual awards. They are even today excluded from political education and democratic institutions. These areas serve as safe havens for people involved in the smuggling of narcotics, arms and ammunition. But the entry of political workers to propagate the message of brotherhood and non-violence is forbidden in these areas. Such people, however, can be used by others for their own ends. The people of Pakistan are fed with fake statements by the paid Jirga members, who proclaim loyalty to Pakistan and vow to spend all that they have in its defence. These proclamations are

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often timed with some occurrences on the instructions of their political officers. If all these statements and proclamations are true and all is well on the Pashtoon borders of the country then who is attacking our borders, valleys and tribal forces? Why are blasts taking place in Peshawar and Chaman? If the Wazir and Mehsud tribal Maliks (leaders) are telling the truth, like they declared in the presence of Mr Suharwardi[462] a few days ago, then who were those rascals, who recently hurled bombs at a security post near Bannu causing injuries to the Pakistani security men and how did they manage to reach there? Why are the representatives of Dir absent from the West Pakistan Assembly? How were the other tribal members particularly Mohmands elected? The country is faced with such hurdles on the one hand and on the other those, who stand for democracy, equality and betterment of Pakistan, are called traitors and imprisoned. Such are the difficulties that we the Pashtoons are faced with.

Pashtoonistan Is The Need Of The Hour

The historical needs and demands of the Pashtoons cannot be diluted or ignored. The Pashtoon populated areas should be amalgamated into one autonomous administrative unit Pashtoonistan wherein Pashtoons can feel protected politically as well as culturally. By doing so, Pashtoons can benefit equally from the benefits of freedom and democracy. Democracy alone is the instrument that will bind the democratic Pashtoons with the people of Punjab and distant Bengal and we can even persuade them to overlook all their natural relations that tie them with their neighbours in Afghanistan. Do not alienate them by denying them the benefits of democracy. Enough precious time has already been wasted. Do not delay this important occurrence. Already enough bitterness and hatred have been caused amongst the various civic units through the formation of One Unit and other unnatural plans and slogans. If such wrongdoings continue to be insisted upon and used for involving the honest and true servers of Pakistan in cases based on blatant lies, the Pashtoon democratic struggle will go into the hands of the enemies of Pakistan. All those, who believe in the unity of Pakistan and also want it, should oppose this danger. These are the few objectives that we are working to achieve and which are the actual basis of this current trial. In short, after attaining the power to rule it has been the aim of the Muslim League that there be single party rule in

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Pakistan. I do not consider the recent change of name of the ruling party worth anything. The above stated fact is evident from their selfish and narrow point of view, however, as was expected enough damage has been done to the functioning of democracy. The spirit of democracy demands of those with different opinions and working methods to work together. Different parties have the freedom to present their views and programmes to the people and to convince them in their favour. The Muslim League has always endeavoured to prove that Islam, Pakistan and Muslim League are various names of the holy truth. To them political differences, the soul of democracy, is no less than treason. The situation has further been confused by the fact that Muslim League existed even when the idea of Pakistan was not conceived. Muslim League was a group of British beneficiaries, bandwagon of British title holders, Khan Bahadurs, Sardars and other camp followers. They were wary of those that were fighting for the freedom of India and lived in isolation, out of sight of the population. They used Pakistan as a golden opportunity to call those traitors, who opposed their masters, the British. For their own convenience, they even forgot that Quaid-e-Azam himself had spent 60 years of his life in the company of those nationalist leaders, who became traitors overnight. In Balochistan, we had no danger of Hindu majority. We were engaged against the British and their local agents, who consisted of defeated state rulers, Nawabs, Sardars and salaried Tumandars, title holders and hired quislings (Jaffars), who were Muslims. Suddenly when they jointly entered the Muslim League, for which they were encouraged by their masters the British, it did not in any way affect their animosity towards the public. Therefore, there was no reason for us not to oppose them. The people of Balochistan lacked confidence in and suspected the integrity of the people, who supported the concept of Pakistan. Till its creation, the idea of Pakistan was looked upon with suspicion by the people of this province. It was also very clear to us, as it was to the supporters of the British in Balochistan that Pakistan would be the last British imperial post. In "Mission with Mountbatten" Campbell Johnson writes, "It has been a political commonplace", I wrote, "With the transfer of power Pakistan would become the last outpost of British Imperialism and that the anti-British bias of Congress would quickly prevail[463]." After the creation of Pakistan, British officers were not only retained in Balochistan but their number was also increased

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which added to our suspicions. The British Agent to the Governor General remained the Chief Executive for a long time. It was also the conspiracy of the British that Kalat State remained out of Pakistan for quite some time.

After the creation of Pakistan, we became loyal to it. Like the traditional story of the dispute between the wolf and the lamb, our loyalty was ignored. We were labelled traitors from the time the concept of Pakistan was not even conceived. This is also a well known fact that the present Pakistan was forced on Quaid-e-Azam because he was till the last minute in favour of trying the Cabinet Mission Plan[464] of regional groupings.

As far as my person is concerned, I was always in favour of some kind of Pakistan and considered the resolution of autonomous linguistic provincial scheme a logical step towards it. I had always looked ahead to a bigger Pakistan. Even today this Pakistan can be expanded into a bigger one if only democracy is expanded to its borders without any hindrance. Pashtoonistan, Azad Kashmir and Baltistan are the borders where democratic rule be expanded rather than the present moth eaten Pakistan. I am aware of the geographic, climatic and cultural similarities amongst the various regions of West Pakistan. But I also see and wish to point out to the citizens of the country some useful differences in addition to the above mentioned similarities. All these differences be allowed their natural growth and if stunted they would be entangled and destroyed. Pashtoonistan is one of these distinctive features that needs to be nurtured with tender care; so that it grows into a beautiful flower adding to the beauty of Pakistan lest it becomes a thorny bush and a source of pain to all. It is my desire and belief that it would be my selfless service to add this flower to the colourful bouquet of Pakistan. I am convinced that those, who want to mold this beautiful picture of Pakistan into the dark hideous dictatorship of One Unit, are selfish and have no feelings of a better future of this country. Even the late Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan was dubbed a traitor who had warned against this hideous plan in the name of unity. Despite all provocation and antagonism, I remain committed to my vow of non-violence. Even the repeat of the butchery of Babra[465] cannot lead me astray from the path of non-violence.

For a whole year, my family and people have suffered at the hands of reactionaries because of our love for our land. Off and

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on, efforts have been made to deter us from serving Pakistan that continue even today. Time is that strict flawless judge that passes judgment on the case of a political party and its point of view in a country. This honourable judge has already started his judgment against the rulers of the past nine years that have turned this country (that was achieved after great sacrifices of several generations) into hell for its citizens. The day of final judgment would certainly be one of mourning for these cruel rulers. I have spent the best part of my life in British and Muslim League prisons against my wish and will. If my struggle is righteous, it will bear fruit someday. God willing, the judgment of time will be in my favour. Righteous struggles seldom fail for lack of followers. Even if I am not in this world others will keep the flag flying. Life carries on under all circumstances.

Abdul Samad Achakzai
October25, 1956
District Jail Lahore

Pakistan National Party

The Pakistan National Party was formed in Lahore on December 3, 1956. It was composed of six constituent parties: Sindh Awami Mahaz, Sindh Harri Committee, Ustaman Gul, Khudai Khidmatgar, Wror Pashtoon and Azad Pakistan Party. Wror Pashtoon was represented by Hashim Khan Ghilzai since Khan Shaheed was in jail at the time. The main objective of the party was the dismemberment of One Unit.

Visit to East Pakistan

On July 22, 1957, a three-day political conference was organised in Barisal, a city of East Pakistan, under the auspices of Ganatantri Dal. Three leaders from West Pakistan -Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Abdul Majeed Sindhi and Noor Mohammad Chohan participated in the conference.

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Foundation of Pakistan National Awami Party (NAP)

The "Democratic Workers Convention" was held in Dhaka, East Pakistan, on 24th and 25th July, 1957. It was attended by the leaders of Abdul Hamid Bhashani led faction of Awami League, Pakistan National Party, Ganatantri Dal and Sindhi Hari Committee. On the conclusion of the convention, formation of "Pakistan National Awami Party" was announced through a declaration. Abdul Hamid Bhashani, Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, GM Syed, Mahmoodul Haq Usmani, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, Ghulam Mohammad Laghari, Qazi Faiz Mohammad and Mohammad Hashim Khan Ghilzai participated in the convention.

The aims and objectives of the new party were as follow:

1. Independent and impartial foreign policy.
2. Provision of basic human rights to people according to the charter of United Nations.
3. Restoration of provinces of West Pakistan on cultural, linguistic and geographic basis and getting regional autonomy for these provinces.

Imposition of Martial Law and Imprisonment

In response to increasing political activities in the country and intensifying demand for general elections, General Ayub Khan forced President Iskander Mirza to impose martial law. The constitution of 1954 was suspended. Federal and provincial governments were dissolved and political parties were banned. The leadership of NAP was affected the most by these steps. Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was arrested on October 10. He was charged with the following:

1st charge

Accused Abdul Samad Khan is charged with 'interfering with person acting in the execution his duty under martial law' in that he, at Quetta on 8th October 1958 caused interference to SI Malik Dost Mohammad SHO PS City Quetta when he questioned him

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"Why SI had caught Mohammad Jaffar Achakzai and shouted in a harsh tone and why had he too been arrested?"

2nd charge

"Uttering words to create alarm and despondence" in that he, at Quetta on 9th October 1958 uttered the following words when Malik Dost Mohammad SHO City Police Station came to the office of NAP Quetta:

1. We used to hear that God is one but now we have come to know that the ruler is also one.
2. I visited the police station and there I heard two policemen talking to each other in Punjabi. One of them while ex plaining martial law said, "Now there is no need to shift an injured to hospital just shoot him down with one bullet."
3. Now policemen will also face the music. They will be dealt with strictly if four push-cart owners approach the martial law court and complain that they have been tortured by police.

3rd charge

"Keeping proscribed literature" in that he, at Quetta on 11th October 1958, when his house was searched, the following proscribed books and pamphlets were recovered from his possession.

1. Baloch Qaum Ki Tarikh Kay Chand Preshan Daftari Auraq[476]
2. Khushal Khan Khattak Sa Wayee[477]
3. Wror Pashtoon calendar of 1955
4. Siasi Masla[478] by GM Syed
5. Pashtoonistan (booklet issued in Kabul).

4th charge

"Act of prejudice of good order Act" at Quetta on 11th October found in his possession 608 helmets.

The military court headed by Col Akbar Ali Shah and having Major MS Ali Khan, Mohammad Ahmed PCS and city magistrate as its members announced the following verdict after a short trial of 20 days.

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Findings

1. Not guilty on 1st and 4th charge
2. Guilty on 2nd and 3rd charge.

Sentence

1. To undergo rigorous imprisonment for 14 years.
2. Objectionable books to be confiscated and the rest to be returned to the owner.
3. The 608 steel helmets to be confiscated.

Lt-Col President
Special Military Court, Quetta

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Imprisonment During General Ayub Khan Martial Law Years

Abdul Samad Achakzai was sentenced to 14 years rigorous imprisonment by Martial Law court on 4th November 1958. He was given the choice of release after three years provided he apologised and refrained from active politics and if he violated the condition of release, he would have to undergo the pardoned period of 11 years rigorous imprisonment.

This provision of release he refused.He was given to improving his education particularly of Islamic philosophy whenever imprisoned. So he did this too this time, especially to earn remittances in his imprisonment period as allowed by the jail-manuals.

Starting with Adib Pashto and Alim Pashto followed by three qualifications in Persian and BA in English, Khan Shaheed earned four years remission as per the jail manual and moved the West Pakistan High Court for release.

The Martial Law government, however, through an ordinance denied the grant of remission. He then challenged the ordinance in the High Court consisting of Justice Mohammad Iqbal Khan and Justice Mohammad Afzal Cheema[479], who accepted his plea and ordered his release on 23rd April 1968. He was subsequently released on 24th April from District jail Lahore.

To update himself on the political atmosphere of the country, he stayed in Lahore for a few days with the West Pakistan President of National Awami Party (NAP) Mr Mahmud Ali Kasuri, whose son Advocate Khurshid Ali Kasuri had pleaded his case at court. It may be recalled that under Martial Law rule all political parties were banned and most politicians were disqualified from contesting elections for 10 years under the Election Disqualification Martial Law Ordinance (EBDO[480]).

Khan Shaheed landed at Samungli Airport, Quetta on 4th May and was welcomed by a huge crowd of people from Quetta and other districts including a large number of students, NAP workers and officials, prominent amongst whom were:

1. Nawab Khair Baksh Marri[481]
2. Abdul Sadiq Kasi
3. Abdul Wahid Kurd

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4..Mohammad Osman Kasi
5. 5.Hidayatullah Kasi 6
6..Abdul Khaliq Kasi
7.Abdul Ali Kakar
8.Agha Mohammad Bazai
9. Malak Mohammad Akbar Khan Achakzai
10.Hakim Abdullah Jan
11.Mohammad Hasham Khan Ghilza
12. Malak Mohammad Yosuf Piralizai
13. Hayatullah Piralizai
14. Haji Abdullah Jan Malezai
15. Abdullah kakar

Also present were his brother Abdul Salaam Khan, his sons Dr Hamed Khan, Mohammad Khan, nephews Abdul Hamid Khan, Saeed Khan and other relatives from the village.

Addressing the welcoming crowd, he called for the dissolution of West Pakistan One Unit province and the establishment of a Pashtoon province Pashtoonistan. The welcoming crowd then left the airport in the form of a procession for Quetta city going through all the prominent roads terminating at 2 pm at the house of Hasham Khan Ghilzai, being cheered all along by the people. He then had lunch at the residence of his nephew Abdul Hameed Khan and later in the evening he was driven to his village Inayatullah Karez, Gulistan where he was welcomed by a crowd in Gulistan bazaar and his village. All along the vehicle was driven by Nawab Khair Baksh Marri.

A first incidence report (FIR) was registered against Abdul Samad Khan and seven others on the May 7, and the following were arrested: on 8 May:

1. Abdul Sadiq Kasi
2. Abdullah Jan Kakar
3. Mohammad Akbar4
4. Achakzai 4.Ahmad Yar Bazai
5. Mohammad Yosuf Piralizai
6. Abdul Khaliq Kasi
7. Mohammad Osman Kasi

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On the next day (9th May) the following were arrested:

1. Hidayatullah Kasi
2. Malak Abdul Ali Kakar
3. Abdullah Jan
4. Agha Mohammad Bazai

The arrested persons were shifted to district jail Quetta on 16th May 1968. Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai reached Quetta in the morning of 8th May 1968 and went straight to the court of the city magistrate. At the court a large number of prominent citizens of Quetta were present including:

1. Malak Ghulam Sarwar Yasinzai
2. Mohammad Hussein Unqa
3. Mohammad Hasan Nizami
4. Malak Sher Mohammad Ghilzai
5. Sardar Abdul Wahid Kurd
6. Mohammad Hasham Khan Ghilzai
7. Shah Mohammad Kasi
8. Sultan Mohammad Sabir
9. Malak Abdul Aziz
10. Malak Abdul Razaq
11. Mohammad Essa
12. Abdul Khaliq Khan Kakar
13. Mohammad Sarwar Khan Kakar

On the same day, Khan shaheed went back to his hometown Inayatullah Karez Gulistan. He was arrested on 19th May 1968 at his village and brought to Quetta and lodged in the district jail on the charges of sedition.

Mr Muhammad Khan Achakzai, his son, filed an application in the session court Quetta for the release on bail of his father on 25th May 1968 which was rejected on 27th May.

Mr Yahya Bakhtiar[482], Bar at Law, then filed a writ petition in the High Court on behalf of Nawab Khair Baksh Marri and Muhammad Khan Achakzai which was rejected by the court on 7th July 1968. After the denial of bail, the case of the accused was given to a tribunal consisting of the following:Malik Taj

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1. Mohammad Lehri (special magistrate railway) – Chairman Tribunal
2. Malik Mohammad Din Tarin – Member (he later resigned)
3. Sahibzaha Mohammad Ayub – Member
4. Malik Saifullah Khan – Member
5. Mir Kadir Buksh Shahwani – Member
6. Malik Nasarullah Khan Ashezai – Member

The tribunal started in-camera hearings of the sedition case against Khan shaheed and others in a tent inside Quetta jail. The proceedings were, therefore, boycotted by the defence lawyers.

All the witnesses presented were government servants. The relatives of the accused and National Awami Party (NAP) leaders and other citizens were not allowed to witness the proceedings.

The sedition case was still before the tribunal when Abdul Samad Khan and his colleagues went on hunger strike on 25th June in protest against the in-camera hearings. The strike was called off three days later. On 3rd July the accused refused to appear before the tribunal pleading that they were weak because of the hunger strike. After that the government conceded to the demand of an open trial outside the jail on 4th July. The proceedings were thus open for the public to attend.

On 13th July, while the tribunal was in session, a student, Sher Hasan Kasi, shot dead Ghulam Nabi Marri, a member of the tribunal. The proceedings of the tribunal were once again held in-camera inside the jail. The accused, who refused to appear before the in-camera hearings, were dragged and forced to appear before the tribunal. The accused would keep on chanting the slogans of "dismemberment of One Unit of Pakistan", "Pashtoonistan Zindabad[483]" and "this is the home of the Pashtoons where the Pashtoon children live".

The tribunal condemned the accused and awarded them 14 years rigorous imprisonment. Meanwhile, by 1968 the banned political parties started a joint agitation against the 10-year Martial Law rule of General Mohammad Ayub Khan under the name of Democratic Action Committee (DAC) whose chairman was Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan[484]. Field Marshal Ayub Khan then called a meeting with DAC leaders for 6th March 1968 to which Air Marshal Asghar Khan[485] and General Mohammad Azam

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Khan[486] were also invited. General Azam Khan conditioned his participation in the DAC meeting on the release of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, the lone political prisoner of the country. The government then released him on 23rd February 1969.

The team of lawyers, who represented the accused are as follows:

1. Mr Yahya Bakhtiar, Bar at Law
2. Mr Mohammad Khan Raisani
3. Mr Sarfaraz Khan Khaksar
4. Justice (Retired) Qaisar Shaheen, Advocate

Must Register Your Vote[487]

1. The majority of citizens of this Division (Quetta) have not had the right to vote till date which is an absolutely disgusting situation and all efforts should be made to solve this problem.
2. The majority of people, who have received the right to vote, are illiterate and poor to the extent that they are not aware of the importance of registering their vote. Therefore, at the time of its registration they make a lot of mistakes or in some cases they are made to make such mistakes because of which this precious right is wasted. Therefore, it is binding upon every person to endeavour to register not just his own vote but that of the women and other eligible members of his family.
3. It is incumbent upon the literate residents and students of each city, village, ward and street to assist the government officials and guide the people of their constituency in this regard.
4. Likewise, it is the duty of government officials responsible for voter registration to register votes impartially without succumbing to any pressure or influence.
5. Despite the fact that it has been officially announced that the votes of all businessmen and labourers would be eligible in their usual place of work and living. There is a strong possibility that Pashtoon and Baloch from outside Quetta city especially from the rural areas of Shorawak, Chaman and Pishin, who live in Quetta city by the thousands, and the multitude of people from Swat, Dir and Malakand should not again be under the impression or misguided that their vote can only be registered in their native villages. Therefore, such

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Afghan War (1919). This war had been initiated by King Ghazi Amanullah Khan to secure the independence of Afghanistan and is named by Afghans as the War of Independence. Thereafter we drove to the city of Kandahar. In Kandahar too we received a resounding welcome by numerous tribal elders, politicians, Afghan officials which included the Governor of Kandahar, students and Pashtoonistan activists. A grand dinner was arranged for us at Manzil Bagh Hotel that was also attended by those notables, who had earlier welcomed us at Kandahar.

After the official banquet, we went to visit the abodes of Pashtoonistan activists Mr Mohammad Azam Jan Khan Achakzai (nephew of Khan Sahib) and Mr Mohammad Anwar Khan Achakzai, our relative from Gulistan Karez. Mr Azam Jan Khan had shifted to Kandahar in 1951 apprehensive of arrest and harassment by the government of Balochistan and is one of the leaders of the Pashtoonistan movement. While Mr Mohammad Anwar Khan had been a partisan of King Amanullah when the latter had been dethroned by a Tajik Habibullah Khan with the pseudonym "Bacha Saka" (water carrier) in the year 1929 after Amanullah Khan's return from a long tour of Europe. He had thereafter remained in Kandahar and his property in Gulistan Karez was confiscated by the British colonial regime that held him erroneously responsible for the kidnapping of three Britons near Chaman which included Major Farley, Captain Frere and his wife in 1930. Later in the afternoon we set out for Kabul. Khan Shaheed invited Mr Mohammad Azam Jan Khan to travel with us to Kabul but he suggested that he would join us there later, which he subsequently did along with his daughter Sajida and his son Ulusyaar, who was martyred in Quetta on October 7, 1983 while participating in the Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party protest march lead by Mr Mahmood Khan Achakzai against the Martial Law regime of General Zia ul Haq, and Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan's daughter Shamshad. This group remained with Khan Shaheed throughout his trip of Afghanistan.

On the way to Kabul, we were greeted by numerous crowds by the roadsides. The road to Kabul was a well-built motorway the likes of which we had not seen in our country Pakistan. We had not seen a road of such quality in our country. We reached Kabul by nightfall and were received by Mr Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan) and Mr Mohammad Ayub Khan Achakzai, along with their

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respective supporters and companions, had come quite a distance out of the city of Kabul to receive us. There after the Prime Minister of Afghanistan Mr Noor Ahmad Ahtemadi[502] outside of Kabul city. welcomed us. The government of Afghanistan had arranged our lodging at a new state guesthouse opposite the Zeenat Cinema. This building also housed all the political figures from NWFP (North West Frontier Province) and British Balochistan, who were the state guests of Afghanistan in connection with the celebration of Afghanistan's Independence Day. While others including Malak Sadik Kasi, Sarwar Piralizai and Ahmad Gul Kasi resided in hotels as they were not state guests.

In Kabul, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), former Prime Minister Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan, and his brother Sardar Naeem Jan, former Prime Minister Mr Mohammad Hasham Khan Maiwandwal[503], the future revolutionary Presidents Nur Mohammad Tarakai[504], Babrak Karmal[505], Mr Mohammad Ayub Khan Achakzai, leader of the Pashtoonistan movement at Kabul, Khudai Khidmatgar Hussain Baksh Kausar, Ms Zakira Nurzai (member of parliament), Ms Inahita Ratibzad and many other political leaders, members of parliament, tribal elders, state officials, scholars, journalists, writers, poets and the students of Rehman Baba and Khushal Khattak higher secondary schools, who hailed from the tribal districts of FATA and Toba Achakzai, came to call upon Khan Shaheed.

Questions to Wazir Darbar Mr Saleemi

Early one morning, Wazir Darbar Mr Saleemi came to call upon Khan Shaheed and during the meeting he asked him the following two questions:

1. How did the brother of Khan of Kalat (Agha Sultan Ibrahim) die? (Agha Ibrahim had migrated to Afghanistan in 1958 as a protest against merging Kalat State into West Pakistan One Unit. It was rumoured that the Afghan government had a hand in his death) Mr Saleemi answered that he had died in a traffic accident and the Afghan government had nothing to do with it.
2. Why was Sardar Daud removed as the Prime Minister of Afghanistan? Mr Saleemi replied that it was due to the influence of American dollars that the parliament of

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Afghanistan adopted a resolution that henceforth no member of the royal family could be a member of parliament.

Former Prime Minister Daud Khan calls upon Khan Shaheed

Former Prime Minister Daud Khan called upon Khan Shaheed and stated that he had not been informed of his visit otherwise he would have welcomed Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai himself. They had a long discussion and later on Khan Shaheed also visited Sardar Daud at his residence. Mohammad Deen Zhwak told me that Sardar Daud had not called upon anyone before and he was very surprised that the Sardar had come to visit Khan Sahib.

Meeting with Former Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal

Former Prime Minister Mohammad Hasham Maiwandwal, who succeeded Sardar Daud as Prime Minister, also called upon Khan Shaheed. They had a long meeting at the end of which he invited Khan Shaheed to his residence. At Mr Maiwandwal's residence Khan Shaheed formally asked him as to why had the government of Afghanistan stripped women of their clothes? Mr Maiwandwal was taken aback by this question and replied "How have we stripped women of their clothes?" Khan Sahib replied that the women of Afghanistan had replaced their traditional dress with pants and skirts, conveying the message that the traditional Afghan attire should not be replaced by European dress. This exchange signified that Khan Shaheed preferred Pashtoon culture, traditions and purdah.

Meeting with His Majesty AlHazrat Mohammad Zahir Shah (King of Afghanistan)

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai met His Majesty at the royal palace of Arg Shahi. During the meeting, His Majesty invited Khan Shaheed to visit various regions of Afghanistan and expressed his desire that he should familiarise himself with the

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country. Khan Shaheed accepted his invitation and henceforth would be welcomed by the governor of every province that he visited. After returning from his meeting with His Majesty, Khan Shaheed was in very high spirits. He remarked that contrary to other kings, His Majesty lived a very simple life.

Meeting with the Press Corps of Afghanistan

One day, a large number of journalists visited Khan Shaheed and informed him of their desire for a press conference. He replied to them that as he did not have the experience of exchanging views with the press of Afghanistan that they should therefore provide him with written questions and he would reply to them in writing.

Visit to Educational Institutions of Kabul

Khan Shaheed visited Kabul University[506], which he admired a great deal. He then visited the Medical, Engineering and Polytechnic institutes which also impressed him. He was particularly impressed by the policy that all education, from primary to post graduate in Afghanistan, was provided by the government free of cost. In particular, the government bore the expenses of board and lodge of those students, who had come to study at Kabul from other parts of the country. In addition, those students, who passed specific examinations, were sponsored by the government to continue their education abroad.

Meeting with Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan)

During this period, Khan Shaheed and Bacha Khan had several meetings in Kabul. Sometimes Khan Shaheed would visit Bacha Khan while at other times Bacha Khan would call upon him. After their first meeting, Khan Shaheed stated that the talks were quite positive. Ajmal Khattak then suggested to Khan Shaheed that all the matters that had been discussed in the meeting should be provided to the press, since Bacha Khan was liable to change his

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position on these matters if confronted by his son Abdul Wali Khan, who was not in Kabul at the time but was expected to arrive soon.

Question of Pashtoonistan

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan) and Ayub Khan Achakzai were scheduled to deliver an official speech on 31st August 1969 at Ghazi Stadium Kabul. August 31 is annually commemorated as Pashtoonistan day by the government of Afghanistan and is also the last day of the Independence celebrations of Afghanistan. A draft of this speech was delivered to Khan Shaheed and was discussed by the Central Committee of National Awami Party (NAP), all of whom were in Kabul at the time. The committee comprised Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Ajmal Khattak, Mehdi Shah Bacha, scholar Qalandar Mohmand[507], Hussain Baksh Kausar (Khudai Khidmatgar), Hasham Khan Ghilzai, Malak Abdul Ali Kakar, Malak Abdul Sadiq Kasi, Malak Osman Kasi, Hidayatullah Kasi, Jaffar Khan Achakzai and other leaders.

In the draft of his speech, Bacha Khan had supported General Yahya Khan's decision of dissolving One Unit of West Pakistan and reestablishing the former provinces of West Pakistan which were listed as follows:

A. Punjab
B. Sindh
C. North West Frontier Province
D. Balochistan

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai took exception to this listing of provinces and asked the working committee if by Balochistan it was meant the former Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan or would it also include the Brahvi Confederacy (formerly Balochistan States Union)? The committee replied that this question would be answered by Bacha Khan himself.

The next day, on the morning of 29th August 1969, Khan Shaheed had a discussion with Bacha Khan on this topic, in the presence of the NAP Working Committee. In reply to Khan Shaheed's query on the status of Balochistan, Bacha Khan said:

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"British Balochistan, those Pashtoon populated areas which had been separated from Afghanistan as a result of the Treaty of Gandamak[508] following the ending of hostilities in the Second Anglo-Afghan War, and the Brahvi Confederacy (formerly Balochistan States Union) will be amalgamated to form a single province by the name of Balochistan." Khan Shaheed said, "Then what about Pashtoonistan?"

Bacha Khan stated that his Pashtoonistan was simply the renaming of NWFP. Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai then said, "For forty years we (Bacha Khan and Khan Shaheed) had jointly struggled for a Pashtoonistan which was to comprise a merger of NWFP and British Balochistan and for this reason we had together campaigned in NWFP and British Balochistan. Neither did a Baloch leader ever invite you nor did you ever visit an area of the Balochistan States Union. Why did you not tell us at that time that instead of joining British Balochistan and NWFP, your Pashtoonistan was merely the renaming of NWFP? In that case, we would have gone our own way."

"When I go to Pakistan today and raise the slogan of Balochistan Zindabad at Chaman, the people will ask me what happened to my Pashtoonistan? What will I say to them, that I was being foolish?"

At this point Bacha Khan asked Khan Shaheed to accept his proposal of Balochistan as in this way Pashtoons would have a say in two provinces of Pakistan. Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai replied that this would be at the cost of the slavery of the Pashtoons of British Balochistan. This was a historic mistake and not worth accepting. We will escape the larger One Unit of Pakistan and find ourselves trapped in a smaller One Unit of Balochistan. Bacha Khan replied that his proposal should be accepted and if in case the Pashtoons of British Balochistan were oppressed by the Baloch then they would come to them rescue.

Khan Shaheed said, "This same logic was presented to you and me by the Congress leadership of United India, that we should accept Pakistan and if we find ourselves oppressed in Pakistan they would come to our assistance. At present the Congress has been in power in India for 23 years while both you and I spent our life in prison. Where is their assistance?"

Bacha Khan said, "Gandhi was supposed to come to our help but he was assassinated." Khan Shaheed said, "Bacha Khan how old

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are you? Who knows which one of us will die first? Then the Pashtoons of Balochistan will say that Bacha Khan was to come to our rescue but he passed away."

Khan Shaheed once again exhorted Bacha Khan that please do not throw us to the wolves again, just as you had once complained to the Congress leadership of being "thrown to the wolves[30]" yourself. At the end of the meeting, Khan Shaheed awaited the arrival of Ayub Khan Achakzai since they were to travel together to Kunduz, a town in northern Afghanistan. Suddenly there was a commotion amongst the people and upon inquiring Khan Shaheed was told that Sardar Naeem Khan, elder brother of Sardar Daud Khan, had just arrived. Khan Shaheed warmly greeted Sardar Naeem Jan and exchanged greetings with him. Khan Shaheed later said that Sardar Naeem Jan had made great contributions to the Pashtoonistan cause when Sardar Daud was the Prime Minister.

On Pashtoonistan Day, 31st August 1969, Bacha Khan delivered his speech at Ghazi Stadium Kabul in which he expressed support for General Yahya Khan's decision of dissolving One Unit and reinstating the former provinces of West Pakistan. Ayub Khan Achakzai was the next speaker and in his speech he asked Bacha Khan as to how could he support General Yahya's decision when it neither included a unified Pashtoonistan province nor did it elevate the Chief Commissioner's province of British Balochistan to a full province? Ayub Khan further stated that this endorsement of General Yahya's decision was to the detriment of Pashtoon interests in Pakistan. "Bacha Khan, this movement for Pashtoonistan that we had been struggling for the past 40 years, what Pashtoonistan did you have in mind"? At this statement of Ayub Khan, around 100 supporters of the Parcham (communist faction) party who had been sitting in the middle of the stadium began to protest. When Ayub Khan paused his speech, Khan Shaheed, who had been sitting behind him, urged him to continue. Ayub Khan recommenced his speech and the supporters of Parcham exited the stadium.

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Khan Shaheed's Visit to Various Provinces of Afghanistan:

Khan Shaheed visited various provinces of Afghanistan. After his meeting with Sardar Naeem Jan on 29th August, we departed for Kunduz. Mohammad Azam Jan and the director of Pashto Tolana (Pashto Academy) Mohammad Deen Zhwak accompanied Khan Shaheed on all his travels. On the way to Kunduz, we stopped at Pul-e-Khumri in the afternoon and visited a modern cement factory. After lunch, we proceeded on our way and crossed the newly constructed Salang Tunnel. Khan Shaheed was much impressed by the design and construction of this long tunnel and enjoyed the snowcapped mountains visible in the distance. We spent the night in Kunduz, where the governor of the province was our host. We then returned to Kabul on the next day, 30th August 1969, to attend the dinner that the Pakistan ambassador had arranged for Khan Shaheed.

Earlier Khan Shaheed had also made a day trip to Gulbahar which lies at the mouth of the Panjsher Valley. He much appreciated the modern cloth factories that existed there at the time. While visiting Herat, Khan Shaheed was the guest of the governor of the province. After touring the city, he was invited to dinner at the governor's residence. During the meal he was informed by the governor that his wife was the daughter (Nur-us-Siraj) of the former King Ghazi Amanullah Khan and that to show her respect to Khan Shaheed she had prepared all the food items herself.

Paying Respects at the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Three Anglo-Afghan Wars

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was the first political leader, who visited the graves of those national heroes who had been martyred in the three Anglo-Afghan wars (First 1839 – 1842, Second 1878 – 1880, Third 1919).

He visited the grave of Ghazi Abdullah Khan Achakzai in Kabul. A large number of scholars, writers, poets and politicians had gathered at the site and included amongst others: Azam Jan Achakzai, Ayub Khan Achakzai, Mehdi Shah Bacha, Qalandar Mohmand, Ajmal Khattak, Malak Sadiq Kasi, Malak Osman Kasi,

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Malak Abdul Ali Kakar, Hidayat Ullah Kasi, Hasham Khan Ghilzai, Ahmad Gul Kasi, Sarwar Piral izai, Hussain Baksh Kausar, Wazir Darbar Saleemi, Khadim Sahab, Mohammad Gul Sulaimankhel (Minister of Border and Tribal Affairs), Pohan (Professor) Siddiqullah Reshtin and Atayi Sahib. Abdullah Bakhtani recited a poem on this occasion.

During his address there he said that when he asked the officials about the whereabouts of the grave of Ghazi Abdullah Khan Achakzai, the hero of the First Anglo-Afghan War, he was told that they had found his grave and it was located at a certain locality of Kabul. But when they travelled to it, the grave site was hard to locate since none of the local people knew much about it. When they finally reached it, it was observed that some construction had been recently commenced at the site.

At that time Khan Shaheed said, pointing to a flag of Afghanistan, "If it were not for the sacrifices of Ghazi Abdullah Khan Shaheed, his companions and family, God forbid that flag would not be flying today. I expect that on my next visit, pointing to the tomb of Ghazi Nader Shah (former king and father of the monarch at the time King Zahir Shah) this tomb would be as grand as that tomb."

He further stated that Ghazi Abdullah Khan was the first freedom fighter to realise the English designs about Afghanistan and their unholy desire to put down roots in this country. He therefore collected a group of like-minded followers and vowed to expel the British from the country. Even after he was wounded in a battle, Ghazi Abdullah Khan Shaheed took to the field to dispel British rumours about his death and to raise the morale of his followers. During the First Anglo-Afghan War, he lost his brother, son and nephews and was martyred himself. He passed on the torch of leadership to Ghazi Mohammad Akbar Khan, who eventually succeeded in defeating the British and completely demolished their army of which only one Dr William Brydon[510] reached Jalalabad.

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Visiting the Cemetery of Amir Sher Ali Khan

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai paid his respects at the grave of Amir Sher Ali Khan (born 1825 – died 21 February 1879, ruler of Afghanistan 1863 – 1879) at Shin Jomat in Mazar-e-Sharif. Amir Sher Ali Khan was the son of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan.

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was asked by the governor of Mazar-e-Sharif to accompany him to the shrine of Sakhi Jan. Khan Shaheed replied that the governor may proceed there while he himself wanted to pay his respects at the graves of Amir Sher Ali Khan and other martyrs which include the victorious Ghazi Mohammad Akbar. The people around were surprised since most people visited the shrine of the saint. At the end of the visit the governor of Kandahar came to see Khan Shaheed off at the border.

My Observations of Kabul

In August 1969 at the invitation of a literary society, on the occasion of Afghan Independence festivities, I went to visit Kabul and had the opportunity of widely travelling through the country.

On my return, my friends of Quetta and Kalat and some Punjabi friends kept asking me to write my observations of the visit and have it published. I thought over this persistent demand as to what should I write besides I was also aware of my shortcomings of writing in Urdu, which is not my mother tongue.

I finally concluded that instead of writing of the backwardness, illiteracy, poverty and weak-governance etc which is the fate of all the newly freed Asiatic countries and a legacy of exploitation by imperial European countries, it would be better to write about those things that were noticeably appreciative which our government should adopt.

To begin with, the first thing which I noticed and liked was the quality of some of the motorways of Afghanistan including the motorway from Chaman to Kandahar and further on to Kabul, the road from Kabul to Jalalabad, from Kabul to River Amu, Kabul to Mazar-e-Sharif, Balkh to Herat and Kandahar. These motor Ways, which were financed by foreign aid and borrowing from countries including the USA, Soviet Union and Germany,

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were also constructed under their supervision by their contractors. One can judge the quality of these roads by its width and smooth surface that our Impala[493] car was moving on it at a speed of 120 km (80 miles) and we could have travelled faster but for the cautious driving of our driver since there were several other cars that overtook us.

During my stay of one and a half months, I often travelled on these roads and did not see any accident or hear of any which is a proof of the high quality of these roads. Since Afghanistan does not have a railway system, these roads were very busy and would be used by all kinds of motorised traffic such as buses, trucks and cars. While travelling on these roads, I would often think that despite our own much higher resources and much higher foreign loans and aid including the cash of PL480[494] agricultural commodity aid why did not we in Pakistan have such roads anywhere else other than Islamabad. This despite the daily news about dangerous accidents with a large number of deaths particularly in the populous province of Punjab nor do we have a road that is not under repair year around. Our roads are of such low quality despite the fact that our government spends more than the total budget of Afghanistan on roads and highways and yet our roads are less wide, badly made and ever in need of repairs and the said killer accidents are in abundance. I thought of only one apparent difference that whereas we make our own roads with our own contractors and engineers, Afghanistan constructs them with foreign contractors and expertise. Secondly, I was most surprised by the total absence of beggars and those mentally deranged, who roam shamelessly in our cities stark naked, all over the small and big cities where I even went out walking. Not that there are no poverty, hunger, ignorance and superstitions and needy people there. Rather perhaps all these were there much more than in our country but the government and the people have made proper arrangements for it which we have not yet done so far but must do at the earliest.

Almost all the big and small cities there have the institutions of "mrastons" – helping hands and homeless shelters where all the deranged and beggars were confined and all their needs of food, clothing and medication were provided. In addition, these shelters also provide some practical training for jobs and crafts for which they are paid as well. Whereas in other cities costs of these shelters are provided by the state, in Kandahar a former governor

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Sardar Abdul Ghani collected donations from the wealthy of the city and the country and constructed with it a two-storey modern commercial bazaar the income of which is spent on these helping hand institutions.

I wondered if our government cannot spend on such institutions then why the wealthy of our society, the prosperous industrialists, traders, large progressive landlords and bankers, who spend huge amounts on electioneering to rule the helpless of our country, cannot donate a few hundred million as trusts for such social welfare schemes. And why can't the present Martial Law government utilise the huge illegal collections for the press trust and the Convention League[495] by the previous Martial Law government for the welfare of the needy. Besides, can't the present progressive minister of the ministry of Shrine's Trust use the collections there for such social work instead of the useless annual anniversaries of these shrines.

Public begging is almost non-existent in Afghanistan. At some very famous shrines like the one at Kandahar (Kharka Sharif) that houses the sash of the Prophet(PBUH), the shrine of Sakhi Jan[496] at Mazar-e-Sharif, supposedly the burial place of the fourth caliph Ali bin Abi Talib that are always crowded by pilgrims, who perform various superstitious rites such as kissing the grills of the grave, going around it and even lying prostrate in front of it and are therefore promising hunting grounds for beggars one would only find a few blind persons reciting the Quran.

At a few places in the courtyard of the shrine are placed three alms collecting boxes, one for the blind, one for the repair of the shrine compound and a third for the upkeep of its staff.

Buried in the compound of this shrine is also the famous Afghan general Mohammad Akbar Khan, who successfully led to conclusion the battle[497] against the British and their Indian army that was initiated by the rebellion of Ghazi Abdullah Khan and his brave associates.

Only one medical doctor survived the battle to relate the story of the war. The details of this war are also available in the diary of the wife of General Sale[498], the commander of the Anglo-British Army, Lady Sale[499]. The Sikh general Hari Singh Nalwa[500] too was killed by Wazir Akbar Khan at Jamrud. The father of General Wazir Akbar Khan, Amir Sher Ali Khan too is buried in the compound of this shrine.

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At this shrine, I was shown a hand-written manuscript of the Holy Quran. Each page of the manuscript had seven hand-written lines with each line beginning with the same letter and the following lines beginning with the last letter of the previous page. Likewise, the first letter of the third page was the last of the second page. The curator of the shrine, a Mullah looking person, said to me that it was the miracle of the spiritual depth of the calligrapher but I considered it the art of his calligraphy.

Likewise, there were no beggars at the tomb of Khawaja Abdullah 501 Herat where in addition to innumerable kings, queens, princes and princesses of the past 500 years are also buried. Only the tomb of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan from amongst the recent rulers is there where I offered Surah Fateha before entering the compound of Hakim Sanai. My act was officially reported to the Governor of Kandahar, Sardar Mohammad Sadiq Khan, who is the grea grandson of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan.

The third thing, which I noticed and liked there, was the education system. Throughout Afghanistan and every level education be it primary, secondary, higher secondary, college or university or even technical education no student was charged any fees nor was anyone to pay for the required books of study that were provided to them free of cost.

In addition, students, who were living away from the educational institutions, were lodged in boarding houses where everything including food, clothing and regular pocket money was provided to them by the government. These privileges were just not limited to the citizens of Afghanistan but were available to the children from the tribal areas of Pakistan initially in two institutions at Kabul by the name of Khushal Khan Lesa (college) and Rahman Baba Lesa (college). Currently, many such additional institutions have been established at Jalalabad, Kunar and Spin Boldak etc close to our tribal people where thousands of tribal boys are pursuing their education free of cost including board and lodge. Similarly, the students, who want to pursue higher studies abroad are facilitated. I personally met many such students while there. One boy of our tribe went abroad for higher education to Germany.

In addition, all educated men and women without exception are provided employment including political offenders. Notable amongst this latter category that were known to me were those,

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who some years ago took refuge in Pakistan and were doing anti Afghanistan work here but were repatriated from here and one of them had murdered a state official while fleeing Afghanistan. Probably to facilitate the policy of full employment for the educated, the government some years ago divided the seven large provinces into 29 smaller ones which on the one hand created socio-economic development in the areas otherwise distant from the major cities and on the other hand provided opportunities of employment to capable educated men and women. No doubt all this policy change must have come at a matching big cost.

A positive effect of these policy changes was that a large number of men and women graduates went abroad for higher qualifications. I met a foreign educated woman, who despite being married, got the degree of PhD in Pashto language from Moscow. This case made me aware of the advancements in the field of education of the advanced European countries and particularly that of Communist Russia. Secondly, Russia perhaps would have a few if any Pashtoon citizens and yet because of its neighbour Afghanistan it had taken upon itself to work on Pashto language to the extent that Afghans would go there for such high degrees as PhD.

I sadly then thought of the population of 10 million Pashtoons in our country where Pashto is nowhere the medium of instruction nor an optional subject from primary to college and university level. For how long, I thought, can we deny the Pashtoons of Pakistan education in their mother tongue Pashto while being in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan. And if we insist on the current policy what good would it be and who would suffer because of it. It is therefore an issue of immediate consideration.

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Letters to Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak

December 9,1969
Gulistan

Dear Wali Khan , may God bless you.

Be well. I am fine and wish you always remain good. Tomorrow is Eid. Wish a happy Eid to you, your family members, sympathisers and friends.

When I was coming from Kabul you told me that you would come here for a few days to work with me. I sent you two telegrams after reaching here. One was sent in the name of Mr Ajmal Khan on the address of the party office and another was sent in your name to Shahi Bagh. The reply of Ajmal was received that Wali Khan was in Kabul. I did not get any response to the other one, sent to you after my return. Now lesser efforts are required after the statement (announcement) of Mr Yahya Khan as he has abolished One Unit. It is also good on his part that he did not specify the number and boundaries of provinces. He has also announced general elections, so we need to do a lot of work here and there. Before anything else, we need to understand each other as soon as possible. Later, we will sit with the Baloch and then with the government.

The activities of the party have been next to nil here during the last one year. Mr Ajmal Khan might have informed you. I have not bothered them but I believe that in this new year, the party needs to be strengthened. After receiving this letter, inform me as to where we can meet. What decision did you people make in Dhaka about the party's (organisations) of Quetta and Kalat? Here, at the behest of Bizenjo, the Baloch members of Quetta division joined the Kalat chapter.

When will Bacha Khan come? It was published in a newspaper that he would reach on December 23. The rest again!

Yours
Abdul Samad Achakzai

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Gulistan
December 10, 1969

Dear Ajmal Khan

May Allah be your protector. I am well and wish you good health. I came home yesterday to celebrate Eid and was given your undated letter, which made me very sad. Oh I forgot to ask you whether it was your Eid today or not as I am the only one here who is celebrating with the Pashtoons. Eid Mubarak to you.

I was gravely saddened by your letter because you seem to be so helpless that you cannot own and show your helplessness and continue to deceive me and yourself by your merely supposing that "this is likely to happen and that is likely to happen". What was my role in the events of the past era, call it whatever you please. But if I had known that the end result would be once again for me and my people the Pashtoons, not at the hands of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan and the British but this time at the hands of my close colleagues rather colleague Bacha Khan, to be subjugated forever to the Baloch outside Pashto and Pashtoonistan then I would not have undertaken these rigours personally nor would I have caused others to suffer them.

One Unit was opposed because it was the suffrage of the Punjabi majority. But what now? While the former was at the hands of opponents and the latter at the hands of friends and those close friends for whom what I did you are well aware. But if you still insist on what you people did, with what face will I join you as a frontline leader as the gains of the Baloch will be the loss of you Pashtoons. I had written a letter on these lines to the party paper Shahbaz in reply to the write-up of Mr Saeed Khan and Mr Kalandar, who would hopefully inform you about it. Yes I distinctly remember that Arbab Sikandar Khan had changed my statement ,which I had sent to you. Please convey my good wishes to him and also tell him that how can I use such a newspaper that does not print my statement as given by me. Besides, then what is the difference between that newspaper and Nawai Waqt. My brother this one example shows that in the future our gain will be your loss and your gain our loss, provided we or I am are still around.

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When I was coming back from Kabul, Wali Khan suggested that I come to NWFP for political work there. And when I sent you a telegram on the subject to which you replied that Wali Khan was not here. And when he came back, I sent him a letter on his home address but I did not get any response. I sent another letter to Wali Khan suggesting that we meet somewhere as General Yahya Khan has given such a statement on my or someone else's suggestion that will unite us provided you wish so too.

"Bacha Khan will come", most welcome but what is there in it for me? In your presence at Kabul did he not say to me, "Irrespective of what you wanted, I worked all these 30 years for NWFP and that is my Pashtoonistan".

I am fully aware of what Bizenjo said or wanted but when Wali Khan, Bacha Khan, Saeed Ali Khan and all Pashtoon leaders day and night repeat the restoration of old provinces, Bizenjo is not mad to deny the formation of linguistic provinces. He would be justified to tell me and the party that he has not said anything wrong. And probably after grabbing Quetta from the Pashtoons, he would demand from Punjab and Sindh the Baloch inhabited areas Arguing that the Pashtoon areas were handed to him by Wali Khan whereas my own demand always was for the formation of linguistic provinces.

At the Round Table conference Wali Khan said that all others were for the restoration of the old provinces so what could he do alone? Brother that is not the position now as President Yahya Khan has neither used the term old provinces nor has he specified the boundaries of these provinces neither has he mentioned the number of provinces.

Indeed for statement of the President I worked all alone, without any help from anyone of you demanding the restoration of old provinces.

Even today you are begging others including some liars, spiritual leaders and Nawabs to join you who did not even call themselves pashtoons. But you are pushing us away who are Pashtoons and want to join you including Nawab Jogezai and Kazi Essa.

And this talk about the "Pishin" is like adding a new couplet to the call for morning prayer. There fore you should first look at the district Hazara and Dera instead.

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Your statement, "If the people of Quetta collectively demand something that then no one can deny it to them", has no weight as the main problem they are faced with is the problem of what should they demand? Pashtoonistan? But who will make them join it? Wali Khan and Bacha Khan are not joining them. Presently "Baloch, Pashtoon" party workers and others are now asking me how can you join us to Pashtoonistan when the leaders of Pashtoonistan and a big majority of its population do not want us? Very soon I will send you such write-ups on the subject appearing in the newspapers. Your wishful prayer that the cursed difficulties will disappear depends particularly on you juniors of the party who should demand that we want the Quetta Pashtoons with us. The rest as I have said earlier I have already arranged and when this happens the Baloch would also be bound to come with us failing which the Quetta Pashtoon Baloch will be separated from Pashtoonistan like those of Mianwali[489] and Campbellpur[490].

Yours
Abdul Samad Achakzai

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Date January 11, 1970

Dear Wali Khan,

I am well and wish you good health. I will much appreciate it if you give me your considered opinion about the following issues, as because of them, there is a lot of anger and suspicion in the Quetta and Kalat branches of the party.

1. It is reported in the Pakistan Times of January 4, that only some nominated persons will do party election work in various parts of West Pakistan. Is this news correct or not? And if the news is wrongly reported then what is the party doing about stopping such news because it has also happened in the past and is likely to happen again in the future.
2. Will our party be working on the agenda of former provinces or for new linguistic based provinces? Or on the pattern of Punjab where some will be for Bahawalpur State as part of the Punjab and others working for it as a separate province of Bahalwapur? Similarly, we too can say that we want to join with the Pashtoons if not, then we do not want Kalat to join the former province of (British) Balochistan because if Kalat joins the former province, for one it will change the Pashtoon majority into a minority. It will be unlike the absorption of Swat by NWFP where a minority of backward tribals were joined with the majority of advanced civic society. On the contrary, in British Balochistan province, a minority of advanced civic society will be dominated by a backward tribal society that is ruled by the notorious Sardari system.
3. The Baloch of Quetta and Kalat division particularly Mir Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo are propagating that Quetta and Kalat would have a joint committee of the party. Is it true or sheer wishful thinking? I hope that you understand the relevance of the above which are vital for the understanding of the populace and winning of the coming elections. Therefore, I need your written reply so that it can be read out to the working committee of our party in its meeting scheduled for January 16, and is also organizing its first public meeting on January 18.

Yours

Abdul Samad Achakzai

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Lahore Hotel Lahore
January 14, 1970

Dear Wali Khan

May Allah be your protector. I am well and wish you all well.

I met the Governor[491] here last night. He was fully convinced by our stand that Balochistan be divided between the Baloch and the Pashtoons; and the Pashtoons be joined to Pashtoonistan and the Baloch be granted the affiliation of Dera Ghazi Khan and Naseerabad if the people there so desire.

He was also emphatic that these affiliations would not create the issue of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan contrary to the postulation of Mr Kasuri and other Punjabi leaders. Further, he also said that he would discuss this proposal with President Yahya Khan.

Meanwhile, I have also requested a meeting with the honourable President Yahya Khan on any date after the 20th of January.

I am convinced that if you and other well-wishers (Justice Hameed) also strongly advocate this proposition with him, our aim will be achieved and this difficulty will be solved. I am going back today. Farewell for now.

Yours
Abdul Samad Achakzai

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Lahore Hotel Lahore
14th January 1970

Dear Ajmal Khan

May Allah be your protector. I am well and wish you good health.

It is my hearty desire to meet old friends and visit old places and spots once again and if you do not invite me I may land there some day by myself.

I had a good talk with Wali Khan for a few minutes here. I think that for the first time he understood the difficulties faced by the Pashtoons here because it needs to be solved now since in the parliament the Sindhis and Punjabis would not accept the redrawing of provincial boundaries nor will the Bengalis side with us. He was also perhaps of the view that the solution was problematic but promised that if I talked to President Yahya Khan then he would do so also.

I wrote him a letter this morning from Lahore which you and Arbab Sikandar may also read and inform me of the opinion of Wali Khan because letters and telegrams sent to Shahi Bagh seldom reach him. "I met the Governor[492] here last night. He was fully convinced by our stand that Balochistan be divided between the Baloch and the Pashtoons; and the Pashtoons be joined to Pashtoonistan and the Baloch be granted the affiliation of Dera Ghazi Khan and Naseerabad if the people there so desire.

He was also emphatic that these affiliations would not create the issue of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan contrary to the postulation of Mr Kasuri and other Punjabi leaders. Further, he also said that he would discuss this proposal with President Yahya Khan.

Meanwhile, I have also requested a meeting with the honourable Yahya Khan on any date after the 20 of January.

I am convinced that if you and other well-wishers (Justice Hameed, Rasheed and Arbab) also strongly advocate this proposition with him, our aim will be achieved and this difficulty will be solved. I am going back today. Farewell for now."

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A large group of elders and Sardars of Balochistan intend to call on President Yahya Khan and if some political leaders from your area like Jaffar Shah Mian, Honourable Abdul Akbar Khan, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Justice Hameed and Abdul Rashid Khan also called on President Yahya and then Wali Khan tell him, this issue will be solved. I also gave a letter to Wali Khan that you should also read. My heartiest good wishes and salaams to Arbab Sikandar and other friends.

Yours
Abdul Samad Achakzai

Comments on the proposed 1971 Constitution

One again a new constitution is being prepared for our country by qualified experts under the supervision of a sincere soldier General Mohammad Yahya Khan rather than politicians. I therefore consider it my duty to convey to the constitution drafting committee and its implementers some basic structural institutional problems of our province Balochistan which if not corrected now would not only be difficult to correct later but will waste the energies of our coming generation struggling for their correction instead of doing some constructive work.

The existing chieftaincy (Sardari) system installed British Imperialism is the biggest and deep rooted problem of them all. This malicious system has divided the province into civil administered area and tribal areas and hence the residents of this province would be living under two distinct legal and revenue systems.

In addition, since the civil laws of the province would not automatically apply to the tribal areas there arises the need for an authoritative person (the Sardar) and personalised administrative service granted to the Sardar.

The pivotal office of the Sardar is the most dangerous, conniving and useless piece of the chieftaincy system who irrespective of his personal good qualities is perforce of his position and duties the source of all evils. The tribal Sardar instead of being a leader of

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the people is in fact an employee of the government as per the verdict of the two member bench of the court some years ago in the case of Sardar Mohammad Shehi and is also the basis of the recent statement of Nawab Bugti regarding the accepted powers and authority of a tribal chief. In between the lines he claims that the Sardar is authorised to imprison hundreds of citizens of this Islamic country in his personal jails without any reference to the existing laws of the country. The question arises as to how can a tribal leader of a native state, tribal area, excluded tribal area or partially excluded area with extra judicial powers and a salary become a member and minister of an autonomous provincial assembly.

To avoid such a laughable unique system the Imperial British kept such territories under the Federal Government outside the jurisdictions of elected provincial governments. It is for this reason that the province of NWFP (North West Frontier Province presently Khyber Pashtoonkhwa) consists of two such areas, one that accepts the in vogue system of revenue etc and those that do not accept such a system and are kept outside it which is the right thing to do. But in Balochistan all these tribal areas have been included in the province who accept the intended Sardari system of the British era that does not allow the establishment of tehsils, police stations, FC posts or even schools and hospitals.

The second unbearable difficulty of this system is that of a small tribal area being attached to a bigger province like Swat, Dir, Chitral and Malakand in NWFP. In Balochistan, however, tribal people have been included in such large numbers that they have become the absolute majority rendering the settled citizens of Quetta and British Balochistan a minority to be ruled by the tribals who would enact rules and laws that would not be applicable to themselves.

The other major flaw of the proposed Balochistan is that Pashtoon, Brahvi and Seraiki speaking people are each more in number than the Balochi speaking people but they have no constitutional protection and the Pashtoons surely have been included in this province without their consent. This is probably because the British annexed Afghan territories and instead of being called British Afghanistan like British Somaliland the territory was wrongly named as British Balochistan according to Sir Olaf Caroe[514]. Currently, it is envisaged that the future official

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and educational language would be Balochi which is unacceptable to the other linguistic groups of the province particularly Pashtoons.

Furthermore, the current proposed province is financially deficit and lacking basic inputs like water, electricity and communication for socio-economic development and therefore for quite a while in the future it would be lagging behind in terms of development. This is because the provinces of Punjab, Sindh and NWFP were made self-sufficient in irrigation, communication and provision of electricity by the Indian Federal Government and heavy project based foreign borrowings. Balochistan, however, remained neglected and even now instead of providing special development funds for socio-economic development, the current in name provincial budget is mostly spent on federal administration and schemes. For instance, the RCD highway is neither at the suggestion of Balochistan nor is it in any way helpful to our commerce and trade but is instead the need of the industries of other cities particularly Karachi.

Yet another very important anomaly is the very small number of the provincial assembly seats in which an effective, stable government is difficult if not impossible to maintain.

In terms of administration, the tribal areas have no legal institutions and officers therefore every official work has to be done through the Sardar and his Levies force. Therefore, as a result, no court summons nor warrants of arrest can be effective there. Thus the disputes of the adjacent settled districts with the tribals including murder and other personal property cases remain unsettled for many years.

As far as population census and voter listing is concerned in Marri, Bugti and Kharan, in the former from a total population of 61,000, 100,000 votes were registered in one week alone and were approved by the government and census officials. These were later cast in a very grand way. In the latter area, out of a total population of 40,000 only 33,000 votes were cast. Therefore if population census is held next year or the year after the Sardars will hold such a census in their districts that the voters of the settled districts would be reduced to the bare minimum.

Likewise, the participation of the settled districts in education institutions, development schemes, government service and other benefits like mining and trade, and in the provincial assembly the

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share of the settled areas would become microscopic. Therefore, I warn the constitution drafters and implementers with all my force that if the intent is to make this province a rational, balanced and peaceful place then you must act upon the following:

1. The Sardari and tribal system must be abolished and a uniform system of governance must be introduced in the province. And if this is not possible and the Sardars are to be maintained, then the Sardars are to be treated as any other government servant and should not be allowed to take part in politics or become members of the provincial assembly. Otherwise in the present assembly a bloc consisting of six of these government servants will expand further in the future because whosoever from amongst these Sardars becomes a minister, they will try to strengthen this inherited system of the British and forcefully extend it to the whole province.
2. The province must be declared a bi-lingual province of Pashtoon and Baloch. And that the status of Pashto should not be inferior to any other language should be constitutionally guaranteed for all official work.
3. The number of elected MPAs must immediately be doubled from 20 to 40 for which the easiest way is that each of the present constituency be allowed to elect two members.
4. The Federal Government in addition to meeting all the expenses of Federally Administered Departments should also subsidise all the provincial development schemes and meet the basic needs of water, communication and electricity till the province becomes financially self-sufficient. On top of that, the Federal Government should create a special fund of Rs 1 billion for this purpose or alternately an amount commensurate to the amount spent in other provinces on water barrages, canals, tube wells, roads, railway and electricity both from the government's own funds and foreign aid should be provided in the same ratio for the development of Balochistan keeping in consideration the underdevelopment of the province.
5. The census of all the tribal areas and the states of Balochistan instead of being carried out by the Sardars themselves should be conducted afresh according to international standards with the protection of paramilitary forces. This process should be

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continued until the establishment of effective districts, tehsils, police stations, schools, colleges and hospitals etc.

6. Last but not the least, I would emphatically advise the President of the country that just like in East Pakistan the few remaining political prisoners of West Pakistan may also be released and in the meanwhile the extraordinary rigorous attitude towards them as if they were criminals must be eased up just like in the case of Malak Ghulam Jillani of Lahore.

Abdul Samad Achakzai
President Pashtoonkhwa National Awami Party
Quetta Division, 1971

Only A Constitution Drafted in the Light of Quranic Teachings will be Beneficial for Us

I like all muslims wish that the source of laws of our beloved country should be the Quran and be in keeping with Sharia of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). This task however I not as easy as we muslims, only in name, or those so-called scholars of religion envisage.

According to many of these so-called religious scholars the Sharia system stands for only those Sharia decisions that are accepted as legal precedents and instead of using the current in vogue courts, Arabic knowing Mullahs may be appointed as Qazis, who will decide cases. It is more or less the same system that is presently practiced in the erstwhile state of Kalat.

I consider the above mentioned system neither Islamic nor Sharia Mohammadi because accepting one portion of the Quran while rejecting another portion is contradictory. The religion of Islam is an indivisible unit that cannot be rejected or accepted piecemeal. For instance, Islam is the propagator for the existence of the divine system of one God, and it also accepts the right of every individual to avail of the national budget for sustenance. So much so that the punishment of some crimes is predicated upon the fulfillment of the above mentioned principle. According to the Hannafi[512] school of thought, it is binding on the government to

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pay the debt of a muslim from its treasury. For which no recommendation is required.

In the prevalent schools of thought, the laws and practices for marriage and divorce are such that one cannot even imagine its adoption neither by individuals nor by the government. For instance, if rearing children becomes the responsibility of the father rather than the mother then what would happen or as it is binding that every woman be given a secure lodging and in addition the husband must either perform the house chores himself or provide a paid-servant to do that so that his wife is not used as a servant. Failing which, the wife can appeal to the Qazi court and ask for alimony. The Qazi must enforce what is her due and even grant her a divorce from the husband.

The truth is that the Muslim Umma is lost in traditions. God has declared polytheism an unforgivable sin. But Sunnis only consider their school of thought as true belief, while the Shia and Ahle Hadith consider their own schools of thought to be the religion of God. Besides these large schools of belief there are numerous smaller ones that only consider the favourite traditions of their Imams and leaders to be the religion of God even though these traditions may be in total contradiction to the Quran. This is the reason that after the imposition of the first martial law in Pakistan when the riots of Punjab were investigated by a commission under Justice Munir and this commission asked the renowned scholars of the country to define a muslim, no two scholars were able to agree on a single definition. Recently Maulana Maududi[513] has announced that it is impossible to create a consensus constitution in light of the Quran and Sunnah and now the principle of separate Islamiat syllabi for Sunni and Shia children had to be conceded to in the modern school curriculum.

In conclusion of the above it is stated that the imposition of an Islamic system is beyond the capacity of the provincial government. The Islamic jurist system and courts are just limited to the construction of a few courts, like those of the Kalat State, that would settle civil disputes and be headed by half-literate clerics, thus fulfilling the twin objectives of providing employment to these priests and deceiving the public by slogans of having adopted the Islamic system.

It is being propagated that the populace of Balochistan has demanded the imposition of Sharia from every commission. It is

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sad that no one has looked into what kind of Sharia and what kind of judges are required to implement it. Is the Kalat system an actual Islamic system? And do you consider any Mullah of your area capable of discharging this duty. Instead do you want the Shariah system in vogue in Afghanistan?

In my opinion, the people are fed up of all these Sharia in name courts and many a person has told me that we may acquire the Qazis for the Sharia courts from Egypt. While others are impressed by the Saudi Arabia system particularly the peaceful environment there which they wrongly think is the result of the harsh punishment there rather than the better economic conditions due to petroleum production.

I am of the opinion that the draft of a real Islamic Sharia system requires a well-thought-out and in depth plan in light of Quranic teaching making rules for providing sustenance for all in the light of Islamic equity rather than the collection of Zakat from the people and its distribution by the priests. One of the benefits of this system would be that even at the lowest level illiterate and il informed Qazis would not be appointed rather trained and educated Qazi judges or magistrates, who would be able to understand the written rules and laws. If any member wants further explanations I am willing to personally appear before them. Even though if the government wishes to put in place a new judicial system (which would not be Islamic in any way) then it is binding on them that they must adopt written rules and laws either based on the previous decisions of muslim Qazis or in vogue social traditions. But the appellate courts must perforce be of judges that are fully literate in Islamic and fundamental universal laws like the present High and Supreme courts.

The Founding Father of Journalism

When he Applied for Printing of a Newspaper the All India Press Act was not Applicable to British Balochistan

(A Discussion with a Panel of Journalists of Jang Group)[511]

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai is generally addressed as Khan or Khan Sahib. With a handsome fair looking face, broad forehead, white hair and a lightly trimmed beard, aged about 64-65 years apart from the white hair and beard there are no signs of old age. Touch wood he is healthy. Intelligent looks, polite, soft

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spoken and a permanent smile are gifts that add to his personality and good looks. He speaks in a soft low tone but the words he speaks are balanced and comprehensive.

In the summers one will find Khan Sahib in the typical Pashtoon dress of light grey coloured thick Khadi clothes and a shoulder cloth on his shoulder. In the winters a warm sweater is added to these simple clothes.

He was born in 1907 at Gulistan, presently District Qilla Abdullah. His father was named Haji Nur Mohammad Khan.

He passed his Bachelor of Arts (BA) from Punjab University while in jail. Baba-e-Pashtoon, the Great leader of Balochistan is currently the President of Pashtoonkhwa (Pashtoon Land) National Awami Party. In the past he was the president of Anjuman-e-Watan (Homeland Organisation), Wror Pashtoon (Pashtoon Brotherhood)

and National Awami Party.

He is also the first journalist of Balochistan and therefore is rightly called Baba-e-Siasat (Father of Politics) and Baba-e-Sahafat (Father of Journalism). He initiated the printing of the Urdu newspaper Istiaqlal (Sovereignty) from Quetta in 1938. At that time in the province of British Balochistan, administered by the Agent to the Governor General (AGG), politics and journalism were started around 1935, the year of the devastating earthquake of Quetta.

Khan Sahib started the printing of the weekly Istiqlal to inform the world of the difficulties and problems that the British had imposed in the province that was directly under the Central Government of India, and the struggle of the people against these difficulties since the Government of India Act 1935 had not been applied to the province.

During our discussion I asked him, "As the pioneer of journalism in Balochistan, what were the difficulties that you faced for the printing of Istaqlal?"

He answered in a short but comprehensive sentence, "I started with difficulties and ended in difficulties".

And after remaining quiet for a moment, he further elaborated, "At that time the Press Act of India was not extended here. When I applied for the first time for permission to bring out a newspaper the official reply was that "apart from the news of the tours of the officials and the news about the race course races, the

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publication of all political and social news is banned and the permission to bring out a newspaper is granted through an executive order as the Press Act does not apply to British Balochistan." I considered this response as irrelevant and decided to endeavours for the extension of the Press Act instead."

"How did you go about it then," I asked

"I took the help of the officials of the Central Government including late Mian Sir Fazl Hussain, Member Government of India; Maulana Sir Mohammad Yaqub, Secretary Muslim League; Maulavi Shafi Daodi, Secretary Muslim Conference and Member Central Legislature and Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, Member Government of India, and after some years succeeded in my efforts while in prison for the second time at Mach Jail."

"Why were you imprisoned? And when and why were you first imprisoned," I asked.

Khan Sahib responded, "I was imprisoned for the first time in 1930 for 10 months. The second time I was imprisoned in 1933 and was released 2 ½ years later after the devastating Quetta earthquake of 1935. I was arrested under the Defence of India Rules without any particular reason other than my love for freedom of my country."

"When did you then apply for the newspaper permission again,"

I asked "Obviously I could not avail of the extension of the Press Act while in prison but respected Mir Atta Mohammad MArzhazani availed it and started a weekly paper "Kalima-e-Haq" (Word of Truth) printed at Karachi but distributed from Sibi which only lasted for a short duration of time.

When I was released in 1935, I applied to the then AGG (Agent to the Governor General) Mr Parsons reputed to be more liberal than his predecessors. After a long process of 10 months, I got the good news that I could submit a declaration for a newspaper which I did."

And when releasing to the press the good news of the permission of publication I also added this poetic line

A look of love has cracked the wall of iron"

"And when you got the declaration, where did you print the paper from as there was no press at Quetta," I asked

The Khan then said, "This phase too was difficult and lengthy as there was neither a press here nor the mechanics that could run it

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or even a capable editor. Therefore, I decided to establish a press of my own for the purpose, the biggest litho-electric press of Balochistan. I named it Aziz Electric Press in the memory of my friend and colleague Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi."

"How did you procure the press?"

"In those days the cost of the complete press was Rs 10,000 the equivalent of several Rs 100,000 of today which I could not afford. Therefore, I appealed to friends and the general public for donations and managed to collect Rs 7,500 donation of which the largest share of Rs 2,500 was donated by the Khan of Kalat His Excellency Mir Ahmad Yar Khan.

The remaining amount I raised by mortgaging a portion of my property. After the installation of the press, the next big hurdle was the hiring of technical labour for running it. In the beginning, the composer of Albert Press Mr Sahanand Gharwani sincerely extended a lot of voluntary help but he was not proficient in lithography and such a person could not be found in Quetta.

I then contacted press owners in Lahore including those from whom I had purchased the press machinery who recommended to me a person named Abdullah, who knew almost nothing about the machine and its working particularly the setting of the master copy of the newspaper. Abdullah was probably recommended to me because of the chronic unemployment of the war years of 1937-1940. As a result, the master copy cast by him would become disfigured very soon and setting right again by the calligrapher and the stonecutter would take the remaining day.

Our lithographic press therefore printed a few hundred papers a day that would sell for less than the cost of laboUr and other inputs. The press was thus running at a loss. The employees of the press were also in sympathy with Abdullah and kept me ignorant of the poor performance of the press for a long time.

And since the quality of the printed paper was not up to the mark it was also damaging the reputation of the press and the paper. This non-cooperative attitude of the employees continued for years but in due course I became aware of these faults and finally succeeded in overcoming them."

"What arrangements had you made for the editorial part of the paper," I asked "There was no one at that time in Balochistan who was familiar with the editing of newspapers. It was difficult to

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find anyone, who could at the least write correct Urdu. Some of our political associates, who had the editorial capability and whom we had trained with substantial expenses at Karachi, were now publishing their own newspapers at Karachi. Ironically enough these gentleman and some others whom I intended to appoint as the trustees of the press considered my paper as a competitor and adopted an uncooperative attitude, accusing me of wanting to grab the position of political leadership.

Because of my public and political engagements, I could not fully devote myself to the press and the paper, therefore, I had to seek outsiders for the management and editorial responsibilities of the press. To begin with, I appointed Maulana Abdul Baqi Bihari for this job but he did not succeed as well and I suffered further financial losses. Next we hired Mr Abdul Qudus Sehbai but he could not adjust to the weather of Balochistan and left.

My third choice for the position of editor was Mr Allah Baksh Muslim. Very soon he became so attached to IstIqlal and myself that while I had employed him for Rs 60 per month he voluntarily cut his salary to Rs 40 because of the weak financial position of the paper. He remained wholeheartedly attached to IstIqlal till later during World War II he was externed from Quetta district due to his political activities. He then got married and got a job in the Sindh education department. I did not get to meet him for many years but when I did he was the inspector of schools.

In those days, people were not given to reading newspapers regularly nor were there many literate persons. As long as they received the papers free of cost they read it with interest and even sent letters demanding it but nearly 80 percent of them returned the postal VPP (Value Payable Post). Some even considered the VPP in their name as an affront and would not only return it but also be offended.

The other newspapers, on the pattern of donation collection by orphanages, would send their agents the year around collecting donations thereby earning substantial amounts. However, Istiqlal did not adopt this procedure and on the contrary when often people would offer the subscription of Istiqlal and additional donations while I would be passing on the roadside I would advise them to deposit in the office of the press or send it by post." "Did Istiqlal earn any revenue through advertisements in those days," I queried.

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"Istiqlal remained deprived of this major source of revenue particularly government advertisements. Istiqlal also did not have a person for collecting private commercial advertisements and was denied government advertisements because of its independent policy. During the WWII years, our party Anjuman-e-Watan did not cooperate with the British war propaganda. However, later Mr KT Jangiyani, a Hindu journalist and representative of such established newspapers of India like the Statesman, Times of India and The Hindu of Madras (Chennai), did carry out month long successful effort for gaining advertisements. This collection not only balanced the budget of the paper but created a surplus with which we paid the past debt. The positive revenue period was, however, short lived because some other colleagues and I had to go voluntarily to the prison during the Quit India Movement in 1942. During this period of our absence those, who the party appointed for managing the Istiqlal press, could not stand up to the threats and harsh attitude of the government and the paper lapsed back into debt."

"Khan Sahib, was the paper and the press ever victimised or was its security confiscated?"

"The paper and the press faced only minor legal charges although Istiqlal and its press were always anti-British government, primarily because of the rule of law then and the consequent tolerance of the government in addition to our own cautious attitude we faced minimal legal charges.

Only once a surety amount of Rs 3,000 was confiscated and at another time we faced complete closure under the Defence of India Rules. This exceptional award of complete closure in the whole commonwealth was awarded only to two newspapers, the British paper The Daily Worker and Istiqlal in that order.

The honourable home member of the government had written to the President All India Editors Conference, the editor of the Madras (Chennai) paper "The Hindu", Mr Sri Nawas that "the Government of Balochistan had made a mistake by awarding such a light punishment to Istiqlal". This temporary punishment of closure was, however, soon lifted with the help of the All India Editor's Conference much to the embarrassment of the local administration that had taken Balochistan for granted as helpless and written a blatant report to the government of India that Istiqlal has appallingly made the deeds of Hitler a trait and a

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mission. But we, with the assistance of the All India Editors Conference proved the fake report wrong and Istiqlal got a new life."

"You mention the All India Editors Conference, was there any such organisation here?" "In addition to the All India Editor's Conference, all the newspapers of Balochistan had the support of the local advisory committee of which all the newspapers were members. To protect the freedom of the press and the few privileges that the press had before the freedom of India, our unity and cooperation in Balochistan was unique. Despite the huge schism between the Congress and the Muslim League while I was the president of the local branch of the editor's conference, Qazi Mohammad Esa Khan was its member. And while Qazi Sahib was the president of the Balochistan Advisory Committee, I was its member. We were fully cooperative with both the organisations. Besides the battle for the freedom of the press, Mr Jangiani whose reference I have given earlier, Mr Khosla of API (Associated Press of India); late Maulvi Mohammad Abdullah, editor of Pasban; Maulana Abdul Karim Abhi, father of Abhi Jameel, editor Al-Salam; Qazi Mohammad Esa Khan, owner and publisher of Al- Salam and Mir Ata Mohammad Khan Margazhani, editor Kalimat ul Haq, were members of the editorial organisation of Balochistan. " "After the formation of Pakistan, you must have faced difficulties in the field of journalism?"

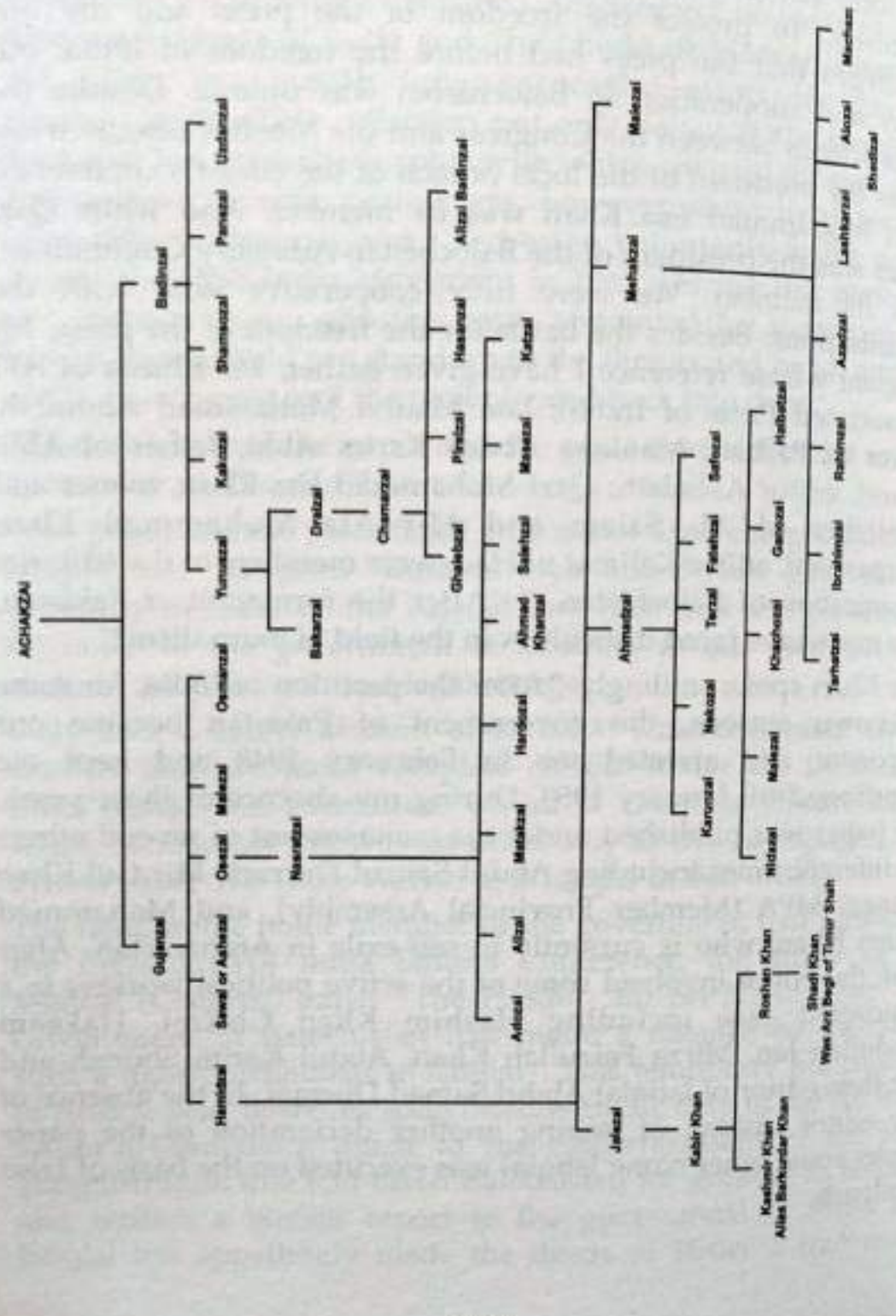
The Khan spoke smilingly, "After the partition of India, for some unknown reasons, the government of Pakistan became our opponent and arrested me in February 1948 and kept me imprisoned till January 1953. During my absence of these years, the paper was published under the management of several others at different times including Abdul Samad Durrani, Mir Gul Khan Mengal MPA (Member Provincial Assembly), and Mohammad Azam Khan, who is currently in self-exile in Afghanistan. After that, the police involved some of the active political workers in a concocted case including Hashim Khan Ghilzai, Hakeem Abdullah Jan, Mirza Faizullah Khan, Abdul Karim Shorish and the then editor of Istiqlal Abdul Samad Durrani. In the absence of the editor instead of issuing another declaration of the paper under some other name Istiqlal was executed on the basis of false evidence.

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Appendix

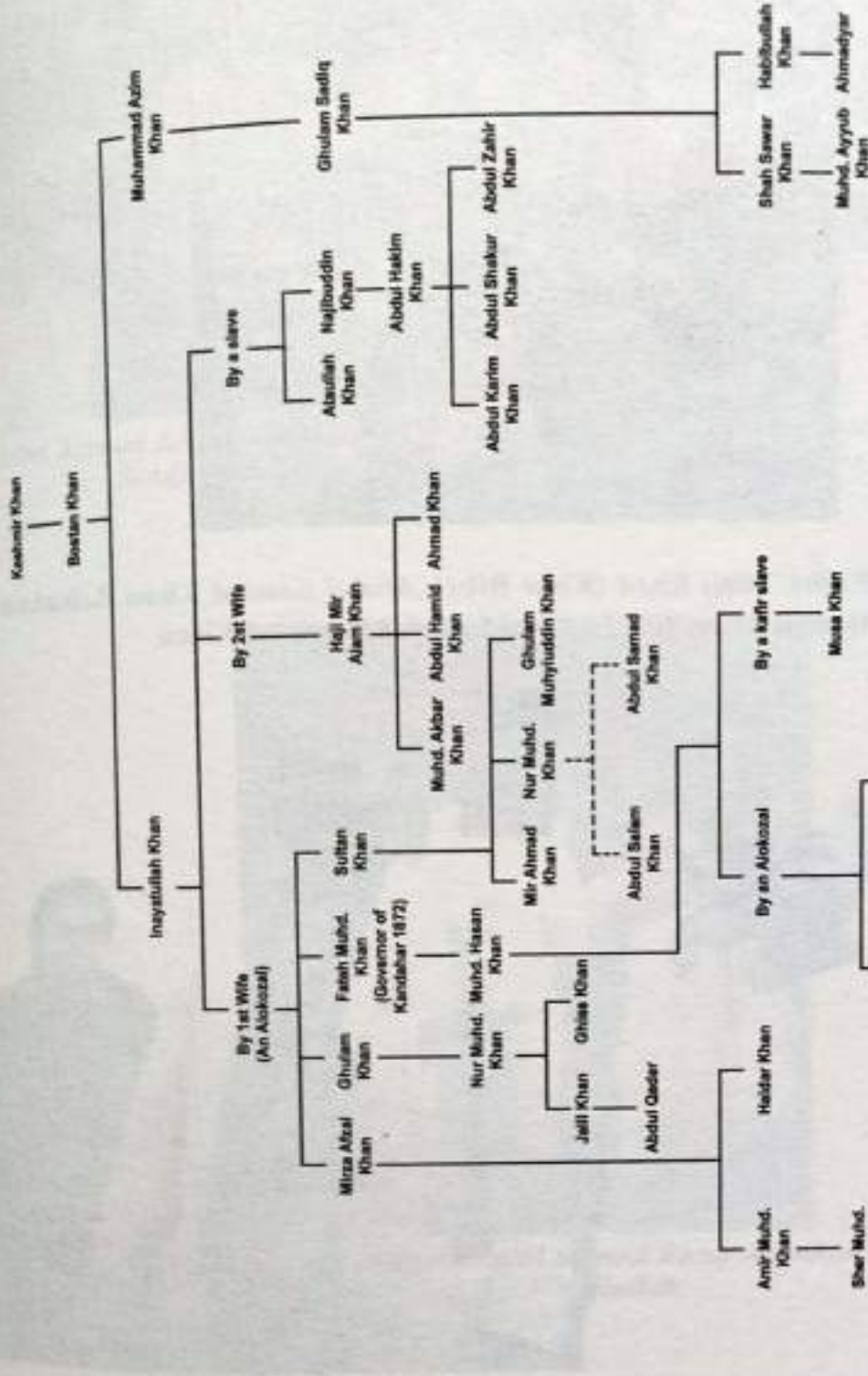
Table 1: Genealogical chart of the Achakzai tribe



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Table 2: Genealogical chart of Kashmir Khan (Barkhurdar Khan)



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From Left To Right: Wali Ehed (Khor Bibi), Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Ahmed Khan (on Lap) and Abdul Hameed Khan



Mahatma Gandhi with Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai

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Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai at Aligarh University with students belonging to Sindh and Balochistan including Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo



Left to Right : Jawaher Lal Nehru, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Kashmiri leader Sheikh Abdullah

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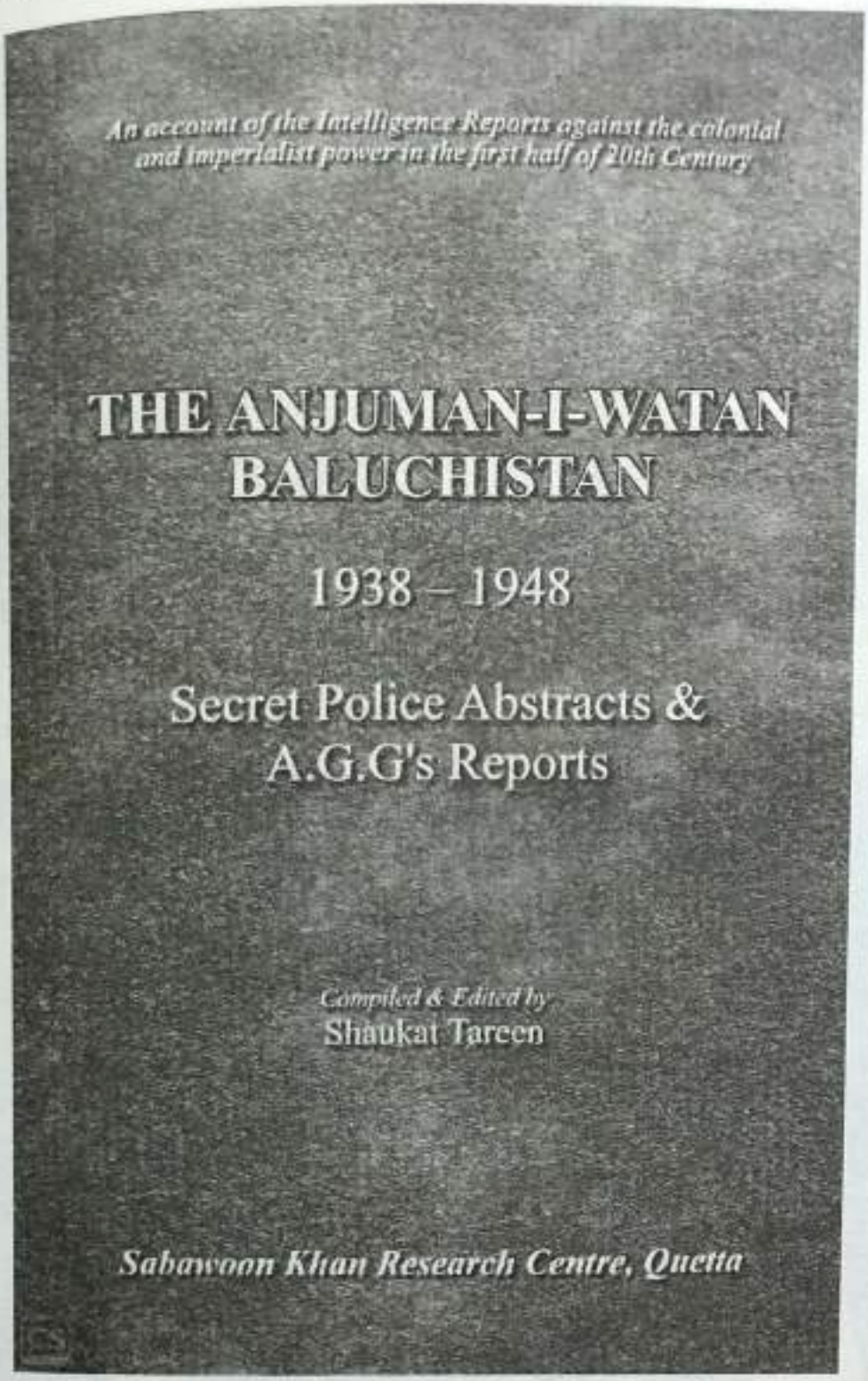
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Mridula Sarabhai, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Holding Rajiv Gandhi) Indra Ghandhi,Sheikh Abdullah (Behind Indra Gandhi, BPL Bedi and Freda Bedi

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A complete record of 10 years secret police and AGG's reports regarding The Anjuman-e-Watan Party 1938-1948

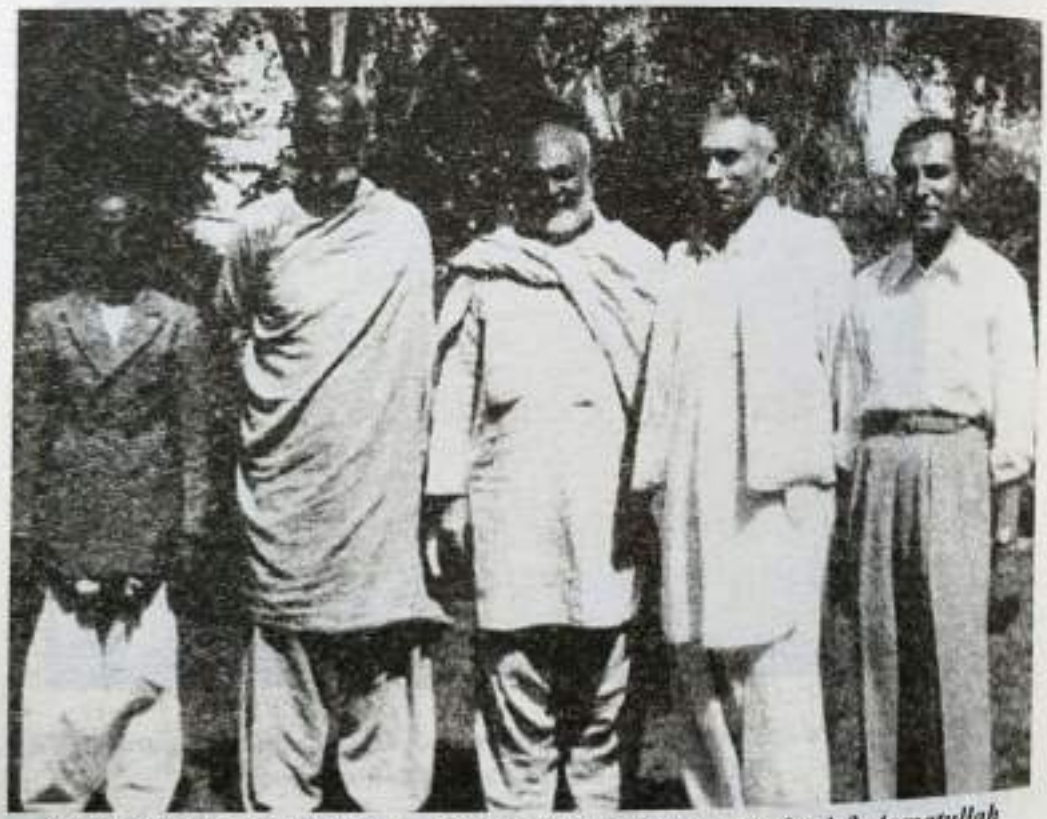
The Anjuman-e-Watan Party passed a resolution on June 8-9-1948 in which it was decided that the party will be merged in Pakistan Peoples Party

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Around 1956-1957, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his elder brother Dr Abdul Jabbar Khan commonly known as Dr Khan



Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Samamd Khan Achakzai & Asmatullah Achakzai in Peshawar

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Around 1954-1955, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai addressing a public meeting to demand abolition of One Unit and formation of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.



Loralai, (Kakari Masjid) Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai at a corner meeting of Wror Pashtun.

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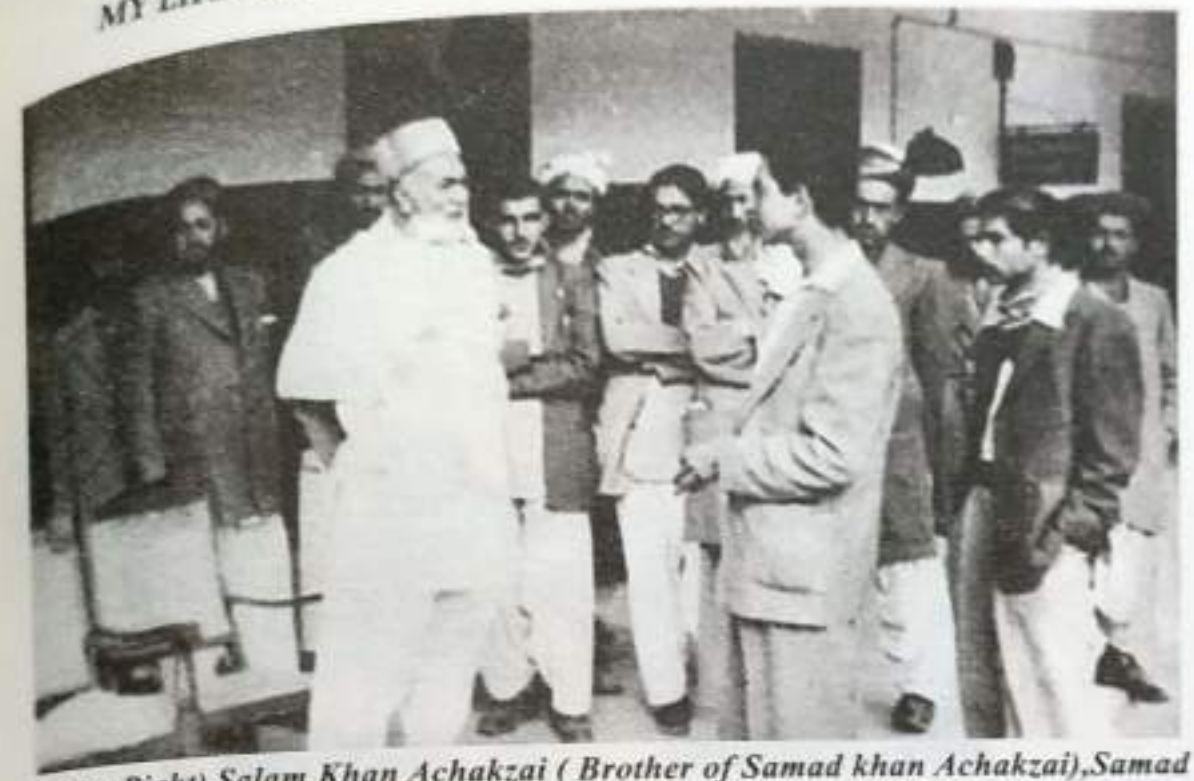
Standing (Left to Right) Riaz Hashmi, G. M. Syed, Haider Bush Jatoi (Sindh Pari Committee) Sitting (Left to Right) Mohammad Hussain Unqa, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), Sheikh Abdul Mated Sindhi, Ghulam Muhammad Bhurghari



(Left to Right) Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan after appearing before a court in Lahore

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(Left to Right) Salam Khan Achakzai (Brother of Samad khan Achakzai),Samad Khan Achakzai, Asmatullah Achakzai, Mahmood Aziz Kurd, Mulla Zareef (with white turban) behind Mahmood Aziz Kurd and Muhammad Khan Achakzai (The Translator of this book)



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani in Quetta

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(Left to Right) Suresh Babu (A Baloch Journalist), Shahzada Abdul Kareem Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Maulana Abdul Hameed khan Bhashani.



(Left to Right) Nawabzada Zahir Khan Jogezai (Behind Bacha Khan), Bacha Khan, Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai, Jaffar Khan Achakzai, Maulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani, Price Karim Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai

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(Left to Right) Khan Shaheed Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Mohammad Amin Khoso



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan with their comrades. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan embraces Saeed Khan Shaheed. First from right in the sitting row is Ahmad Khan, the eldest son of Abdul SamadKhanAchakzai.

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1968, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai coming out of Aircraft at Quetta Airport after his release from jail, he was sentenced to 14 year imprisonment during General Ayub Khan's military regime



1968, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai being welcomed at Quetta Airport after his release from 14-year sentence during General Ayub Khan's military regime, Photos at this time taken by Muhammad Khan Achakzai (Translator of Book)

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1968, people welcoming Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai at Quetta Airport upon his release from 14-year sentence during General Ayub Khan military regime (Left To Right) Malik Sadiq Khan Standing on Left and Akber Khan Achakzai standing on Right (With Spectacles) among the people welcoming



Quetta Airport: 1968, Habibullah Palawan (Babai), Abdul Qadoos Khan, (Extreme left on the ground), Muhammad Hassan Nizami, Master Abdul Hakeem with others awaiting Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai's arrival from Lahore

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Mr Yahya Bakhtiyar Advocate



Mr Mohammad Khan Raisani Advocate



Abdul Hameed Khan Achakzai



Gen Retired Mohammad Azam Khan



Sarfaraz Khan Advocate Addressing



Sain Kamal Khan Sherani

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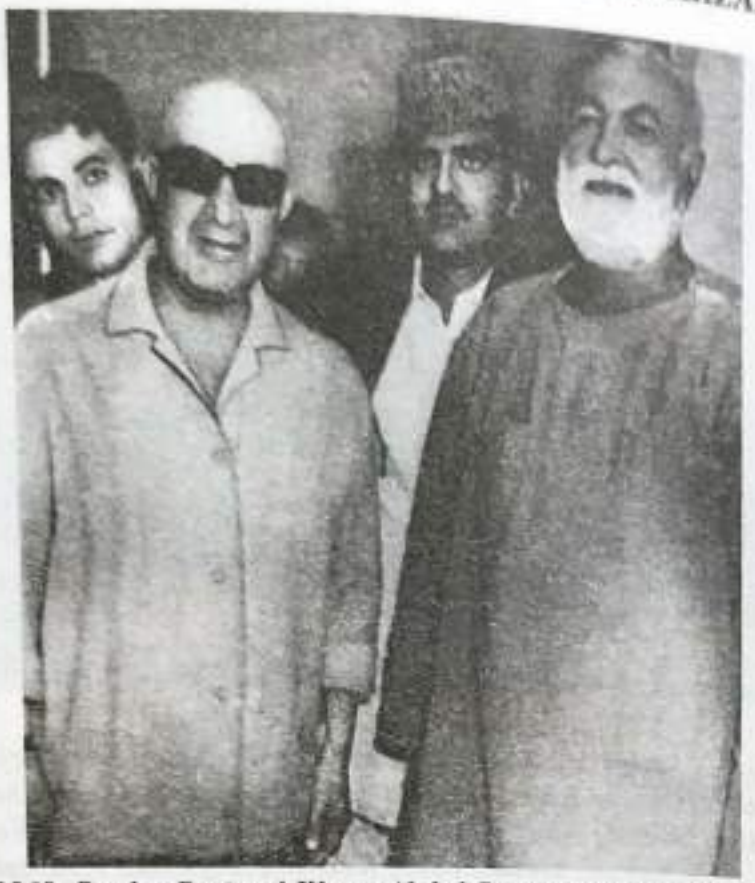
Sitting Left to Right: M. Yousaf Piralizai, Malik Usman Kasi, Agha Muhammad Bazai, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Maulvi Abdulla Jan, Muhammad Khan Resani , Abdul Khaliq Khan Kasi (Bijli) Standing: Hidayatulla Kasi, Akbar khan Achakzai, Malik Saddiq Kasi and Hayatulla Piralizai .



Kabul, 1969, Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Muhammad Gul Sulemankhel

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(Left to Right) 1969, Sardar Dawood Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Malik Abdul Sadiq Kasi, Malik Hidayatullah Kasi



Kabul: 1969, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan)

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Standing (Left to Right) Haji Nadir Khan Afridi, Malik Sadiq Kasi, Bacha Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Hidayatullah Kasi, Dr. Hamid Khan Achakzai.



Kabul 1969, (Left to Right) Azam Jan Achakzai, Jaffar Khan, Bacha Khan, Dr. Hamid Khan (in Black Waistcoat) Haji Nadir Khan Zakakhail, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, The child with Khan Shaheed is Shaheed Aslam Ulasyar.

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Kabul 1969, (From Left to Right) Dr. Hamid Khan, Jaffar Khan, Bacha Khan, Adbul Samad Khan Achakzai, Mohammad Din Zahid, Malik Abdul Ali, Hashim Khan Ghilzai, Qalandar Momand



Kabul 1969, (From Left to Right) Bacha Khan (sitting) Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Ajmal Khattak

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Kabul (Jashan-e-Pashtoonistan): 1969 (R to L): Bacha Khan, Khan Shaheed, Azam Khan Achakzai



Kabul: Shamshada, Sajida, Wali Ehed, Khan Shaheed, Ajmal Khattak, Qalandar Momand, Malak Abdul Ali, Jaffar Khan Achakzai, Dr. Hamid Achakzai, Hasham Khan Ghilzai and Mehdi Shah Bacha

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Abdul Samad Khan with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Kabul during Afghanistan Independence Day celebrations



Kabul Jashan-e-Isteqlal (Independence Day): 1969, (Left to Right) Haji Nadir Khan Afridi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai

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Kabul: 1969, (Left to Right) Wali Ehed (Khor Bibi), Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Jaffar Khan, Malik Abdul Ali Kakar



Kabul: 1969, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Mahmadin Zhwak at the grave of Ghazi Abdullah Khan

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1969, (Left to Right) Wali Ehed (Khor Bibi) , Azam Jaan, Muhammad Ayub Khan, Shamshad Bibi(Ayub Khan's Daughter) (Standing Behind) Said (Daughter of Azam Jan)



Paghman, Kabul: 1969, (Left to Right) Standing Kid Ulasyar Shaheed, Mohammad Azam Jan, Ajmal Khattak, Wali Khan, Abdul samad Khan Achakzai

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Kunduz: Ulasyar Shaheed, Azam Jan, Kunduz Governor, Khan Shaheed and the audience of Kunduz.



Kandahar: Khan Shaheed, Muhammad Gul Sulemankhel, Ghulam Haider Noshkawi, Mudir-e-Kabail.

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1969, on the Independence Day of Afghanistan in Kabul (Left To Right) Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, & Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai with renowned Pashto poet Qazi Mullah Abdul Salam

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(Standing Left to Right) Malik Abdul Sadiq, Hidayatullah Kasi, Malik Usman Kasi, Malik Abdul Ali Kakar, Moulvi Obaidullah Mehtarzai, unknown, unknown, Malik Ahmed Gul Kasi, Malik Amanullah Kasi, Haji Abdullah Jan. Sitting Middle Row (Left to Right) Malik Sher Mohammad Ghilzai, unknown, unknown, Syed Yar Mohammad Shah, Arbab Abdul Kadir Kasi, Ahmed Yar Khan Jogezai, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Dr. Inayatullah, Sarfaraz Khan Jogezai, Jaffar Khan. Sitting on Ground (Left to Right) Abdul Ghani Khan Choukal, Maulvi Abdul Hakeem Malezai, Dr. Abdul Lateef, Nawabzada Hashim Khan Jogezai, Aakim, unknown.



1970, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai administering oath to the members of the first committee of Pashtunkhwa Students Organisation

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(R to L) Yar Muhammad Shah, (Retired DSP), Maulvi Abdul Hakeem Malayzai, Malak Ghulam Sarwar, Khan Shaheed, Malak Abdul Sadiq, Malak Usman Kasai, Dr. Innayatullah, Mustafa Khan Yahya, Haji Abdullah Jan (Loi Lala), (Sitting) (Koulay Wala) Nazar Muhammad Shimkzai



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Sultan Nasir, Malak Hashim Kakar, Sher Jan Mandokhail

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Abdul Rahim Mandokhail addressing a political meeting chaired by Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai.



1970, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai casting vote at provincial assembly of Balochistan

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(Left to Right) Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto & Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi



Around 1970-1971, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai receiving Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto at Quetta Airport Shah Nawaz Khan Shaliani & Saifullah are also visible

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Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Quetta Commissioner Nasruminallah cut ribbon to inaugurate Pashto Academy, Quetta



Abdul Salam Khan Achakzai, Elder Brother of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai



(Left to Right) Governor Balochistan Mir Ghous Baksh Bazinjo, Ahmed Din Mandokhail, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Haji Saleem Khan Mandokhail, Mama Abdul Ahad, Malik Haji hafizullah Khan Achakzai and others conveying condolences with Abdul Samad khan Achakzai on demise of his elder brother Abdul Salam khan Achakzai.

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December 3, 1973, Maulvi Rehmatullah leading the funeral prayer of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai (body wrapped in a party flag) at Mominan cemetery in Inayatullah Karez village



Descendants of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai (Left to Right) Dr Ahmed Khan, Muhammad Khan, Mahmood Khan and Dr Hamid Khan (sitting) Wali Ehed (Khor Bibi)

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Endnotes

1 See genealogical tables in the appendix
2 See genealogical tables in the appendix
3 In Pashtoon society elders are addressed by family members with terms of endearment rather than their names.
4 Accountant employed in a business
5 A person who gives the call to prayer
6 The One Unit Scheme was a geopolitical Program launched by the Government of Pakistan led by the then-Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra on 22 November 1954. The 'One Unit' Program merged the four provinces of West Pakistan into a single province to parallel the East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). It was viewed as a counterbalance against the political and population dominance of the ethnic Bengali population of East Pakistan. The One Unit program was met with great resistance and grievances were raised by the four provinces since its establishment. The National Awami Party successfully sponsored a bill in the National Assembly calling for its dissolution and providing for regional autonomy. It remained in effect until 1970.
7 Mohammad Azam Khan (1908–1994) was a senior general of the Pakistan army
who was a minister under Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the first military ruler of Pakistan. Azam was the first commander of the Pakistan Army's I Corps, and was Governor of East Pakistan.
8 Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan(4 February 1917 – 10 August 1980), commonly known as Yahya Khan, was a Pakistani general who served as the third president of Pakistan, serving in this post from 25 March 1969 until turning over his presidency in December 1971
9 Shah Ahmad Noorani Siddiqi (1 October 1926 – 11 December 2003, known as Allama Noorani) was a Pakistani Islamic scholar, mystic, philosopher, revivalist and politician. Siddiqi was founder of the World Islamic Mission, leader of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) and founder president of the Muttahida Majlis-e- Amal (MMA).
10 Now Bangladesh
11 He had joined the military and was probably then serving as the Governor's ADC. Another contemporary from FC College who joined the military was General Pervez Musharraf.
12 Air Marshal Malik Nur Khan (22 February 1923 – 15 December 2011) commonly known as Nur Khan, was a three-star airforce officer, politician, sports administrator, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, serving under President Ayub Khan from 1965 until 1969.
13 Chief Secretary NWFP
14 A Pashtoon tribe
15 A large Baloch tribe
16 See genealogical tables in the appendix
17 For further detail on Burkhurdar Khan Achakzai see, Singh, Ganda. 'Ahmad Shah Durrani: Father of Modern Afghanistan', pp 29, 111, 120, 165, 212, 256-7, 311. And also see Musani, Mehmood-al-Hussaini:

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'Tareekh Ahmed Shahi', published in Persian by Academy Uloom-e-Ittihaad-i-Shorwi, Shoba-i-Tareekh, Tajikistan.

[18] A mountainous plateau located close to the present border with Afghanistan primarily in District Qilla Abdullah Khan. Ahmad Shah Durrani, the founder of Afghanistan, is known to have preferred spending time here. It is the heartland of the Achakzai tribe of Durrani Afghans.

[19] Ahmad Shah Durani (1722 – 16 October 1772) also known as Ahmad Shah Abdali was the founder of Durrani Dynasty who laid the foundation of modern Afghanistan in 1747.

[20] See genealogical tables in the appendix

[21] Wazir Akbar Khan (1816-1845) born as Mohammad Akbar Khan and also known as Amir Akbar Khan was an Afghan prince, general and finally amir or emir for about three years. His fame began with the 1837 Battle of Jamrud, while attempting to regain Afghanistan's second capital Peshawar from the Sikhs.

[22] Sir Alexander Burnes, (born May 16, 1805, Montrose, Forfarshire, Scotland— died November 2, 1841, Kabul, Afghanistan), British explorer and diplomat (of the same family as the poet Robert Burns) who gained renown for his explorations in what are now Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Iran. For his accomplishments he was knighted in 1839.
Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Sir Alexander Burnes", Encyclopedia Britannica, 29 Oct. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alexander- Burnes.

[23] Sir William Hay Macnaghten, Baronet, (born August 1793—died Dec. 23, 1841, Kābul, Afg.), British interventionist agent in Afghanistan during the First Anglo- Afghan War (1839–42). He was created a baronet in 1840. Macnaghten went to India in 1809, where he served as an administrator and a diplomat in Madras and Bengal, acquired a knowledge of Hindu and Muslim law, and became an expert in Oriental languages. Made an adviser to India's governor-general, Lord Auckland, in 1837, he advocated British intervention to counteract Russian influence in neighbouring Afghanistan, which led to the First Anglo-Afghan War. As political agent with the British invasion force in Kābul, he tried (unsuccessfully) to replace Afghan ruler Dōst Moḥammad Khān with his pro-British rival, Shāh Shojāʿ. Suspected of treachery by the Afghans, Macnaghten was captured and slain by them while he was trying to arrange the withdrawal of British forces in 1841. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Sir William Hay Macnaghten, Baronet". Encyclopedia Britannica, 19 Dec. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sir-William-Hay-Macnaghten-Baronet.

[24] Zaman Shah Durrani (1770 -1844), ruler of Durrani Empire from 1793 to 1801.
Brother of Shah Shuja.

[25] Shāh Shojāʿ, original name Shojāʿ Mirza, or Shojāʿ-ul-mulk, Shojāʿ also spelled Shujāʿ, (born 1780—died April 1842, Kabul, Afghanistan), shāh, or king, of Afghanistan (1803–10; 1839–42) whose alliance with the British led to his death. Shojāʿ ascended the throne in 1803 after a long fratricidal war. In 1809 he concluded an alliance with the British against an expected Franco-Russian invasion of India but, the following

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year, was overthrown by his elder brother Shāh Maḥmūd and went into exile in British India. He eventually fled to Lahore, where in 1813 he attempted to obtain the assistance of the Sikh emperor Ranjit Singh by offering him the giant Koh-i-noor diamond. Ranjit Singh accepted the offer but procrastinated with his assistance, using the time instead to consolidate the Sikh empire. Shāh Shojā' in 1816 left for Ludhiana and placed himself under British protection. For 23 years he engaged in a number of unsuccessful schemes to re- gain his throne. Finally, in 1839, he was again placed on the throne by the British during the first Afghan War but was assassinated when the British occupation force withdrew from Kābul.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Shāh Shojā'". Encyclopaedia Britannica, 28 Mar. 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Shah-Shoja.

[26] Mohammadzai is a sub branch of Barakzai, the ruling tribe of Kabul

[28] Caroe, Olaf: 'The Pathans', (page 273)

[29] Mohammad Ayub Khan Achakzai, died and is buried in Kabul while his son-in- law Mohammad Azam Khan, a graduate of the Government College Lahore, re- turned along with his family to his native village Inayatullah Karez, district Qilla Abdullah in 1978.

[30] Mohammad Yaqub Khan (1849 – November 15, 1923) was Emir of Afghanistan from February 21 to October 12, 1879. He was the son of the previous ruler, Sher Ali Khan. The Second Anglo-Afghan War erupted in 1878, leading Sher Ali Khan to flee the capital of Afghanistan, and eventually die in February 1879 in the north of the country. As Sher Ali's successor, Yaqub signed the Treaty of Gandamak with Britain in May 1879, relinquishing sole control of Afghanistan foreign affairs to the British Empire.

[31] 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān, (born c. 1844, Kabul, Afghanistan—died 1901, Kabul), amīr of Afghanistan (1880–1901) who played a prominent role in the fierce and long-drawn struggle for power waged by his father and his uncle, A'ẓam Khān, against his cousin Shīr 'Alī, the successor of Dōst Moḥammad Khān. Abd al- Raḥmān was the son of Afẓal Khān, whose father, Dōst Moḥammad Khān, had established the Barakzāi dynasty in Afghanistan. Shīr 'Alī's victory in 1869 drove 'Abd al-Raḥmān into exile in Russian Turkistan, where he lived at Samarkand until Shīr 'Alī's death in 1879, a year after the outbreak of the war between the British and the Afghans. Abdal-Raḥmān returned to Afghanistan in 1880 and remained in northern Afghanistan until the British negotiated a settlement recognizing 'Abd al-Raḥmān as amīr in return for his acknowledgment of the British right to control his foreign relations. Abdal-Raḥmān's reign is notable for the agreement reached on the demarcation of Afghanistan's northwestern border with Russia, the result of talks held near Kabul in 1893 with a British delegation led by Sir Mortimer Durand, under which 'Abd al-Raḥmān accepted the Durand line as his frontier and thereby relinquished some hereditary rights over the tribes on the eastern border.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "'Abdal-Raḥmān Khān". Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1 Jan. 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abd-al-Rahman-

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Khan. Accessed 13 April 2021.
32 "Neighborhood the most important and influential man among .... Fathi Khan, Achakzai. The family have been .... the reigning family, whether Sadozai or Muhammadzai, ... taken a leading part in events. Fathi Khan was .. for about two years under the late Amir, having ...of Sirdar Sher Ali Khan, the present Wali, who had disgraced in his turn and kept under open arrest at Kabul till the British occupation. He made frequent requests to be allowed to return to Kandahar, but at the Wali's request I asked General Stewart to retain him in Kabul. His son, Mohammad Hasan Khan, and nephew, Haidar Khan, took an active part against us during the siege, and are still in hiding on the Helmand. Fathi Khan's object in wishing to return to Kandahar was no doubt to intrigue in favour of the sons of the late Amir. He was an unpopular Governor, less from what he did than from having been the first under whom nominees from Kabul managed the revenue of the province. Other members of the same family are Mohammad Aslam Khan of Kalah Abdullah, now under arrest at Jacobabad; and Haji Sarbuland Khan, who has done us good service throughout our occupation."
"Memorandum on Kandahar." Names of the Sirdars of the Durrani Clans of Kandahar and Their Different Sections, Government of India - Foreign Department, 1881, pp. 26–27.

Fateh Khan, the representative of the elder branch, took service with Amir Abdur Rahman, and Taj Mohammad, son of Aslam Khan, did the same. The former took a prominent part in the events of September and October 1881, when Mohammad Ayub Khan was defeated by Abdur Rahman under the walls of old Kandahar. On the other hand, Sultan Khan (grandfather of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai), a brother of Fateh Khan, and the surviving sons of Saleh Mohammad, Shams-ud- din and Jalaluddin, were partizans of Ayub and were with him at Herat.
Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan, by Ludwig W. Adamec, vol. 5,
1980, p. 23.
33 Shīr ʿAlī Khān, (born 1825, Kābul?, Afghanistan—died February 21, 1879, Mazār-e Sharif), emir of Afghanistan from 1863 to 1879 who tried with only limit- ed success to maintain his nation's equilibrium in the great power struggles be- tween Russia in the north and British India in the south. The third son of Dōst Moḥammad Khān, Shīr ʿAlī succeeded to the throne upon his father's death. Only after a bewildering series of intrafamily struggles, revolts, and civil war, however, was his hold on the throne secure.
Shīr ʿAlī attempted to maintain Afghanistan as a noninvolved buffer state in the continuing conflicts between Russia and Great Britain. The British finally concluded, however, that he was coming under Russian influence and created situations, both intentionally and unintentionally, that developed into the Second Afghan War (1878–80). The British executed a well-planned three-pronged drive into Afghanistan. Shīr ʿAlī tried to rally the tribes to his support with little success. He then placed his son Yaʿqūb Khān on the throne and fled toward Turkistan; he died during the journey. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Shīr ʿAlī

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Khān". Encyclopedia Britannica, 17 Feb. 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Shir-Ali-Khan. Accessed 13 April 2021.

[34] Ghazi Mohammad Ayub Khan was Emir of Afghanistan from October, 1879 to May, 1880. He led the Afghan army during the Second Anglo-Afghan War and defeated the British Indian Army at the Battle of Maiwand July, 1880.

[35] July, 1880

[36] The battle of Maiwand was one of the crucial battles between the Afghans and the British, fought on July 27, 1880 in Maiwand, Kandahar wherein the British forces were defeated. The battle also produced an Afghan national heroine, Malala of Maiwand.

[37] The Political Agent, who is also Deputy-Commissioner for such portions of his District as form part of British India, is the Collector, District and Sessions Judge, and the administrative head of his charge.

[38] King Habibullah Kalakani, popularly known as Bacha Saka, deposed King Amanullah Khan (1891-1929) to become the ruler of Afghanistan. Nine months later he was murdered by Nadir Khan (Nadir Shah) who ruled Afghanistan from 1929 till 1933.

[39] The Afghan civil war took place in 1929.

[40] Mir Aoe is derived from the Persian term 'mir aab', manager of water.

[41] The share of Karez water in terms of hours by different shareholders whereby the size of land determines entitlement and responsibilities or liabilities. The quantity of water a shareholder is entitled to is in terms of time unit not measurement like cubic foot or cusecs. The maximum entitlement is 24 hrs and minimum is 4 ½ minutes.

[42] According to Sultan-i-Rome, a well renowned Pashtoon academic, the Pashtoon-
wali Code is a way of life of the Pashtoon dating back to prehistoric times.

[43] Sir Robert Groves Sandeman, KCSI (1835–1892) was a British Indian Army officer and colonial administrator. He was known for his activities in Balochis- tan, where he introduced a system of "tribal pacification" that endured until the partition of India in 1947.

[44] Each tahsil is in charge of a tahsildar, with an assistant styled naib-tahsildar. A naib-tahsllddr holds charge of each sub-tahsil. These officials are primarily responsible for the collection of revenue, but they also exercise judicial powers.

[45] Amir Abdul Rehman Khan was Amir (King) of Afghanistan from 1880 to 1901 [46] Assistant Political Agents and Extra Assistant Commissioners or Native Assistants are in charge of subdivisions, supervise the collection of revenue, exercise civil and criminal powers, and have the subordinate political control of the tribes in their respective areas.

[47] Gulistan (Persian: "The Rose Garden") is a landmark of Persian literature, per-
haps its single most influential work of prose written in 1258CE, it is one of two major works of the Persian poet Sa'di, considered one of the greatest medieval Persian poets.

[48] Bustan (or *Bostan* Persian: pronounced "Bustān") is a book of poetry by the Persian poet Saadi, completed in 1257. It was Saadi's first work, and its title means "the orchard". The book contains the fruits of Saadi's long experience and his judgments upon life, and is illustrated by a vast

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collection of anecdotes. It includes accounts of Saadi's travels and his analysis of human psychology. He often mentions his accounts with fervour and advice similar to Aesop's fables

[49] Yusuf and Zulaikha is the Quranic verse of Yusuf (Joseph) and Zulaikha (the person known in the Bible as Potiphar's wife and whose name is not given there). It has been told and retold countless times in many languages spoken by Mus- lims, especially Persian and Urdu. Its most famous version was written in Persian by Jami (1414-1492), in his Haft Awrang ("Seven Thrones"). The story has by then many elaborations, and is capable of a Sufi interpretation, where Zulaikha's lust for Yusuf represents the soul's longing for God.

[50] Abū-Mohammad Muslih al-Dīn bin Abdallāh Shīrāzī, better known by his pen name Saadi also known as Sadi of Shiraz (born 1210; died 1291 or 1292), was a major Persian poet and prose writer of the medieval period. He is recognised for the quality of his writings and for the depth of his social and moral thoughts. Saadi is widely recognised as one of the greatest poets of the classical literary tradition, earning him the nickname "The Master of Speech" or "The Wordsmith" or simply "Master" among Persian scholars.

[51] Al-Ghazali (Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsiyy al-Ġaz(z)ālīy; Latinized Algazelus or Algazel; c. 1058 – 19 December 1111) was a Persian philosopher who was one of the most prominent and influential philosophers, theologians, jurists, logicians and mystics of Sunni Islam. His works were so highly acclaimed by his contemporaries that al-Ghazali was awarded the honorific title "Proof of Islam" (Ḥujjat al-Islām). Al-Ghazali believed that the Islamic spiritual tradition had become moribund and that the spiritual sciences taught by the first generation of Muslims had been forgotten. This belief lead him to write his magnum opus entitled Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences"). Among his other works, the Tahāfut al-Falāsifa ("Incoherence of the Philosophers") is a significant landmark in the history of philosophy, as it advances the critique of Aristotelian science developed later in 14th-century Eu- rope.

[52] Rūmī, in full Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, also called by the honorific Mawlānā, (born c. September 30, 1207, Balkh [now in Afghanistan]—died December 17, 1273, Konya [now in Turkey]), the greatest Sufi mystic and poet in the Persian language, famous for his lyrics and for his didactic epic Masnavī-yi Ma'navī ("Spiritual Couplets"), which widely influenced mystical thought and literature throughout the Muslim world. After his death, his disciples were organized as the Mawlawiyyah order. Rūmī's use of Persian and Arabic in his poetry, in addition to some Turk- ish and less Greek, has resulted in his being claimed variously for Turkish literature and Persian literature, a reflection of the strength of his influence in Iran and Turkey. The influence of his writings in the Indian subcontinent is also substantial. By the end of the 20th century, his popularity had become a global phe- nomenon, with his poetry achieving a wide circulation in western Europe and the United States.

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53 Ḥāfeẓ, also spelled Ḥāfiẓ, in full Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, (born
1325/26, Shīrāz, Iran—died 1389/90, Shīrāz), one of the finest lyric poets of Persia. Ḥāfeẓ received a classical religious education, lectured on Qur'ānic and other theological subjects ("Ḥāfeẓ" designates one who has learned the Qur'ān by heart), and wrote commentaries on religious classics. As a court poet, he enjoyed the patronage of several rulers of Shīrāz. About 1368–69 Ḥāfeẓ fell out of favour at the court and did not regain his position until 20 years later, just before his death. In his poetry there are many echoes of historical events as well as biographical descriptions and details of life in Shīrāz. One of the guiding principles of his life was Sufism, the Islamic mystical movement that demanded of its adherents complete devotion to the pursuit of union with the ultimate reality.

54 Each tahsil is in charge of a tahsllddr, with an assistant styled naib tahsllldar. A naib-tahsllddr holds charge of each sub-tahsll. These officials are primarily responsible for the collection of the revenue, but they also exercise judicial powers.

55 Durand Line, boundary established in 1893 running through the tribal lands between Afghanistan and British India, marking their respective spheres of influence; in modern times it has marked the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The acceptance of this line—which was named for Sir Mortimer Durand, who induced 'Abdor Raḥmān Khān, amir of Afghanistan, to agree to a boundary— may be said to have settled the Indo-Afghan frontier problem for the rest of the British period.

After the British conquered the Punjab in 1849, they took over the ill-defined Sikh frontier to the west of the Indus River, leaving a belt of territory between them and the Afghans that was inhabited by various Pashtoon tribes. Questions of ad- ministration and defense made this area a problem. Some of the British, members of the so-called stationary school, wanted to retire to the Indus; others, of the forward school, wanted to advance to a line from Kābul through Ghaznī to Qandahār (Kandahār). The Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–80) discredited the forward advocates, and the tribal area was divided into roughly equal spheres of influence. The British established their authority by indirect rule up to the Du- rand Line, at the cost of a number of tribal wars; the Afghans left their side un- touched. In the mid-20th century the area on both sides of the line became the subject of a movement for Pashtoon independence and establishment of an independent state of Pashtoonistan. In 1980 approximately 7.5 million Pashtoons were living in the area around the Durand Line.

Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Durand Line". Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 Apr. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/event/Durand-Line. Accessed 14
April 2021.

56 Gumal Pass, also spelled Gomal Pass, route along the Gumal River valley in the extreme southwestern portion of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Pakistan. The most important pass between the Khyber and Bolān passes, it connects Ghaznī in eastern Afghanistan with Tank and Dera Ismail Khan in Pakistan via Domandi and Kot Murtaza. The Gumal Pass is actually a 4-mile (6-km) defile (gorge), but the name is sometimes

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applied to the full course of the Gumal River. The oldest trade route in the area, the Gumal Pass has been traditionally used by nomadic Afghan traders called Powindahs, whose entry into Pakistan is now restricted. By treaty agreement with the Maḥsūd Wazīrī inhabitants, the British succeeded in opening the pass in 1889.
Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Gumal Pass". Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 Jul. 2015, https://www.britannica.com/place/Gumal-Pass. Accessed 14 April
2021.
57 Presently known as Zhob
63 Some offensive words and terms had become habitual for me and I offended some persons when these words escaped my lips involuntarily. This caused me great embarrassment. One time I asked Ismail Jan "How can I give up this bad habit?" He replied in jest "If you like, I can slap you the next time you unknowingly use such language." I replied "okay". Two three days later Ismail Jan slapped me hard on the face. I sat down while he laughed at me from a distance. I had forgotten our earlier conversation and asked "Why and what happened to you?" While still laughing he replied "Didn't you ask me to slap you the next time you used abusive language?" I recalled our conversation and also realized that some objectionable terms had escaped my lips.
64 Have you not seen 'O Prophet' how your Lord dealt with the Army of the Elephant? Did He not frustrate their scheme? For He sent against them flocks of birds, that pelted them with stones of baked clay, leaving them like chewed up straw. Quran (Surah 105 Al-Fil The Elephant: Verse 1-5)
65 Mohammad Iqbal, in full Sir Mohammad Iqbal, also spelled Mohammad Ikbal, (born November 9, 1877, Sialkot, Punjab, India [now in Pakistan]—died April 21, 1938, Lahore, Punjab), poet and philosopher known for his influential efforts to direct his fellow Muslims in British-administered India toward the establishment of a separate Muslim state, an aspiration that was eventually realized in the country of Pakistan. He was knighted in 1922.
66 My longing comes to my lips as supplication of mine
O God! May like the candle be the life of mine!
May the world's darkness disappear through the life of mine! May every place light up with the sparkling light of mine!
May my homeland through me attain elegance As the garden through flowers attains elegance
May my life like that of the moth be, O Lord! May I love the lamp of knowledge, O Lord!
May supportive of the poor my life's way be May loving the old, the suffering my way be
O God! Protect me from the evil ways Show me the path leading to the good ways 67 Pashto verse 68 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (b. 1891 - d. 1965) was born on 30 August, 1891, the son of Henry John Bremner and Edith Charlotte Graham. His father had served as a colonel in India, where Bremner and his sister Morgan were born but then Edith had returned to England with her two children. The family be- longed to the St. Peter's Parish in Bedford, where

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Bremner spent his early years. Possibly, Bremner knew from a young age that he would follow in his father's footsteps. He attended Bedford Grammar, a school inclined to preparing young men for the army. There he showed an aptitude for languages winning a prize in French. He qualified for Woolwich (Royal Military Academy) but opted instead to go to Sandhurst (Royal Military College) from whose ranks were drawn the bulk of the Indian Staff Corps. Here, he further honed his language skills becoming conversant in Urdu, Pashto, and Punjabi. Shortly after, in 1911, aged just twenty, he was commissioned into the army and arrived at Quetta. https:// www.joaoroqueliteraryjournal.com/nonfiction-1/2018/12/3/ the-letters- of-c-e-u-bremner-same-old-tired-prejudices
His posting are as below:
British Political Agents in South Waziristan (at Wana)
21 Apr 1928 – 20 Oct 1930 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (b. 1891 - d. 1965) May 14 1932: His Majesty's Vice Consul at Ahwaz (Iran)
Consul for Muscat:
14 November 1932 to 23 March 1933
17 June 1933 to 6 June 1935
Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency are as below: 5 Feb 1937 - 18 Jun 1937 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (b. 1891 - d. 1965)
(1st time) (acting)
14 Mar 1938 - 29 Jun 1938 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (s.a.)
(2nd time) (acting)
31 Oct 1938 – 1 Nov 1938 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (s.a.)
(3rd time) (acting)
9 Mar 1939 - 18 Aug 1940 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (s.a.)
(4th time)
November 26 1940: His Majesty's consul for the Portuguese possessions in India, to reside at Panjim (capital of Goa)

[69] Established by Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar in 1913, it was an Urdu news- paper [70] Mohammad Ali Jauhar (10 December 1878 – 4 January 1931), also known as Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, was an Indian Muslim activist, journalist and a poet, and was among the leading figures of the Khilafat Movement. He was a product of the Aligarh Movement. Elected President of Indian National Congress party in 1923. He was also one of the founders and presidents of the All-India Muslim League.

[71] The Khilafat movement (1919-1924) was an agitation by Indian Muslims allied with Indian nationalism in the years following World War I. Its purpose was to pressure the British government to preserve the authority of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of Islam following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the war. Integral to this was the Indian Muslims' desire to influence the treaty-making process following the war in such a way as to restore the 1914 boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, even though the Turks, allies of the Central Powers, had been defeated in the war. Indian supporters of the Khilafat cause sent a delegation to London

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in 1920 to plead their case, but the British government treated the delegates as quixotic pan-Islamists, and did not change its policy toward Turkey. The Indian Muslims' attempt to influence the provisions of the Treaty of Serves thus failed, and the European powers, most notably Great Britain and France, went ahead with territorial adjustments, including the institution of mandates over formerly Ottoman Arab territories.
https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/khilafat_movement
[72] Las Bela State was a princely state in a subsidiary alliance with British Raj (lat- er a princely state of Pakistan) which existed until 1955. The state occupied an area of 18,254 km2 (7,048 sq mi) in the extreme southeast of the Balochistan region, with an extensive coastline on the Arabian Sea to the south. Las Bela was bordered by the princely states of Kalat and Makran to the north and west. To the east lay the province of Sind and to the southeast lay the Federal Capital Territory around the city of Karachi. For a period of three years between 3 October 1952 and 14 October 1955, Las Bela was part of the Balochistan States Union but retained internal autonomy. In 1955, Las Bela was incorporated into the new province of West Pakistan and became part of Kalat division. In 1962, the area of Las Bela was detached from Kalat division and merged with the former Federal Capital Territory to form the division of Karachi-Bela. When the provincial system was changed in 1970, Las Bela became part of the new province of Balochistan.
[73] The Khanate of Kalat occupied the central part of the territory of modern-day
Balochistan province in Pakistan.
[74] Major-General Sir Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons KCIE CBE DSO (1884– 1966) was a British Indian Army officer and administrator in British India. He was commissioned into the Oxfordshire Volunteer Light Infantry as an acting second lieutenant in 1904, and was given a full second lieutenancy in 1906. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1909 and to captain in 1915. He was a major by 1923, in which year he was awarded the DSO to add to his OBE. He was appointed a CBE in 1927 and was knighted with the KCIE in 1938, by which time he was a lieutenant-colonel. He served as governor of the North-West Frontier Province in 1939.
Chief Commissioner (Agent to the Governor-General in Balochistan)
18 Apr 1936 - 20 Jun 1937 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (b. 1884 - d. 1966)
(1st time) (acting)
14 Mar 1938 - 11 Aug 1939 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (s.a.)
(2nd time)
[75] The head of the local administration is the officer styled Agent to the Governor- General and Chief Commissioner. The Agent to the Governor-General exercises judicial powers under the Frontier Crimes Regulation, and conducts the political administration of Balochistan. He is also Inspector-General of Police and Levies. He has two Assistants, who are officers of the Political Department, and a personal Native Assistant of the rank of an Extra Assistant Commissioner. Other members of his staff are the Agency Surgeon and the Officer Commanding the Royal

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Engineers at Quetta, who is the Civil Secretary in the Public Works depart- ment.

[76]Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency
19 Jun 1937 - 13 Mar 1938 Agha Saiyid Bad Shah (b. 1903 - d. 1966)

[77] Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan (8 July 1908– 31 December 1975) was a Pakistani politician. He was the 9th Chief Minister of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (then called Northwest Frontier Province). He was the son of Risaldar Major Mir Dad Khan and the brother of former military dictator and president Ayub Khan. He was born in the village of Rehana which is located in the Haripur District of Khyber Pashtoonkhwa province. He belonged to the Tarin tribe of Hindko-speaking Pash- tuns. He received his LLB Degree from Aligarh Muslim University. A member of the Muslim League in the province, he was elected to the NWFP Legislative Assembly from the Haripur central constituency in a by-election in the winter of 1939. He became Speaker of the Assembly in 1942. He was re-elected in the 1946 election. Khan later served as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Common- wealth Relations and Communications in the government of Prime Minister Li- aquat Ali Khan (Muslim League) from 17 February – 10 September 1949 when he was promoted to full Cabinet Minister. He served as Minister for Communications in the cabinets of multiple Prime Ministers: Liaquat Ali Khan from 10 September 1949 – 19 October 1951, Khawaja Nazimuddin from 24 October 1951 – 17
April 1953 and Mohammad Ali Bogra from 17 April 1953 – 24 October 1954. He
held the additional portfolio of Health and Works from 10 September 1949 – 20 September 1949. Bahadur Khan served as Chief Commissioner of Balochistan from 8 November 1954 – 19 July 1955. After the 1962 elections, he became Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly of Pakistan during the government of his brother President Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan. In the first nation- wide elections held in 1970 for the National Assembly of Pakistan, he was elected again as a member of the National Assembly of Pakistan. The Sardar Bahadur Khan Women University in Quetta is named in his memory and is the only all-female university in Balochistan.

[78] Mohammad Nadir Shah (born Mohammad Nadir Khan; 9 April 1883 – 8 November 1933) was King of Afghanistan from 15 October 1929 until his assassination in November 1933. Previously, he served as Minister of War, Afghan Ambassador to France, and as a general in the military of Afghanistan. He and his son Mohammad Zahir Shah, who succeeded him, are part of the Musahiban.

[79] Habibullāh Kalakāni (19 January 1891 – 1 November 1929), also known by his nickname "Bacha-ye Saqao" (also romanized Bachai Sakao; literally son of the water carrier) was a ruler of Afghanistan from 17 January to 13 October 1929, as well as a leader of the Saqqawists. During the Afghan Civil War, he captured vast swathes of Afghanistan and ruled Kabul during what is known in historiography as the "Saqqawist period". He was an ethnic Tajik. During the Afghan Civil War (1928–1929), he contested the Afghan throne with Amanullah Khan. After defeat- ing Amanullah, he was eventually defeated by Mohammed Nadir Shah.

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80 A low ranking official in revenue department who keeps and updates land records of his designated revenue village. 81 Now a city in the Indian state of Punjab. 82 Scientific name: Ammoperdix bonhami 83Scientific name: Alectoris chukar
84 Astragalus of the ankle of a sheep and goat
85 Badea, either hidden in the hand or if too many then openly, would be wagered. The wager would be whether their number is even or odd
86 Bhang is an edible preparation of cannabis originating from the Indian Sub- continent. Using mortar and pestle, the leaves of cannabis are ground into a paste which can be added to foods. For a beverage it is mixed with milk and filtered, then often flavored with kusha grass, sugar, fruit, and various spices.
87 Charas is the name given to a hashish form of cannabis which is handmade in the Indian subcontinent. The difference between charas and hashish is that hashish is made from a dead cannabis plant and charas is made from a live one. It is a cannabis concentrate made from the resin of the cannabis plant (Cannabis sativa or Cannabis indica).
88 The great Quetta earthquake of 1935
89 Maḥmūd, in full Yamīn al-Dawlah Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin, (born 971—died April 30?, 1030, Ghazna [Afghanistan]), sultan of the kingdom of Ghazna (998–1030), originally comprising what are now Afghanistan and northeast- ern Iran but, through his conquests, eventually including northwestern India and most of Iran. He transformed his capital, Ghazna (modern Ghazni, Afghanistan), into a cultural centre rivalling Baghdad (now in Iraq).
90 Abu Mohammad Muslih al-Din bin Abdallah Shirazi, better known by his pen-
name 'Saadi', was born in Shiraz, Iran in 1210. He is one of the famous Persian poets. He is recognised for the quality of his writings and for the depth of his social and moral thoughts. His main interests were in poetry, mysticism, logic, ethics and sufism.
91 Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi (7 July 1889 – 24 May 1978) was born in a Hindu family in Thatta who later converted to Islam. He was a famous writer, politician and journalist of Sindh. He defeated Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto in the Sindh election of 1937.
92 Traditional Pashtoon dance. The dancers usually form a circle. It is performed to the tune of dhol and zurna.
93 The dhol is a double-sided barrel drum. The drum consists of a wooden barrel with animal hide or synthetic skin stretched over its open ends, covering them completely. These skins can be stretched or loosened with a tightening mechanism made up of either interwoven ropes, or nuts and bolts. Tightening or loosening the skins subtly alters the pitch of the drum sound. The stretched skin on one of the ends is thicker and produces a deep, low frequency (higher bass) sound and the other thinner one produces a higher frequency sound. The dhol is played using two wooden sticks, usually made out of wood. The bass stick is the thicker of the two, and is bent in an eighth- or quarter-circular arc on the end that strikes the instrument. The other stick is much thinner and flexible and used to play the higher note end of the instrument. The dhol

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is slung over the shoulder or, more rarely, around the neck of the player with a strap usually made up of woven cot- ton.[

94 Sorna is one of many variant terms used for a double-reed instrument known as Zūrnā throughout the Arab world, Asia and southeastern Europe. Names like zukr (Tunisian), zournas (Greece), Surnai (Iran, Central Asia), Sahnāī (India) and China (sona) all are linguistically connected. Most are equipped with a disc (pirouette) located just under the reed. The player's lips press against the disc and enclosing the reed is in the mouth to facilitate breath control. The instrument is provided with a small spike to make adjustments to the reed and finger holes.

95 Sarangi, also called saran or saranga, short-necked fiddle used throughout
South Asia, particularly for folk and classical Hindustani music. Measuring about 76 cm (30 inches) long, the instrument has a roughly rectangular slightly waisted body and broad fretless neck generally carved from a single piece of wood. It has three melody strings made of gut, usually tuned a fifth and a fourth apart, and 11 to 37 sympathetically vibrating metal strings. At least two convex bone bridges are required to accommodate the three melodic strings on top and the many vibrating strings below. The musician, who is seated, normally holds the instrument against his left shoulder in a vertical position and plays with an arched bow held in an underhand grip in his right hand. The cuticles (or sometimes the space on the fingernail just above the cuticles) of the left hand are pressed against the strings to sound specific pitches.

96 Translation by Imtiaz Ahmad Sahibzada

97 The two opponents hop on one leg while they hold the other leg behind their back with the opposite arm. The aim is to make the opponent lose their balance and fall. It can also take the form of a one legged race.

98 Traditional wrestling

99 He was a Sindh member in the Bombay Legislative Assembly before Sindh be- came a province in 1936. After the accession of Sindh to Pakistan in 1947, he be- came the first speaker of the Sindh Assembly. He remained speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly and Minister for the Government of Sindh. Miran Mohammad Shah also served as the first ambassador of Pakistan to Spain after the independence of Pakistan.

100 Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sayyid also spelled Syad, or Syed, Ahmad also spelled Ahmed, (born Oct. 17, 1817, Delhi—died March 27, 1898, Alīgarh, India), Muslim educator, jurist, and author, founder of the Anglo-Mohammedan Oriental College at Alīgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India, and the principal motivating force behind the revival of Indian Islām in the late 19th century. His works, in Urdu, include Es- says on the Life of Mohammed (1870) and commentaries on the Bible and on the Qur'ān. In 1888 he was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India.

101 Shibli Nomani (3 June 1857 – 18 November 1914) was an Islamic scholar from the Indian subcontinent during the British Raj. He was born at Bindwal in Azam- garh district of present-day Uttar Pradesh. He is known for the founding of the Shibli National College in 1883 and the Darul Mussanifin (House of Writers) in Azamgarh. Nomani was a scholar in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu. He was also a poet. He collected much material on the life of the Prophet of Islam, Mohammad

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but could only complete the first two volumes of the planned work, the Sirat-un-Nabi.

[102] Sahih Muslim (Ṣaḥīḥ may be translated as "authentic" or "sound.") is one of the six major hadith collections (kutub al-sittah) in Sunni Islam. It is highly ac- claimed by Sunni Muslims and is considered the second most authentic hadith collection after Sahih al-Bukhari. It was collected by Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjaj (d.875). [103] Need to find out which Hussaini this is

[104] Invoking a patron saint

[105] In our region *raway* (witch) is a type of spirit. It is said by people that these are not spirits but rather a Pashtoon lady. With the aid of a Peer or peryaan (spirit) at night she gains all the attributes of a spirit such as passing through locked doors, climbing over tall forts, crossing large distances such as hundreds of miles in a very short time, roams about at night and visits people's homes while riding atop a hyena, eats their food and scares them. And when angered then removes the heart of a person through the big toe and eats it.

[106] It is dried meat, a famous winter dish of Pashtoon cuisine popular amongst Pashtoons in Afghanistan and southern and central regions of Pashtoons in Pakistan, mostly regions with dry and cold weather. Consumption of landi is com- mon during the winter months. Sheep are specially fattened so that their flesh may be more suitable for preparing lahndi. It is usually prepared from lamb and sheep, although it can also be made from beef. It is prepared as follows. First a lamb or sheep is slaughtered in the Islamic way. Then the wool is separated in a proper and skilled way, leaving only the skin. After that, the remaining hairs on the skin are burned away with fire, after which the meat is wiped to get rid of the carbon deposits. Then the meat is cut into smaller pieces and rubbed with salt. In some regions it is also rubbed with pungent-smelling asafoetida, which is a little like garlic and serves as a preservative. The salted meat is easily preserved. Having been thus prepared, the meat is strung on landi poles (tall poles with cross- pieces which stand outside most Afghan mud-houses and serve as winter larders).

[107] A particular type of plant

[108] Afghan guesthouse

[109] Quran (Surah 12 Yusuf Joseph) (Verse 28) So when her husband saw that Joseph's shirt was torn from the back, he said 'to her', "This must be 'an example' of the cunning of you 'women'! Indeed, your cunning is so shrewd!

[110] As compiled by Beheqi (this needs to be found as to who is this person)

[111] Military Engineer Services

[112] Civil war broke out in November 1928, and a notorious bandit Bacheh Saqqāw (Bacheh-ye Saqqā; "Child of a Water Carrier") occupied Kabul. Amānullāh abdi- cated in January 1929 in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullāh, but Bacheh Saqqāw proclaimed himself Ḥabībullāh Ghāzī (or Ḥabībullāh II), emir of Af- ghanistan. Amānullāh failed to retrieve his throne and went into exile in Italy. He died in 1960 in Zürich, Switzerland.

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[113] Ghilzay, also spelled Gilzai, Ghilzai, or Ghaljai, one of the largest of the Pashto- speaking tribes in Afghanistan, whose traditional territory extended from Ghazni and Kalat-i-Ghilzai eastward into the Indus Valley. They are reputed to be de- scended at least in part from the Khalaj or Khilji Turks, who entered Afghanistan in the 10th century. The Lodi, who established a dynasty on the throne of Delhi in Hindustan (1450–1526), were a branch of the Ghilzay, and in the early 18th cen- tury Mir Vais Khan, a Ghilzay chieftain, captured Kandahar and established an independent kingdom there (1709–15). From this capital his son Mahmud con- quered Persia.
Some of the Ghilzay had long been nomadic merchants, buying goods in India,
where they wintered, and in summer transporting these by camel caravan for sale or barter in Afghanistan. In the late 19th century Afghan nomads began to enter the central mountains of Afghanistan, and several summer trading camps were established in the western mountains. Also, former stockbreeding nomads, who had always obtained grain and other necessities from villagers along their route, increased their trading activities. Some acquired land and, in summer, moved from one tenant-cultivated property to another. In eastern Afghanistan many Ghilzay have become settled cultivators.
[114] Durrānī, also spelled Durānī, formerly Abdālī, one of the two chief tribal con-
federations of Afghanistan, the other being the Ghilzay. In the time of Nāder Shāh the Durrānī were granted lands in the region of Qandahār, which was their home- land; and they moved there from Herāt.
[115] Honore Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau, (born March 9, 1749, Bignon, near Nemours, France—died April 2, 1791, Paris), French politician and orator, one of the greatest figures in the National Assembly that governed France during the early phases of the French Revolution. A moderate and an advocate of constitutional monarchy, he died before the Revolution reached its radical climax.
[116] The Governor-General of Pakistan was the representative of the British
monarch in Pakistan, established by the Indian Independence Act 1947. The office of Governor-General was abolished when Pakistan became an Islamic republic in 1956.
[117] Sir Malik Ghulam Mohammad CIE (20 April 1895 - 29 August 1956) was a Pakistani civil servant and politician who served as the third Governor-General of Pakistan, appointed in this capacity in 1951 until being dismissed in 1955 due to health conditions.
[118] Data Darbar located in the city of Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan houses the remains of Ali Hujwiri, commonly known as Data Ganj Baksh, a Sufi saint from Ghazni in present-day Afghanistan, who is believed to have lived on the site in the 11th cen- tury CE.
[119] The Shrine of Meher Ali Shah is a 20th-century Sufi shrine that serves as the tomb of Peer Meher Ali Shah, an early 20th-century Sufi scholar of the Chisti order.
[120] The Shrine of Lal Shabaz Qalandar is a shrine dedicated to the 13th century mystic, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. The shrine is located in Sehwan Sharif, in the Pak- istani province of Sindh.

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[121] Mohammad Suleman Shah Taunsvi or Khawaja Allah Buksh Taunsvi (1770 - 1850), commonly known as Pir Pathan, was a Sufi scholar and leader within the Chishti order of Sufism. He was born to the Jafar Pakhtun tribe of Darug, Loralai District, Balochistan province, in what is now Pakistan. His shrine lies in Tehsil Taunsa of district Dera Ghazi Khan of Punjab province in Pakistan.

[122] Sir Henry Tristram Holland (12 February 1875 – 19 September 1965) was a Christian medical missionary who travelled to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Balochistan to provide ophthalmologic surgery and care. He is known for establishing hospitals in Quetta and North Sind and is credited with saving the sight of more than 100,000 people. Henry Holland was born on 12 February 1875 to Canon L. W. Holland, a parish priest, in Durham, England. Holland enrolled in the University of Edinburgh in 1894 to become a missionary doctor, graduating in 1899 with distinctions. Then, he began visiting many educational institutions as part his position as the Travelling Secretary of the Student Volunteer Mission and also became part of the Church Missionary Society. In his last four months of his position as Travelling Secretary, he left for Quetta to replace a doctor on leave. The hospital in Quetta was a medical mission established in 1886 by British officials. The hospital treated many different ailments including common illnesses of dysentery and malaria and surgeries for hemorrhoids, tubercular glands, and cataracts. For his ophthalmologic work, he became in charge of this hospital in Quetta in 1907. From there, the hospital grew steadily due to increases in the need for ophthalmologic treatment. It began building wards so that patients could be accompanied by relatives, which was especially important for patients who travelled from afar, added extra beds, and bought an X-ray unit. By 1930, 14 wards were built for patients. In addition to physical size, the hospital also grew in the professional context. It developed a training Program for male nurses in 1926 and for dispensers in 1931. In May 1935, however, an earthquake hit Quetta and destroyed the hospital. He returned to England to raise money for the Re- building Fund for the hospital. In the meantime, temporary structures were used. The reconstruction of the hospital began in 1936 and was finally completed on 6 May 1940. Holland retired in March 1948. In 1958, he published an autobiographical work titled Frontier Doctor.

[123] Ḥabībullāh Khan, (born 1872, Tashkent, Russian Turkistan [now in Uzbekistan]—died February 20, 1919, Kalagosh, Afghanistan), ruler of Afghanistan from 1901 to 1919. Maintaining satisfactory relations with British India, he introduced needed reforms in Afghanistan and steered his country on a moderate political course.

The eldest son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khan, Ḥabībullāh succeeded peacefully to the throne after his father's death in October 1901. At the time, British India was deeply involved in Afghan affairs, and Ḥabībullāh agreed to accept British guidance in foreign affairs in return for an annual subsidy of £160,000. He was able to retain full control of his country's internal affairs.

With the outbreak of World War I (1914–18), there was widespread support in Afghanistan of Ottoman Turkey against the British. Ḥabībullāh, however, was able to maintain a policy of noninvolvement

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throughout the war. He meanwhile moved to open Afghanistan to technology from the West, founding schools, a military academy, and a weekly newspaper. He also introduced electricity, automobiles, and Western medical methods to the country.

Ḥabībullāh's antiwar policy was unpopular with the young anti-British elements in the population. In 1919 he was assassinated while on a hunting trip.

[124] Muslim League, original name All India Muslim League, political group that led the movement calling for a separate Muslim nation to be created at the time of the partition of British India (1947). The Muslim League was founded in 1906 to safeguard the rights of Indian Muslims. At first the league was encouraged by the British and was generally favourable to their rule, but the organization adopted self-government for India as its goal in 1913. For several decades the league and its leaders, notably Mohammed Ali Jinnah, called for Hindu-Muslim unity in a united and independent India. It was not until 1940 that the league called for the formation of a Muslim state that would be separate from the projected independent country of India. The league wanted a separate nation for India's Muslims because it feared that an independent India would be dominated by Hindus. Jinnah and the Muslim League led the struggle for the partition of British India into separate Hindu and Muslim states, and after the formation of Pakistan in 1947 the league became Pakistan's dominant political party. In that year it was renamed the All Pakistan Muslim League. But the league functioned less effectively as a modern political party in Pakistan than it had as a mass-based pressure group in British India, and hence it gradually declined in popularity and coh sion. In the elections of 1954 the Muslim League lost power in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), and the party lost power in West Pakistan (now Pakistan) soon afterward. By the late 1960s the party had split into various factions, and by the 1970s it had disappeared altogether.

[125] Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind or Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind (transl. "Council of Indian Mus-
lim Theologians"), one of the leading organizations of Islamic scholars belonging to the Deobandi school of thought in India It was founded in 1919 by a group of Deobandi scholars. The Jamiat was an active participant in the Khilafat Movement in collaboration with the Indian National Congress. It also opposed the partition of India, taking the position of composite nationalism: that Muslims and non-Muslims form one nation. During the British Raj, the Deobandi and Deoband-based organization was against British rule in India and supported a unit- ed India, opposing the formation of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. The Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind was a member of the All India Azad Muslim Conference, which contained several Islamic organisations standing for a united India.

[126] Amānullāh Khan, (born June 1, 1892, Paghmān, Afghanistan—died April 25,
1960, Zürich, Switzerland), ruler of Afghanistan (1919–29) who led his country to full independence from British influence.

A favoured son of the Afghan ruler Ḥabībullāh Khan, Amānullāh took possession of the throne immediately after his father's assassination in

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1919, at a time when Great Britain exercised an important influence on Afghan affairs. In his corona- tion address Amānullāh declared total independence from Great Britain. This led to war with the British (see Anglo-Afghan Wars), but fighting was confined to a series of skirmishes between an ineffective Afghan army and a British Indian army exhausted from the heavy demands of World War I (1914–18). A peace treaty recognizing the independence of Afghanistan was signed at Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan) in August 1919.

Although a charming man and a sincere patriot and reformer, Amānullāh was also impulsive and tactless and tended to surround himself with poor advisers. Shortly after ascending the throne, he pushed for a series of Western-style re- forms, including an education program and road-building projects, but was op- posed by reactionaries. In 1928 he returned from a trip to Europe with plans for legislative reform and emancipation of women, proposals that caused his popular support to drop and enraged the Mullahs (Muslim religious leaders). In 1928 a tribal revolt resulted in a chaotic situation during which a notorious bandit leader, Bacheh Saqqāw (Bacheh-ye Saqqā; "Child of a Water Carrier"), seized Kabul, the capital city, and declared himself ruler. Amānullāh attempted to re- gain the throne but, for reasons that are unclear, failed to do so. He abdicated in January 1929 and left Afghanistan for permanent exile that May.

[127] Haripur is the main city of the Haripur District in Hazara, Khyber Pash-
tunkhwa, Pakistan

[128] Umar I, in full 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, (born c. 586, Mecca, Arabia [now in Saudi Arabia]—died November 3, 644, Medina, Arabia), the second Muslim caliph (from 634), under whom Arab armies conquered Mesopotamia and Syria and began the conquest of Iran and Egypt.

A member of the clan of 'Adī of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh, 'Umar at first op- posed Mohammad but, in about 615, became a Muslim. By 622, when he went to Medina with Mohammad and the other Meccan Muslims, he had become one of Mohammad's chief advisers, closely associated with Abū Bakr. His position in the state was marked by Muhammad's marriage to his daughter Ḥafṣah in 625. On Muhammad's death in 632, 'Umar was largely responsible for reconciling the Medinan Muslims to the acceptance of a Meccan, Abū Bakr, as head of state (caliph). Abū Bakr (reigned 632–634) relied greatly on 'Umar and nominated him to succeed him. As caliph, 'Umar was the first to call himself "commander of the faithful" (amīr al-mu'minīn). His reign saw the transformation of the Islamic state from an Arabian principality to a world power.

Throughout this remarkable expansion, 'Umar closely controlled general policy and laid down the principles for administering the conquered lands. The structure of the later Islamic empire, including legal practice, is largely due to him. 'Umar established the dīwān (a register of warriors' pensions that over time evolved into a powerful governmental body), inaugurated the Islamic Hijrī calendar, and created the office of the qadi (judge). He also established the garrison cities of Al-Fusṭāṭ in Egypt and Basra and Kūfah in Iraq.

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In 644 'Umar was attacked by a Persian Christian slave named Abū Lu'lu'ah and died from his wounds three days later. While he lay dying, 'Umar appointed a six- man council that eventually selected 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān as his successor.
A strong ruler, stern toward offenders, and himself ascetic to the point of harsh-
ness, 'Umar was universally respected for his justice and authority. His role in decisively shaping the early Islamic community is widely acknowledged.

[129] Similar status
[130] Fāṭimah, also spelled Fatima, also called al-Zahrā' (Arabic: "the Radiant One"), (born c. 605, Mecca, Arabia [now in Saudi Arabia]—died 632/633, Medina), daughter of Mohammad (the founder of Islam) who in later centuries became the object of deep veneration by many Muslims, especially the Shi'ah. Mohammad had other sons and daughters, but they either died young or failed to produce a long line of descendants. Fāṭimah, however, stood at the head of a ge- nealogy that steadily enlarged through the generations and which became vener- ated as Ahl al-Bayt.
To the Shi'ah, she is particularly important because she was married to 'Alī, whom the Shi'ah considered to be the legitimate heir of the authority of the Prophet Muhammad and the first of their imāms. The sons of Fāṭimah and 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, are thus viewed by the Shi'ah as the rightful inheritors of the tradition of Muhammad, a further ramification of Fāṭimah's significance among Shi'i believers. Accordingly, many Islamic traditions give a majestic if not miraculous quality to Fāṭimah's life.
[131] Alī, in full 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, (born c. 600, Mecca, Arabia [now in Saudi Arabia]
—died January 661, Kufa, Iraq), cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, and fourth of the "rightly guided" (rāshidūn) caliphs, as the first four successors of Mohammad are called. Reigning from 656 to 661, he was the first imam (leader) of Shi'ism in all its forms. The question of his right to the caliphate (the political-religious structure comprising the community of Muslims and its territories that emerged after the death of Muhammad) resulted in the only major split in Islam, into the Sunni and Shi'i branches.
[132] Saifuddin Kitchlew (15 January 1888 – 9 October 1963) was an Indian freedom fighter, barrister, politician and later a leader of the peace movement. A member of Indian National Congress, he first became Punjab Provincial Congress Committee (Punjab PCC) head and later the General Secretary of the AICC in 1924. He is most remembered for the protests in Punjab after the implementation of Rowlatt Act in March 1919, after which on 10 April, he and another leader Satya- pal, were secretly sent to Dharamsala. A public protest rally against their arrest and that of Gandhi, on 13 April 1919 at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, led to the in- famous Jallianwala Bagh massacre. He was also a founding member of Jamia Millia Islamia. He was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize (now known as Lenin Peace Prize) in 1952.
[133] Translator of this book

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134 Khan of Kalat or Khan-e-Qalat is the title of the Brahvi former rulers of the Khanate of Kalat. Kalat state is now a part of Balochistan Province, Pakistan.
The rulers of Kalat were never fully independent. There was always, as there is still, a paramount power to whom they were subject. In the earliest times they were merely petty chiefs ; later they bowed to the orders of the Mughal emperors of Delhi and to the rulers of Kandahar, and supplied men-at-arms on demand. Most peremptory orders from the Afghan rulers to their vassals of Kalat are still extant, and the predominance of the Sadozais and Barakzais was acknowledged so late as 1838. It was not until the time of Naslr Khan I that the titles of Beglar Begi (Chief of Chiefs) and Wali-i-Kalat (Governor of Kalat) were conferred on the Kalat ruler by the Afghan kings.
Internet Archive. 2021. Imperial gazetteer of India .. : Great Britain. India Office : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive. [online] Available at:
<https://archive.org/details/imperialgazetteer06grea/page/276/mode/2up>
135 Surat 26 Ash-Shu'ara (The Poets) – Verse 80.
136 Abdul Ghaffar Khan, (born 1890, Utmanzai, India—died Jan. 20, 1988, Peshawar, Pak.), the foremost 20th-century leader of the Pashtoons (Pakhtuns, or Pathans; a Muslim ethnic group of Pakistan and Afghanistan), who became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and was called the "Frontier Gandhi."
Ghaffar Khan met Gandhi and entered politics in 1919 during agitation over the Rowlatt Acts, which allowed the internment of political dissidents without trial. In the following year he joined the Khilafat movement, which sought to strength- en the spiritual ties of Indian Muslims to the Turkish sultan, and in 1921 he was elected president of a district Khilafat committee in his native North-West Frontier Province.
Soon after attending an Indian National Congress (Congress Party) gathering in 1929, Ghaffar Khan founded the Red Shirt movement (Khudai Khitmatgar) among the Pashtoons. It espoused nonviolent nationalist agitation in support of Indian independence and sought to awaken the Pashtoons' political consciousness. By the late 1930s Ghaffar Khan had become a member of Gandhi's inner circle of advisers, and the Khudai Khitmatgar actively aided the Congress Party cause up to the partition of India in 1947.
Ghaffar Khan, who had opposed the partition, chose to live in Pakistan, where he
continued to fight for the rights of the Pashtoon minority and for an autonomous Pushtunistan (also called Pakhtunistan or Pathanistan; an independent state in the border areas of West Pakistan). He paid dearly for his principles, spending many years in jail and afterward residing in Afghanistan. Ghaffar Khan returned to Pakistan in 1972. His memoirs, My Life and Struggle, were made public in 1969.
137 Political Agent and Deputy Commissioner for the Quetta Agency
8 Mar 1928 – 30 Sep 1930 Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate (b. 1889 - d. 1978)
Sir Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate, 2nd Baronet, CB, CMG, CIE, OBE (30 September 1889 – 31 August 1978) was a British colonial administrator,

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soldier and author. Wingate was born in 1889 in Kensington, London, and educated at Brad- field College and Balliol College, Oxford before entering the Indian Civil Service. In the Civil Service, he served as an Assistant Commissioner in Punjab and the city magistrate of Delhi. During the First World War, Wingate was given a special assignment with the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force as an assistant political officer. After the war, he served as British Consul in Muscat, Oman, and helped to negotiate the Treaty of Seeb. He then briefly served in Kashmir before returning to Oman. After his second tour in Oman, Wingate held a variety of positions in British India, including service as the Acting Secretary of the Foreign and Political Department of the Indian Government and Commissioner of Balochistan.
At the outbreak of the Second World War, Wingate served with the Ministry of Economic Warfare in Africa and Southeast Asia. Then, in 1942, he joined the London Controlling Section (LCS), an organization within the War Cabinet de- voted to military deception. Wingate became the Deputy Controller of the LCS in 1943 and helped to form numerous deception plans including Plan Jael, later called Operation Bodyguard. At the conclusion of the war, he was chosen to write the official history of Allied deception operations during it.
After the war, Wingate served as the British delegate on the Tripartite Commis-
sion for the Restitution of Monetary Gold and as a director on the board of the Imperial Continental Gas Association. He also wrote three books: Wingate of the Sudan, a biography of his father, Reginald Wingate; Not in the Limelight, his own memoirs; and Lord Ismay, a biography of General Hastings Ismay. Wingate died on 31 August 1978 at the age of 88.
138 Mohammad Nadir Shah (born Mohammad Nadir Khan; 9 April 1883 – 8 November 1933) was King of Afghanistan from 15 October 1929 until his assassination in November 1933. Previously, he served as Minister of War, Afghan Ambassador to France, and as a general in the military of Afghanistan. He and his son Mohammad Zahir Shah, who succeeded him, are part of the Musahiban.
139 King Habibullah Kalakani, popularly known as Bacha Saka, deposed King
Amanullah Khan (1891-1929) to become the ruler of Afghanistan. Nine months later he was murdered by Nadir Khan (Nadir Shah) who ruled Afghanistan from 1929 till 1933.
140 The Chief Commissioner's Province of Balochistan was a province of British India, and later Pakistan, located in the northern parts of the modern Balochistan province. Over 95% of the population was Pashtoon. The province was administered by a Chief Commissioner appointed by the Viceroy of India. Although there was no elected legislature the Chief Commissioner could consult the Shahi Jirga, an assembly of tribal leaders. The province comprised three groups of areas – the settled districts, the political agencies and the tribal area. The settled areas were mainly the district around Quetta and Jaffarabad. The agencies were the Zhob agency to the north of Quetta and the Chagai agency to the west, which had a tenuous land link with the rest of the province. The tribal areas were the Bugti and Marri tribal agencies which would later become Provincially Administered Tribal Areas in the new Balochistan province.

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History
- Established 1876
- Quetta and surrounding districts placed under British administration 1879
- Administration of Pishin and Sibi tract assumed from Afghanistan 1879
- Bolan Pass tracts leased to British by Kalat 1883
- Zhob and country of Khetran tribes brought under British rule from Afghanistan

1890
- Chagai and West Sinjrani brought under British administration 1896
- Leased Nushki from Kalat 1899
- Leased Nasirabad from Kalat 1903
- Disestablished 1955

141 Sir Robert Groves Sandeman (1835-1892), Indian officer and administrator, was the son of General Robert Turnbull Sandeman, and was born on the 25th of February 1835. He was educated at Perth and St Andrews University, and joined the 33rd Bengal Infantry in 1856. When that regiment was disarmed at Phillour by General Nicholson during the Mutiny in 1857, he took part in the final capture of Lucknow as adjutant of the nth Bengal Lancers. After the suppression of the Mutiny he was appointed to the Punjab Commission by Sir John Lawrence. In 1866 he was appointed district officer of Dera Ghazi Khan, and there first showed his capacity in dealing with the Baloch tribes. He was the first to break through the close-border system of Lord Lawrence, by extending British influence to the independent tribes beyond the border. In his hands this policy worked admirably, owing to his tact in managing the tribesmen and his genius for control. In 1876 he negotiated the treaty with the khan of Kalat, which subsequently governed the relations between Kalat and the Indian government; and in 1877 he was made agent to the governor-general in Balochistan, an office which he held till his death. During the second Afghan War in 1878 his influence over the tribesmen was of the utmost importance, since it enabled him to keep intact the line of communications with Kandahar, and to control the tribes after the British disaster at Maiwand. For these services he was made K.C.S.I. in 1879. In 1889 he occupied the Zhob valley, a strategic advantage which opened the Gomal Pass through the Waziri country to caravan traffic. Sandeman's system was not so well suited to the Pathan as to his Baloch neighbour. But in Balochistan he was a pioneer, a pacificator and a successful administrator, who converted that country from a state of complete anarchy into a province as orderly as any in British India. He died at Bela, the capital of Las Bela state, on the 29th of January 1892, and there he lies buried under a handsome tomb.

142 A set of regulations enforced in the North West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pashtoonkhwa), British Balochistan and the Tribal Areas, under which administrators were allowed to pass sentences in lieu of courts, with at times reference to a selected Jirga. The most infamous clauses of the FCR were those allowing collective punishment; including the imprisonment of women, children and elders, for the alleged crimes of an individual.

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143 Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)

28 Nov 1937 - 14 Mar 1938 Olaf Kirkpatrick Caroe (acting) (b. 1892 - d. 1981)

Sir Olaf Caroe, in full Sir Olaf Kirkpatrick Caroe, (born November 15, 1892, Lon- don, England—died November 23, 1981, Steyning, Sussex), British administrator who served as governor of the North-West Frontier Province of India in 1946–47, during the difficult period preceding the transfer of British power.

Educated at the University of Oxford, Caroe served in the British army during World War I before commencing a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service. Caroe became a recognized expert on the Indian Ocean region and on the Middle East and published such valuable works of political analysis as Wells of Power: The Oilfields of South-Western Asia (1951) and The Soviet Empire: The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism (1953). As governor of the North-West Frontier Province, he aroused opposition by proposing to hold a referendum to decide the fate of the region; he resigned his post as a guarantee of noninterference while voting took place. The province voted to join Pakistan. Caroe was made a Knight in the Order of the Star of India in 1944 and was promoted to the rank of Knight Commander in 1945.

Obituary:

Caroe was one of the few remaining great pro-consuls of the former British Indi- an Empire. Educated at Winchester and Magdalen College, Oxford he first went to India as an officer in the territorial 4th Battalion of the Queens Regiment. In 1919 he entered the Indian Civil Service and was posted to the Panjab. In 1923 he joined the Political Service and for the next fourteen years he served continuously on the North West Frontier, becoming Chief Secretary of the province in 1937. After brief spells of duty in Balochistan and the Persian Gulf, he was in 1939 appointed Foreign Secretary in the External Affairs Department of the Government of India. He remained in this sensitive post until 1946 when he was appointed Governor of the North West Frontier Province thus returning to his old stamping ground and to the Pathans whom he knew and loved so well. His appointment coincided with the final stage of the transfer of power, a process in which he en- countered grave difficulty owing to Congress allegations of his partiality for the Muslim League. This problem was eased by the generous proposal on his part that during the crucial referendum to decide the future of the province, he should step down in favour of an acting governor. The Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, reluctantly agreed to this suggestion, and in 1947 Caroe went on leave pending retirement.

144 Chief Commissioner of Balochistan from 13 February 1953 to 8 November 1954, later governor of NWFP. Qurban Ali Khan handed over charge of Punjab IG Police in 1953 and the same year he was appointed the Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan. In 1955 he became NWFP governor and thereafter served the nation as federal minister for Tribal affairs and Kashmir.

145 Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

1 Apr 1936 – 3 Nov 1936 Everard Huddleston Gastrell (b. 1898 - d. 1980)

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(1st time)
16 Dec 1936 - 4 Feb 1937 Everard Huddleston Gastrell (s.a.)
(2nd time)
[146] Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)
11 Aug 1939 - 24 Nov 1943 Sir Herbert Aubrey Francis Metcalfe (b. 1883 - d. 1957)
Sir Herbert Aubrey Francis Metcalfe KCIE CSI MVO (1883–1957) was an administrator in British India. He was commissioned into the Royal Munster Fusiliers in 1903 and joined the ICS in 1908. In 1917, he was commissioned a Temporary Lieutenant in the 5th Punjab Light Horse of the British Indian Army. In 1922, he was appointed Member Fourth Class of the Royal Victorian Order and was appointed a CIE in 1928 and a CSI in 1933. In 1936, Metcalfe was knighted with the KCIE. He served as Chief Commissioner of Balochistan from 1939 to 1943.

[147] The Statesman is an Indian English-language broadsheet daily newspaper founded in 1875
[148] Pistacia khinjuk
[149] Karez are constructed as a series of well-like vertical shafts, connected by slop- ing tunnels, which tap into subterranean water in a manner that efficiently delivers large quantities of water to the surface by gravity, without need for pumping. The vertical shafts along the underground channel are purely for maintenance purposes, and water is used only once it emerges from the daylight point. Karez allow water to be transported over long distances in hot dry climates without loss of much of the water to evaporation.
[150] Now Khyber-Pashtoonkhwa
[151] Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Armine Brereton Dew KCIE CSI (1867–1941) was a British Indian Army officer and administrator in British India; he served as the Chief Commissioner of Balochistan during colonial rule. He was the son of Major Frederick Napoleon Dew, J.P., D.L. Herefordshire. He was educated at Welling- ton College then in February 1886 was commissioned into the 4th Battalion of the Shropshire Light Infantry, a unit of the Militia. He then obtained a commission into the regular army, being commissioned into the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in November 1888. He was appointed to the Indian Army and the Queen's Own Corps of Guides in December 1889. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1891 and took part in the Hazara 1891 operations (earning medal & clasp). Attached to the Gilgit Agency, 1894, appointed to civil employment with the Political Department with the North West Frontier Province in December 1897 and promoted Captain in 1899. He married Esme Mary, daughter of Sir Adelbert Talbot, KCIE in 1900. Promoted to Major in 1906, he was Political Agent in Gilgit from 1908 to 1912 in 1911 was appointed a CIE. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1914. He was Political Agent for the princely state of Kalat from 1912 to 1917 and was appointed a CSI in 1915. He was mentioned in despatches in the London Gazette 31 October 1917. He was appointed Revenue and Judicial Commissioner, Balochis tan, 1917; Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Balochistan, 1919–22. He was knighted with the

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KCIE in 1921. He retired on 1 December 1922. Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

1 Apr 1905 - 3 Apr 1905 Armine Brereton Dew (1st time) (b. 1867 - d. 1941)

(acting)

3 Sep 1905 - 7 Dec 1905 Armine Brereton Dew (2nd time) (s.a.)

Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan) [1]

Sep 1919 - Jun 1922 Armine Brereton Dew (b. 1867 - d. 1941)

[152] Lt-Col Sir Richard Henry Chenevix Trench was born on 4 April, 1876 and died on 3 September, 1954. He fought in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, where he won a medal with clasp. He gained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Indian Army. He was appointed Companion, Order of the Indian Empire (C.I.E.) He held the office of Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office. He was in the Indian Political Service. He was appointed Officer, Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.).

Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

3 Jul 1906 - 15 Jul 1906 Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (b. 1876 - d. 1954)

(1st time)

6 Nov 1906 - 22 Jan 1907 Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (s.a.) (2nd time)

26 Nov 1921 – 26 Mar 1922 Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (s.a.) (1st time)

10 Dec 1924 – 13 Apr 1925 Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (s.a.) (2nd time)

12 Nov 1925 – 28 Mar 1926 Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (s.a.) (3rd time)

25 Oct 1926 – 6 Jan 1927 Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (s.a.) (4th time)

[153] Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

7 May 1919 - 6 Sep 1920 Hugh Stewart (1st time) (b. 1872 – d. 1931)

1 Dec 1920 – 23 Feb 1921 Hugh Stewart (2nd time) (s.a.)

25.(s.a.)

26.(s.a.)

[154] Jawaharlal Nehru (14 November 1889 – 27 May 1964) was an Indian independence activist and, subsequently, the first Prime Minister of India, as well as a central figure in Indian politics both before and after independence. He emerged as an eminent leader of the Indian independence movement, serving India as Prime Minister from its establishment in 1947 as an independent nation, until his death in 1964. He was also known as Pandit Nehru due to his roots with the Kashmiri Pandit community.

[155] Indian National Congress, byname Congress Party, broadly based political party of India. Formed in 1885, the Indian National Congress dominated the Indian movement for independence from Great Britain. It subsequently formed most of India's governments from the time of independence and often had a strong presence in many state governments.

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156 An Indian Muslim movement, it aimed to rouse public opinion against the harsh treatment accorded to the Ottoman Empire after World War I and specifically against the treatment of the Ottoman sultan and caliph (khalifa). The movement began in 1919 and, under the leadership of the Ali brothers, Mohammad Ali (1878–1931) and Shaukat Ali (1873–1938), assumed a mainly political character in alliance with the Indian National Congress, adopting the non-cooperation Program in May 1920. The Khilafat movement had considerable support from Muslims but was extinguished in 1924 after the abolition of the caliphate by Atatürk.

157 Naujawan Bharat Sabha (NBS, sometimes spelled Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, with the acronym NJBS) (transl. Youth Society of India) was a left-wing Indian association that sought to foment revolution against the British Raj by gathering together worker and peasant youths. It was founded by Bhagat Singh in March 1926 and was a more public face of the Hindustan Republican Association.

158 Saifuddin Kitchlew (15 January 1888 – 9 October 1963) was an Indian freedom
fighter, barrister, politician and a Nationalist Muslim leader. A member of Indian National Congress, he first became Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee (Punjab PCC) head and later the General Secretary of the AICC in 1924. He is most re- membered for the protests in Punjab after the implementation of Rowlatt Act in March 1919, after which on 10 April, he and another leader Satyapal, were secret- ly sent to Dharamsala.

159 Kaka jee Sanober Hussain Momand s/o Gulfaraz Khan Momand was the pioneer freedom fighter and leader of the first batch of Jamiat e Naujawanan e Sarhad (which was later named as Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1930).Born in January 1897 he died on January 3, 1963.He belonged to the village Kaga Wala of Momand tribe of Bara.

160 Abdul Ghaffār Khān (6 February 1890 – 20 January 1988), also known as Bād- shāh Khān (King Khan) or Bāchā Khān (King of Chiefs) and honourably ad- dressed as Fakhr-e-Afghan (Pride of Afghans), was a Pashtoon independence activist against British colonial rule in India. He was a political and spiritual leader known for his nonviolent opposition and lifelong pacifism; he was a devout Muslim and an advocate for Hindu–Muslim unity in the Indian subcontinent. Due to his similar ideologies and close friendship with Mahatma Gandhi, Khan was nicknamed Sarhadi Gandhi (Frontier Gandhi) by his close associate Amir Chand Bombwal. In 1929, Khan founded the Khudai Khidmatgar, an anti-colonial non- violent resistance movement. The Khudai Khidmatgar's success and popularity with the Indian people eventually prompted the British to launch a severe crack- down against him and his supporters; the Khudai Khidmatgar suffered some of the most severe repression of the entire Indian independence movement.

Khan strongly opposed the proposal for the Partition of India into the Hindu-majority Dominion of India and Muslim-majority Dominion of Pakistan, and consequently sided with the pro-union Indian National Congress and All-India Azad Muslim Conference against the pro-partition All-India Muslim League. When the Indian National Congress reluctantly declared its acceptance of the partition plan without

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consulting the Khudai Khidmatgar leaders, he felt deeply betrayed, telling the Congress leaders "you have thrown us to the wolves." In June 1947, Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgar leaders formally issued the Bannu Resolution to the British authorities, demanding that the ethnic Pashtoons be given a choice to have an independent state of Pashtoonistan, which was to comprise all of the Pashtoon territories of British India and not be included (as almost all other Muslim-majority provinces were) within the state of Pakistan—the creation of which was still underway at the time. However, the British openly refused to comply with the demands of this resolution. In response, Khan and his elder brother, Abdul Jabbar Khan, boycotted the 1947 North-West Frontier Province referendum on deciding whether the province should be merged with India or Pakistan, citing that it did not have the options for the Pashtoon-majority province to become independent or to join neighbouring Afghanistan.

After the Partition of India was brought into effect by the British on 14 August

1947, Khan pledged allegiance to the newly-created nation of Pakistan, and stayed in the now-Pakistani North-West Frontier Province; he was frequently arrested by the Pakistani government between 1948 and 1954. In 1956, he was arrested for his opposition to the One Unit program, under which the government announced its plan to merge all the provinces of West Pakistan into a single unit to match the political structure of erstwhile East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh). Khan was jailed or in exile during much of the 1960s and 1970s. Following his will upon his death in Peshawar while under house arrest in 1988, he was buried at his house in Jalalabad, Afghanistan. Tens of thousands of mourners attended his funeral, marching through the Khyber Pass from Peshawar towards Jalalabad. It was marred by two bomb explosions that killed 15 people; despite the heavy fighting at the time due to the Soviet–Afghan War, both sides, namely the Soviet–Afghan government coalition and the Afghan mujahideen, declared an immediate cease- fire to allow Khan's burial.

[161] Nawab Mir Yousaf Aziz Magsi (born 1908 in Jhal Magsi, Pakistan- May 31,

1935) was a prominent Baloch leader from the present-day Balochistan province of Pakistan. He hailed from the Magsi tribe headquartered in Jhal Magsi, the ancestral home of the Magsi. His title was Nawab, which means "ruling prince" or "tribal chief". His father, Kaiser Khan Magsi, was the Nawab of the Magsi tribe.

[162] Sir Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate, 2nd Baronet, CB, CMG, CIE, OBE (30 September 1889 – 31 August 1978) was a British colonial administrator, soldier and author. Wingate was born in 1889 in Kensington, London, and educated at Brad- field College and Balliol College, Oxford before entering the Indian Civil Service. In the Civil Service, he served as an Assistant Commissioner in Punjab and the city magistrate of Delhi.

During the First World War, Wingate was given a special assignment with the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force as an assistant political officer. After the war, he served as British Consul in Muscat, Oman, and helped to negotiate the Treaty of Seeb. He then briefly served in Kashmir

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before returning to Oman. After his second tour in Oman, Wingate held a variety of positions in British India, including service as the Acting Secretary of the Foreign and Political Department of the Indian Government and Commissioner of Balochistan.
At the outbreak of the Second World War, Wingate served with the Ministry of Economic Warfare in Africa and Southeast Asia. Then, in 1942, he joined the London Controlling Section (LCS), an organization within the War Cabinet de- voted to military deception. Wingate became the Deputy Controller of the LCS in 1943 and helped to form numerous deception plans including Plan Jael, later called Operation Bodyguard. At the conclusion of the war, he was chosen to write the official history of Allied deception operations during it.
After the war, Wingate served as the British delegate on the Tripartite Commis-
sion for the Restitution of Monetary Gold and as a director on the board of the Imperial Continental Gas Association. He also wrote three books: Wingate of the Sudan, a biography of his father, Reginald Wingate; Not in the Limelight, his own memoirs; and Lord Ismay, a biography of General Hastings Ismay. Wingate died on 31 August 1978 at the age of 88.
Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency
8 Mar 1928 – 30 Sep 1930 Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate (b. 1889 - d. 1978) Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)
1 Apr 1936 - 18 Apr 1936 Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate (b. 1889 - d. 1978)
(1st time) (acting)
20 Jun 1937 - 28 Nov 1937 Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate (s.a.)
(2nd time) (acting)

[163] In March 1888, a Parsi man Nawsarwanji Mancharji set up the Victoria Press. The press published the Monthly Balochistan Advertiser, Border Weekly News, Balochistan Gazette and The Daily Bulletin. It ran successfully in pre-partition India until 1935, when the same earthquake in Quetta destroyed the press offices. [164] 1 Oct 1929 - 17 Dec 1931 Charles Edward Bruce (acting) (b. 1876 - d. 1950)

[165] Ayat Hud (11) – Verse 70: But when he saw their hands went not towards the
(meal), he felt some mistrust of them, and conceived a fear of them. They said: "Fear not: We have been sent against the people of Lut.

[166] Sandeman Memorial Hall was built in honour of administrator, Sir Robert Sandeman (1835-1892). It was used as a meeting place for Balochistan's tribal leaders. It was badly damaged in the earthquake of 31 May, 1935.

[167] Abdur Rahmān Mohmand (1632–1706) or Rahmān Bābā, was a renowned Afghan Sufi Dervish and poet from Peshawar during the Mughal era. He, along with his contemporary Khushal Khan Khattak, is considered to be one of the most popular poets among the ethnic Pashtoons. His poetry expresses the mystical side of Islam, in line with his Sufi-oriented nature.

[168] 1 Oct 1929 - 17 Dec 1931 Charles Edward Bruce (acting) (b. 1876 - d. 1950)

[169] Caravanserai

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[170] Renamed Khyber-Pashtoonkhwa in 2010

[171] Zafar Ali Khan (1873– 27 November 1956) also known as Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, was a Pakistani writer, poet, translator and journalist who played an important role in the Pakistan Movement. Apart from Islamic religious sciences, he was well-versed in the latest theories of economics, sociology and politics, and for his erudition as well as methods, is generally considered to be "the father of Urdu journalism."[172] Syed Fazl-ul-Hasan (14 October 1875 – 13 May 1951), known by his pen-name Hasrat Mohani, was an Indian activist, freedom Fighter in the Indian independence movement and a noted poet of the Urdu language. He coined the notable slogan Inquilab Zindabad (translation of "Long live the revolution!") in 1921. Together with Swami Kumaranand, he is regarded as the first person to demand complete independence for India in 1921 at the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian National Congress.

[173] A successful journalist, a notable essayist and poet Abdul Majeed Salik was
born on 13th Dec 1895 at Batalh district Gurdaspur. His columns, articles, essays had been published in various literary magazines and newspapers. He started writing poetry at an early age of 14. Most of his Nazms are painted with the colour of patriotism which motivated the people of that era and filled them with a new energy. His poetic collection 'Raah-o-rasme Manzilha' was published in 1922. He was the editor of magazines 'Tahzeeb-e-nasvaan', 'phool'. 'Zameendar' was an institution he was associated with. He passed away on 27 Sep 1959 in 27 Sep 1959 Lahore, Punjab.

[174] Ghulam Rasool Mehr (13 April 1895 – 16 November 1971) was a Pakistani Muslim scholar and political activist born in Phoolpur, a village in the district of Jalandhar, British India.

[175] Bhagat Singh, (born September 27, 1907, Lyallpur, western Punjab, India [now in Pakistan]—died March 23, 1931, Lahore [now in Pakistan]), revolutionary hero of the Indian independence movement. Bhagat Singh attended Dayanand Anglo Vedic High School, which was operated by Arya Samaj (a reform sect of modern Hinduism), and then National College, both located in Lahore. He began to protest British rule in India while still a youth and soon fought for national independence. He also worked as a writer and editor in Amritsar for Punjabi- and Urdu-language newspapers espousing Marxist theories. He is credited with popularizing the catchphrase "Inquilab zindabad" ("Long live the revolution").

In 1928 Bhagat Singh plotted with others to kill the police chief responsible for the death of Indian writer and politician Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the founders of National College, during a silent march opposing the Simon Commission. In- stead, in a case of mistaken identity, junior officer J.P. Saunders was killed, and Bhagat Singh had to flee Lahore to escape the death penalty. In 1929 he and an associate lobbed a bomb at the Central Legislative Assembly in Delhi to protest the implementation of the Defence of India Act and then surrendered. He was hanged at the age of 23 for the murder of Saunders.

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176 Jatindra Nath Das (27 October 1904 – 13 September 1929), also known as Jatin
Das, was an Indian independence activist and revolutionary. He died in Lahore jail after a 63-day hunger strike.
177 lentils
178 Present day Khyber Pashtoonkhwa
179 The National Awami Party (NAP) was the major progressive political party in East and West Pakistan. It was founded in 1957 in Dhaka, erstwhile East Pakistan through the merger of various leftist and progressive political groups in Pakistan. The constituent parties in 1957 and their areas of influence were:

1. The Bhashani-led faction which broke away from the Awami League
2. Azad Pakistan Party a party led by Mian Iftikharuddin, Syed Kaswar Gardezi and Mahmud Ali Kasuri.
3. Sindh Mahaz led by G. M. Syed and Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi.
4. Sindh Hari Committee led by Haider Baksh Jatoi.
5. Wror Pukhtun (Pashtoon Brotherhood) a Quetta Division (Pashtoon majority) based party led by Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and Hashim Khan Ghilzai.
6. Usthman Gul (Awam Jamaat) of Kalat Division led by Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo, Gul Khan Nasir and Prince Karim Khan of Kalat (princely state).
7. Khudai Khidmatgar from North-West Frontier Province led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Hakeem Mohammad Aslam Sanjari. Ghaffar Khan's son, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, also joined the party.
8. Ganatantri Dal an East Bengali party led by Haji Mohammad Danesh of Dinajpur and Mahmud Ali of Sylhet.

The NAP manifesto was as follows:

1. Defence of the sovereignty, integrity, and independence of Pakistan.
2. Non-aligned, independent foreign policy.
3. Ending of exploitation of Pakistan externally and its people internally.
4. Abolition of One Unit and reorganisation of provinces on the basis of cultural and linguistic homogeneity and geographical contiguity.
5. Right of adult franchise.

It was the major opposition party to Pakistani military regimes for much of the late 1950s and mid-1960s. The National Awami Party was along with the Awami League expected to easily win the 1959 planned general elections. Its primary target was the disbanding of the One Unit scheme in West Pakistan and a fair deal for the increasingly discontented people of East Pakistan. The party was banned after the imposition of Martial Law in 1958 and its leaders were arrested. Samad Khan Achakzai was the first to be sentenced to 14 years imprisonment

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180 Salt March, also called Dandi March or Salt Satyagraha, major nonviolent protest action in India led by Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi in March–April 1930. The march was the first act in an even-larger campaign of civil disobedience (satyagraha) Gandhi waged against British rule in India that extended into early 1931 and garnered Gandhi widespread support among the Indian populace and considerable worldwide attention.

Salt production and distribution in India had long been a lucrative monopoly of the British. Through a series of laws, the Indian populace was prohibited from producing or selling salt independently, and instead Indians were required to buy expensive, heavily taxed salt that often was imported. This affected the great majority of Indians, who were poor and could not afford to buy it. Indian protests against the salt tax began in the 19th century and remained a major contentious issue throughout the period of British rule of the subcontinent.

In early 1930 Gandhi decided to mount a highly visible demonstration against the increasingly repressive salt tax by marching through what is now the western Indian state of Gujarat from his ashram (religious retreat) at Sabermati (near Ahmadabad) to the town of Dandi (near Surat) on the Arabian Sea coast. He set out on foot on March 12, accompanied by several dozen followers. After each day's march the group stopped in a different village along the route, where in- creasingly larger crowds would gather to hear Gandhi rail against the unfairness of the tax on poor people. Hundreds more would join the core group of followers as they made their way to the sea until on April 5 the entourage reached Dandi after a journey of some 240 miles (385 km). On the morning of April 6, Gandhi and his followers picked up handfuls of salt along the shore, thus technically "producing" salt and breaking the law.

No arrests were made that day, and Gandhi continued his satyagraha against the

salt tax for the next two months, exhorting other Indians to break the salt laws by committing acts of civil disobedience. Thousands were arrested and imprisoned, including Jawaharlal Nehru in April and Gandhi himself in early May after he informed Lord Irwin (the viceroy of India) of his intention to march on the near- by Dharasana saltworks. News of Gandhi's detention spurred tens of thousands more to join the satyagraha. The march on the saltworks went ahead as planned on May 21, led by the poet Sarojini Naidu, and many of the some 2,500 peaceful marchers were attacked and beaten by police. By the end of the year, some 60,000 people were in jail.

Gandhi was released from custody in January 1931 and began negotiations with

Lord Irwin aimed at ending the satyagraha campaign. A truce subsequently was declared, which was formalized in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact that was signed on March 5. The calming of tensions paved the way for Gandhi, representing the In- dian National Congress, to attend the second session (September–December 1931) of the Round Table Conference in London.

181 The massacre at the Qissa Khwani Bazaar in Peshawar, British India (modern

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day Pakistan) on 23 April 1930 was one of the defining moments of the independence movement in British India. It was the first major confrontation between British troops and demonstrators in the city, belonging to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's non-violent Khudai Khidmatgar (servants of God) movement against the British Indian government. Estimates at the time put the death toll from the shooting at between the official count at 20, and the figure of 400 dead put forth by Pakistani and Indian sources. The gunning down of unarmed people triggered protests across British India and catapulted the newly formed Khudai Khidmatgar movement into prominence.

[182] Majlis-e Ahrar-e Islam, also known in short as Ahrar, was a religious Muslim
political party in the Indian subcontinent that was formed during the British Raj (prior to the Partition of India) on 29 December 1929 at Lahore. The group be- came composed of Indian Muslims disillusioned by the Khilafat Movement, which cleaved closer to the Congress Party. The party, being a member of the All India Azad Muslim Conference, is associated with opposition to Mohammad Ali Jinnah and establishment of an independent Pakistan. Majlis-e-Ahrar-ul-Islam or simply called 'Ahrars' had an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and Indian nationalist ideology. It worked to free India from the British rule.

[183] Mr. Herbert Gob Finis was killed on 30 November 1923

[184] Between Sanjavi and Harnai

[185] Khan Bahadur Sharbat Khan was the son of Malik Babri, an Adamkhel Afridi from the village of Torki in the Adamkhel tribal territory adjoining Kohat district. Babri founded the hamlet of Babri Banda in Kohat. Sharbat Khan was an out- standing political officer of Balochistan who retired from service as a Political Agent. He had three sons; Colonel M.K. Afridi who was a member of the Indian Medical Service and after retirement also served as the Vice Chancellor of Peshawar University, Major-General Yousaf Afridi who also served as Pakistan's ambassador to the United Kingdom and the third Ayub Afridi served in the Pakistan airforce as a wing commander. Colonel MK Afridi had a number of sons one of whom, Omar Khan Afridi, was also Chief Secretary of NWFP.

[186] Khan Mir Mohammad Azam Jan Khan was the Khan of Kalat from 3 November
1931 to 10 September 1933.

[187] Gandhi-Irwin Pact, agreement signed on March 5, 1931, between Mohandas K. Gandhi, leader of the Indian nationalist movement, and Lord Irwin (later Lord Halifax), British viceroy (1926–31) of India. It marked the end of a period of civil disobedience (satyagraha) in India against British rule that Gandhi and his fol- lowers had initiated with the Salt March (March–April 1930). Gandhi's arrest and imprisonment at the end of the march, for illegally making salt, sparked one of his more effective civil disobedience movements. By the end of 1930, tens of thousands of Indians were in jail (including future Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru), the movement had generated worldwide publicity, and Irwin was looking for a way to end it. Gandhi was released from custody in January 1931, and the two men began negotiating the terms of the pact. In the end, Gandhi pledged to give up the satyagraha

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campaign, and Irwin agreed to release those who had been imprisoned during it and to allow Indians to make salt for domes- tic use. Later that year Gandhi attended the second session (September–Decem- ber) of the Round Table Conference in London.

188 Ratan Kumar Nehru, or R.K. Nehru, (10 October 1902 – 2 April 1981) was an
Indian civil servant and diplomat. He served as India's Foreign Secretary from 1952 to 1955.

Ratan Kumar Nehru was born in 1902 at a time when the Nehru family was yet unknown to the public and the surname had no social or political cache. However, the Nehrus were an educated, affluent and influential family belonging to the high-caste Kashmiri Brahmin community. Ratan Kumar's father, Mohanlal Nehru, was the son of Nandlal Nehru, who was the Diwan (First Minister) of the princely state of Khetri in present-day Rajasthan. Nandlal's younger brother, Motilal Nehru, was at that time an affluent barrister with a well-established practise at the Allahabad High Court. Motilal had been a posthumous child, and has been raised by Nandlal at his expense in his household. Motilal's son Jawaharlal, future prime minister of India, was therefore always deferential not only towards his much older uncle Nandlal but also towards his cousin Mohanlal, father of Ratan Kumar. Ratan Kumar Nehru was thus a first-cousin-once-removed of Jawaharlal Nehru.

During 1955-58, he was the Indian ambassador to China[2] and to the United Arab Republic during 1958-60.

189 Puran Chand Joshi (14 April 1907 – 9 November 1980), one of the early leaders of the communist movement in India. He was the general secretary of the Communist Party of India from 1935 to 1947.

190 Shēr Shah of Sūr, original name Farīd Khan, (born 1486?, Sasaram [India]— died May 22, 1545, Kalinjar), emperor of north India (1540–45) in the Islamic Sūr (Afghan) dynasty of 1540–57 who organized a long-lived bureaucracy responsible to the ruler and created a carefully calculated revenue system. For the first time during the Islamic conquest the relationship between the people and the ruler was systematized, with little oppression or corruption.

One of eight sons of Ḥasan Khan, a horse breeder, Farīd rebelled against his father and left home to enlist as a soldier in the service of Jamāl Khan, the governor of Jaunpur. He later worked for the Mughal king of Bihar, who rewarded him for bravery with the title of Shēr Khan. After he defeated a Bengal army, he took over the rule of Bihar. In early 1539 he conquered Bengal and, through clever deception, the Rohtas stronghold southwest of Bengal. At the Battle of Chausa on June 26, 1539, he defeated the Mughal emperor Humāyūn and assumed the royal title of Farīd al-Dīn Shēr Shah. In May 1540 at Kannauj he again defeated Humāyūn; he had driven his foes from Bengal, Bihar, Hindustan, and the Punjab and also suppressed the Baloch chiefs on the northwestern frontier. Intent on expanding the sultanate of Delhi, he captured Gwalior and Malwa but was killed during the siege of Kalinjar.

One of the great Muslim rulers of India, Shēr Shah rose from the rank of private to become emperor, efficiently administered the army and tax

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collections, and built roads, resthouses, and wells for his people. His tomb at Sasaram is one of the most magnificent in India.

191 Abdul Hameed Momand (Hameed Baba) was a 17th century Afghan poet and sufi figure.

192 Aḥmad Shah Durrānī, (born 1722?, Multan, Punjab [now in Pakistan], or Herāt [now in Afghanistan; see Researcher's Note])—died October 16/17, 1772, Toba Ma'rūf, Afghanistan), founder of the state of Afghanistan and ruler of an empire that extended from the Amu Darya (ancient Oxus River) to the Indian Ocean and from Khorāsān into Kashmir, the Punjab, and Sindh. Head of the central government, with full control of all departments of state in domestic and foreign affairs, both civil and military, the shah was assisted by a prime minister and a council of nine life-term advisers that he selected from the chiefs of the leading Afghan tribes.

A member of the noble Sadōzai clan and the second son of Moḥammad Zamān Khan, a hereditary chief of the Abdālī tribe of Afghans, Aḥmad rose to command an Abdālī cavalry group under Nādir Shah of Persia, and, on Nādir Shah's assassination, the Afghan chiefs elected Aḥmad as shah. He was crowned in 1747 near Kandahar, where coins were struck in his name and where he set up his capital. Embarking on the conquest of regions held by ineffectual rulers, he invaded India nine times between 1747 and 1769, supposedly with no intention of founding an empire there. After an unopposed march to Delhi in 1757, he plundered that city, Agra, Mathura, and Vrindavan.

Before an outbreak of cholera among his troops forced his return to Afghanistan,

Aḥmad married Ḥazrat Baygam, daughter of the Indian Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shah. His son Tīmūr remained behind as viceroy of the Punjab and married the daughter of India's puppet emperor 'Ālamgīr II. Tīmūr was driven out in 1758 by a force of Sikhs, Mughals, and Marathas, but in 1759–61 Aḥmad Shah swept the Marathas from the Punjab and destroyed their large army at Panipat, north of Delhi, in the third Battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761). He is buried in a mausoleum in Kandahar.

193 Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Edward Bruce CSI CIE CBE (23 March 1876 – 26 January 1950) was a British Indian Army officer and British colonial administrator. He served as the Chief Commissioner of Balochistan in the 1920s. Bruce was born in India, the son of Richard Isaac Bruce CIE of the Indian Civil Service. He was educated in England at Wellington College and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. From Sandhurst, he was commissioned into the Lancashire Fusiliers and within the year was transferred to the 24th Balochistan Regiment. He took part in the Boxer Rebellion in China and also some frontier wars of the North- Western Frontier. Bruce then joined the Political Department, where he became a devoted follower of the policies of Sir Robert Groves Sandeman. As noted by The Times: "[Bruce] became so deeply attracted by its success that he held it to be applicable to the tribes of quite different caliber in the Frontier regions invisibly divided by the Durand Line. He was proud to be called to act as Chief Commissioner of Balochistan in 1930. He retired in 1931 and when opportunity offered he spoke in advocacy of Sandemanization." Bruce was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in the 1919 New Year Honours, when

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he was serving as a political officer with Marri Punitive Force, Balochistan. He was appointed a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire in the 1920 New Year Honours for services in India involving the Third Anglo-Afghan War. He was appointed a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in the 1925 Birthday Honours.[4] He was appointed a Companion of the Order of the Star of India in 1929.
Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)
1 Oct 1929 - 17 Dec 1931 Charles Edward Bruce (acting) (b. 1876 - d. 1950)

194 Round Table Conference, (1930–32), in Indian history, a series of meetings in three sessions called by the British government to consider the future constitution of India. The conference resulted from a review of the Government of India Act of 1919, undertaken in 1927 by the Simon Commission, whose report was pub lished in 1930. The conference was held in London.
The first session (Nov. 12, 1930–Jan. 19, 1931) had 73 representatives, from all Indian states and all parties except the Indian National Congress, which was wag- ing a civil disobedience campaign against the government. Its principal achievement was an insistence on parliamentarianism—an acceptance by all, including the princes, of the federal principle—and on dominion status as the goal of constitutional development. The second session (September–December 1931) was attended by Mahatma Gandhi as the Congress representative; it failed to reach agreement, either constitutionally or on communal representation. The third session (Nov. 17–Dec. 24, 1932) was shorter and less important, with neither the Congress nor the British Labour Party attending. The result of these deliberations was the Government of India Act, 1935, establishing provincial autonomy and also a federal system that was never implemented.

195 Zamindar was an Indian Muslim newspaper in the Urdu language launched in 1903. The founding editor of this newspaper was Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. Zamindar was the mouthpiece of Indian Muslims, Muslim Nationalists and the Pakistan Movement during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. It was the most popular newspaper of Muslims of India and played a key role in crafting the journalistic traditions of Pakistan and the Urdu language.

196 Son of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan

197 Mahatma Gandhi, byname of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, (born October 2, 1869, Porbandar, India—died January 30, 1948, Delhi), Indian lawyer, politician, social activist, and writer who became the leader of the nationalist movement against the British rule of India. As such, he came to be considered the father of his country. Gandhi is internationally esteemed for his doctrine of nonviolent protest (satyagraha) to achieve political and social progress.

198 Mahadev Desai (1 January 1892 – 15 August 1942) was an Indian independence
activist and writer best remembered as Mahatma Gandhi's personal secretary. He was posthumously awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1955 for Mahadevb- haini Dayari, the 22 volume publication of his diaries.

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199 Mani Bhavan is a museum and historical building dedicated to Gandhi, situated at Laburnum Road in the Gamdevi precinct of Mumbai. Mani Bhavan was Gandhi's Mumbai headquarters for about 17 years, from 1917 to 1934. The man- sion belonged to Revashankar Jagjeevan Jhaveri, Gandhi's friend and host in Mumbai during this period. It was from Mani Bhavan that Gandhi initiated the Non-Cooperation, Satyagraha, Swadeshi, Khadi and Khilafat Movements. Gand- hi's association with the charkha began in 1917, while he was staying at Mani Bha van. Mani Bhavan is also closely associated with Gandhi's involvement in the Home Rule Movement, as well as his decision to abstain from drinking cow's milk in order to protest the cruel and inhuman practice of phookan meted out to milch cattle common during that period. In 1955, the building was taken over by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi in order to maintain it as a memorial to Gandhi.

200 Revashankar Jagjeevan Jhaveri

201 Devdas Mohandas Gandhi (22 May 1900 – 3 August 1957) was the fourth and youngest son of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He was born in South Africa and returned to India with his parents as a grown man. He became active in his father's movement, spending many terms in jail. He also became a prominent journalist, serving as editor of Hindustan Times.

202 Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, (born Dec. 8, 1875, Aligarh, India—died Jan. 20, 1949,
Allahabad), jurist and statesman important in the progress of British India to- ward self-government. For his integrity and wisdom he was trusted both by the British government and by Indian intellectual and political leaders. He was knighted in 1922. Educated at Agra College, Allahabad, Sapru practiced law be- fore the High Court at Allahabad from 1896. He was a member of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) Legislative Council (1913–16) and of the Imperial Legislative Council (1916–20), a law member of the Viceroy's Council (1920–23), and a delegate to the three Round Table Conference sessions in London (1930– 32) concerning the government of India. His mediation helped to bring about the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931), by which the Indian nationalist leader Mohandas K. Gandhi terminated a civil disobedience campaign and was allowed to attend the second session of the Round Table Conference. Sapru was also in part responsible for the Poona Pact modifying the British plan for a separate electorate of Hindu untouchables. This agreement caused Gandhi to abandon the fast that he had begun in September 1932 in protest against the British scheme. In 1934 Sapru became a privy councillor. Unlike most of his political colleagues in India, he supported the World War II effort of the British Empire without insisting on an early grant of independence in return.

203 Mukund Ramrao Jayakar was a barrister, Federal Court Judge (1937-9) and
member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. He had been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in London in 1905. In the 1930s he sent his son, Jayapal, to study in Oxford, having failed to gain admission to Oxford in the early twentieth century himself. Jayakar became heavily involved in nationalist politics in India. He was known for his sympathies with the Hindu Mahasabha, clashing with Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He was a

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member of the Hindu Missionary Society in Bombay and leader of the Swaraj Party for a short time, resigning in 1925. In 1930, Jayakar and Tej Bahadur Sapru were involved in negotiations between Congress and the Government when Motilal Nehru and other Congress members were imprisoned. These negotiations are said to have led to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March 1931 whereby Congress members were released from prison in return for the discontinuation of non-cooperation; the salt tax was removed and Congress members would be represented at the next Round Table Conference. Jayakar was a member of the Judicial Privy Council in London and attended the Round Table Conference in London in 1931. Jayakar was known for his educationist and philanthropist work. He received an honorary DCL from Oxford University in 1938, upon the recommendation of E. J. Thompson. He was Vice-Chancellor of Poona University from 1948 upon its foundation, until his retirement in 1955.

[204] Sevagram (meaning "A town for/of service") is the name of a town in the state
of Maharashtra, India. It was the place of Mahatma Gandhi's ashram and his residence from 1936 to his death in 1948.

[205] In the Name of Allah—the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful. All praise is for Allah—Lord of all worlds, the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful, Master of the Day of Judgment. You 'alone' we worship and You 'alone' we ask for help. Guide us along the Straight Path, the Path of those You have blessed—not those You are displeased with, or those who are astray. (Al-Fatiha: The Opener)

[206] Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari (25 December 1880 – 10 May 1936) was an Indian nationalist and political leader, and former president of the Indian National Congress (1927-28) and the Muslim League (1920-21) during the Indian Independence Movement. One of the founders of the Jamia Millia Islamia University he remained its chancellor 1928 to 1936.

[207] Jawaharlal Nehru, byname Pandit (Hindi: "Pundit" or "Teacher") Nehru,
(born November 14, 1889, Allahabad, India—died May 27, 1964, New Delhi), first prime minister of independent India (1947–64), who established parliamentary government and became noted for his neutralist (nonaligned) policies in foreign affairs. He was also one of the principal leaders of India's independence movement in the 1930s and '40s.

[208] Pyarelal Nayyar (1899–1982) was the personal secretary of Mahatma Gandhi
in his later years.

[209] Sannyasa is life of renunciation and the fourth stage within the Hindu system of four life stages known as Ashramas, with the first three being Brahmacharya (bachelor student), Grihastha (householder) and Vanaprastha (forest dweller, retired). Sannyasa is a form of asceticism, is marked by renunciation of material desires and prejudices, represented by a state of disinterest and detachment from material life.

[210] Jamnalal Bajaj (4 November 1889 – 11 February 1942) was an Indian industrialist. He founded the Bajaj Group of companies in the 1920s.

[211] Khadi, also called khaddar, is a hand-woven natural fiber cloth originating from eastern regions of the Indian subcontinent. The cloth is

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usually woven from cotton. However, it may also include silk or wool, which are all spun into yarn on a spinning wheel called a charkha. It is a versatile fabric, cool in summer and warm in winter. In order to improve its looks, khādī/khaddar is sometimes starched to give it a stiffer feel.

[212] Navajivan Trust is a publishing house based in Ahmedabad, India. It was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1929 and has published more than 800 titles in English, Gujarati, Hindi and other languages to date. Earlier, Navajivan referred to a weekly newspaper published by Gandhi, in Gujarati, from 1919 (September 7) to 1931, from Ahmedabad. The word Navajivan means "a new life" in Hindi, Gujarati and other Indo-Aryan languages.

[213] The All India Congress Committee (AICC) is the presidium or the central decision-making assembly of the Indian National Congress. It is composed of members elected from state-level Pradesh Congress Committees and can have as many as a thousand members. It is the AICC that elects members of the Congress Work- ing Committee and the Congress President, who is also the head of the AICC. The organisational executives of the AICC are several general-secretaries selected by the Congress President and the members of the Congress Working Committee.

[214] The Congress Working Committee (CWC) is the executive committee of the Indian National Congress. It was formed in December 1920 at Nagpur session of INC which was headed by C. Vijayaraghavachariar. It typically consists of fifteen members elected from the All India Congress Committee. It is headed by the Working President.

[215] Vallabhbhai Patel, in full Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, byname Sardar Patel (Hindi: "Leader Patel"), (born October 31, 1875, Nadiad, Gujarat, India—died December 15, 1950, Bombay [now Mumbai]), Indian barrister and statesman, one of the leaders of the Indian National Congress during the struggle for Indian in- dependence. During the first three years of Indian independence after 1947, he served as deputy prime minister, minister of home affairs, minister of information, and minister of states.

[216] Maulana Shaukat Ali (10 March 1873– 18 November 1938) was an Indian Muslim leader of the Khilafat Movement. He was the elder brother of the renowned political leader Mohammad Ali Jouhar.

[217] Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, KCSI (1880–1963, Patna, Bihar, India) was an Indian barrister. While he was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of Patna University (1923–30) he was included as a delegate from British India, to the Round Table Conference (1930–31) in London which was attended by Mahatama Gandhi.

[218] Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan (1893-1947) Professor of Modern History, University of Allahabad. He had been a member of the UP Legislative Council in the 1920s, part of the Muslim delegation to the Round Table conference and also was India's high commissioner to South Africa from 1941 to 1944. He presided over the first meeting of the Indian History Congress in June 1935 in Pune. As chairman of the Modern Indian History at University of Allahabad he started the Journal of Indi- an History in 1924. He also taught at University of Madras and Aligarh

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Muslim University. On 24 August, 1946 he was attacked and stabbed after being appoint- ed to the Executive Council of India by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell.

[219] Sir Mian Mohammad Shafi, KCSI CIE (10 March 1869 – 7 January 1932) was a lawyer and politician from British India. As a practicing barrister, he quickly gained renown and during the 1920s and 1930s he came to be regarded as one of India's leading lawyers. The name All-India Muslim League was proposed by a number of Muslims including Sir Mian Mohammad Shafi in the founding meeting of the League that was held on 30 December 1906 on the occasion of the annual All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, at the Ahsan Manzil Palace, Shahbagh, Dhaka. Mian Mohammad Shafi organized a Muslim Association in early 1906, but when the All-India Muslim League was formed, he established its powerful branch in the Punjab of which he became the General Secretary. This branch, organized in November 1907, was known as the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. He was also a member of the Simla Deputation in 1906. In 1909, and again in 1912, Shafi was nominated to the Provincial Legislative Council. In 1911, 1914, 1917, he was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He was appointed a CIE in 1916. In July 1919, Mian Mohammad Shafi, who had been elected as the President of the Chief Court Bar, became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council during 1919–24. His tenure as Education Member was marked by many important developments, including the setting up of the Muslim University of Aligarh. He was also acting Vice-President of the Governor-General's Executive Council 1922–25. He was Council's member for education, health and later also for Law; also, he was knighted in 1925 with the KCSI. After completing his term, he again became active in Muslim politics and played an important role when the Simon Commission visited India and, again, at the first Round Table Conference 1930–31.

[220] Khan Bahadur Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto CIE OBE (8 March 1888 – 19 November
1957), was a politician and a member of Bhutto family hailing from Larkana in Sindh province of British India, which is now part of Pakistan. Bhutto entered the Legislative Council of the Bombay Province, of which Sindh was a part, in 1921 at the age of 33. attended the Round Table Conference in 1931 as a leader of Sindhi Muslims demanding separation of Sind from the Bombay province. Early in 1947, Bhutto joined the council of ministers of Mohammad Mahabat Khan III the Nawab of Junagadh in the modern-day province of Gujarat, becoming its Dewan, or prime minister in May.

[221] Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz (7 April 1896 – 27 November 1979) was a politician and Muslim League activist. She was the daughter of Sir Mohammad Shafi. Her husband was Mian Shah Nawaz. She studied at Queen Mary College, Lahore, British India.

[222] Mohammed Ali Jinnah, also called Quaid-i-Azam (Arabic: "Great Leader"), (born December 25, 1876?, Karachi, India [now in Pakistan]—died September 11, 1948, Karachi), Indian Muslim politician, who was the founder and first governor-general (1947–48) of Pakistan.

[223] Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari (23 September 1892 – 21 August 1961), was a Muslim Hanafi scholar, religious and political leader from the

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Indian subcontinent. He was one of the Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam's founding members. He is one of the most notable leaders of the Ahrar movement which was associated with opposition to Mohammad Ali Jinnah and opposition to the establishment of an independent Pakistan

[224] Appointed Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afghania (Society for the Reformation of Afghans) on 1 April 1921. Helped found the Azad School Utmanzai in the same year.

[225] The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919, popularly known as the Rowlatt Act. Rowlatt Acts, (February 1919), legislation passed by the Imperial Legislative Council, the legislature of British India. The acts allowed certain political cases to be tried without juries and permitted internment of suspects without trial. Their object was to replace the repressive provisions of the wartime Defence of India Act (1915) by a permanent law. They were based on the report of Justice S.A.T. Rowlatt's committee of 1918. The Rowlatt Acts were much resented by an aroused Indian public. All nonofficial Indian members of the council (i.e., those who were not officials in the colonial government) voted against the acts. Mahatma Gandhi organized a protest movement that led directly to the Massacre of Amritsar (April 1919) and subsequently to his noncooperation movement (1920– 22). The acts were never actually implemented.

[226] Al-Muzammil (The Enshrouded One) (Surah 73)

[227] Agha Syed Lal Badshah Bukhari (May 30 1873 - March 3 1945) was president of the NWFP Congress.

[228] Sarojini Naidu, née Sarojini Chattopadhyay, (born February 13, 1879, Hyder- abad, India—died March 2, 1949, Lucknow), political activist, feminist, poet, and the first Indian woman to be president of the Indian National Congress and to be appointed an Indian state governor (United Provinces now Uttar Pradesh). She was sometimes called "the Nightingale of India."

[229] This refers to the Pashtoon province of British Balochistan

[230] The Fourteen Points of Jinnah were proposed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1929 as a constitutional reform plan to safeguard the political rights of Muslims in a self-governing India.

[231] Crawford Market (officially Mahatma Jyotiba Phule Mandai) is one of South Mumbai's most famous markets. The building was completed in 1869, and donated to the city by Cowasji Jehangir. Originally named after Arthur Crawford, the first Municipal Commissioner of the city, the market was later renamed to hon- our Maharashtrian social reformer Mahatma Jotirao Phule. The market is situated opposite the Mumbai Police headquarters, just north of Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus railway station and west of the J.J. flyover at a busy intersection. It was the main wholesale market for fruits in Mumbai until March 1996, when the wholesale traders were relocated to Navi Mumbai. In 1882, the building was the first in India to be lit up by electricity.

[232] Rustom K Sidhwa was born to a Parsi family in Karachi in 1882. He was a clerk in the Post Office in Karachi, and then became the president of the Sind and Balochistan Postmen's Union in the early 1900s. Sidhwa was a lifelong member of the INC, and ran several elections on a Congress ticket. In 1932, he was the General Secretary of the 45th Indian National Congress, alongside his colleague Dr. Tarachand Lalwani. He

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later served as the Mayor of Karachi from 1939-40. Sidhwa was elected to the Constituent Assembly on a Congress ticket from the Central Provinces & Berar. In the Constituent Assembly, he represented the minority Parsi community and its interests. This was reflected by his participation in the debates regarding minority rights, linguistic debates, and the role of religion in public life. Sidhwa continued to be an active and vocal member of the Parsi community, and a defender of minority rights. He also remained in the INC, where he was involved in some inter-party committees and investigatory bodies, and was also a member of the Parsi Rajkiya Mandal. In 1956, he became the President of the All India Federation of Local Authorities, where he conducted de- tailed research into the economic life of India post-independence, and the impact of the government's socialist policy on rural development. Sidhwa died on 28th December,1957. Rustom Sidhwa MArz in Bombay, which is home to the Parsi Fire Temple, is named in his honour.

[233] Mohammad Zahir Shah, (born Oct. 15, 1914, Kabul, Afg.—died July 23, 2007,
Kabul), king of Afghanistan from 1933 to 1973, who provided an era of stable government to his country. Following the U.S. overthrow of the Taliban, he returned to Afghanistan in 2002. Zahir Shah, who publicly opposed the restoration of the monarchy and declined to run for president, was later given the honorary title Father of the Nation.

[234] Sir Olaf Caroe, in full Sir Olaf Kirkpatrick Caroe, (born November 15, 1892, London, England—died November 23, 1981, Steyning, Sussex), British adminis- trator who served as governor of the North-West Frontier Province of India in 1946–47, during the difficult period preceding the transfer of British power.

[235] Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, byname Lion of Kashmir, (born December 5, 1905, Soura, near Srinagar, Kashmir [now in Jammu and Kashmir state], India— died September 8, 1982, Srinagar), prominent figure in India's struggle for inde- pendence from British rule, who fought for the rights of the Kashmir region. He won a semiautonomous status for Jammu and Kashmir state within independent India, a status which the state continued to enjoy into the 21st century until its autonomy was suspended in 2019.

[236] Majlis-e Ahrar-e Islam, also known in short as Ahrar, is a religious Muslim political party in the Indian subcontinent that was formed during the British Raj (prior to the Partition of India) on 29 December 1929 at Lahore.

[237] Abdul Aziz Kurd was an early leader of the Baloch nationalist movement in Balochistan. Along with Yousaf Aziz Magsi he founded the Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e- Balochan (Organisation for Unity of the Baloch) based in Mastung in 1920 as the first Baloch nationalist political party

[238] King Edward Memorial Serai

[239] Kirani is a historical village lying five miles (8 km) west of Quetta city, capital of Balochistan province of Pakistan on the outskirts of the Chiltan range and is set to derive its name from a defile lying near the village known as Giran Nai, or Kran Tangi. The village comprises the "mahals" under the Naurang, Malak, Ki- rani and Mast Karezaatand also karakhsa, and is said to have been established some seven generations back by Khwaja Wali, a Moudodi/Chishti syed, whose grave with that of

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his son, Mir Shahdad lies enclosed in a mud wall in the middle of the old graveyard. To the west of the village lies the Kirani Karez, which is said to date from the time of the Zoroastrians and behind the site of the existing village lies the ruins now of an old village where earthen pots of various kinds and iron arrowheads have been unearthed.

240 IRWIN, LORD (1881–1959), the first baron Irwin, first earl of Halifax, viceroy and governor-general of India (1926–1931). Edward Frederick Lindley Wood was a respected Conservative member of Parliament (1910–1925) who served as pres- ident of the Board of Education (1922) and minister of Agriculture (1923) before being raised to the peerage as Lord Irwin and named to succeed Lord Reading as viceroy of India. From the outset of his viceroyalty, Irwin was not unsympathetic to Indian political aspirations, and he admired the religious spirit that animated Mahatma Gandhi's politics: that both men were devout helped smooth their subsequent face-to-face negotiations.

241 Viceroy and Governor General were alternate titles of the highest office in India

242 Sir Alexander Norman Ley Cater KCIE (1880 – 1957) was an administrator in British India. He joined the ICS in 1904 and served in the First World War, during which he rose to the rank of captain. He later became a lieutenant in the Hy- derabad Rifles. In 1921, he received the Order of the White Elephant, 3rd Class from the King of Siam. He was appointed a CIE in 1929 and was knighted with the KCIE in 1933.

Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)

17 Dec 1931 - 10 May 1932 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (b. 1880 - d. 1957)

(1st time) (acting)

1 Oct 1932 - 1 Apr 1936 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (s.a.)

(2nd time)

243 Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan KCIE (12 December 1863 – 4 December 1937), hailing from Topi, Swabi District, British India (modern day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pa- kistan)

244 Qazi Mohammad Essa (July 17, 1914 – 19 June 1976) was a Pakistani politician and one of the prominent leaders of the Pakistan Movement.

245

246 Major-General Sir Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons KCIE CBE DSO (1884– 1966) was a British Indian Army officer and administrator in British India. He was commissioned into the Oxfordshire Volunteer Light Infantry as an acting second lieutenant in 1904, and was given a full second lieutenancy in 1906. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1909 and to captain in 1915. He was a major by 1923, in which year he was awarded the DSO to add to his OBE. He was appointed a CBE in 1927 and was knighted with the KCIE in 1938, by which time he was a lieutenant-colonel.

Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)

18 Apr 1936 - 20 Jun 1937 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (b. 1884 - d. 1966)

(1st time) (acting)

14 Mar 1938 - 11 Aug 1939 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (s.a.)

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(2nd time) Governor North West Frontier Province
11 Aug 1939 - 10 Dec 1939 Sir Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (b. 1884 - d. 1966)

[247] Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency 19 Jun 1937 - 13 Mar 1938 Agha Saiyid Bad Shah (b. 1903 - d. 1966) Colonel ASB Shah was an officer of the Indian Political Service who after serving as Political Agent and Deputy Commissioner in a number of agencies and districts in Balochistan and NWFP retired as a Federal Secretary. His last posting was Secretary States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON). After retirement also served as the Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission and later as Pakistan's ambassador to Afghanistan.

[248] Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, KCIE, CSI, MVO, ICS was Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, 1932-39; Resident and Chief Commissioner in Balochistan, 1939-43

[249] "Fort of Killeh Abdooleh. Troopers of the Auchukzye horse." From James Atkinson's (1780 – 1852) Sketches in Afghanistan. In 1838 Atkinson was ap- pointed chief surgeon of the Army of the Indus, and in that capacity he accompa- nied the army on its march to Kabul in the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42). He left Afghanistan in 1841 to return to India. In 1842 he published a first-hand ac- count of the war entitled The Expedition into Afghanistan: Notes and Sketches Descriptive of the Country. Atkinson was also a talented artist, several of whose works are now in the National Portrait Gallery in London. Sketches in Afghaunistan is a book of lithographs based on drawings that Atkinson made in Afghanistan. Published in London in the same year as The Expedition into Af- ghanistan, it includes 25 sketches depicting scenes in Kabul, mountain scenery, and significant events during the war.

[250] Mir Khudadad Khan Baloch was the Khan (ruler) of the princely state of Kalat in what is now the Balochistan province of Pakistan from 1857 to March 1863 and May 1864 to 15 August 1893.

[251] Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency 17 Oct 1932 – 15 Apr 1935 Herbert John Todd (b. 1893 - d. 1985)
TODD, Sir Herbert John (1893-1985), IPS 1921, Resident, Eastern States 1944-47 'Autobiography of Sir Herbert Todd': memoirs of career in Indian Police, Burma 1913; Indian Army and Civil Police Mesopotamia and Iraq 1917; Balochistan 1921; Gilgit 1927, Quetta 1931; Bharatpur 1936-39; Home Guard activities during home leave and description of being torpedoed on journey to India; Udaipur 1940, Balochistan 1941; Travancore and Cochin 1943; Calcutta and Eastern States 1944- 47; later career with Iraq Petroleum Company 1948-59

[252] Sir Abdullah Haroon (1872–1942)

[253] Zafar Ali Khan (1873– 27 November 1956), also known as Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, was a Pakistani writer, poet, translator and journalist who played an im- portant role in the Pakistan Movement against the British Raj. Apart from Islamic religious sciences, he was well-versed in the latest theories of economics, sociology and politics, and for his

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erudition as well as methods, is generally considered to be "the father of Urdu journalism".

254 Red Shirt movement, byname of Khudai Khitmatgar (Persian: "Servants of God"), an organisation started by Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the North-West Frontier Province of India in 1930. Ghaffar Khan was a Pashtoon who greatly admired Ma- hatma Gandhi and his nonviolent principles and saw support for the Congress as a way of pressing his grievances against the British frontier regime. He was called the Frontier Gandhi. His followers were pledged to nonviolence, and they derived their popular title from the red colour of their shirts.

255 The Quit India Movement (translated into several Indian languages as the Leave India Movement), also known as the August Movement, was a movement launched at the Bombay session of the All-India Congress Committee by Mahatma Gandhi on 9 August 1942, during World War II, demanding an end to British rule in India.

256 Allah Bux Mohammad Umar Soomro (1900 – 14 May 1943), (Khan Bahadur Sir Allah Bux Mohammad Umar Soomro OBE till September 1942) or Allah Baksh Soomro, was a zamindar, government contractor, Indian independence activist and politician from the province of Sindh in India. He founded the Sind Ittehad Party and served as the Chief Minister of Sindh from 23 March 1938 to 18 April 1940 and 7 March 1941 to 14 October 1942. He is referred to as Shaheed or "mar- tyr" due to his assassination in 1943.

257 The North-West Frontier Province (NWFP(was a province of British India and later of Pakistan. The area was annexed to India by the British after the Second Anglo Sikh War (1848–49). The territories thenceforth formed a part of the Pun- jab until the province, then known as North-West Frontier Province, was created in 1901. It was known by this name until 2010, when it was redesignated as the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on 19 April 2010. The province covered an area of 70,709 km2 (27,301 sq mi), including much of the current Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province but excluding the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the former princely states of Amb, Chitral, Dir, Phulra and Swat. Its capital was the city of Peshawar, and the province was composed of six divisions (Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Hazara, Kohat, Mardan, and Peshawar Division; Malakand was later added as the seventh division). Until 1947, the province was bordered by five princely states to the north, the minor states of the Gilgit Agency to the northeast, the province of West Punjab to the east and the province of Balochistan to the south. The Kingdom of Afghanistan lay to the northwest, with the Federally Administered Tribal Areas forming a buffer zone between the two.

258 Mehr Chand Khanna (1 June 1897 – 20 July 1970) S. of late Shri Karam Chand Khanna; B. Peshawar, June 1, 1897; ed. at Edward's College, Peshawar (West Pa- kistan); m. Shrimati Ram Piyari Khanna, June 15, 1915; 2 S. and 3 D.; Was a member of the Frontier Crimes Regulations Enquiry Committee set up by the Govt. of India; Was invited in 1933 to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee in London On behalf of the N.W.F.P.; Member, NWFP Legislative Assembly, 1932—47; Finance Minister, N.W.F.P. in 1937 and 1945; Went to Canada in 1942 to attend

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the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations as a member of the Indian Delegation; Rehabilitation Adviser to the Govt. of India from 1948 to 1954; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1954–62; Minister of Rehabilitation, 1954–62. An Indian politician who served as the Union Minister for Rehabilitation from 1954 to 1962 and Law Minister from 1954 to 1957

[259] Preacher, theologians or a minister of religion.

[260] Quran (Surah 3 Al e Imran: Family of Imran) (verse 112)

[261] Martial law, temporary rule by military authorities of a designated area in time of emergency when the civil authorities are deemed unable to function. The legal effects of a declaration of martial law differ in various jurisdictions, but they generally involve a suspension of normal civil rights and the extension to the civilian population of summary military justice or of military law. Although temporary in theory, a state of martial law may in fact continue indefinitely.

[262] Mohammad Ayub Khan, (born May 14, 1907, Hazāra, India—died April 19, 1974, near Islāmābād, Pak.), president of Pakistan from 1958 to 1969. After the 1947 partition of British India he was rapidly promoted in the army of the new Muslim state of Pakistan: from major general (1948) to commander in chief (1951). In addition, Ayub became minister of defense (1954) for a brief period. In 1958 President Iskander Mirza, with army support, abrogated the constitution and appointed Ayub as chief martial law administrator. Soon after, Ayub had himself declared president, and Mirza was exiled.

[263] Sir Ziauddin Ahmad CIE (born Ziauddin Ahmed Zuberi; 13 February 1873 – 23
December 1947) was an Indian mathematician, parliamentarian, logician, natural philosopher, politician, political theorist, educationist and a scholar. He was a member of the Aligarh Movement and was a professor, principal of MAO College, first pro vice-chancellor, vice chancellor and rector of Aligarh Muslim University, India. He served as vice chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University for three terms. [264] Mir Jafar Khan Jamali (1911 – 7 April 1967) was a prominent politician, tribal chief and an All-India Muslim League veteran from Balochistan province, Pakistan.

[265] Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah KCSI (January 1879 – 4 October 1948) was a
colonial Indian and Pakistani politician from Sindh. He held several offices in Sindh including 1st Chief Minister (1937–1938) and being re-elected as 5th Chief Minister (1942–1947).

[266] The Sindh Hari Committee was a leftist and Sindhi nationalist political organi- zation in Sindh, Pakistan that sought to promote the interests of the haris (land- less peasant farmers) of Sindh. It was founded in 1930 by G. M. Syed.

[267] Bharchundi Shareef DArzah is situated in Daharki, Ghotki District in the Sindh province of Pakistan

[268] Prince Agha Abdul Karim Khan Ahmedzai was the younger brother of the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmedyar Khan the last ruler of the princely state of Kalat.

[269] Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur was a politician from Sindh, Pakistan. Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur was Chief Minister of Sindh from April 14, 1940 to March 7, 1941.

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[270] Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur (19 September 1909 – 19 October 1963) was born in Tando Mohammad Khan. He first became a minister in Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Sindh Cabinet in 1940.

[271] Maulana Shafi Daudi (1875 – 1949) was elected vice-president of the Provincial Congress Committee in 1921.He was the leader of Bihar Swaraj Party founded by Motilal Nehru and C.R.Das. In November 1923 he contested in the elections from the party's platform and was elected to represent Bihar in the Central Legislative Assembly. Shafi Daudi remained a member of the Assembly from 1924 to 1935 and a member of the Congress party from 1920 till 1928. He cofounded the All India Muslim Conference on October 31, 1928 at Delhi which included other Muslim legislatures of the Indian Parliament. Maulana Shafi Daudi was the general secretary of the All India Muslim Conference from 1930 to 1932, but he resigned when the leaders of both AIMC and All India Muslim League decided to merge the two organisations. However, he was nominated as one of the permanent vice presidents of the merged Muslim League and Muslim Conference — along with Allama Iqbal and Shafaat Ahmed Khan — by Sir Agha Khan III on February 15, 1934. Maulana attended the Second Round Table Conference in London in1931 as a delegate from Bihar. In the 1937 elections he contested on the Ahrar Party ticket from Mozaffarpur and lost against the Independent Party candidate.

[272] Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain, KCSI (14 June 1877 – 9 July 1936) was an influential politician during the British Raj and a founding member of the Unionist Party of the Punjab.

[273] Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan (born June 1888) CIE was a barrister-at-law, statesman and politician in the period before the partition of India. Khan served as a parliamentarian and one of the senior most members of the All India Muslim League.

[274] Mohammad Yakub was the Deputy President of the Central Legislative Assem- bly during 1927-30 and its President in 1930. He was also a Member of the Statu- tory Railway Board Committee (1931), the Indian Franchise Committee (1932) and the Council of State (1938-42). He acted as the Commerce and Industries Member of the Government of India for a short while in 1938. Later, he was ap- pointed as the Reforms Adviser to the Nizam of Hyderabad and for a while he was the President of the Legislative Council there.

[275] Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan III GCSI GCMG GCIE GCVO PC (2 November 1877 – 11 July 1957) was the 48th Imam of the Nizari Ismaili sect of Islam. He was one of the founders and the first permanent president of the All-India Muslim League (AIML) in 1906. He was nominated to represent India to the League of Nations in 1932 and served as President of the League of Nations from 1937 to 1938.

[276] Sir Alexander Norman Ley Cater KCIE (1880–1957) was an administrator in British India. He joined the ICS in 1904 and served in the First World War, during which he rose to the rank of captain. He later became a lieutenant in the Hyderabad Rifles. In 1921, he received the Order of the White Elephant, 3rd Class from the King of Siam. He was appointed a

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CIE in 1929 and was knighted with the KCIE in 1933. He served as Chief Commissioner of Balochistan during the 1930s. Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)
17 Dec 1931 - 10 May 1932 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (b. 1880 - d. 1957)
(1st time) (acting)
1 Oct 1932 - 1 Apr 1936 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (s.a.)
(2nd time)

[277] Mirza Basheer-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmad (12 January 1889 – 7 November 1965), was the leader of the Ahmadiyya community.

[278] Abul Kalam Azad, original name Abul Kalam Ghulam Muhiyuddin, also called Maulana Abul Kalam Azad or Maulana Azad, (born November 11, 1888, Mecca [now in Saudi Arabia]—died February 22, 1958, New Delhi, India), Islamic theologian who was one of the leaders of the Indian independence movement against British rule in the first half of the 20th century. He was highly respected through- out his life as a man of high moral integrity. In Calcutta, he joined the Indian National Congress (Congress Party) and galvanised India's Muslim community through an appeal to pan-Islamic ideals. He was particularly active in the short- lived Khilafat movement (1920–24), which defended the Ottoman sultan as the caliph (the head of the worldwide Muslim community). Azad was involved in Gandhi's various civil-disobedience (satyagraha) campaigns, including the Salt March (1930). He was imprisoned several times between 1920 and 1945, including for his participation in the anti-British Quit India campaign during World War II. Azad was president of the Congress Party in 1923 and again in 1940–46— though the party was largely inactive during much of his second term, since near- ly all of its leadership was in prison. After the war Azad was one of the Indian leaders who negotiated for Indian independence with the British. He tirelessly advocated for a single India that would embrace both Hindus and Muslims while strongly opposing the partition of British India into independent India and Pakistan. After the two separate countries were established, he served as minister of education in the Indian government of Jawaharlal Nehru from 1947 until his death. His autobiography, India Wins Freedom, was published posthumously in 1959. In 1992, decades after his death, Azad was awarded the Bharat Ratna, In- dia's highest civilian award.

[279] Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (12 December 1880 – 17 November 1976), short- ened as Maulana Bhashani. Maulana Bhashani is popularly known with the hon- orary title Mazlum Jananeta (Leader of the Oppressed), he gained nationwide mass popularity among peasants and helped to build East Pakistan Peasant Association. Owing to his leaning to the left, often dubbed Islamic Socialism, he is also called 'The Red Maulana'. An alumnus of Darul Uloom Deoband, and participant of the Khilafat Movement protesting the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire he led the Muslims of Assam in a successful campaign during the 1947 Sylhet Referendum, through which Sylhet chose to become part of the Pakistan national project. He was the founder and President of the Pakistan Awami Muslim League which later became Awami League (AL). On 31 January 1952 he formed the "All Party Language movement

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Committee" at the Dhaka Bar Library. He campaigned for the recognition of Bangla as a national language in Pakistan.

280 Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri (1910–1987) was a prominent Pakistani opposition politician, human rights advocate and lawyer who became a senior advocate of the Supreme Court. He served in the Indian National Congress (INC) Party before Pakistan's creation, as well as the All-India Muslim League; and subsequently formed the Azad Pakistan Party before becoming one of the founders of the National Awami Party (NAP), briefly serving as the party President. As a leftist lawyer, he was a recipient of the Stalin Peace Prize as well as serving on the Rus- sell Tribunal, created by Bertrand Russell for trying American war crimes in Vietnam. He developed a close association with Zulfiqar Bhutto following the latter's imprisonment in 1968; this in addition to his frustration with the NAP led to his quitting the party. In 1970, he joined the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and was elected in a by-election on one of the seats won by party founder Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He played a key role in the formation of Pakistan's first constitution in 1973. He later left the PPP and also defended his former comrades in the National Awami Party when they were imprisoned by the PPP government for high treason. After leaving the PPP he joined the opposition Tehrik-e-Istiqlal of Asghar Khan in 1973, remaining associated with that party until his death in 1987.

281 Mohammad Daud Khan, (born July 18, 1909, Kabul, Afghanistan—died April 27, 1978, Kabul), Afghan politician who overthrew the monarchy of Mohammad Zahir Shah in 1973 to establish Afghanistan as a republic. He served as the country's president from 1973 to 1978. Educated in Kabul and France, Daud Khan, a cousin and brother-in-law of Zahir Shah, pursued a career in the military. He rose to command an army corps in 1939 and held the post of minister of defense from 1946 to 1953. As prime minister (1953–63) he instituted educational and social reforms and implemented a pro-Soviet policy. He was also an advocate of Pashtoon irredentism, the creation of a greater "Pashtoonistan" in Pashtoon areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This caused the relationship between the two countries to deteriorate and eventually led to Daud Khan's resignation. His overt participation in politics was severely curbed in 1964 when a new constitution barred members of the royal family from holding political office. On July 17, 1973, Daud Khan led a coup that overthrew Zahir Shah. He declared Afghanistan a republic with himself as president. Once in power, Daud Khan sought to suppress the left and lessen the country's dependence on the Soviet Union. On April 27, 1978, how- ever, he was killed in a coup that brought to power a communist government un- der Nur Mohammad Taraki.

282 The erstwhile North West Frontier Province and current Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, renamed through the 18th Constitutional Amendment passed by parliament in April, 2010.

283 Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan (born 1883, Utmanzai, Charsadda – 9 May 1958, La- hore), popularly known as Dr. Khan Sahib, was a pioneer in the Indian Indepen- dence Movement and a Pakistani politician. He was the

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elder brother of the Pashtoon independence activist Bacha Khan, both of whom opposed the partition of India, favouring a united country. As the Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, Dr Khan Sahib along with his brother Bacha Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars boycotted the July 1947 NWFP referendum about the prov- ince joining India or Pakistan after the partition of India, citing that the referen- dum did not have the options of the NWFP becoming independent or joining Af- ghanistan. In 1935 he was elected as one of the representatives of the North-West Frontier Province to the Central Legislative Assembly in New Delhi. He joined the Central Cabinet of Mohammad Ali Bogra as Minister for Communications in 1954. This decision to join the government led to his split with his brother. In October 1955, he became the first Chief Minister of West Pakistan following the con- solidation of the provinces and princely states under the One Unit scheme. After differences with the ruling Muslim League he created the Republican Party with the help of then Governor-General of Pakistan Iskander Mirza. He resigned in March 1957 after the provincial budget was rejected by the assembly. In June, he was elected to the National Assembly of Pakistan representing the constituency of Quetta, the former capital of Balochistan. He was assassinated on 9 May, 1958.

[284] Mohammed Yahya (also known as Mohammed Yahya Jan; 20 March 1901 – 4
March 1990) was primarily an educationist, serving as the founder and first head master of the Islamia High School Peshawar and the Education Minister of the
N.W.F.P. In the 1946 Elections Yahya contested as the successful Congress candi- date and subsequently became the Minister of Education of the North West Fron- tier Province in Dr. Khan Sahibs 2nd Ministry. During his short stint as Education Minister (Partition of the Sub Continent in 1947 led to the dissolution of the Assembly) he put forward the proposal for Peshawar University to be established. He was the only son-in-law of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the freedom fighter and non-violent leader of the Pashtoons in the North-West Frontier Province.

[285] Khan Abdul Ghani Khan SI (1914 – 15 March 1996) was a Pashtoon philosopher, poet, artist, writer and politician. He was a son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a prom- inent British Raj-era Indian independence activist. Ghani Khan was a member of the 6th central legislative assembly of India from 1945-47. For his contributions to Pashto literature and painting, the then-President of Pakistan, Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, conferred on him the Sitara-i-Imtiaz on 23 March 1980

[286] Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan Kashmiri (16 July 1901 – 23 October 1981) was a major figure in British Indian and later Pakistani politics, in particular in the North-West Frontier Province, where he served as the deputy speaker of the pro- vincial assembly, first Chief Minister of North-West Frontier Province and as In- terior Minister of Pakistan in the central government from 1972 to 1977.
Starting his political career in 1934 with the Indian National Congress, Khan quickly rose to serve as an elected member of the Central Legislative Assembly (1937–38) and the deputy leader of the Congress in the Assembly. At that time he admired Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He authored a book, Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier, in which he

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praised Ghaffar Khan and denounced Jinnah and the two-nation theory. Abdul Qayyum Khan said that the North West Frontier Province would resist the partition of India with its blood.[9] He switched his loyalties to the Muslim League in 1945. He later claimed that Ghaffar Khan was plotting Jinnah's assassination. He banned his own book after he became the Chief Minister in the N.W.F.P. The book however continued fetching royalties even after he joined the Muslim League. In the 1946 provincial elections, Khan campaigned for the All-India Muslim League however, the Muslim League won only 17 seats in comparison to the 30 seats of the Congress Party. The Congress Party formed the provincial government under the premiership of Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan (popularly known as "Dr. Khan Sahib") Within a week of the independence of Pakistan, the Congress government was dismissed under orders from Governor General Jinnah. Abdul Qayyum Khan was put in charge of a minority government on 23 August 1947. Qayyum Khan served as the Chief Minister till 23 April 1953. Under the orders of Abdul Qayyum Khan the Babrra massacre occurred on 12 August 1948 in the Charsadda District of the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pukhtunkhwa) of Pakistan, when workers of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement were fired upon by the provincial government. According to official figures, around 15 protestors were killed while around 40 were injured. However, Khudai Khidmatgar sources maintained that around 150 were killed and 400 were injured. In September 1948, then Chief Minister, Abdul Qayyum Khan gave a statement in the provincial assembly, "I had imposed section 144 at Babra. When the people did not disperse, then firing was opened on them. They were lucky that the police had finished ammunition; otherwise not a single soul would have been left alive". Khan Qayyum said hinting at the four members of the opposition in the provincial assembly. He said; "If they were killed, the government would not care about them."

[287] Abdul Kareem (1908 - Jan 18, 1961), commonly known as Master Abdul Kareem or Master Kareem.

[288] Born 1908, died 1974.

[289] Khan Abdul Wali Khan (11 January 1917 – 26 January 2006) was a British In- dian and later Pakistani secular democratic socialist and Pashtoon leader, and served as president of Awami National Party. Son of the prominent Pashtoon na- tionalist leader Bacha Khan, Wali Khan was an activist and a writer against the British Raj like his father.

[290] Qazi Ataullah Khan (1895 – 17 February, 1952), member of the NWFP legislative assembly in the 1937 elections and appointed Minister for Revenue. Became member again in the 1946 elections and was appointed Minister of Education. Author of Pashto book "History of Pashtoons".

[291] Islamia College, Peshawar (ICP) is a public university located in Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. It was founded on the personal initiatives of Sir
S.A. Qayyum and Sir George Roos-Keppel in 1913. It was granted the status of university by the Government of Pakistan in 2008.

[292] The University of Peshawar (popularly known as Peshawar University) is a public research university located in Peshawar, Khyber

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Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. The university was founded in 1950 and offers programs for undergraduate, post- graduate, and doctoral studies.

293 Vladimir Lenin, also called Vladimir Ilich Lenin, original name Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, (born April 10 [April 22, New Style], 1870, Simbirsk, Russia—died January 21, 1924, Gorki [later Gorki Leninskiye], near Moscow), founder of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), inspirer and leader of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917), and the architect, builder, and first head (1917–24) of the Soviet state. He was the founder of the organization known as Comintern (Communist International) and the posthumous source of "Leninism," the doctrine codified and conjoined with Karl Marx's works by Lenin's successors to form Marxism-Lenin- ism, which became the Communist worldview.

294 Syed Abdul Aziz (1885 – 1948) elected twice to the Bihar legislative council in
1926 and 1937.

295 Sir Malik Feroz Khan Noon (7 May 1893 – 9 December 1970) KCSI, KCIE, OStJ, was the seventh prime minister of Pakistan, serving in this capacity from his appointment on 16 December 1957. In 1920–21, Khan entered national politics and was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the platform of the Unionist Party. From 1927 until 1931, he joined the cabinet of the Governor of Punjab, Mal- colm Hailey and held the portfolio of provincial Ministry of Local Government until 1930. Between 1931 and 1936, Khan was in the cabinets of Governors Geoffrey Fitzhervey de Montmorency, Sikandar Hyat, and Herbert William Emerson where he held provincial portfolios of Ministries of Health and Education. In 1936, Khan resigned from his public service in Punjab when he was appointed as the High Commissioner of India to the United Kingdom. In 1941, Khan left his diplomatic post when he was asked to join the Churchill cabinet, being appointed first as his military adviser from the Secretary of State for India of India Office on the affairs of the Indian Army.[21] Khan later joined the Viceroy's Executive Council's cabinet as a labour minister, and played a crucial role in advising against the Independence of India, without addressing the push of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders for the Muslim question. In 1945, he was appointed as Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, attending the first UN session in San Francisco, California.

296 It means, God is great

297 Ghulam Rasool Mehr (13 April 1895 – 16 November 1971) was a Pakistani Mus- lim scholar and political activist born in Phoolpur, a village in the district of Ja- landhar, British India

298 Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani (1910 – 2000)

299 The One Unit Scheme was a geopolitical Program launched by the Government of Pakistan led by the then-Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra on 22 November 1954. The 'One Unit' Program merged the four provinces of West Pakistan into a single province to parallel the East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). It was viewed as a counterbalance against the political and population dominance of the ethnic Bengali population of East Pakistan. The One Unit program was met with great resistance and grievances were raised by the four provinces since its establishment. The National Awami Party successfully sponsored a bill in the Na- tional

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Assembly calling for its dissolution and providing for regional autonomy. It remained in effect until 1970.

300 Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency 8 Mar 1928 – 30 Sep 1930 Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate (b. 1889 - d. 1978)

301 Some British officers were retained after the partition

302 Agha Shorish Kashmiri (1917–1975) was a scholar, writer, debater, and a leader of the Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam party. He was a figure of the freedom move- ment in the British Raj, as well as the chief editor of the weekly Chattan magazine in Pakistan.

303 Feudal lord

304 Daryaganj (literally "River Trading Post/Warehouse") is a neighbourhood of Delhi inside the walled city of Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi). The "darya" (lit. "Riv- er") refers to the river Yamuna which was just outside the walled city. Daryaganj is one of the three sub-divisions and also the administrative headquarters of the Central Delhi District. It starts at Delhi Gate, at the edge of Netaji Subhash Road, which goes towards Red Fort.

305 British Guiana was a British colony, part of the mainland British West Indies,
which resides on the northern coast of South America. Since 1966 it has been known as the independent nation of Guyana.

306 British Somaliland, Former British protectorate, southern shore of the Gulf of Aden, eastern Africa. In the Middle Ages it was a powerful Arab sultanate; it was broken up in the 17th century. Its coast came under British influence in the early 19th century, but formal control was not acquired until it was taken from Egypt in 1884. It fell under Italian control in World War II. In 1960 it was united with the former Italian Somaliland to form Somalia. In 1991 a government opposition group declared the region comprising the former British Somaliland to be an in- dependent state; however, it was not internationally recognized.

307 British Balochistan, and the territories administered by the Agent to the Gov-
ernor-General, the latter being generally known as the Agency Territories. British Balochistan includes the tahslls 01 Shahrig, Sibi, Duki, Pishin with Shorarud, and the Chaman subdivision, with a total area of 9,476 square miles. Agency Territo- ries is an elastic term, including areas which are directly administered and also other tracts which are merely politically controlled. Of these, the directly admin- istered areas cover 37,216 square miles, comprising the Quetta tahsil, the Bolan Pass District, and the Nushki and Nasirabad tahsils; the lands occupied by the railway from Jhatpat to Mithri, Nari to Spintangi, and Spezand to Sorosham ; tin Chagai and Western Sinjrani country ; and the whole of the Zhob and Loralai Agencies, except the Duki tahsil in the latter. The inhabitants of the last two tracts have placed themselves under British protection from time to time. Throughout these areas revenue is collected. The part of Balochistan, therefore, including British Balochistan, which is under direct administration, covers 46,692 square miles, an area about the same size as Sind. It comprises six Districts Quetta Pishin, Sibi, Loralai, Zhob, Chagai, and the Bolan Pass. Each of the first four is in charge of a Political Agent and the fifth of a Political

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Assistant, while the Bolan Pass is administered by the Political Agent in Kalat. The latter, with two Political Assistants, one of whom is ex-officio Commandant of the Makran Levy Corps, controls the affairs of the Kalat and Las Bela States. The Political Agent in Sibi exercises political control over the Marri and Bugti tribes and in the Lahri niabat of the Kalat State, which is inhabited by the Dombki, Umrani, and Kaheri tribes. Internet Archive. 2021. Imperial gazetteer of India .. : Great Britain. India Office : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive. [online] Available at: <https://archive.org/details/imperialgazetteer06grea/page/318/mode/2up

[308] The practice is called Ghagg in Pashto, which literally means shout to declare or make an announcement

[309] A village in the Khwaja Amran range between Landai Karez Ashezai and Roghani Malezai

[310] Colonel Monawar Khan AFRIDI, C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.P., D.T.M. & H., (Kohat 12 February 1900 - 16 October 1968) His father was Khan Bahadur Sharbat Khan, CIE, of the Indian political service. A distinguished physician who served in the Indian Medical Service between 1924 and 1947. He was the physician in the British Indian Army responsible for combating malaria within the Army in South East Asia during the Second World War. In 1936 Afridi was appointed the Assistant Director of the Malaria Institute of India. He undertook extensive malarial surveys in Delhi, Bahrain, Uttar Pradesh and Terai, and developed anti-malaria larval measures in urban areas. With the outbreak of the Second World War, Afridi was recalled to Military service. He was sent to Sudan, and then Iraq, to be responsible for antimalarial measures in the respective commands. With the end of the Second World War, Afridi resumed his post as Assistant Director of the Institute of Malariology at Delhi. With the partition of British India on 15 August 1947, Afridi moved to the new country of Pakistan, where he established the Malaria Institute of Pakistan. Afridi led the Pakistan delegation to the World Health Organisation (W.H.O.), and in 1949, he joined the W.H.O. as the Deputy Regional Director for the Eastern Mediterranean. Later, he returned to Pakistan to become the Surgeon-General for East Pakistan (now the independent country of Bangladesh), and then returned to his roots as the Director of Health Services in the North-West Frontier of Pakistan. Appointed a Vice-Chancellor of the University of Peshawar in 1958, Afridi held this post for four years. In 1962, he was elected chairman of the Executive Board of the W.H.O. and was President of the 17th World Health Assembly in Geneva in 1964. At this assembly, he was present- ed with the Darling Foundation medal and prize for 'his outstanding achievements in the field of pathology, etiology, therapy, prophylaxis and control of malaria'. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (F.R.C.P.) in 1964.

[311] General Mohammad Yousuf (Quetta 15 October, 1908 – 1981) a graduate of Sandhurst, served as Ambassador to Afghanistan and the High Commisioner in London. He was the son of Khan Bahadur Sharbat Khan CIE, a member of the Balochistan provincial service, where he served as

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Political Agent in Loralai, Fort Sandeman, Sibi and as Prime Minister of Kalat State.

312 Khan Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Ahmedzai GCIE (1902–1979) was the last Khan of Kalat, a princely state within British India and the Dominion of Pakistan, serving from 10 September 1933 to 14 October 1955.

313 Translation: Homeland Society

314 Giuseppe Mazzini (22 June 1805 – 10 March 1872) was an Italian politician, journalist, activist for the unification of Italy and spearhead of the Italian revolutionary movement. His efforts helped bring about the independent and unified Italy in place of the several separate states, many dominated by foreign powers, that existed until the 19th century. An Italian nationalist in the historical radical tradition and a proponent of social-democratic republicanism, Mazzini helped define the modern European movement for popular democracy in a republican state.

315 The Persian-language magazine Habl al-Matin ("Strong cord"), one of the most important political journals during the Constitutional Revolution, was published daily in Teheran from 1907 to 1908. One volume with a total of 274 issues was published. It was founded as subsidiary of the magazine Habl al-Matin which was published in Calcutta and offered current news about Iran.

316 Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (1905 – 1981) a well-known politician from early days of Pakistan, was born in village Thatta Gurmani in Tehsil Kot Addu in 1905. Besides other stints in politics, he has served as the Governor of Punjab from November 26, 1954 to October 14, 1955. He also had the honour of being the first Governor of West Pakistan – a post he held from October 14, 1955 to August 27, 1957. Earlier, he had remained Interior Minister of Pakistan (1951-54). In 1949, as a Minister without Portfolio, he signed the Karachi Agreement that established a ceasefire line between Pakistani and Indian areas of Kashmir, which later came to be known as the Line of Control. He had also served as prime minister in the princely state of Bahawalpur before partition. He left for the eternal abode in 1981.

317 Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi (7 July 1889 – 24 May 1978) was born in a Hindu family in Thatta who later converted to Islam. He was a famous writer, politician and journalist of Sindh. He defeated Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto in the Sindh election of 1937.

318 Khaliq Dina Hall, also spelled Khaliq Deena Hall, is a library and hall located in Karachi, Pakistan. The building was built in 1906, and was after Ghulam Hoosain Khalikdina - a wealthy merchant and philanthropist who was the main financier for the building, and who wished for Karachi's Muslims to have a space for literary pursuits. The hall was designed in a Palladian style, by the Lahore- born Iraqi-Jewish architect Moses Somake. Its most notable feature is the 10 foot wide veranda and triangular pediment supported by 12 Greek-style Ionic pillars at the front, which makes the building resemble an ancient Greek temple. The pediment is inscribed with the name of the building, and date of construction - Ghulam Hoosain Khalikdina Hall and Library 1906. The building's exterior measures 525 by 325 feet, while the interior hall is 95 feet in length and 45 feet wide. The interior ceiling height is 30 feet. The main hall can seat approximately 600 persons. The original

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pitched roof was made of teak wood, which collapsed in a heavy rainstorm in 1994.

[319] Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta (7 January 1886 – 1 August 1952) was the first elected Mayor of Karachi and still remembered as the "Maker of Modern Karachi" (Baba-e-Karachi). He was also a notable figure in the Pakistan Boy Scouts Association. In 1918, Mehta was elected a councillor of the Karachi Municipal Corporation and served in that position for six years. He was soon elected the President of the Corporation. He served in that capacity for 12 years from April 1922 to October 1933. Then he was elected to become the first Mayor of Karachi from 1933 to 1934 in British India. Jamshed Quarters was developed by Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta in 1922.

[320] Hatim Ali Alvi, Mayor of Karachi from 6 May 1938 till 5 May 1939.

[321] Hatim Badruddin Tyabji (1891 Mumbai, Maharashtra, India – 1976 Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan), appointed acting Judge in 1938. In 1947 Mr. Hatim B. Tyabji became the Chief Judge of Sindh Chief Court.

[322] Kumari Jethi Tulsidas Sipahimalani (10 February 1906 – 21 May 1978) was a Sindhi politician and first woman deputy speaker of Sind legislative assembly. In 1930 she left her job and joined the Indian independence movement, against British rule. She went to prison from 1932 to 1942 for taking part in Salt Satyagraha and Quit India movement. Sipahimalani was elected twice on general seats of the Sindh legislative assembly and in 1937 she became the first woman deputy speaker of Sind assembly. Elected as the first woman deputy chairperson of the Bombay Legislative Council (1955 -62) of the erstwhile Bombay State, which was divided into Mahrashtra and Gujarat on May 1, 1960.

[323] Maryam Hatim Tyabji (Hydari) (born 1899)

[324] Sir Mohammad Akbar Nazar Ali Hydari, Sadr ul-Maham, PC (8 November 1869 – November 1941) was an Indian politician. He served as the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State from 18 March 1937 to September 1941. Hydari was born on 8 November 1869 into a Sulaymani Bohra community of Muslims. His father was Seth Nazar Ali Hydari, a businessman based in Bombay. Hydari served in the In- dian Audit and Accountancy Service before moving to Hyderabad State where he became the finance minister and later the prime minister. He was largely responsible for the restoration of the Ajanta Caves. He also represented Hyderabad at the First Round Table Conference November 1930 – January 1931. In January 1936, he was appointed a member of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. In 1941 he was appointed as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

[325] 40. Security for keeping the peace.– (1) Where any person, who is likely to do any wrongful act or commit any offence, which may cause breach of peace or disturb the public tranquility, is produced before the Political Agent or the Dis- trict Coordination Officer, as the case may be, he may require such person to show cause why he should not be ordered to execute a bond with or without sureties for good behaviour and keeping the peace for a period not exceeding two years.

(2) The Political Agent or District Coordination Officer, as the case may be, shall hold necessary inquiry as nearly as may be practicable, into the truth of the information upon which such

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action has been taken, in accordance with sub-section (2) of 117 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898).

(3) Pending completion of such inquiry, the Political Agent or District Coordination Officer, as the case may be, if he considers that immediate measures are necessary for preventing the breach of peace or commission of any offence, direct the person to execute a bond with or without sureties for keeping the peace and maintaining good behaviour failing which he may be detained until such bond is executed or, in default of execution of bond, until the inquiry is concluded within a period of thirty days.

(4) After holding such inquiry, as provided above, if it is proved that there is an apprehension of breach of peace or disturbance of public tranquility, the Polit ical Agent or District Coordination Officer, as the case may be, may pass an order directing such person to execute the bond with or without sureties for his good behaviour and for keeping peace and tranquility for a period not exceeding two years failing which he may be detained. In case it is not proved that there is any apprehension of breach of peace or disturbance of public tranquility, the Political Agent or the District Coordination Officer, as the case may be, shall release such person if in custody, and if not in custody shall discharge him.

(5) Where a person has been convicted of the offences as mentioned in section 106 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 (Act V of 1898), for the offences under the laws mentioned in the Second Schedule he may be ordered to execute a bond with or without sureties for his good behaviour and for keeping the peace. If the conviction is set aside on appeal or otherwise, the bond so executed shall be- come void.

(6) Where the Political Agent or District Coordination Officer, as the case may be, is of the opinion that sufficient grounds exist for making an order under sub- section, (4) he may, by order in writing, direct that the person concerned after his release shall notify his residence and any change of his residence in the manner prescribed in section 565 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for a term not exceeding two years.".

[326] Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency 17 Oct 1932 – 15 Apr 1935 Herbert John Todd (b. 1893 - d. 1985)

[327] Section 124A. Exciting disaffection

Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, excites, or attempts to excite, feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with im- prisonment for a term which may

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extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine. (Historical Text 1870)

328 Abraham (originally Abram) is the common Hebrew patriarch of the Abraham- ic religions, including Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In Judaism, he is the founding father of the covenant of the pieces, the special relationship between the Hebrews and God; in Christianity, he is the spiritual progenitor of all believers, Jewish or Gentile (non-Jewish); and in Islam he is seen as a link in the chain of prophets that begins with Adam and culminates in Muhammad.

329 Quran (Surah 21 Al Anbiya – The Prophets) Verses (51-72)

330 Yūsif bin Ya'qūb bin Isḥāq bin 'Ibrāhīm (Joseph, son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham) is a prophet mentioned in the Quran, and corresponds to Joseph, a person from the Tanakh, the Jewish religious scripture, and the Christian Bible.

331 Quran (Surah 12 Yusuf - Joseph)

332 Moses, also known as Moshe Rabbenu (Moshe our Teacher), is the most im- portant prophet in Judaism, and an important prophet in Christianity, Islam and the Bahá'í Faith. In the biblical and quranic narrative, he was the leader of the Israelites and lawgiver to whom the authorship, or "acquisition from heaven", of the Torah (the first five books of the Bible) is attributed.

333 In Islam, 'Īsā ibn Maryam ('Jesus, son of Mary'), or Jesus, is the penultimate prophet and messenger of God (Allah) and the Messiah, who was sent to guide the Children of Israel with a new revelation: Injīl (Arabic for "gospel"). As in the Christian New Testament, the Quran (the central religious text of Islam) de- scribes Jesus as the Messiah (al-Masih in Arabic), born of a virgin, performing miracles, accompanied by disciples, rejected by the Jewish establishment, and being raised to heaven. But the Quran differs from the New Testament in reject- ing the divinity of Jesus as God incarnate, or the Son of God.

334 Quran (Surah 5 Al Maidah – The Table Spread) Verse 116: And when Allah
said, "O 'Īsā, son of Maryam, did you say to the people: 'Take me and my mother as gods beside Allah?" He said, "Pure are You, it does not behoove me to say what is not right for me. Had I said it, You would have known it. You know what is in my heart, and I do not know what is in Your's. You alone have full knowledge of all that is unseen.

335 Socrates, (born c. 470 BCE, Athens [Greece]—died 399 BCE, Athens), ancient
Greek philosopher whose way of life, character, and thought exerted a profound influence on Western philosophy. The impact of his life was all the greater be- cause of the way in which it ended: at age 70, he was brought to trial on a charge of impiety and sentenced to death by poisoning (the poison probably being hem- lock) by a jury of his fellow citizens. Plato's Apology of Socrates purports to be the speech Socrates gave at his trial in response to the accusations made against him (Greek apologia means "defense"). Its powerful advocacy of the examined life and its condemnation of Athenian democracy have made it one of the central docu- ments of Western thought and culture.

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8 Mar 1928 – 30 Sep 1930 Ronald Evelyn Leslie Wingate (b. 1889 - d. 1978)

344 Quran (Surah 9 Al Taubah – The Repentance) Verse 24: Say, "If your fathers and your sons and your brothers and your spouses and your clan and the wealth you have earned and the trade you apprehend will recede and the homes you like are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger and Jihād in His way, then, wait until Allah comes with His command. Allah does not lead the sinning people to the right path.

345 Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency 17 Oct 1932 – 15 Apr 1935 Herbert John Todd (b. 1893 - d. 1985)

346 17 Oct 1932 – 15 Apr 1935 Herbert John Todd (b. 1893 - d. 1985)

347 Lt. Col. B.H. Syed – Inspector General Prisons 1948 - 1958

348 The Hudson Motor Car Company made Hudson and other branded automo- biles in Detroit, Michigan, U.S., from 1909 to 1954. In 1954, Hudson merged with Nash-Kelvinator to form American Motors Corporation (AMC). The Hudson name was continued through the 1957 model year, after which it was discontinued.

349 Abdul Aziz Kurd was an early leader of the Baloch nationalist movement in
Balochistan. Along with Yousaf Aziz Magsi he founded the Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e- Balochan (Organisation for Unity of the Baloch) based in Mastung in 1920 as the first Baloch nationalist political party.

350 Tafsīr al-Jalālayn (Tafsir of the two Jalals) is a classical Sunni interpretation (tafsir) of the Qur'an, composed first by Jalal ad-Din al-Maḥalli in 1459 and then completed after his death by his student Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti in 1505, thus its name, which means "Tafsir of the two Jalals". It is recognised as one of the most popular exegeses of the Qur'an today, due to its simple style and its conciseness, as it is only one volume in length.

351 Mafatih al-Ghayb (lit. 'Keys to the Unknown'), usually known as al-Tafsir al- Kabir (lit. 'The Large Commentary'), is a classical Islamic tafsir book, written by the twelfth-century Persian Islamic theologian and philosopher, Fakhruddin Razi (d.1210). The book is an exegesis and commentary on the Qur'an. At 32 volumes, it is even larger than the 28-volume Tafsir al-Tabari. It is not unusual for modern works to use it as a reference.

352 Shāh Walī Allāh, also spelled Shah Waliullāh, (born 1702/03, Delhi [India]—
died 1762, Delhi), Indian theologian and promulgator of modern Islamic thought who first attempted to reassess Islamic theology in the light of modern changes. 353 Ibn Khaldūn, in full Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥam- mad ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Khaldūn, (born May 27, 1332, Tunis [Tunisia]—died March 17, 1406, Cairo, Egypt), the greatest Arab historian, who developed one of the earliest nonreligious philosophies of history, contained in his masterpiece, the Muqaddimah ("Introduction"). He also wrote a definitive history of Muslim North Africa.

354 The city is now called Loralai

355 Mishkat al-Masabih is a selection of hadith compiled by Imam Khatib at- Tabrizi. Imam at-Tabrizi expanded on an earlier selection of hadith

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named Masabih as-Sunnah by Imam al-Baghawi. Mishkat al-Masabih contains approxi- mately 6,000 hadith chosen from the Six Books, Musnad Ahmad, and various others. It is a comprehensive selection of hadith that covers almost all aspects of Islamic belief, jurisprudence (fiqh), and virtues.

[356] Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (1233–1277), popularly known as al-Nawawī or Imam Nawawī (631–676 A.H./1234–1277), was a Sunni Shafi'ite jurist and hadith scholar. He authored numerous and lengthy works ranging from hadith, to theology, biography, and jurisprudence.

[357] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī or Ibn Ḥajar (full name: Shihābud-Dīn Abul-Faḍl Aḥ- mad ibn Nūrud-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī al-Kināni) (18 February 1372 – 2 February 1449 CE / 773 – 852 A.H.), was a classic Islamic scholar and polymath "whose life work constitutes the final summation of the science of Hadith." He authored some 150 works on hadith, history, biography, tafsir, poetry, and Shafi'i jurisprudence, the most valued of which being his commentary of Sahih al-Bukhari, titled Fath al-Bari.

[358] Abū Ḥanīfah, in full Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit, (born 699, Kūfah, Iraq—died 767, Baghdad), Muslim jurist and theologian whose systematization of Islamic legal doctrine was acknowledged as one of the four canonical schools of Islamic law (madhhabs). The Ḥanafī school of Abū Ḥanīfah acquired such pres- tige that its doctrines were applied by a majority of Muslim dynasties. Even today it is widely followed in India, Pakistan, Turkey, Central Asia, and Arab countries. [359] Ibn al-Jawzī, in full ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Farash ibn al-Jawzī, (born 1126, Baghdad—died 1200, Baghdad), jurist, theologian, historian, preacher, and teacher who became an important figure in the Baghdad estab- lishment and a leading spokesman of traditionalist Islam.

[360] Mir Gul Khan Naseer, (14 May 1914 – 6 December 1983) was a prominent politician, poet, historian, and journalist from Balochistan, Pakistan. Gul Khan Naseer was at the forefront of the Baloch nationalist movement and was most active between 1935 and 1980.

[361] Sir Clarmont Percival Skrine OBE (1888–1974) was a British civil servant and administrator who served as the British consul-general in Kashgar from 1922 to 1924, Under-Secretary of State for India and agent for the Madras States from 1936 to 1939. Born in Kensington, London, in the United Kingdom on 28 February 1888, Clarmont was the son of Francis Henry Bennett Skrine (1847–1933) of the Indian civil service and Helen Lucy née Stewart (1867–1954), and the grandson of the Revd Clarmont Skrine of Warleigh Lodge, Wimbledon. He was educated at Winchester and New College Oxford in England and qualified for the Indian civil service in 1912. Clarmont served in the Indian civil service from 1912 to 1915 and joined the Indian political service in 1915. From 1916 to 1919 he was British vice-consul in Kerman, Iran. From 1922 to 1924, Skrine was posted in Kashgar, in Chinese Turkestan, as the British consul-general. Clarmont married Doris Forbes née Whitelaw (1897–1971) on 23 November 1923 in Mumbai. In 1925, he and his wife, made a journey into the largely unknown valleys of the Kungar Alps in Chinese Turkestan, during which he mapped, photographed and surveyed the country. This journey was described in an article in 'The Times' in May

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1925 and forms a central part of his book 'Chinese Central Asia'. From 1926 to 1929 he was British consul in Seistan. On 20 November 1936, Skrine was appointed agent for the Madras States. Skrine served till 1 April 1937, when the agency was abolished and replaced with a residency. Clarmont also served as the first resident for the Madras States from 1 April 1937 to 15 January 1939. In January 1942 he traveled overland to Mashhad, Persia (near the Turkmen border) to become Consul General and remarkably took some cine footage of his journey. British public records indicate he remained in post till the end of World War Two. From 1946 to 1948, Skrine served as Counsellor for Indian Affairs in Teheran, Persia. After his retirement from the service he was appointed by the firm Balfour Beatty & Co. to be Resident Director of the Jerusalem Electricity Corporation in connection with the scheme for obtaining electric power from the Jordan. Later he was chairman of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for Official Use and a partner in the firm of Mideast Guardians concerned with the placing of Iranian and other Middle Eastern children in British schools.

Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

21 Apr 1921 – 24 Oct 1921 Clarmont Percival Skrine (b. 1888 - d. 1974)

Agents to the Governor-general for Punjab States Agency

14 Apr 1939 - 1941 Clarmont Percival Skrine (b. 1888 - d. 1974)

[362] Distance of around 120 km.

[363] Khan Bahadur: a compound of khan (leader) and bahadur (brave) – was a formal title of respect and honour, which was conferred exclusively on Muslim and other non-Hindu natives of British India. It was one degree higher than the title of Khan Sahib and one degree lower than Sardar Bahadur. The title was con- ferred on individuals for faithful service or acts of public welfare to the Empire. Recipients were entitled to prefix the title to their name and were presented with a special Title Badge and a citation (or sanad). It was conferred on behalf of the Government of British India by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The title was dis-established in 1947 upon the independence of India. The title "Khan Bahadur" was originally conferred in Mughal India on Muslim subjects in recognition of public services rendered and was adopted by British India for the same purpose and extended to cover other non-Hindu subjects of the India. Hindu su jects of British-occupied India were conferred the title of "Rai Bahadur".

[364] Power to require persons to remove in certain cases. Where, in the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner, any person:

(a) Is a dangerous fanatic, or
(b) Belongs to a frontier tribe and has no ostensible means of subsistence or cannot give a satisfactory account of himself, or
(c) Has a blood feud, or
(d) Has occasioned cause of quarrel likely to lead to blood shed

The Deputy Commissioner may, by order in writing, require him to reside beyond the limits of the territories to which this Regulation

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extends, or at such place within the said territories as may be specified in the order:
Provided that, if the person has a fixed habitation in the place which the Deputy Commissioner requires him to leave, an order under this section shall not be made without the previous sanction of the Commissioner.

365 Sub-divisional officer
366 Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)
17 Dec 1931 - 10 May 1932 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (b. 1880 - d. 1957)
(1st time) (acting)
1 Oct 1932 - 1 Apr 1936 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (s.a.)
(2nd time)
367 The Brahui, Brahvi or Brohi, are a Dravidian-speaking ethnic group principal- ly found in Balochistan, Pakistan. Their main area of habitation, including the main area where Brahui is spoken, is situated in a continuous area over a narrow north-south belt in Pakistan from the southern fringes of Quetta southwards through Mastung and Kalat, including Nushki to the west, all the way to Las Bela in the south, near the Arabian sea coastline. The term "Brahui" designates both the ethnic group as well as the language. Kalat separates the area into a northern part, known as Sarawan, and a southern part, known as Jahlawan. This division is also reflected in the main tribal Brahui divisions, namely the Sarawani and Jahlawani tribes.
368 Ṣā'ib, in full Mīrzā Muḥammad 'alī Ṣā'ib, also called Ṣā'ib Of Tabriz, orṢā'ib Of Eṣfahān, (born 1601/02, Tabrīz, Iran—died c. 1677), Persian poet, one of the greatest masters of a form of classical Arabic and Persian lyric poetry character- ized by rhymed couplets and known as the ghazel.Ṣā'ib was educated in Eṣfahān, and in about 1626/27 he traveled to India, where he was received into the court of Shāh Jahān. He stayed for a time in Kabul and in Kashmir, returning home after several years abroad. After his return Shāh 'Abbas II bestowed upon him the title King of Poets. Ṣā'ib's reputation is based primarily on some 300,000 couplets, including his epic poem Qandahār-nāma ("The Campaign Against Qandahār"). His "Indian style" verses reveal an elegant wit, a gift for the aphorism and the proverb, and a keen appreciation of philosophical and intellectual exercise. In addition to his remarkable output of Persian verse, Ṣā'ib wrote poetry in Turkish. 369 Quran (Surah 22 Al Hajj – The Pilgrimage) Verse 1
370 Quran (Surah 16 An-Nahl – The Bee) Verse 74
371 Quran (Surah 2 Al-Hajj : The Pilgrimage) (Verse 2) The Day you see it, every nursing mother will abandon what she is nursing, and every pregnant woman will deliver her burden 'prematurely'. And you will see people 'as if they were' drunk, though they will not be drunk; but the torment of Allah is 'terribly' severe.
372 Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)
1 Oct 1932 - 1 Apr 1936 Alexander Norman Ley Cater (b. 1880 – d. 1957)
(2nd time)

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373 Mohammad Yusuf Abdullah Haroon (1916 – February 12, 2011) was a Pakistani politician who served as the 5th Governor of West Pakistan and 3rd Chief Minister of Sindh. The eldest son of Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, he had worked closely with Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as his personal assistant and was active in the Pakistan Movement. Yusuf's involvement in politics spanned nearly seven decades. He served as mayor of Pre-independence Karachi (May 10, 1944, to May 8, 1945), Chief Minister of Sindh (1949–50), Governor of West Pakistan (1969) and a Federal minister. He was also a former high commissioner to Australia. Yusuf Haroon was a founding member of the Dawn newspaper. He became the chief editor of Dawn in April 1966.

374 He was knighted by King George VI in the 1937 Coronation Honours list and
came to be known as Sir Abdullah Haroon.

375 The British Empire Economic Conference (also known as the Imperial Economic Conference or Ottawa Conference) was a 1932 conference of British colonies and the autonomous dominions held to discuss the Great Depression. It was held between 21 July and 20 August in Ottawa. The conference saw the group admit the failure of the gold standard and abandon attempts to return to it. The meeting also worked to establish a zone of limited tariffs within the British Empire, but with high tariffs with the rest of the world. This was called "Imperial preference" or "Empire Free-Trade" on the principle of "home producers first, empire producers second, and foreign producers last". The result of the conference was a series of bilateral agreements that would last for at least 5 years.

376 Khan Sahib is a compound of khan (leader) and sahib (master) - was a formal
title of respect and honour, which was conferred mainly on Muslim, but also to Parsi, Irani, and Jewish subjects of the British Indian Empire. It was a title one degree lower than Khan Bahadur. The title was conferred along with a Title Badge and a citation (or sanad) and the recipient was entitled to prefix the title to his name. The title was conferred on behalf of the British Indian Government by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The title "Khan Sahib" was originally conferred by the Mughal Empire on Muslim subjects in recognition of public ser- vices rendered and was adopted by the British Indian Empire for the same pur- pose. Hindu subjects of the British Indian Empire were conferred the title of "Rai Sahib". Since there were no separate titles for Parsi and Jewish subjects, the British Indian Empire conferred the Muslim title of Khan Sahib to Parsi and Jew- ish subjects as well.

377 Sahih Bukhari 52:269

378 Battle of Badr, (624 CE), in Islamic history, major military victory led by the Prophet Muhammad that marked a turning point for the early Muslim community (ummah) from a defensive stance toward one of stability and expansion. The battle damaged Meccan trade and boosted the morale of the ummah as a viable force in its pursuit of control of the holy city. The prestige of the battle in the Islamic consciousness is marked by the fact that it is the only battle mentioned by name in the Qur'ān.

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379 Quran (Surah 2 Al Baqarah: The Cow) (Verse 2) "...and do not throw [your- selves] with your [own] hands into destruction."
380 Quran (Surah 2 Al Baqarah: The Cow) (Verse 2) "And spend in the way of Al- lah..."
381 Quran (Surah 2 Al Baqarah – The Cow) Verse 195 And spend in the way of Allah and do not throw [yourselves] with your [own] hands into destruction [by refraining]. And do good; indeed, Allah loves the doers of good.
382 Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, (born January 626, Medina, Arabia [now in Saudi Arabia]
—died October 10, 680, Karbalāʾ, Iraq), hero in Shiʿi Islam, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fāṭimah and son-in-law ʿAlī (the first imam of the Shiʿah and the fourth of the Sunni Rashidun caliphs). He is revered by Shiʿi Muslims as the third imam (after ʿAlī and Husayn's elder brother, Ḥasan).
383 Muʿāwiyah I, in full Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Muʿāwiyah also spelled
Moawiyah, (born c. 602, Mecca, Arabia—died April/May 680, Damascus), early Islamic leader and founder of the great Umayyad dynasty of caliphs. He fought against the fourth caliph, ʿAlī (Muhammad's son-in-law), seized Egypt, and as- sumed the caliphate after ʿAlī's assassination in 661. He restored unity to the Muslim empire and made Damascus its capital. He reigned from 661 to 680.
384 Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, (born October 26, 1919, Tehrān, Iran —died July 27, 1980, Cairo, Egypt), shah of Iran from 1941 to 1979, who maintained a pro-Western foreign policy and fostered economic development in Iran.
385 Kemal Atatürk, (Turkish: "Kemal, Father of Turks") original name Mustafa Kemal, also called Mustafa Kemal Paşa, (born 1881, Salonika [now Thessaloníki], Greece—died November 10, 1938, Istanbul, Turkey), soldier, statesman, and re- former who was the founder and first president (1923–38) of the Republic of Turkey. He modernized the country's legal and educational systems and encour- aged the adoption of a European way of life, with Turkish written in the Latin alphabet and with citizens adopting European-style names.
386 Gamal Abdel Nasser, Arabic Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣīr, (born January 15, 1918, Alexandria, Egypt—died September 28, 1970, Cairo), Egyptian army officer, prime minister (1954–56), and then president (1956–70) of Egypt who became a controversial leader of the Arab world, creating the short-lived United Arab Re- public (1958–61), twice fighting wars with Israel (1956, 1967), and engaging in such inter-Arab policies as mediating the Jordanian civil war (1970).
387 Nādir Shāh, also spelled Nāder Shāh, original name Nadr Qolī Beg, also called
Ṭahmāsp Qolī Khan, (born Oct. 22, 1688, Kobhān, Ṣafavid Iran—died June 1747, Fatḥābād), Iranian ruler and conqueror who created an Iranian empire that stretched from the Indus River to the Caucasus Mountains.
388 Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, (20 February 1916 – 30 January 1995) was a Punjabi politician who supported the Pakistan Movement in British India, and was the second Chief Minister of West Punjab in Pakistan.

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[389] Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin (19 July 1894 – 22 October 1964) KCIE was a Bengali conservative politician and one of the leading founding fathers of Pakistan. He is noted as being the first Bengali leader of Pakistan who ruled the country first as the Governor-General (1948–51), and later as the Prime Minister (1951–53).

[390] Saviour of the Nation

[391] He was replaced by Mohammad Ali Bogra

[392] Umayyad dynasty, also spelled Omayyad, the first great Muslim dynasty to rule the empire of the caliphate (661–750 CE), sometimes referred to as the Arab kingdom (reflecting traditional Muslim disapproval of the secular nature of the Umayyad state). The Umayyads, headed by Abū Sufyān, were a largely merchant family of the Quraysh tribe centred at Mecca. They had initially resisted Islam, not converting until 627, but subsequently became prominent administrators under Mohammad and his immediate successors. In the first Muslim civil war (fitnah; 656–661)—the struggle for the caliphate following the murder of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, the third caliph (reigned 644–656)—Abū Sufyān's son Muʿāwiyah, then governor of Syria, emerged victorious over ʿAlī, Muhammad's son-in-law and fourth caliph. Muʿāwiyah then established himself as the first Umayyad caliph.

[393] Abbasid caliphate, second of the two great dynasties of the Muslim empire of
the caliphate. It overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 750 CE and reigned as the Abbasid caliphate until it was destroyed by the Mongol invasion in 1258.

[394] The best struggle

[395] Absolute commandant

[396] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (born 780, Baghdad—died 855, Baghdad), Muslim theolo- gian, jurist, and martyr for his faith. He was the compiler of the Traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad (Musnad) and formulator of the Ḥanbalī, the most strictly traditionalist of the four orthodox Islāmic schools of law. His doctrine influenced such noted followers as the 13th–14th-century theologian Ibn Taymīyah, the Wahhābīyah, an 18th-century reform movement, and the Salafīyah, a 19th-centu- ry Egyptian movement rooted in tradition.

[397] An enema, also known as a clyster, is an injection of fluid into the lower bowel
by way of the rectum.

[398] Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency
1 Apr 1936 – 3 Nov 1936 Everard Huddlestone Gastrell (b. 1896 - d. 1980)
(1st time)
16 Dec 1936 - 4 Feb 1937 Everard Huddleston Gastrell (s.a.)
(2nd time)

[399] Quran (Surah 10 Yunus: Jonah)(Verse 64) For them are good tidings in the worldly life and in the Hereafter. No change is there in the words [i.e., decrees] of Allah. That is what is the great attainment.

[400] Quran (Surah 35 Fatir:Originator)(Verse 43) [Due to] arrogance in the land and plotting of evil; but the evil plot does not encompass except its own people. Then do they await except the way [i.e., fate] of the former peoples? But you will never find in the way [i.e., established

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method] of Allah any change, and you will never find in the way of Allah any alteration.

401 Al-Isra (The Night Journey) Surah 17 Verse 72 ""But those who were blind in this world, will be blind in the hereafter, and most astray from the Path."

402 Hajj, also spelled ḥadjdj or hadj, in Islam, the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, which every adult Muslim must make at least once in his or her lifetime. The hajj is the fifth of the fundamental Muslim practices and in- stitutions known as the Five Pillars of Islam. The pilgrimage rite begins on the 7th day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (the last month of the Islamic year) and ends on the 12th day. 403 Quran (Surah 18 Al Kahf – The Cave) Verses (71-) So, they both moved ahead, until when they boarded a boat, he sliced it (by removing one of its planks). He (Mūsā) said, "Did you slice it to drown its people? In fact, you have done a terrible act." He said, "Did I not say that you can never bear with me patiently?" He (Mūsā) said, "Do not hold me punishable for what I forgot, and do not make my course too difficult for me." So, they moved ahead until when they met a boy, he killed him (the boy). He (Mūsā) said, "Did you kill an innocent soul while he did not kill anyone? You have committed a heinous act indeed." He said, "Did I not tell you that you can never bear with me patiently?" He (Mūsā) said, "If I ask you about something after this, do not allow me your company. You have now reached a point where you have a valid excuse (to part with me) from my own side." Then, they moved ahead until they came to the people of a town; they asked its people for food, and they refused to host them. Then, they found there a wall tending to fall down. So he (KhaDir) set it right. He (Mūsā) said, "If you wished, you could have charged a fee for this." He said, "Here is the point of parting ways between me and you. I shall now explain to you the reality of things about which you could not remain patient. As for the boat, it belonged to some poor people who worked at sea. So I wanted to make it defective, as there was a king across them who used to usurp every boat by force. As for the boy, his parents were believers. We apprehended that he would impose rebellion and infidelity upon them. We, therefore, wished that their Lord would replace him with someone better than him in piety, and more akin to affection. As for the wall, it belonged to two orphan boys in the city, and there was a treasure beneath it belonging to them, and their father was a pious man. So your Lord willed that they should reach their maturity and dig out their treasure, as a mercy from your Lord. I did not do it on my own accord. This is the reality of things about which you could not remain patient."

404 Translator of this autobiography from Pashto to English.

405 Barrister Ghulam Mohammad Khan Bhurgri (1878-1924), was a Sindhi statesman. He was born on July 15, 1878 in the village of Dengan Bhurgri, Kot Ghulam Muhammad, District Tharparkar (now Mirpurkhas) in Sindh. He was the second son of Wali Mohammad Khan Bhurgri, a well-known, prosperous land- lord (zamindar) of Sindh. He was elected as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1909; he was re-elected in 1913 and again in 1916. He was a member of the Indian

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National Congress in 1917. He was elected President of the All India Muslim League (15th session) at Lucknow in March–April, 1923. In his presiden- tial address Bhurgri touched upon, among other things, the Turkish and Khilafat question and the possibility of a league of Oriental Nations. Bhurgri was a Muslim League delegate, under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam, to give evidence before the Selbourne Committee of British Parliament on India Bill. In recognition of his services, the Sindh Government changed the name of the town and Taluka of Jamesabad to Kot Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri.

406 Sir Alexander Norman Ley Cater KCIE (1880 – 1957)

407 Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan (1906 - 1995) was a senior police officer from the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province and cabinet minister in Pakistan. Born in Dera Ismail Khan, Sardar Rashid was educated at Islamia College Peshawar. He then joined the Indian Police (IP) and was serving as the Deputy Superintendent of Police in Peshawar City when Pakistan became an independent country on Au- gust 14, 1947. He was one of the senior most police officers in the newly emergent country. Sardar Rashid rose to become the Inspector General of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police, but resigned from the police service on April 23, 1953 when he was appointed as the 8th Chief Minister of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. He re- mained Chief Minister until July 18, 1955, when he was forced to resign because of his opposition to the "One Unit Scheme". Sardar Rashid joined the Republican Party and was elected as a Member of the West Pakistan Assembly when the "One Unit Scheme" came into effect, and served in the cabinet of Dr Khan Sahib initially as Minister for Health and later as Minister for Finance and Information. On the resignation of Dr Khan Sahib in July 1957, Sardar Rashid was elected as the second Chief Minister of West Pakistan. He resigned from this position on March 18, 1958. Sardar Rashid (Republican) served as Minister for Commerce and Industries in the cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Feroz Khan Noon (Republican) from March 29, 1958 - October 7, 1958, when the cabinet was dismissed on the declaration of Martial Law by President Iskander Mirza. After the fall of the Ayub Khan government, Sardar Abdur Rashid served as Minister for Home Affairs (Interior), Kashmir Affairs, States and Frontier Regions in the presidential cabinet of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator General Yahya Khan from August 4, 1969 - February 22, 1971

408 Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash was born in 1908. He was a politician
from the Punjab and a minister in the governments of the Punjab, West Pakistan and Pakistan. Muzaffar Qizilbash started his legislative career as a Unionist, later joining the Muslim League and subsequently the Republican Party. He later served as Minister for Industries in the cabinet of Prime Minister Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar (Muslim League) from October 18, 1957 - December 16, 1957. After- wards, he served as Minister for Industries, Commerce and Parliamentary Affairs in the cabinet of Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon (Republican) from December 16, 1957 - March 18, 1958, when he was appointed Chief Minister of West Pakistan. After the fall of the Ayub Khan government, Qizilbash served as Finance Minister of Pakistan in the presidential

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cabinet of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan from August 4, 1969 - February 22, 1971.

[409] The 1958 Pakistani coup d'état refers to the events between October 7, when the President of Pakistan Iskander Mirza abrogated the Constitution of Pakistan and declared martial law, and October 27, when Mirza himself was deposed by Gen. Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army.

[410] Khan Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Ahmedzai GCIE (1902–1979) was the last Khan of Kalat, a princely state within British India and the Dominion of Pakistan, serving from 10 September 1933 to 14 October 1955.

[411] Akbar, in full Abū al-Fatḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, (born October 15?, 1542, Umarkot [now in Sindh province, Pakistan]—died c. October 25, 1605, Agra, India), the greatest of the Mughal emperors of India. He reigned from 1556 to 1605 and extended Mughal power over most of the Indian subcontinent. In order to preserve the unity of his empire, Akbar adopted programs that won the loyalty of the non-Muslim populations of his realm. He reformed and strengthened his central administration and also centralized his financial system and reorganized tax-collection processes. Although he never renounced Islam, he took an active interest in other religions, persuading Hindus, Parsis, and Christians, as well as Muslims, to engage in religious discussion before him. Illiterate himself, he en- couraged scholars, poets, painters, and musicians, making his court a centre of culture.

[412] Colonel P. B. Bharucha, D.S.O., O.B.E., F.R.C.S. (1888-1970)Colonel Bharucha, who died in Bombay on 9th April, was a renowned Indian surgeon and anatomist. Prior to the Partition of India in 1947 he was Principal of King Edward Medical College, Lahore, where he had been Professor of Anatomy for many years, and was also Inspector General of Civil Hospitals in Punjab, but in 1947 he moved to Bombay, where he became Superintendent of the Tata Memorial Hospital. A self- less worker who never spared himself, he was revered by all his many pupils as a fine teacher, a superb diagnostician and an outstanding Professor of Surgery. He is survived by his wife and three daughters. (Obituary)

[413] Chief Commissioners (Agents to the Governors-General in Balochistan)

18 Apr 1936 - 20 Jun 1937 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (b. 1884 - d. 1966)

(1st time) (acting)

14 Mar 1938 - 11 Aug 1939 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (s.a.)

(2nd time)

[414] Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency

19 Jun 1937 - 13 Mar 1938 Agha Saiyid Bad Shah (b. 1903 - d. 1966)

[415] Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas (1904 – 18 December 1967) was a leading politician of Jammu and Kashmir and the President of the Muslim Conference party. After his migration to Pakistan administered Kashmir in 1947, he became the head of the Azad Kashmir (AJK) government. Elected as the secretary general of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Later the organization was renamed as Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas withdrew from the

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National Conference when Sheikh Abdullah developed his association with Nehru and the All India National Congress.

[416] Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (b. 1891 - d. 1965) was born on 30 August,
1891, the son of Henry John Bremner and Edith Charlotte Graham. His father had served as a colonel in India, where Bremner and his sister Morgan were born but then Edith had returned to England with her two children. The family be- longed to the St. Peter's Parish in Bedford, where Bremner spent his early years. Possibly, Bremner knew from a young age that he would follow in his father's footsteps. He attended Bedford Grammar, a school inclined to preparing young men for the army. There he showed an aptitude for languages winning a prize in French. He qualified for Woolwich (Royal Military Academy) but opted instead to go to Sandhurst (Royal Military College) from whose ranks were drawn the bulk of the Indian Staff Corps. Here, he further honed his language skills becoming conversant in Urdu, Pashto, and Punjabi. Shortly after, in 1911, aged just twenty, he was commissioned into the army and arrived at Quetta. https: ww.joaoroqueliteraryjournal.com/ nonfiction-1/2018/12/3/the-letters- of-c-e-u-bremner-same-old-tired-prejudices

His posting are as below:

British Political Agents in South Waziristan (at Wana)

21 Apr 1928 – 20 Oct 1930 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (b. 1891 - d. 1965) May 14 1932: His Majesty's Vice Consul at Ahwaz (Iran)

Consul for Muscat:

14 November 1932 to 23 March 1933

17 June 1933 to 6 June 1935

Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency are as below: 5 Feb 1937 - 18 Jun 1937 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (b. 1891 - d. 1965)

(1st time) (acting)

14 Mar 1938 - 29 Jun 1938 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (s.a.)

(2nd time) (acting)

31 Oct 1938 – 1 Nov 1938 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (s.a.)

(3rd time) (acting)

9 Mar 1939 - 18 Aug 1940 Claude Edward Urquhart Bremner (s.a.)

(4th time)

November 26 1940: His Majesty's consul for the Portuguese possessions in India, to reside at Panjim (capital of Goa)

[417] Colonel T.E. Lawrence, in full Thomas Edward Lawrence, byname Lawrence of Arabia, also called (from 1927) T.E. Shaw, (born August 16, 1888, Tremadoc, Caernarvonshire, Wales—died May 19, 1935, Clouds Hill, Dorset, England), British archaeological scholar, military strategist, and author best known for his legendary war activities in the Middle East during World War I and for his ac- count of those activities in The Seven Pillars of Wisdom (1926).

[418] Freeman Freeman-Thomas, 1st Marquess of Willingdon GCSI GCMG GCIE
GBE PC (12 September 1866 – 12 August 1941), was a British Liberal politician and administrator. He was a Liberal member of Parliament from 1900 to 1910. He served as governor of Bombay presidency (1913–

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427 Great Leader
428 God is the greatest
429 Long live
430 Free
431 Pakistan Times (1947–1996) was a Pakistani newspaper, originally established by the leftist Progressive Papers Limited based in Lahore, Pakistan. It was owned and operated by Mian Iftikharuddin, a Punjabi politician formerly of the Indian National Congress but of All-India Muslim League after 1946. The newspaper started publication on 4 February 1947. Its editor-in-chief in the 1940s was the poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz.
432 Constructed under British rule in 1920 it was used by British officials and their
families. From 1949-1970 it was used by richer Sindhi families visiting Karachi. Presently located on MA Jinnah Road.
433 Major-General Sir Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons KCIE CBE DSO (1884– 1966) was a British Indian Army officer and administrator in British India. He was commissioned into the Oxfordshire Volunteer Light Infantry as an acting second lieutenant in 1904, and was given a full second lieutenancy in 1906. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1909 and to captain in 1915. He was a major by 1923, in which year he was awarded the DSO to add to his OBE. He was appointed a CBE in 1927 and was knighted with the KCIE in 1938, by which time he was a lieutenant-colonel. He served as governor of the North-West Frontier Province in 1939.
Chief Commissioner (Agent to the Governor-General in Balochistan)
18 Apr 1936 - 20 Jun 1937 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (b. 1884 - d. 1966)
(1st time) (acting)
14 Mar 1938 - 11 Aug 1939 Arthur Edward Broadbent Parsons (s.a.)
(2nd time)

434 Loralai
435 Zhob
436 The value-payable system is designed to meet the requirements of persons who wish to pay for articles sent to them at the time of receipt of the articles. It also meets the requirements of traders and others who wish to recover through the agency of the post office the value of articles supplied by them.
437 Sir John Philip Sargent, (born Dec. 27, 1888—died Feb. 13, 1972), British statesman and educator who served as the principal educational adviser to the government of India from 1938 to 1948. Educated at St. Paul's School and Oriel College, Oxford, Sargent was director of education for Southend-on-Sea (1927– 31) and the county of Essex (1931–38) before being named educational commissioner with the government of India (1938–42), educational adviser to the government of India (1943–48), and secretary of the education department of India (1945–48). Although his title changed, his role in India did not, as he continued to monitor and encourage educational progress at the provincial and the national levels. In 1948 he returned to London as director of the Commonwealth II department. He left government work in 1953 to

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accept the wardenship of Missenden Abbey Adult Education College. Sargent was knighted in 1946.

438 Chiragh Hasan Hasrat (1904, Poonch, Kashmir – 1955 Lahore) was a poet and journalist.

439 Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi (August 1888 – 27 August 1963), also known by the honorary title Allama Mashriqi, was the founder of the Khaksar movement.

440 The Independent Labour Party (ILP) was a political organisation formed under the leadership of B. R. Ambedkar on 15 August 1936. It opposed the brahman- ical and capitalist structures in India, supported the Indian working class and sought to dismantle the caste system.

441 The Purna Swaraj resolution—proclaimed on January 26, 1930, later to be celebrated as independent India's Republic Day—called for "complete freedom from the British."

442 The state of Teri was abolished in 1956

443 23 February 1948

444 One-Unit was the title of a scheme launched by the federal government of Pakistan to merge the four provinces of West Pakistan into one homogenous unit, as a counterbalance against the numerical domination of the ethnic Bengalis of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

445 Quran (Surah 5 Al Maidah: The Table Spread) (Verse 2) O believers! Do not violate Allah's rituals 'of pilgrimage', the sacred months, the sacrificial animals, the 'offerings decorated with' garlands, nor those 'pilgrims' on their way to the Sacred House seeking their Lord's bounty and pleasure. When pilgrimage has ended, you are allowed to hunt. Do not let the hatred of a people who once barred you from the Sacred Mosque provoke you to transgress. Cooperate with one an- other in goodness and righteousness, and do not cooperate in sin and transgression. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is severe in punishment.

446 Khilafat movement, pan-Islamic force in India that arose in 1919 in an effort to salvage the Ottoman caliph as a symbol of unity among the Muslim community in India during the British raj. The movement was initially bolstered by Gandhi's noncooperation movement but fell apart after the abolition of the caliphate in 1924.

447 The word fiqh is an Arabic term meaning "deep understanding" or "full com- prehension". Technically it refers to the body of Islamic law extracted from de- tailed Islamic sources (which are studied in the principles of Islamic jurispru- dence) and the process of gaining knowledge of Islam through jurisprudence.

448 Hadith, Arabic Ḥadīth ("News" or "Story"), also spelled Hadīt, record of the traditions or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, revered and received as a major source of religious law and moral guidance, second only to the authority of the
Qur'ān, the holy book of Islam. It might be defined as the biography of Muham- mad perpetuated by the long memory of his community for their exemplification and obedience. The development of Hadith is a vital element during the first three centuries of Islamic history, and its study provides a broad index to the mind and ethos of Islam.

449 Tafsir refers to exegesis, usually of the Quran.

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450 The All India States Peoples' Conference (AISPC) was a conglomeration of po- litical movements in the princely states of the British Raj, which were variously called Praja Mandals or Lok Parishads. The first session of the organisation was held in Bombay in December 1927. The Conference looked to the Indian National Congress for support, but Congress was reluctant to provide it until 1939, when Jawaharlal Nehru became its president, serving in this position till 1946.

451 Satyagraha (Sanskrit: satya: "truth", āgraha: "insistence" or "holding firmly
to"), or holding firmly to truth, or truth force, is a particular form of nonviolent resistance or civil resistance.

452 Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, 22 December 1946

453 Mr. Jinnah's Statement opposing partition of the Punjab and Bengal New Del- hi, 4th May, 1947: "Now the question of partitioning Bengal and the Punjab is raised, not with a 'bona fide' object, as a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness, as they feel that India is going to be divided, firstly to create more difficulties in the way for the British Government and the Viceroy and secondly to unnerve the Muslims by opening and repeatedly emphasising that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated moth-eaten Pakistan."

454 Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (August 1884 Meerut, United Provinces of
Agra and Oudh
(now Uttar Pradesh) - June 28, 1958 Meerut, Uttar Pradesh, India) He remained in India after the partition.

455 Included in this volume. Please see page number XXX

456 Cecil Arthur Grant Savidge Esq. MBE (20 May 1905 Assam, British India – 9 December 1975 Little Kingshill, Buckinghamshire) Indian Political Service, Assistant Political Agent and Assistant Commissioner in Quetta Pishin, and lately Under Secretary to the Government of India in the External Affairs Department. Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners for the Quetta Agency
1 Nov 1904 - 8 Dec 1940 Cecil Arthur Grant Savidge (b. 1905 - d. 1975) Chief commissioners
9 Apr 1948 - 18 Jan 1949 Cecil Arthur Grant Savidge

457 Abdul Sattar Pirzada was a Pakistani politician and administrator who served as the Chief Minister of Sindh between May 1953 and November 1954.

458 Wild

459 A writ of habeas corpus is used to bring a prisoner or other detainee before the court to determine if the person's imprisonment or detention is lawful.

460 The Pakistani Republican Party was formed in October 1955, by a breakaway faction of the Muslim League and other politicians supporting the creation of the West Pakistan province, on the instigation of key leaders in the military and civil service. The President of the party was Dr Khan Sahib, Chief Minister of West Pakistan. The main instigator behind this development was Iskander Mirza, the then Governor General of Pakistan. He was the vice president of this party and later became the

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inaugural President of Pakistan in 1956. The Central Parliamentary Leader was Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Prime Minister of Pakistan

461 Mahmud Husain Khan (5 July 1907 – 12 April 1975) was a Pakistani academic,
educationist, and politician, known for his role in the Pakistan Movement, and for pioneering the study of social sciences. As a member of the country's first Constituent Assembly, he was appointed Deputy Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs in 1949 and Minister of State for States and Frontier Regions in 1950 by Liaquat Ali Khan. He served as Minister for Education from 1952 to 1953, but refused to rejoin the cabinet after the dismissal of Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin. He quit politics over the assembly's dissolution in 1954.

462 Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (8 September 1892 – 5 December 1963) served
as the 5th Prime Minister of Pakistan (12 September 1956 – 17 October 1957)

463 Campbell-Johnson, A., 1985. Mission with Mountbatten. Atheneum, p.129.

464 The 1946 Cabinet Mission came to India aiming to discuss the transfer of powers from the British government to the Indian leadership, with the aim of pre- serving India's unity and granting its independence. Formulated at the initiative of Clement Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the mission had Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, Pres ident of the Board of Trade, and A.V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, did not participate in every step but was present. It proposed a three-tier federation for India, integrated by a minimal central-union government in Delhi, which would be limited to handling foreign affairs, communications, defense, and only those finances required to care for such union wide matters.

465 The Babrra Massacre was a mass shooting on 12 August 1948 in the North-
West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. According to official figures, around 15 protestors were killed while around 40 were injured. However, Khudai Khidmatgar sources maintained that around 150 were killed and 400 were injured.

466 Ghulam Murtaza Syed (17 January 1904 – 25 April 1995), known as G.M Syed was a prominent Sindhi politician, who is known for his scholarly work, passing only constitutional resolution in favor of the establishment of Pakistan from British India's Sindh Assembly (which is now Sindh Assembly) in 1943. Later proposing ideological groundwork for separate Sindhi identity and laying the foundations of Sindhudesh movement. He is regarded as one of the founding fa- thers of modern Sindhi nationalism.

467 9 Apr 1948 - 18 Jan 1949 Cecil Arthur Grant Savidge (b. 1905 - d. 1975)

468 Mahmud Husain Khan (5 July 1907 – 12 April 1975) was a Pakistani academic, educationist, and politician, known for his role in the Pakistan Movement, and for pioneering the study of social sciences. As a member of the country's first Constituent Assembly, he was appointed Deputy Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs in 1949 and Minister of State

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for States and Frontier Regions in 1950 by Liaquat Ali Khan. He served as Minister for Education from 1952 to 1953, but refused to rejoin the cabinet after the dismissal of Prime Minister Khawaja Naz- imuddin. He quit politics over the assembly's dissolution in 1954.

469 Qazi Mohammad Essa (July 17, 1914 – 19 June 1976) was a Pakistani politician
and one of the prominent leaders of the Pakistan Movement.

470 Amb, former princely state, northern Pakistan. It was located along the west bank of the Indus River. Amb became part of Pakistan in 1947 and was formally abolished and incorporated within the North-West Frontier Province in 1969. The royal status of the Amb rulers was officially terminated in the early 1970s. The reservoir of the Tarbela Dam (completed in the mid-1970s) was responsible for the inundation of a large portion of Amb. The displaced residents of Amb settled throughout the broader region, most notably from Abbottabad to Muzaf- farabad.

471 In 1950, Phulra was absorbed into Mansehra area of Hazara, NWFP, Pakistan.

472 Dir was a princely state in a subsidiary alliance with the British Raj, located within the North-West Frontier Province. Following the Partition of British India, Dir remained independent and unaligned until February 1948, when the Domin- ion of Pakistan accepted its accession. The princely state ceased to exist as a dis- tinct political entity in 1969, when it was fully incorporated into Pakistan. The territory it once covered is today located in the Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, forming two northern and southern districts called Upper Dir and Lower Dir, respectively.

473 The Balochistan States Union or Balochistan States Union (BSU) was an ad-
ministrative division of Pakistan that existed between 3 October 1952 and 14 Oc- tober 1955 in the southwestern part of West Pakistan. It was formed by the four princely states of Kalat, Kharan, Las Bela and Makran with the capital at the town of Kalat. The area of the Union was roughly the south-western half of the modern province of Balochistan. The Union was separate from the Chief Commissioners Province of Balochistan which comprised areas to the northeast of the Union. The Union did not include the enclave of Gwadar which was part of the Muscat and Oman. The four state rulers continued in office and retained autonomy. The BSU was formed after the accession of four individual princely states to the new Do- minion of Pakistan in 1948. The area became the Kalat Division when the Union was dissolved.

474 East Pakistan was the eastern provincial wing of Pakistan between 1947 and
1971, covering the territory of the modern country Bangladesh.

475 The Basic Principles Committee (BPC) was a specialized committee set up in March 1949 by Khawaja Nazimuddin on the advice of prime minister Liaquat Ali Khan. The committee's sole purpose was to determine the basic underlying prin- ciples that would determine future constitutions and legislature in Pakistan.

476 Some pages on the troubling history of the Baloch nation

477 What does Khushal Khan Khattak say

478 Political Problem

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479 Mohammad Afzal Cheema (1913–4 August 2008) was a Pakistani politician and judge. Cheema was the only Pakistani to reach the top positions in all branches of state. He served as the acting President of Pakistan, Judge of the High Court and then Supreme Court of Pakistan, Speaker of the National Assem- bly of Pakistan and as Federal Law Secretary.

480 Elective Bodies Disqualification Order - An ordinance which had been pre-
vailed by Ayub Khan the first military president of Pakistan in August 1959.

481 Nawab Khair Baksh Marri (28 February 1928 – 10 June 2014), head of the Marri tribe was a Baloch politician from the province of Balochistan in Pakistan. 482 Yahya Bakhtiar was a Pakistani lawyer and politician who served as the Attor- ney General of Pakistan. Yahya was born in 1921 at Quetta, Balochistan, Pakistan. He died on June 27, 2003 in Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan.

483 Long Live Pashtoonistan

484 Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan(13 November 1916 – 27 September 2003) was a senior politician in British India and later Pakistan.

485 Air Marshal Mohammad Asghar Khan (17 January 1921 – 5 January 2018), chief of the Pakistan airforce (23 July 1957 – 22 July 1965) who later took to politics.

486 Mohammad Azam Khan (1908–1994) was a senior general of the Pakistan army who was a minister under Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the first military ruler of Pakistan. Azam was the first commander of the Pakistan Army's I Corps, and was Governor of East Pakistan.

487Various publications of Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai collected by Professor Abdul Ghani Khan Ghano

488 General Ayub Khan introduced this system in 1960. It consisted of a network of local self-governing bodies whose primary governing units were set up to con- duct local affairs; their members were elected by constituencies of 800–1,000 adults.

489 The British had made the town of Mianwali as tehsil headquarters of Bannu District then part of Dera Ismail Khan Division of Punjab province.

490 Present Attock

491 Air Marshal Nur Khan, 6th Governor of West Paksitan (1 September 1969 – 1 February 1970)

492 Air Marshal Nur Khan

493 The Chevrolet Impala (fourth generation) are full-size automobiles produced by Chevrolet for the 1965 through 1970 model years.

494 The US food aid program originated in 1954 as a means of disposing of costly domestic agricultural surpluses. In that year, Congress passed the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, known as Public Law 480. PL 480 en- ables food-deficit "friendly countries" to purchase US agricultural commodities with local currency, thus saving foreign exchange reserves and relieving US grain surpluses.

495 The Convention Muslim League (CML) was a faction of the Pakistan Muslim League that split-off in 1962, in support of the military regime of the President of Pakistan, General Ayub Khan. The opposition party was known as the Council Muslim League.

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[496] Built in 1481 by Sultan Husayn Mirza

[497] First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42)

[498] Major-General Sir Robert Henry Sale GCB (Vellore, Tamil Nadu, India 19 Sep- tember 1782 – Moodkee, Punjab, India 21 December 1845) was a British Army officer who commanded the garrison of Jalalabad during the First Afghan War and was killed in action during the First Anglo-Sikh War.

[499] Florentia Sale (née Wynch; Madras, Tamil Nadu, India 13 August 1790 – Cape Town, South Africa 6 July 1853) was an Englishwoman who travelled the world while married to her husband, Sir Robert Henry Sale, a British army officer. She was dubbed "the Grenadier in Petticoats" for her travels with the army, which took her to regions such as Mauritius, Burma and India, and various other areas under the control of the British Empire. Taken captive during the First Anglo- Afghan War (1839-42), throughout her time as a captive, Lady Sale kept a diary, detailing the events of the ordeal in a very straight forward and thoughtful manner. She sent parts of her diary through her captivity to her husband and he sent it on to the authorities in England and it was quoted by the papers at the time. She was unimpressed by how the newspapers had reported her actions. A year later, she published this as A Journal of the Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841–42, which documented her experiences throughout the Afghan War, and the book received critical acclaim.

[500] Hari Singh Nalwa (1791–1837) was Commander-in-chief of the Sikh Khalsa Fauj, the army of the Sikh Empire. He is known for his role in the conquests of Kasur, Sialkot, Attock, Multan, Kashmir, Peshawar and Jamrud. Hari Singh Nal- wa was responsible for expanding the frontier of Sikh Empire to beyond the Indus River right up to the mouth of the Khyber Pass.

[501] The Shrine of Khwaja Abd Allah, commonly called the Shrine at Gazur Gah (or
just Gazur Gah) and the Abdullah Ansari Shrine Complex, is the funerary compound of the Sufi saint Khwaja Abdullah Ansari. It is located at the village of Gazur Gah, three kilometers northeast of Herat, Afghanistan.

[502] Mohammad Nur Ahmad Etemadi (22 February 1921 – 16 September 1979) was an Afghan diplomat and politician. Etemadi was born in Kandahar, Afghanistan. He served as ambassador to Pakistan for the first time from 1964 to 1965. He was appointed foreign minister in 1965 and became Prime Minister of Afghanistan on 1 November 1967. Later he became ambassador to Italy. Unlike many politicians who were prominent under the rule of Zahir Shah, Etemadi remained in the gov- ernment after the 1973 coup in which a republic was established under the rule of Mohammed Daoud Khan. Etemadi left Italy and served as ambassador to the So- viet Union until 1976. He then served as ambassador to Pakistan until the Com- munist coup of 1978. Etemadi returned to Afghanistan and was arrested by the Communist government. In 1979, along with many other officials in the Zahir Shah and Daud Khan governments, Etemadi was executed

[503] Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal (12 March 1921 – 1 October 1973) was an Afghan politician during the reign of Zahir Shah. He served as

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prime minister of Afghanistan from November 2, 1965 until October 11, 1967.

504 Nur Mohammad Taraki, (born July 15, 1917, Ghaznī province, Afghanistan— died October 9?, 1979, Kabul), Afghan politician who was president and prime minister of Afghanistan from 1978 to 1979. Born into a rural Pashtoon family, Taraki attended night school while working as a clerk in Bombay, India, where he learned English. In the late 1940s he worked in the press department of the Afghan government and in 1953 was appointed attaché at the Afghan embassy in Washington, D.C. On returning to Kabul he opened a business that translated materials for foreign organizations, and his clientele included the U.S. embassy. When Mohammad Zahir Shah introduced a more flexible home and foreign policy in 1963, Taraki entered politics and helped found the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a Marxist party with close ties to the Soviet Union. Personal rivalries and disputes over policy caused a split in the PDPA in 1967, with the Banner ("Parcham") faction following the party's deputy secretary, Babrak Karmal, and the People's ("Khalq") faction following Taraki, the party's general secretary. The Banner party supported the government of Mohammad Daud Khan following his coup in 1973, but in 1977 the two PDPA factions—possibly under Soviet pressure—reunited with Taraki resuming his post as general secretary. The following year, with the aid of Soviet-trained army units, Taraki helped over- throw Daud Khan to become president and prime minister. Once in power, how- ever, Taraki faced numerous problems. His Marxist land and social reforms led to violent demonstrations. Unable to end the growing unrest, he turned to the Soviet Union for assistance. Taraki also found himself on the losing end of a pow- er struggle with Hafizullah Amin, a deputy prime minister and fellow member of the People's faction of the PDPA. In March 1979 Taraki was forced to name Amin prime minister but retained his position as president and PDPA general secretary. At the beginning of September 1979 Taraki traveled to Havana for a summit conference of nonaligned nations. Returning via Moscow, he was believed to have been advised by Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev to eliminate Amin, whose anti-Islamic policy the Soviets felt was exacerbating the political situation in Afghanistan. Taraki's attempt to have Amin assassinated failed, and Amin seized power on September 14, 1979. Taraki was killed in the violence. Although his death was announced on October 9, there were conflicting reports on the actual date of his demise.

505 Babrak Karmal, (born January 6, 1929, near Kabul, Afghanistan— died De- cember 3, 1996, Moscow, Russia), Afghan politician who, backed by the Soviet Union, was president of Afghanistan from 1979 to 1986. The son of a well-con- nected army general, Karmal became involved in Marxist political activities while a student at Kabul University in the 1950s and was imprisoned for five years as a result. Upon his release, he served in the army and returned to the university for a law degree. In 1965 he was a founding member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and from 1965 to 1973 served in the National Assembly. When the PDPA split (1967) into the People's ("Khalq") and the Banner ("Par- cham") factions, Karmal became the leader of the more moderate, pro-Soviet Banner. The Banner supported

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the government of Mohammad Daud Khan following Daud's 1973 coup overthrowing the monarchy, but relations between Daud and the political left soon soured. The two PDPA factions reunited in 1977, and in 1978—with Soviet help—seized the government. Karmal became deputy prime minister, but rivalries within the government soon resulted in his being sent to Prague, Czechoslovakia, as an ambassador. The PDPA attempted to re- shape the country drastically along Marxist lines, but there were major rebellions in the countryside among an overwhelmingly Muslim population that opposed the government's secular and Marxist agenda. Infighting between members of the dominant People's faction of the PDPA led to the death of President Nur Mohammad Taraki and the rise to power of Hafizullah Amin, whom the Soviets faulted for the growing rebellion. In December 1979 Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan and overthrew the Amin regime, and Karmal was called back to serve as president. However, despite Karmal's attempts at conciliation, the Muslim rebels, known collectively as the mujahideen, obtained aid from the West—particularly from the United States—and persisted in attacking the communist regime. The area became a Cold War battleground, and Moscow came to consider Karmal a burden and publicly blamed him for the country's problems. In November 1986 he resigned from office, claiming poor health, and was replaced by Najibullah, a former head of the secret police. Shortly thereafter Karmal moved to Moscow, where he lived the remainder of his days.

[506] Established 1931

[507] Born in 1930 in Bazidkhel, a village on the outskirts of Peshawar, he obtained his Master's Degree in English Literature from the University of Peshawar in 1959 and was appointed Lecturer in English, Government College, Peshawar. Due to his political views, his services were terminated in 1961 during the Martial Law period. He obtained a Law Degree from Peshawar University in 1973. As a journalist he served on the staff of reputed English and Urdu newspapers – Khyber Mail (English), Anjam, Bang-i-Haram, Shahbaz (Urdu) and Pashto periodicals (Lar, Nangialae and Rahbar). A scholar of outstanding merit in Arabic, Persian and Pashto, with a reasonable command over Hindi, he was appropriately select- ed by the Governemnt of NWFP to head the Pashto Dictionary Project which culminated in the publication of Daryab, the first ever monolingual Pashto dictionary. Qalandar was a poet, literary critic, short-story writer, journalist, lexicologist, scholar and intellectual. He died in Peshawar in 2003.

[508] Treaty of Gandamak signed on 26th May, 1879

[509] Banerjee, M., 2004. The Pathan unarmed. Oxford: James Currey, p.189.

[510] William Brydon CB (10 October 1811 – 20 March 1873) was an assistant surgeon in the British East India Company Army during the First Anglo-Afghan War, famous for reportedly being the only member of an army of 4,500 men, plus 12,000 accompanying civilians, to reach safety in Jalalabad at the end of the long retreat from Kabul.

[511] Ghano Book

[512] Ḥanafi school, also called Madhhab Ḥanīfah, in Islam, one of the four Sunni schools of religious law, incorporating the legal opinions of

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the ancient Iraqi schools of Kūfah. The Ḥanafī legal school (madhhab) developed from the teach- ings of the theologian Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (c. 700–767) as spread by his disciples Abū Yūsuf (died 798) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (749/750–805) and became the dominant system of Islamic administration for the 'Abbāsids and Ottomans. Although the Ḥanafī school acknowledges the Qur'ān and the Hadith (narratives concerning the Prophet Muhammad's life and sayings) as primary sources of law, it is noted for its extensive reliance on systematic reasoning (ra'y) in the absence of precedent. The school currently predominates in Central Asia, India, Pakistan, Turkey, and the countries of the former Ottoman Empire.

513 Abū al-A'lā al-Mawdūdī, (born September 25, 1903, Aurangabad, Hyderabad state [India]—died September 22, 1979, Buffalo, New York, U.S.), journalist and fundamentalist Muslim theologian who played a major role in Pakistani politics. In his adult years he became convinced that Muslim thinkers must be freed from the hold that Western civilization had over them, in favour of a code of life, culture, and political and economic system unique to Islam. He established the Ja-ma'at-i Islami in 1941 with the aim of effecting such reform. When Pakistan split off from India in 1947, his efforts were instrumental in guiding the new nation away from the secularism of Western governments and toward the formation of an Islamic political system. Persistently, Mawdūdī found himself in opposition to the Pakistani government. He was imprisoned from 1948 to 1950 and again from 1953 to 1955 and was under a sentence of death for a period in 1953. Mawdūdī wrote on a very broad range of topics, including philosophy, Muslim jurisprudence, history, economics, sociology, and theology. He is best known for the the- sis that God alone is sovereign, not human rulers, nations, or customs. Political power in this world exists in order to put the divinely ordained principles of the Sharī'ah (the Islamic legal and moral code) into effect. Since Islam is a universal code for human life, moreover, the state must be all-embracing and must be left in the hands of Muslims, though nonbelievers should be allowed to live within the state as non-Muslim citizens. Since all Muslims share the same relationship to God, this state must be what Mawdūdī called a "theo-democracy," in which the whole community is called upon to interpret the divine law.

514 Caroe, Olaf: 'The Pathans', (page 372) "But Balochistan is a misnomer." "It is true that much the greater area of Balochistan, so called, it held by Brahui and Baloch tribes, who cover the vast upland deserts stretching southward and west- ward from Quetta to the sea, but about half the total population is Pathan and is concentrated in the rather more fertile hills and valleys north and north-east of the capital. On a true assessment it is the Pathan tribes of this Balochistan who count."

515 The genealogical charts presented here are an edited version of diagrams produced in 1896 by Captain (later Sir) A. H. McMahon, head of the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1894–1895 and the Sistan Mission, 1903–1905. It was part of a memorandum on the Durranis by the British-Indian military intelligence branch.

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Zeenat Cinema, 569
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, 26, 633–634, 687

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Translator's Introduction

Muhammad Khan Achakzai was born in Inayatullah Karez on July 1, 1939. He received primary education at his village school before completing his senior Cambridge at St. Francis Grammar School Quetta, BA from Forman Christian College Lahore and Masters from University of Peshawar. He also received a Masters in Economics from University of Strathclyde, Glasgow and a Masters in Public Policy from the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

He started his professional career as lecturer at Degree College Quetta before moving to the Planning and Development Commission from where he retired as Member Pakistan Planning and Chief Economist. After retirement, he was on the board of the Pakistan Red Crescent Society. Muhammad Khan Achakzai served as the 23rd Governor of Balochistan from June 11, 2013 till October 6, 2018.

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A towering figure of the movement of independence in sub-continent, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai's political career spanned the colonial and post-colonial eras. His progressive politics were national-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. He advocated for democracy, civil rights and the rule of law and envisioned a single Pashtun province, which would incorporate all of the contiguous Pashtun-inhabited areas east of the Durand Line from Chitral to Bolan with Pashto as the working language and medium of instructions. Altogether, he was sentenced to imprisonment for 40 years of his 66 year life, a time he used to gain academic credentials and pen most of this autobiography.

A Mullah (cleric) by training, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was also a literary figure, who remained editor of his own newspaper Istiqlal (sovereignty). He had great love for his mother tongue Pashto and devised a phonetic script, which brought its alphabet into conformity with its phonology and eased its adaption to the modern demands of printing.

He is reverentially remembered as "Khan Shaheed" -- the Martyr Khan.



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