



Saraiki Sind Baluchistan

S.S.B
and
NATIONAL QUESTION

ZAMAAN JAFERY

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NATIONAL QUESTION

Presented to my dearest
 brother Musiq Khan Bugdas,
 a Hoshi Sindhi of Saraiki descent
 and a dreamer of Khayya Forest.

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 Zamaanjafery
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the Freedom fighters of S.S.B.

I also admit the valuable guidance of Mr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mr. Malcolm X, without whose cooperation the publication of this book was not possible.

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To answer these questions on basic efforts has been made to determine the entire historical trends prevailing in the country. We hope that this simple presentation of complex economic, political and social questions will be of some use to the people. It is not meant to cover all the political and economic fields. However, it provides sufficient material to initiate a scientific debate and a healthy criticism.

The first chapter starts with the definition of nation, nationalism, national groups, ethnic groups and the socio-political, economic, historical and geographical under the class or class struggle. It is a comparative study of the national movements in the world which also includes the contrast of the class struggle with the national movements.

PREFACE

What is the future of Pakistan? Perhaps no one is in the position to forecast. One can only indicate the historical tendencies which are to shape or un-shape the future destiny of our people. Drawing on the experience gained through all the years of oppressive rule, Pakistan seems to be confronted with multi dimensional problems and its existence stands threatened by these basic questions; 1) What are the scientific basis of the creation of Pakistan? 2) Can a nation be founded on the basis of religion? 3) How are the nations and nationalities are formed historically and is Pakistan a nation State or a multi national state? 4) What effects of the imperialist planted economy and persistent imposed military totalitarianism are likely to be in our national life? 5) Is the independent choice of social system available? 6) Whether national question is the principal contradiction or the class question or both are dialectically inter-related?

To answer these questions an humble effort has been made to generalise the various historical trends prevailing in the country. We know that the simple generalisation of complexed economic system, peculiar class structure of Pakistan, and national question etc., is not enough to cover all its philosophical and scientific details. However, it provides sufficient matter to invite a scientific debate and a healthy criticism.

The first chapter starts with the definition of nation, nationalities, national groups, ethnic groups and the Co-relationship of National and International under the classics of Marx, Engles and Lenin by drawing a comparison with cosmopolitanism and national Nihilism, advocated by the bourgeois researchers of imperialism, which also includes the contrasting concepts of bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism.

The second chapter throws light on the world wide process of national liberation movements.

The third chapter presents entirely new thesis on the national liberation Movement of S.S.B. A brief account of the formation of the nation of S.S.B. is given based on the principle of historicism, alongwith the processes which are uniting the people of Saraiki belt, Sind and Baluchistan. The factors which lead to the national liberation movement of S.S.B. have also been discussed, such as, economic exploitation, dict torial military rule and national oppression. In the national oppression it has been attempted to prove that apart from military-cum-civil bureaucracy and the ruling class of Pakistan, Punjab is also a party to the exploitation and now Pakhtoons also have become their inevitable companions who

have jointly waged wars of aggrandizement and devoured millions of lives of the country, amongst whom the peoples of S.S.B are the worst hit. However, the working class of these oppressor nations is supporting the national liberation movement in Pakistan.

Lastly it has been concluded that as a result of the national oppression and subjugation, Pakistan cannot remain in tact unless and until it becomes a voluntary federation of three independent federating zones. 1) SSB, 2) PUNJAB, 3) PAKHTOONKHA; comprising of various independent nation states, Autonomous regions and national areas, based on free will equality and brotherly unity.

Generally the main emphasis in the book is on the national liberation revolutions with special reference to S.S.B, because the backwardness of the oppressed nationalities of SSB is a crucial factor of change, and with this theorem it resurrects and buttresses the old Marxian contention that the national liberation revolution is inevitable. Because, doubtlessly, today fascism in Pakistan is the fullest and the most vivid embodiment of totalitarianism which is mostly expressed here in the restriction of constitutional rights, activation of reactionary organizations, the strengthening of the military or the aggressiveness of foreign policy.

Oppressor and oppressed in Pakistan are now conceived of more easily in national terms rather than in class terms. The class revolution in Pakistan is a complex and contradictory process in which are intertwined class and national liberation revolutions, democratic revolutions and the peasant movements, the popular struggle against national oppression. In order to step on the path of socialism, it is necess-

ary to break the chain of imperialism; the backbone and centre of which is the national liberation movement of SSB.

Lenin ridiculed the doctrinaires and the 'utopian left' dreaming of a "pure" socialist revolution. He foresaw the outstanding role to be played by the national liberation movement in the future battles of the World revolution. The colonial periphery of the capitalist world has always been the Achilles heel of imperialism. By striking at the rear of the imperialist system, the national liberation movement has always come out as the natural ally of the international proletariat. Their unity has been the guarantee of the success of the World Socialist revolution, the common anti-imperialist character being the basis of this unity. Lenin said that "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism."

Another important subject in the book pertains to the anomaly of class struggle and the capitalist road of development, which is being persistently hammered by the text jugglers and braggarts of the utopian left, which engenders a range of the sharpest contradiction, insoluble within the framework of "planted economic system". In an attempt to switch energy to the capitalist road of development, they have confused the working class by their formal and abstract approaches and led the revolutionary struggle to a complete social withdrawal. This has resulted in the consolidation of the economic programme of imperialism in Pakistan, landing the country into the backward feudal and other still more archaic socio-economic structure. The utopian left, without studying the objective conditions of Pakistan on the

one side, has kept limping behind the events and, on the other side, helped directly or indirectly imperialism in preserving pre-capitalist relations, for they serve as the main basis of its influence in the former and semi-colonies. Our national wealth is still being plundered by the imperialist, who, are now pursuing a neo-colonialist policy that has a two-fold purpose: to retain Pakistan within the orbit of World Capitalist economy and to permit foreign monopolies to continue to exploit and step up their exploitation. Also, the neo-colonialist methods are of covert nature in Pakistan. They are quite diverse, ranging from the export of capital to the setting of low prices for raw materials and foisting unequal economic and political agreements on Pakistan. It may seem that the road of capital development would help to promote economic independence. But such is not the case. It has been calculated that to reach the present level of highly developed countries in terms of industrial production, Pakistan will require no less than 100 years.

In Pakistan, bourgeois ideologists and the utopian left have chosen the road which consciously or unconsciously is opposed to Lenin's theory of non-capitalist development. Therefore their behavioral pattern puts another label on it presenting it as the "third road" theory. To understand what is behind the "third road" theory one should look at the imperialist's practical measures undertaken in the third world. Just as we see a ramified net work of imperialism's military basis in our own country. Economic aid here is often accompanied by interference in our internal affairs, and when this does not help, direct military intervention is used through "fair or foul" plays. But by this policy U.S. imperialism itself is creating obstacles to capitalist development in Pakistan and,

inspite of itself, adding fuel to the flame of the revolutionary struggle for radical socio-economic transformations and non-capitalist path of development.

The concept of non-capitalist development for the countries freed from colonialism is part and parcel of the Marxist - Leninist theory of the World revolutionary process. According to Lenin "backward countries can, with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries go over to the Soviet System, and through definite stages of development to communism, without having to pass through capitalist stage". This very concept of non-capitalist development proceeds from the new opportunities arising before the national liberation movement. The objective course of history invariably pits imperialism against the national liberation movement. Not only Pakistan, what ever country flames into revolution, U.S. imperialism loses no time in coming to the aid of reactionary regimes, restoring to the direct export of counter-revolution.

The militarists in Pakistan, in connivance with absentee democratic lords and key groups of monopoly influence want further to cash on the price of democracy at the cost of the massacre of thousands of political martyrs whose blood is taken nothing more than the manure of their authoritarian "poison tree." To them, it is a game of shooting and hunting to trample on revolutionary democratic traditions, perform the shameful duties of gendarme, inspirer and organizer of imperialist reaction. Their lust and greed for power has yet not come to an end, and how it can be, when, one has turned into a cannibalist.'

But despite the repressive measures and savagery,

the democratic struggle of the people of Paksitan has progressively spread across the country, barely leaving a single region untouched by revolutionary fervor, particularly, the Indus valley. Even in the past, the sacrifices of the people of Baluchistan are truly great, which provide striking testimony to the fact that the national liberation revolution of S.S.B. is inevitable and a writing on the wall. Although, this is not an easy task because the imperialists will continue to ply their trade behind their curtains of secrecy, yet we know that fire is to be fought with fire and that we know too how to do it.

Zamir Jafery

Multan

29th January, 1986.

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the work done during the year. It is divided into two main sections, the first of which deals with the work done in the laboratory and the second with the work done in the field. The first section is divided into three parts, the first of which deals with the work done in the laboratory during the year, the second with the work done in the laboratory during the year, and the third with the work done in the laboratory during the year. The second section is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the work done in the field during the year, and the second with the work done in the field during the year.

James H. ...

Author

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NATIONAL QUESTION

NATIONAL QUESTION

Today the National question in Pakistan is emerging as a major scientific contradiction which indicates two historical tendencies; first, the relentless struggle against national oppression and subjugation which includes state bureaucratic machinery and feudal absolutists obstacles; second, the formation of voluntary federation of independent nation-states based on free-will and voluntary union of nations. It should be noted carefully that the National Question must be viewed historically and economically. Neither, should it be studied in isolation since it is linked up with the class question, nor should it be judged through the formal and abstract approaches of democracy. Marx was opposed to an abstract approach in studying any community. Lenin, while, dealing with the national question stressed that it is necessary that the party base its policy "not on abstract and formal principles, but, first, on a precise appraisal of the specific historical situation, on an equally clear distinction between the oppressed, dependent and subject nations and the oppressing, exploiting and sovereign nations".

Lenin pointed out that it is impossible to grasp the essence of the national question without regarding it in the context of the specific conditions of a given country. Another basic principle of the Marxist-Leninist methodology is a principle of historicism in the analysis of the development of nations and national relations. Marx, Engles and Lenin, while formulating the principle of a concrete historical approach to the process and events of national life and national relations, paid special attention to the world-wide character of this problem, the universal nature of the processes of the formation of nations, the development of national movements and the emergence of national states. An all

embracing analysis of the links, interdependence and interaction of national and other factors of social life is extremely important from the methodological point of view, for the national, does not exist outside economic, social and political conditions or the intellectual, moral and psychological evolution of society. While dealing at length with the national question, it is essential to go through the theory and definition of Nations, nationalities, national groups and ethnic groups.

"Nation" as a concept, existed as early as the first centuries A.D. The Romans took it to mean a clan in the sense of an aggregation of people, as well as,, "birth," to be born, or something innate,". For a long period thereafter this concept was used to define a person's origin. In the Middle Ages it acquired still other meanings, that of compatriots at European Universities, groups of representatives of a given country at the Vatican councils, etc.

The leaders of the French Revolution of 1789 instilled the concept with the meaning of the socio-historical community of a people united by specific and stable features. In French and English it largely became the synonym of the "population of the State"; while the nationality of an individual was understood as his citizenship. In German, Russian and other languages, it described a new socio-historical community brought about by capitalism but which, however, included the results of the ethnic development of a given people or of once independent peoples which had merged within it. In this case nationality is also interpreted to mean people's origin and national adherence in a broader social

sense.

From Marxist point of view, a nation is a stable-socio historical community, a logical product and inevitable form and result of social progress which is established and develops on the basis of the unity of a people's economic and socio-political life, language, territory, national culture, national consciousness and national psychology, as well as the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of values created by the peoples. At a mature stage of social development there are no radical distinctions between the level of development of nations and nationalities and, thus both can be characterised as national communities. At a mature stage of social progress national features do not disappear, rather, they are further consolidated. According to the Marxist-Leninist theory of nations, a nation is one of the most complex and socially significant forms of community. It follows on from the tribe, union of tribes, and nationalities which precede in the course of historical development. Other type of communities, such as classes, social or ethnographic groups, families, etc, function within the nation. A nation is formed as a result of its internal ties, though it may be influenced by some international or intra-state relations, the latter pertaining especially to multi-national states. From Leninist point of view the international is not without its national character. An international community cannot exist without national components, without the nations and nationalities that comprise it. The national, therefore, includes specifically national and also international features and includes more values common to all or to many people, which unite them than those

which attest to their exclusiveness and separate them. The structure of the national is quite complex and comprises the material, intellectual, moral and psychological values created in the past and being created in the present.

A nation, being an independent social organism, functions jointly and reciprocally with the classes and social strata of which it is comprised. Nations and other communities which form a single historical series of communities in a given epoch supplement each other and their social roles coincide in many respects. "A common feature of the social communities is that each of them is a single social organism despite its inherent features, degree of maturity and specific historical role".

The national is reflected quite differently in various spheres of life less in the economic and social-political, more in the spiritual, in the mentality and psychology of the nation, in every day life, traditions and national culture. The basic Marxist-Leninist methodological principle is correct understanding of the historical place and progressive role of national community in the system of other social communities and the place and role of national relations in the system of social relations. Social communities when they are close in essence, form and purpose, they represent, as Marx noted, "a coherent series of forms of intercourse....." Lenin characterised such communities as "a series in historic development."

The common factor in the formation of nation and nationality is also geographical, climatic, historical, etc. Methodologically it is important to take

note of which Engles said in this respect. He remarked that nations were the product of the oppressed classes.

Lenin paid special attention to the territory's role in the formation and social development of the nation. Lenin considered the common economic life as a factor that served to form a nation and the national state as one of the major conditions of its formations and development. language and territory. Main Aspect. (Economic factor. Historic Nature). This notation aptly defines the main features of the nation which at the same time distinguish it from other types of socio-historical communities. Thus in defining the concept of a nation one must note that a nation is a historical community and therefore a transient, rather than an eternal category. People amalgamate into a whole chiefly through their material relations and interest. Having great influence on this process are the conditions of development, among which Engles singled out as most important the size of the population and the over all territory. Marx viewed the national liberation movement, as a sign of the victory of the Nationality over Provincialism. Engles called the nation, the carrier of historical development and the state is not being a prerequisite feature of a nation not a necessary condition of its formation.

NATIONALITY. Nationality is a permanent community which appeared in the process of disintegration of the clan system. The nationality just like the nation, is a socio-historical community characterised by certain social ties based on common language, territory, economy, political and cultural life, social conscious-ness and psychology. A nationality differs from a nation in the level of its

social and national relations. The correlation of the social and ethnic factors is important in theoretical and methodological terms for determining the nationality of an individual.

NATIONAL GROUP: A national group is a small section (though sometimes numerous) of a nation or nationality, which is not native in the given country. The social and ethnic ties of national groups with nations or nationalities are extremely tenuous and are usually of a casual nature. From one generation to another the national features of the people who constitute a national group weaken and the people are gradually assimilated by the nations and nationalities among whom they live, adopting their language, customs and traditions. Economically and socio-politically the national groups usually have nothing in common with the nations from which they originally broke away.

ETHNIC GROUPS: Ethnic groups are small communities which are usually dispersed and therefore practically lack any social unity. These groups are chiefly united by ethnic features: language territory, common origin, history, culture, way of life and traditions. As a rule, ethnic groups are formed on the basis of tribes and clans that existed in the past and exist for a long time as ethnographic survivals of the past. Along with the above mentioned major elements of any given national structure, there exist the ethnographic groups which are components of a nation, or more rarely, of a nationality and have been virtually assimilated by them. However, they still retain some distinctive features, mainly those which pertain to every day life, traditions, and customs. Ethnographic groups usually occupy a territory that has long belonged to them and are distinguished by their own dialects, traditional

dress and folklore. Ethnic and ethnographic groups have much in common. However, the former always live in an environment which basically differs from their own in its social and ethnic feature, while the later inhabit a similar and even closely related environment. The ethnic is always predetermined by social and class factors, but until the nation has become established the ethnic and the social, including the class factor, are linked directly, which allows a pre-national community to be called a socio-ethnic community. The ethnic factors, those values which are expressed in language, territory and culture, and especially in the folklore, clothing, diet, home interior, traditions and customs, which have evolved over centuries and which are equally reflected in the consciousness and psychology of a given people, play a very important role in characterising the features of a nation. The ethnic factors in the nature of a nation do not change its social nature, but only accentuate its historically evolved, largely non-class peculiarities. The ethnic in the national is the most permanent category, though it, too, under goes change (for instance in the development and social role of language, traditions and customs). The national includes both social and class categories, and ethnic categories, which are often of an extra class nature. The class element in the national is more flexible, and its role and significance change constantly.

Bourgeois scholars attempt to reduce every manifestation of the national to biological or psychological factors and term them irrational and unknowable. They deny the social essence of a national reality. They always try to impress the solidarity of the so-called collective interests within a nation and the possibility of a peaceful settlement of

all differences between the antagonistic classes within the nation. Bourgeois nationalism in any country may assume the form of chauvinism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism.

The studies of bourgeois researchers on the present and future of nation and national relations lack a truly scientific foundation. The advocates of cosmopolitanism aim their main blow at the national state. Thus, Walt Rostow holds that national sovereignty is the source of international anarchy and wars. According to Hans Morgenthau, the national state had become out dated by the time of the nuclear revolution, just as feudalism became redundant 200 years ago, by the time of the first industrial revolution. Louis Snyder shares a similar opinion; recent historical events, he says, have demonstrated the increasing insolvency of the nation-state as the limit of political, military and economic sovereignty. Raymond Aron even declares that the desire to gain independence nourishes the anarchy of the power policies in the nuclear age and that the numerous new states are, allegedly of an artificial nature. He is especially "concerned" about what he considers to be the negative consequences of the preservation of the national states of Western Europe, for this impedes the consolidation of the Common Market. He believes that European Federation would be the first of its kind founded by advanced Industrial power (former enemies) in order to put an end to rivalry once and for all. Anthony Wiener places much hope in transnational corporations of monopoly capital, regarding them as the basic means for founding an international or world economic system. Some currency is gained by the theories which insist

that the national sovereignty must be rejected allegedly for the sake of modernising the economy and the social relations of the under-developed countries more effectively.

These concepts of the bourgeois ideologists are directed against the Marxist-Leninist teachings on nations and national relations.

Reactionary bourgeois nationalism is expressed in cosmopolitanism a wide spread type of bourgeois ideology in the West. Thus, the idea of a "World State" a "World Government" is intensively cultivated in the U.S.A. The reactionary forces of Europe, strive for an integrated Europe with a supernational government and much hope is placed in the European Parliament. Attempts are being made to prove that the age of absolute national sovereignty has ended, that there is no need to preserve national state-hood, or moreover, to establish it a new by the peoples of their former colonies. The bourgeois ideologists and theoreticians try to substantiate the possibility of a united capitalist world socialism.

National nihilism directed at the brain-washing of peoples dominated by the neo-colonialism, merge with the cosmopolitanism. Their advocates that at the present stage of World development there is no sense in defending national values, that they have become obsolete, the laws of political and economic integration are also referred to, but with sole aim of coming to a far-fetched conclusion that economic communities can no longer be regarded as nations. At the same time the idea of the global integration of capitalism on the scale

of entire continents is being persistently defended. cosmopolitanism and national nihilism are rooted in the interest of monopoly capital. First, national sovereignty obstructs the free flow of capitals and commodities and this, in turn, freezes the growth of profits. Second, the policy of cosmopolitanism and nihilism is supported by transnational corporations which actually dominate the economy and determine the policy of a number of developing countries. Third, after the downfall of colonialism, the imperialist try, with the aid of cosmopolitanism and nihilism, to strengthen the positions of neo-colonialism. Fourth, in the capitalist world, which is approaching its decline, cosmopolitanism and nihilism are the weapons used by reactionaries to fight the growing forces of the world revolutionary process.

Cosmopolitanism and nihilism in their very essence are inimical to the Marxist-Leninist ideology as they obstruct the progress of nations. They stand for the immediate abolition of nation and national differences by compulsory means and through compulsory assimilation, while Marxism-Leninism holds that the merging of nations will be a natural process that will take place in the distant future and on the basis of complete freedom of national development.

Proletarian internationalism is radically opposed to bourgeois nationalism. A thorough analysis of the essence of proletarian internationalism reveals, apart from the ideological principles, also the political, moral and even psychological attitudes of the working class of one nationality toward the tasks it must solve jointly with the proletariat

of other nations in respect to the above lines.

The most effective means of solving the national question have always been the National Liberation Movements, since, these movements mean to overthrow their oppressors and to ensure their own free national and social development and are closely linked with the struggle of the working people for social emancipation. The national movements are visual proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the need to regard the national question most critically and to recognise its historically conditioned importance. Marx viewed the national liberation movements as a sign of the victory of the "Nationality over provincialism".

The solution of the national question calls for the eradication of national oppression and inequality, the free development of nations and in particular achievement of their actual equality and the acquisition of national and social liberation of the oppressed from the oppressor nations. In many ways the national question also determines the internal life of the nation and influences its economic, political and cultural development. National oppression and inequality slow down social progress, hampering the development of material productions and exchange and the mutual influence and enrichment of national cultures; they bring about the dissociation of peoples and nations, and cause enmity, hostility and wars. Leonid Brezhnev noted in his speech devoted to the 50th Anniversary of the USSR and referring to the dialects of a Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question, that "the way to cohesion, unity and the all round integration of nations lies through their complete liberation from social and national oppression, through

the creation of the most favourable conditions for the development of each nation."

The national question can be solved by eliminating all forms of national oppression, by providing true equality and the free and all-round development of nations, nationalities, national and ethnic groups by establishing voluntary national relations, by the advanced nation's extending aid to peoples who have fallen behind in their development, and by bringing the form and content of the national and international processes into conformity with social progress.

National movements, as a rule resulted in the foundation of nation-states within whose framework the formation of the nation was concluded and its right to self-determination was established. Lenin insisted on the revolutionary content of the slogan on the right of nations to self-determination and supplemented it with the demand for the right of secession, upto and including the formation of an independent national state.

Therefore, there is a dual task of the national liberation movement whose goal is traditionally understood as a struggle of formerly oppressed peoples for national independence and complete liberation: 1) to solve the national question at the first stage, as the political emancipation of a nation and the subsequent creation of a national state; 2) to achieve social and economic emancipation, including the free choice of a social system and the road of social development.

In the period following world war II, during the struggle for the liquidation of the imperialist

colonial system, the creation of national states was the chief goal of the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples. Over 100 national states appeared as a result of this movement. Peoples who had thrown off the yoke of colonialism and who today comprise over half of the world's population, believed at first that the declaration of political independence would suffice for gaining true freedom and overcoming the backwardness of their countries. As the years passed (and even decades for a number of countries), the situation did not change much. The former colonialists retained their position of the power in the economy and in training personnel, as well as their influence over the compradore bourgeoisie and feudal aristocracy. New, neo-colonialist methods of exploiting the developing nations have appeared.

The time has come to solve the paramount task of the liberation movement, when national revolutions are being increasingly spearheaded against imperialism, turning into social revolutions. At present national revolutions occur within the general tide of the national liberation movement.

According to Lenin two tendencies are important in the development of nations and national relations. The first is the tendency towards the revival of the nations and nationalities; the free development of internal national process which result in the formation (or reorganisation) of national statehood, and which are largely conducive to progress in the national economy and culture; changes in the national consciousness and national psychology; the transformation of the old and the formation of the new, and the steady consolidation of the internal unity of the each. The second tendency provides for

the complete equality of nations, the establishment and consolidation of their voluntary union, close cooperation and mutual assistance, mutual confidence between peoples, and drawing together of nations in the process of internationalization and the elimination of national differences.

Lenin determined that large imperialist nations develop at the cost of exploiting and preserving the backwardness of the weaker nations; they draw closer together as a result of the elimination by the large nations of the national independence of the smaller nations and their forced and privileged assimilation.

Prior to the victory of socialist revolution, the Leninist Party played an exceptionally important role in the national question during this period. It provided theoretical and political guidance, and ensured the international solidarity of the working people of all nationalities.

Scientifically socialism cannot exist unless there is the truly free and independent development of both large and small nations and nationalities, largely within the multinational states and unless there is the national state-hood of the peoples inhabiting these states. The international union of nations is one of the laws of socialism and is possible, according to Engles, "only between nations whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs are thus included in the very concept of internationalism."

According to Academician Fedoseyve, a prominent soviet scientist, the main direction in the

drawing together of nations is the progress towards the social homogeneity of society, and intensification of economic and cultural integration and the development of common features. Leonid Brezhnev noted; "we would be taking a dangerous path if we were artificially to step up this objective process of national integration. That is something Lenin persistently warned against, and we shall not depart from his precepts. "The 26th Congress of C.P.S.U. stressed once again that "the national sensibilities and national dignity of every person are respected in our country..... We are against tendencies aimed at artificial obliteration and national identities. And, to a similar extent, we consider their artificial inflation inadmissible".

Bourgeois researchers and politicians take dissimilar approaches to the national question. They ignore the economic and socio-political determinacy of national and international processes, approach national conflicts from the stand point of metaphysical idealism, explaining them away as due to the inherent racial and ethno-psychological essence of man.

In the United states of America the assimilation of the non-English speaking national minorities and groups was recognised as a policy that was in keeping with the interest of the American nation. This process was progressive at base, but it was carried out by forcible means, not voluntarily. In time it became evident that it was impossible to fully implement an idea of "melting pot". Ethnic and national distinctions still exist, so there is a far cry as yet from forming an American nation, either socially or nationally. A special U.S. Commi-

ssion studying so-called "civil disorder" (Black rebellions) has declared that the nation is threatened by the appearance of two societies—white and black—(including over 25 million blacks, seven million Chicanos, close to two million Puerto-Ricans, close to one million American Indians and others, are the victim of racial and national oppression. Salvatore-La-Gumina and Frank Cavioli, two American researchers wrote that the number of those who differ from the white Anglo-Saxons in their faith, language or culture stand at approximately 65 percent of the population of the United States.

Close to 20 million Spanish-speaking Americans are fighting for their right to use their own language, to preserve their culture, traditions and customs.

The national question has always been one of the most pressing problems in Great Britain. In Engels' estimation, "in Britain... the two islands are peopled by four nations. He further reckoned with plain fact that the national question was not yet a thing of the past. The national question is unresolved, though Scotland and Wales have limited autonomy. The general crisis of capitalism, the loss of almost all of Britain's colonies, and decline of the traditional branches of economy resulted in Scotland and Northern Ireland falling far behind England. In the last fifteen years the national question has become highly acute in Northern Ireland. The population of Northern Ireland is deprived of all civil rights and their religious feelings have been infringed. Since the forced separation of Ulster from Ireland, it has been ruled by a Unionist majority who use repressive laws, a biased juridical system and flagrant discrimination in the spheres

of suffrage, housing, employment and education.

In Canada the capitalism's tendency towards national development is of many sided nature. This pertains both to state matters and to the threat of Canada being divided into English speaking and French speaking nations. The Canadian constitution (1982) lacks a clause on the equality of two Canadian nations.

The national question in Belgium is similar to the above countries. The uneven economic development and many unsolved socio-economic, political and cultural problems of major importance have led to an aggravation of the national question.

Such are, in general out lines, the contents and forms of the national question in the industrial capitalist countries.

of business hours, employment and retention.

In contrast to the capitalistic economy, however, a national organization of labor was an immediate necessity for the workers. The workers were not to be left to their own devices in their struggle for the betterment of their conditions. The workers were to be organized in a union for the purpose of the struggle for their rights.

The national union in Belgium is similar to the above. The union is organized by the workers and their representatives. It is a union of workers and their representatives. It is a union of workers and their representatives. It is a union of workers and their representatives.

Such a union is formed on the basis of the interests and needs of the workers. It is a union of workers and their representatives. It is a union of workers and their representatives. It is a union of workers and their representatives.

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

The national question in countries which are treated on a certain approach to the place and role of movements depend on many factors and particularly the international working class and national liberation national liberation. The stability of the union of the forces of the working class movement, and therefore the alliance between the socialist system, the perspective of the anti-imperialist struggle to the masses that it is of paramount importance for the working class and workers parties (1950) and explained people of the East. The international movement of all the thousands of millions of the working class and the international proletarian is the only with the international working class. (1950) and the union of the people of the developing countries. This was caused, in many respects, by the role of the international working class. (1950) and the movement. The national liberation movement. (1950) and the international liberation

The Powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement during the post-war period has become a factor promoting the world revolutionary process. This was ensured, in many respects, by the stable union of the peoples of the developing countries with the internationalist working class. Lenin indicated that the international proletariat is the only ally of all the hundreds of millions of the working and exploited people of the East. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) stressed that "it is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working class movement and national liberation. The stability of the union of the international working class and national liberation movements depend on many factors and particularly on a correct approach to the place and role of the national question in countries which are freeing

themselves from colonialism or Neo-Colonialism. The problem of national relations between the exploiter and the exploited nations acquires considerable importance in the national question.

The liquidation of national oppression, inequality and the free development of oppressed and dependent peoples, and the elimination of gap between the economically developed and backward nations all depends on how the question of relations between the exploiter and exploited nations and nationalities is solved. These tasks can be fulfilled only when the international working class overcomes the distrust that exist between the oppressor and oppressed nations and when the revolutionary struggle of the working classes merges with the national liberation movement.

Neo-colonialism expressed in various forms of economic exploitation, in political and military interference, in efforts to destabilize the situation in the zone of the national liberation movement etc. is imperialism's main weapon in the developing countries. The newly independent states have been severely oppressed by the transnationals which were first established in the former metropolies and then moved into developing countries, drawn here by vast national resources, cheap labour and low taxes. The exploitation of the developing capitalist-oriented countries has increased sharply, limiting the possibilities for their development along progressive lines. From 1970 to 1980 the annual export of capital to the developing countries grew from 20 billion to 74.4 billion dollars with profits exceeding investments 3 to 10 times. The bulk of these profits is exported. At the same time, the developing countries annual payments

of debt have grown astronomically and their balance of payment deficit has been increasing .

According to the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), by 1990 the developing countries will have to spend four-fifths of their annual loans (which will reach approximately 281 billion dollars) to pay their debts. Per capita incomes will be eight percent that in the industrial capitalist countries and in the most backward countries it will be a mere 2.5 percent.

One of the chief obstacles to the developing countries' social and national progress is the imperialist policy of destabilization and stirring up conflict. This compels the independent developing countries to spend a considerable part on their budgets on arms. Over the course of two decades the developing countries' proportion of arms expenditures in the world total has grown from 4 to 14 percent, reaching close to 70 billion dollars by the early 1980s. Four-fifths of the US arms export go to the developing countries; the FRG's arms exports to the developing countries doubled between 1979 and 1980; from 1970 to 1977 French military deliveries to the developing countries increased 500 percent and Great Britain's 250 percent.

The population of the developing countries is being intensively brainwashed by the imperialist powers. The US Department of State's International Communication Agency, conducts its foreign policy propaganda through its 200 branches in 126 countries. France press and Reuters, two giant information services, have practically monopolised the media in both the French and English speaking countries of Africa.

Bourgeois ideologists allege that the national liberation movement has appeared prematurely and the oppressed nations have launched their struggle for freedom "too soon". They conclude that since this struggle has taken place and the nations have managed to advance, they should content themselves with what they have achieved as all further struggle is senseless. The imperialist propaganda machine instils in the minds of the peoples of newly free nations that they are, allegedly, incapable of achieving economic independence by themselves. Bourgeois ideologists try to prove that only the industrial capitalist countries can bring the developing countries out of their centuries-old backwardness. The ideas of "class peace," "social partnership", etc., occupy a special place in the propaganda directed at the developing countries.

The principal aims of the ideological offensive on the developing countries are as follows: first, to rob the nascent national consciousness of the newly-free peoples' interests to one another, destabilize state power in them and sow the seeds of chauvinism and autarchy. Second, to cultivate anti-communism and anti-sovietism among the developing nations and make them run away from world socialism.

A study of the national and international processes now unfolding in the developing countries confirms the validity of the Marxist-Leninist theory of nations and national relations. The newly free nations have a number of specific features in common: first, National oppression increases on a new basis, neo-colonialism, a typical feature of a new stage of development. In the majority of countries the

former colonialist retained their economic position and were able to exert great pressure from without. Secondly, the socio-economic foundation of the new national and international processes in the developing countries was unstable and was encumbered with numerous out dated feudal and tribal structures. Thirdly, the new independent states appeared, as a rule, in multinational (or multiethnic) countries. The development levels of the nations, nationalities, tribes, and ethnic groups and the degree of their participation in the national liberation movements differed greatly.

Fourthly, the multi-structural economics, the complex processes involved in the establishment of a new social structure, the unstable political life, and especially, the burden of the old feudal (and often tribal factors in the social consciousness and psychology of the people have exerted a great influence upon the national consciousness and self-awareness of the peoples of the developing countries. No wonder that from the start of the collapse of colonial system of imperialism, the reactionary forces have been trying to undermine the growing unity of developing and socialist nations.

The present development of world is most unevenly: some nations live in the space age, while others are still in the Stone Age. There are tribes that still live by gathering plants and whose level of development corresponds to that of the Neolithic Age. Tribes are being united in these regions where the tribal system has merged with feudal relations. Tribal survivals are still strong among these nationalities.

The present period is the time for rapid forma-

tion of nations in the developing countries. As a rule, the nations are formed on the basis of nationalities during the disintegration of feudal system. Another common feature is that almost all the developing countries are multinational (multi-ethnic). This is explained by their backwardness and the fact that the enlargement of communities is only possible during the formations of nations and nationalities. A typical common feature of the national process is the rapid formation of national consciousness, leaving behind the other features of the nation.

The multinational developing countries have complex national and inter-ethnic relations. Tensions and even military conflicts that existed in colonial times are still all too common. These conflicts are either survival of the past, or are provoked by internal reaction and foreign imperialism. Nevertheless, process of drawing together among the peoples is also taking place in the form of cooperation, integration and assimilation. Lenin wrote that the time of the formation of nations was also as epoch of mass national movements. This is also true in regard to the complete liberation from the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The social contents of the national liberation movement is being constantly renewed as the tasks of gaining political independence, which have already been solved, are replaced by the urgent tasks of gaining economic independence, without which all further social progress is impossible.

S. S. B.

8 3 2

The methodology used in evaluating the place and role of national liberation movements was worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Lenin considered it necessary to elucidate the following questions. What historical epoch is the given country going through? what are the specific features of the national question and the national movements in a given country at a given epoch? which classes have advanced the national question and who supports them?

The historical epoch through which the national question in Pakistan is undergoing indicates the tendencies which may result in the future disintegration of the country due to the over increasing national oppression, as Pakistan stands fully yoked by imperialism. Therefore, the fate of the remaining Pakistan, apparently seems no less than the fate of the left behind Pakistan, because, the chain

of the threatening events is moving even today in an unbroken sequence, particularly, since 1971. The characters behind these tragedies are also the same. Only faces have changed but not the sound of the march-past; not even the sound of the bullets. Just in the recent past the entire Sind went under a blood bath. People's constitutional rights were trampled right and left; their privacy was invaded; they were hauled before the "Witch-hunt" tribunals to be confronted by witnesses, who lied or stretched the truth because they had been intimidated by the threat that they would be the next if they did not cooperate. Innocent people, many good and great patriots lost their lives.

Authoritarianism is on the rise in our country, accompanied by an increase in the blind worship of power. The biggest threat that our nation is facing is totalitarianism and superpatriotism, which may be the greatest threat to our freedom, we will face in coming years. We have already witnessed that the superpatriotism and militarism resulted in the fall of Dacca by painting Bengalis as traitors

and at that time the, the-then despots, had easily defied themselves as the incarnation of democracy, of the national interest or national defence as though they were the off-springs of Sun-God.

The imperialist foot-hold in Pakistan is getting deep day by day and is manifested here in the shape of the military rule. Almost, above 70 percent of the national economy and foreign loans are being spent on the consolidation of the militaristic structure of Pakistan. In fact today the Pakistan Army has itself become a class and the most oppressor of all. They have their separate

cantonments, colonies, laws, administration, police, schools, clubs, morals, ethics, way of life, traditions, customs, culture and psychology etc. In the national oppression, they are further assisted by the other oppressor classes i.e. feudals and capitalists due to their own vested interest. The class structure of Pakistan, therefore, has acquired peculiar features of its own, which cannot be compared with the conventional class structure as defined by the text jugglers of the utopian left. Military chauvinism in Pakistan has precipitated the national crisis, resulting in the severe economic, socio-political exploitation of the peoples of Pakistan.

The specific features of the national question of Pakistan are the trends which are leading towards the national liberation movement of the oppressed nationalities for their complete social and national emancipation from imperialism neo-colonialism, militarism, national oppression and national subjugation. Another important feature of the national question is its fusion with the class question, because the national liberation movement in Pakistan is being increasingly spear-headed by the revolutionary intelligentsia, working class, peasantry and the national democrats.

In the perspective of the theory of nations, nationalities, and national relations, as defined above, Pakistani nation does not qualify to be a nation if viewed scientifically, historically and economically etc; because, Pakistan is said to be created on the basis of religion, the first experience of its kind as ever witnessed by history. The religious basis of the formation of a country are not only contrary to logic but against the scien-

tific norms of reality and the laws of social progress, since in history, religion has never been the cause of the existence of a nation or a country; rather, religion itself has always been the product of the social development of a given society and its environments because, an individual himself is always the essence of all social formations. (The processes of the formation of nations have already been discussed earlier).

The national groups who migrated to Pakistan had nothing in common i.e. language, culture, customs, traditions, psychology, heritage, and economics etc, with the indigenous population of the country; rather they took the position as managers of the imperialist block and started consolidating the internal colony (Pakistan) of their former colonial masters. Since beginning they took full control of the armed forces, civil bureaucracy, financial institutions. The existing national communities of the soil i.e. (former Bengal), Indus valley and Baluchistan were robbed off, of their language, culture, land, education, employment and the heritage etc. Urdu was imposed at the cost of the native languages. the settlers were brought from outside and millions acres of land were distributed amongst them by turning the local population into "Red Indians". Military and Civil bureaucracy were allotted lands in Sind, Cholistan, Thal and Damaan as a "reward" for serving the interests of the imperialist block.

The industry, trade and commerce was monopolised by these national groups. Karachi and Lahore were made the centres of capital formation. All the head offices of the financial institutions, banking companies, Insurance companies and investment

corporations were made at Karachi by imparting a substantial share to Central Punjab. Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad and Gujranwala Division^s were made the Centres of Industrial, Commercial and trading activities. Subsequently Pakhtoons were made the junior partners. Their hue and cry is not for the elimination of national oppression but to claim an equal share from Punjab regardless of their merit and share proportion of their population. As a consequence East Pakistan gradually broke away. Even in the remaining Pakistan (the present Pakistan) the assimilation of the national groups who came during migration has not taken place into the existing national communities even to the present day.

By now we stand convinced by our own experience that dialectically the assimilation of Saraiki nationality is not possible with Punjabi and pakhtoon nationality, because of the unique historical features and the level of social and national development of each nationality, inspite of their's forced assimilation since ages.

In fact Pakistan is multinational state, in which three nations are quite conspicuous retaining their distinctive features from other nations and form, their own national ethnicos. These three nations are: 1) Pakhtoon 2) Punjabi; 3) the national communities of Indus Valley and Baluchistan (known in the ancient history as " A) Dilmun" i.e. present Sind province and South Baluchistan; B) "Makan" or "Magan" i.e. Makran contiguous Baluchistan and Kachh; C) Melluha" i.e. Multan, and the areas under its influence, briefly known as Rohi, Thal and Pamaan to be taken as one nation, historically

and economically. The term ethnicos is a specific form of community and is not synonymous to the term nationality. It is used in uniform sense in general, regardless of the region or country in which they live. For instance, while referring to Pakhtoon ethnicos, Pakhtoon nation is taken to mean as a whole, whether, they live in Pakistan or Afghanistan. Same applies to Punjabis and to the nationalities or national communities of Indus Valley and Baluchistan.

While referring to the national ethnicos of Saraiki, Sind and Baluchistan (S.S.B), it would not be out of place to mention briefly the historical and economic background of this nation.

The ancient Civilization of Indus Valley at its peak has also been regarded as the period of Harrapian Civilization. The recent research has revealed that the Indus Valley Civilization had taken birth in the "Hakra valley of Cholistan. The

Hakra was the second biggest river of Indus valley which had many supporting rivers. So much so, that some part of Sutlaj river would fall into Hakra River which after following the course through Sind, would then fall into the Bay of Kachh. In this way, the greatest Indus valley would comprise of the areas in between and around Hakra and Sutlaj rivers. Pre-Harrapian civilization was spread over to Indus valley and the valleys of South and North Baluchistan. During early period of Harrapian Civilization (3200 BC to 2500 BC) North Baluchistan alongwith its adjacent areas had more close relations with Multan (Saraiki belt) as compared to advanced Harrapian period (2500 BC to 2000 BC). Baluchistan was a link in the promotion of culture and civili-

zation from North-West to Indus valley and from Indus valley to North-West. At the time of advanced Harrappian period, the Indus valley Civilization had spread outside the limits of the original valley of Indus River. After having grown in the heart of Indus valley, when, this civilization reached its zenith, it spread its influence upto the mountains of Baluchistan and the Arabian sea. The peoples of these areas started trading mutually on barter system. South Iran, Eastern Arabia, Iraq including Persian Gulf, had trade relations with Baluchistan. After the examination of different copper goods of the early period of 3000 BC, it is believed that the people of Indus valley during early Harrappian period used to exchange this precious metal with the goods of Baluchistan and Rajistan.

The coast of Baluchistan and Indus Valley was well suited for the purpose of commerce and trade. According to the experts, thousand years before, the delta of Indus River was further to the North from its present location. At that time the present coast would go alongwith the city of Karachi, Ibrahim Haidari, Tharri, Gojo, Thatta and Pir Passo or Pir Patho. The ancient cities and towns of Indus Valley civilization had many river ports, amongst which, the most prominent were, Harrapa, Multan, Och, Mohenjo-Daro Haiderabad (Old Pattala) and Sukkhur. The people of Baluchistan were trade links between Sumair and Indus Valley. Multan due to its unique and peculiar location was the centre of Internal trade. In ancient times not only the trade was carried between the lower and upper parts of Indus Valley, rather, the trading ships would sail to the sea enroute, Multan, from where, these trading goods were shipped abroad through the Makran coast. At the peak of Harrappian

and Mohanjodoro civilization, Multan was the biggest and important city of Indus Valley. Three thousand and five hundred years before, Multan was called "Sappat Sindhu", i.e. the land of the seven rivers. According to the historical evidence before the Arian's attack on Indus Valley, "Malli Tribes" used to live here. Malli tribes would not only live here but had a tremendous political importance and influence in the Government.

Malli, Malini, Malavee, Malla and Malvi are in fact the names of a race. Malli means the people of "Mal Mountain, because, "Mal" itself means mountain. It is quite evident that these tribes came to Melluha (Multan) from the mountains of Baluchistan, since, still, in Baluchistan one mountain range is called "Mallan". Like wise, near to the sea of this mountain, one of the sea-ways is known as "Cape of Mallan". Apart from the Malli tribes the other Saraiki speaking tribes in Indus Valley and Baluchistan are "Jath" tribes which are also called "JATH-JAGDAL OR JADGAL".

During the reign of Changez Khan, Jath Jadgal or Ja9dal tribes migrated from Indus Valley to Zabul and Sistan in Iranian Baluchistan, from where they reached Russia via Afghanistan and settled around River Volga. These tribes call themselves Baluchs but are neither familiar with Baluchi customs and traditions nor can they speak Baluchi language. According to Bashir Zami, a prominent Saraiki Scholar, these tribes living in Iranian Baluchistan and U.S.S.R. speak pure Sariaki (Jathki) language, even to the present day. An eminent Irani scholar, Agha Aman Ullah Jahanbani, has mentioned in detail about these tribes in his book SARGUZASHT-E-

BALUCHISTAN.

Ethnically and socially also the peoples of S.S.B. form one nation. Baluch nationality is almost ethnographic. They live in a closer environment, where the racial and linguistic features are nearly unadulterated. In Sind and Saraiki belt though ethnic features have undergone a constant change, yet still the dominant ethnic feature is common. For instance ethnically Baluchs living in Sind and Saraiki belt are socially called as "Sindi Baluchs" and "Saraiki Baluchs" but they are never called as Punjabi Baluchs.

Historically Saraikis, Sindis, Brohis and Baluchs form one nation and the historical process of drawing it together is bringing them closer. Scientifically there are not radical distinctions between them, because, they form a single social organism and possess many features in common which unite them such as, common territory, origin, history, culture, traditions, way of life, dress, music, psychology climate and economics etc. Merely a difference of language alone cannot attest to their exclusiveness, unless supported by other factors which differentiate it from other social communities. Simultaneously, this does not prove that the role of the language be minimized in the development of nations. Lenin while assessing language as an ethnic factor, stressed its social role in the emergence and development of nations, but opposed only its chauvinistic character as advocated by Kautsky.

It can well be observed that the assimilation of Saraiki Peoples has already taken place in Sind and Baluchistan, where, Saraikis treat themselves as a part of Sindi and Baluchi nationalities, but,

not a part of Saraiki nationality.

In Pakhtoon Kha (NWFP) situation is just the reverse. There Saraikis in Dera Ismail Khan have not assimilated with Pakhtoons inspite of the use of coersive measures, though they are living together over a good number of decades. Same is the position in Punjab. Right from the time of British Colonial rule, when Multan was forcibly brought under Punjab, the assimilation of Saraikis with Punjabis has not taken place, even to the present moment. Rather, it has roused a strong passion within Saraikis to struggle against forced assimilation and for their complete national and social emancipation. Correctly analysing, the conditions prevalent in Pakistan has brought these national communities into two hostile camps: first, Punjabis and Pakhtoons on the one side as oppressors; Second, Sindis, Saraikis and Baluchis on the other side as oppressed.

Saraiki national question is moving in the direction of national liberation movement, which, does not restrict itself to the demand of its own federating unit, but, believes in the formation of an independent nation state, by uniting struggle with Sindis, Baluchis and the working classes of the oppressor national Communities of Punjab and N.W.F.P. (PAKHTOONKHA).

The national liberation movement of S.S.B. includes both national and international processes: i.e. the flourishing and drawing together of the national communities of Indus Valley and Baluchistan. The flourishing and drawing together of the national communities of SSB are not isolated or parallel processes. They are dialectically interconnected.

The national question and the class question

in Pakistan are interrelated and contain two contradictory elements; first, is the reality of the national liberation movement of S.S.B, which dominates for the moment, second, being hostile to the first, is the reality of the class struggle, in which, the future of Pakistan is maturing. Therefore, making peace with the first reality which dominates for the moment means to make peace with only one of his elements.

The national independence of peoples of S.S.B, is one of the most important expressions of humanitarianism and democracy. The problem of national independence of the people of S.S.B, is therefore above all the problem of the degree to which they exercise their natural right to self-determination, the choice of a socio-economic system, truly free economic, political and cultural development and a relationship with other peoples on the basis of free will and equality.

The class struggle in Pakistan without correlating the national liberation movement cannot advance at all. Pakistan has embarked on the road of non-capitalist development. Moreover, the all round development has not taken place in the country because of economic disparities, and therefore, the role of the social classes has remained dysfunctional due to the conflict in equity and growth. Utopian left views the class struggle through formal and abstract approaches, without studying the historical background and peculiar circumstances of Pakistan. These approaches of the "Utopian Left" are similar to that of Karl Heinzen, who, alleged that according to "Marx" there must first arrive the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, which must manufacture the "factory proletariat", which only then will begin acting on its own.

Any one who knows even a little history of Germany, knows now-a-days, how absurd were the charges by Heinzen. Marx and Engles did some thing even without waiting for such a transformation of their country.

Every process is unquestionably "inevitable" where it exists. Thus, for example, the burning of a match is inevitable for it, once it has caught fire; the match "inevitably" goes out, once the process of burning has come to an end. Capital speaks of the course of capitalist development which was "inevitable" for those countries where that development has taken place.

According to Marx, dialectical materialism does not point out a way which is general and "inevitable" for all nations at all times; that the future development of every given society always depends on the relationship of social forces within it and that therefore any serious person must, without guessing or whimpering about some fantastic "inevitability", first of all study those relations. Only such a study can show that what is "inevitable" and what is not "inevitable" for the given society.

Marx never spoke about the universal "inevitability" of the capitalist process.

Marx was opposed to "formula of progress", offered by utopion Mikhailovsky and ridiculed in his polemics against Proudhon. Utopians regarded the laws of historical development, the path, along which mankind proceeds was marked out before hand and no historical event could change the direction of that path. But Marx noted that one can only point

out the general direction of social development but not work out before hand any exactly formulated draft legislation.

The dialectical materialists "reduce" every thing to economics". But as the economic movement of every society has a "peculiar" form, in consequence of the "peculiarity" of the conditions in which it takes place, there can be no "formula of progress", covering the past and foretelling the future of the economic movement of all societies. The formula of progress is no abstract truth; truth is always concrete, every thing depends on the circumstances of time and place.

Modern dialectical materialism does not ignore the influence of geographical environment on the development of societies. It only ascertains better in what way geographical factors influence "social man." It shows that the geographical environment provides men with a greater or lesser possibilities of developing their productive forces, and there by pushes more or less energetically, along the path of historical progress.

The Saraiki national question is an economic reality. The basic factors in Saraiki national question cannot merely be regarded as factors like language, culture, psychology, ethnic etc., but it should be recognised as stated earlier with its historically conditioned importance. The basic factor of the Saraiki nationality is economics, because economics are the sum total of the actual relationship of the men who constitute the given society, in their process of production.

Saraiki nationality fulfils all the requirements which are needed for the qualification of a nationality.

But when, an oppressed nationality is passing through the stage of its struggle for the attainments of its national rights, the role of its language cannot be ignored. The role of language is important at both the stages, that is, pre-revolution and post-revolution. The cause of the revolution can only be achieved if all the nations and nationalities are provided with an equal opportunity to flourish socially, politically, and economically, for which it is necessary that all these activities are carried in their native mother languages.

The Marxist's national programme advocates the equality of nations and languages and the impermissibility of all privileges in this respect. Lenin stressed that in order to do away with distrust among peoples", the workers of those nations which were oppressor nations must take exceptional care not to hurt the national sentiments of the oppressed nations... and must not only promote the actual equality but also the development of the language and literature of the working people of the oppressed nations".

After the victory of revolution in USSR, several dozens small peoples acquired written languages. In 1913 books and pamphlets were published in 20 languages while by 1940 the figure stood of 86, the number of copies printed increased that 5-fold from 1913 to 1940.

SARAIKI LANGUAGE

SARAIKI LANGUAGE

language.

V.A. Smirnov an eminent linguist of USSR says that "it should be noted that some writers tend at times to confound Lahnda (Saraiki) with Punjabi. The explanation lies in the fact that to a large extent they are not adequately informed, or in their desire to exaggerate the importance of Punjabi. This view remains one of the erroneous positions taken by the scholars who in their turn regard Punjabi and some other Indian languages merely as dialects of Hindi." The Lahnda from which Saraiki is derived, which is Punjabi, has specific features from Hindi and Urdu. Saraiki (Lahnda) is also spoken about Saraike's region in India.

According to V.A. Smirnov, Saraiki is a language in its own right. It has the following basic characteristics: 1) While as Punjabi is mainly an Indo-Aryan language, Saraiki is a considerable amount of elements from the Dravidian group.

2) Saraiki possesses many specific phonetic features which are different from Punjabi. 3) The grammar of Saraiki is quite different from Punjabi. 4) As a dialect of Punjabi, it has many features which are common to both.

Though there is no need to over-emphasize the importance of the language, because, it is not the only factor in the formation or reorganization of nation or nationality, but since, the social chauvinists and pseudo-intellectuals of Punjab, spare no time in attacking the Saraiki language (as taking it the only factor of the formation of Saraiki nationality by falsely and maliciously trying to prove in vain that the Saraiki language is a dialect of Punjabi language; it is, therefore, quite imperative to draw a comparison for reason sake and to prove that Saraiki is not a dialect of Punjabi, but altogether a different

language.

V.A. Smirnov an eminent linguist of USSR says that "it should be noted that some writers tend at times to confound Lahndi (Saraiki) with Punjabi. The explanation lies, in the fact that they are not adequately informed, or in their desire to exaggerate the importance of Punjabi. This view reminds one of the erroneous position taken by the scholars who in their turn regard Punjabi and some other Indian Languages nearly as dialects of Hindi. "The linguist Prem Prakas Singh of Punjab, writes that "Punjabi's specific features stem, first and foremost, from Lahndi (Saraiki)". He also spoke about Saraiki's influence on Urdu.

According to V.A. Smirnov, Saraiki in comparison to Punjabi, has the following basic distinctions:-

- 1) Where as Punjabi is mainly an analytic language, Saraiki reveals a considerable amount of synthetic forms.
- 2) Saraiki possesses many specific phonetic features which make it different from Punjabi, such as the presence of special sounds, peculiarities of tones.
- 3) As distinct of Punjabi, it is typical of both Saraiki and Sindi to frequently use pronominal Suffixes attached to a word agglutinatively. In Punjabi these suffixes are found only in transitional forms of speech coming from Saraiki and in the written literary language of authors who know Saraiki but write in Punjabi.
- 4) It is typical of Saraiki to build the future tense form, by suffixing-s-, whereas, Punjabi builds the same by using the suffix-g-, not to mention a number of other distinctions.
- 5) Saraiki is void of durative forms of the predicate,

typical of Punjabi and Hindi, but possesses its own pattern expressing the equivalent aspect of the verb.

6) In Saraiki there is a peculiar system of personal negative verbs of being, which is not characteristic of Punjabi.

7) In both languages there is a considerable difference between the systems of the verb "to be," with Saraiki having two verbs of being possessing multivarious and ramified systems.

8) There are peculiar forms of the verb, for instance, verbal-ad-verbial and participial.

9) Widely used in Saraiki are synthetic forms of the passive, which is not typical of Punjabi. In the latter we rarely find synthetic forms of the passive (formed by suffixing-I-) which are borrowed from Saraiki. Typical of both Punjabi and Hindi is analytic passive.

10) It is typical of the ergative voice of the main dialects of Saraiki to use the word denoting the agent (doer) of an action without a special postposition. Moreover, instead of the ergative construction, there frequently occurs a mononuclear sentence with a predicate containing a pronominal suffix expressing the doer of an action. Punjabi is characterised by using the special ergative postposition.

11) Saraiki possesses a specific declension system distinct from that of Punjabi.

12) The presence of internal inflexion that serves to build forms of certain grammatical categories.

13) Peculiarities of other parts of speech for instance, of pronouns, adverbs, postpositions, etc.

14) A number of syntactic peculiarities such as,

for instance, the semi-ergative constructions, the presence of special word-sentence, sentences without a link-verbs etc.,

15) The specific character of much of the Saraiki vocabulary. A Jukes, the compiler of the biggest Saraiki dictionary, writes: "The Western Punjabi (Saraiki) or Jathki language is quite a different language from that spoken in the East Punjab". Jukes observes that linguist H. Martin Clark, when comparing the dictionary with that of Mai Singh, found on every page of the Saraiki dictionary, containing an average of 36 words, only about two that coincided with Punjabi ones.

Naturally, a specific vocabulary is characteristic primarily of the language of the rural localities, where Saraiki is less under the influence of Punjabi and Urdu, all-the-more, that bulk of the population is illiterate there or semi-illiterate and does not read the publications in Urdu and Punjabi that come out in Lahore in the Arabic script.

16) All the above mentioned peculiarities of Saraiki make the language difficult to understand for speakers of Punjabi, as we ascertained in practice.

In order to understand the basic distinctions between Saraiki and Punjabi, few illustrations of the use of pronominal suffixes, the building of future tense, the peculiarities of negative verbs, the inflexion of verbs, infinitive and synthetic forms of the passive etc; are given as below:-

The use of pronominal suffixes can be seen by taking an example of a Saraiki Word: Mare'sin ^{مَرین} meaning 'They will beat'. This word is expressed

in Punjabi in three words: " اودہ مارن گے " as compared to one word of Saraiki. By further adding suffix-'S', to the same word 'Mare:sin' مرسین it becomes a new word: Mare-se-nis مرسینس which is expressed in four words in Punjabi. " اودہ اوہنوں مارن گے " (They will beat him). The Saraiki word 'Mare-se-nis' مرسینس not only expresses the meaning of a sentence in one word but also distinctively places subject side by side with the object.

Further, the suffixing of 'S' indicates the difference in building a future tense between Saraiki and Punjabi, as we have seen in "Mare-se-nis". The same future tense in Punjabi is built by suffixing '-g' (گا گے) as " اودہ مارن گے " Besides, the word 'SI' سی as in " آسی " (He will come).

in Saraiki is used for future tense, meaning, " اودہ آوے گا " (He will come). Contrarily, the same word in Punjabi is used for the past tense; e.g.: " اودہ آیا سی " meaning "He had come". This can further be observed by drawing a comparison of inflexions of the future tense of the verb;

سرائیکی دیسی دسین دسینس دیو دیساں دیوں
پنجابی جاوے گا جاوے گا جاوے گا جاوے گا جاوے گا

Another basic difference in Saraiki and Punjabi language is the use of negative verb which is the peculiarity of Saraiki Language and cannot be found in any other language including Punjabi. This distinction attests to the contraction, richness and exclusiveness of the Saraiki language as distinct from others. For example;

(سرائیکی) رہتی کھادا نہی کھادا کھادا ہوتے کھادا نہیں کھادا رہنے کھادا

Now we come to another fundamental difference of the verb "to be" in Saraiki & Punjabi language. We only reveal here two inflexions of a basic infinitive. "ہونوڑٹ"

سرائیکی ہس ہائیں ہوسی ہارے ہاتم ہارے

پنجابی اودے پاس بیٹھاسی بیٹھیں وغیرہ

Now watch its negative form:

سرائیکی/ہنسی ناہیں ناہی ناہے . ناہیں نہی

In Punjabi language negative form of the word is made by adding "نہیں" to positive words.

Another significant difference between Saraiki and Punjabi is reflected through the simple fact that in Punjabi like urdu, the form of the passive verb is made by adding infinitive such as (جانا) to the verb, inflecting this additional word and not the original word. For instance, Punjabi word "کھاوا" [Ate] is a past tense of infinite "کھانا" [To eat]. By inflecting an additional word "جانا" to "کھاوا" (کھاواجانا), it becomes passive infinitive. But, in Saraiki the change in the passive verb is made within the verb itself. For example "ہوٹیاں کھولیں" [Bread will be eaten] is a passive verb, which in Punjabi is used as روٹیاں کھاویاں جان گیاں Further in Saraiki by making a change within infinitive, a new infinitive is constructed. For instance Ma'run "مازڑ" is an active

infinitive and 'Mari'jen ' is its passive infinitive. Apart from the characteristic of passive infinitive, saraiki language has the quality of converting transitive into ' Verbal-ad-verbial. For instance: the word " رکھن " is an active infinitive, " رکھاوون " is its transitive and " رکھاون " is its verbal-ad-verbial.

Dr. Mehr Abdul Haq, a prominent Saraiki philologist says "that" according to the universal Principle and laws of Philology, the only way to know the agreement and disagreement in languages is to take into consideration, Verbs and prepositions by ignoring nouns and adjectives. Because, the basic structure and root of a language can only be known through the inflexion of verbs. After that, through masculine, feminine, orders of words, inflexion of pronouns, and lastly through nouns and adjectives. But, at the same time, the nouns and adjectives alone cannot trace the family of languages, because, the various languages keep on borrowing words from one another. These words, however, can become the property of a language if the forms and meanings of these words are changed into that particular language of which these have become the part. For example, take one verse of Urdu Poet Mirza Ghalib;

ہوئے گل نالہ ذول دود چہ سراع مغل
جو تیرسی بزم سے نکلا سو پریشاں نکلا

In this verse total 15 words have been used, of which 9 words belong to Persian but even still it remains an Urdu verse. The same verse is being presented in another form which will change it into Punjabi verse;

ہوئے گل نالہ ذول دود چہ سراع مغل
جو تیرسی بزم توں نکلیا سو پریشاں نکلیا

This verse has become Punjabi because preposition 'توں' and verb 'نکلا' both belong to Punjabi. Prepositions 'جر' and 'سو' are common in both languages. Now read the verse as follows:-

لوئے گل نالہول دود چہ سراغ مغل
جوئیڈی بزم توں نکھتا سو پریشان نکھتا

This verse has now been converted into Saraiki verse. Here, the question arises which are that five words that are converting Persian into Urdu, Urdu into Punjabi and Punjabi into Saraiki. These five

words are ^۱جوئیڈی ^۲بزم ^۳توں ^۴نکھتا ^۵سو. Of these, two words 'جر' and 'سو' are common in Urdu, Punjabi and Saraiki. The remaining three words, "تیرے سے اور نکلا" according to the rules are respectively; personal pronoun; preposition and verb. "تیرے" is common in both Punjabi and Urdu. In Saraiki "تیرے" is pronounced "تیرے". Both in Saraiki and Punjabi, the word "توں" is used in the meanings of "سے"; so, this word, too, is not changing Punjabi into Saraiki. Now, therefore only one word "نکھتا" is left, which is verb and the sole determining factor in the language of the verse. If it is made "نکلا" from "نکلا" it becomes Punjabi verse; because, the past indefinite of infinitive "نکلا" is "نکھتا" in Punjabi language. When this word "نکھتا" is substituted with the word "نکھتا" the entire verse, inspite of its common characteristics becomes the verse of Saraiki language. At this juncture, it should also be noticed that the root of the infinitive "نکنا" is common in all three languages. But, since, the inflexional forms in all the three languages are different, therefore, even the oneness or the unity of infinitive does not attest to their being a single language.

It is also worth mentioning that such infinitive roots, of which, the last word is 'S' "س" there the past indefinite tense is made with 'تھا' as in Saraiki and Dardic languages, unlike with 'یا' as in indo-based languages. For instance:

نکس سے نکھانہ کر نکلیا

In order to make the difference more understandable we narrate here under another example by quoting a sentence from the routine conversation

ہسبند اینڈ وائف روزانہ شام کو فلم شو دیکھتے ہیں۔

This sentence has total 9 words. Since "دیکھتے ہیں" (They see) is compound verb, therefore, it is taken as a one word. Of these nine words, five belong to English, two to Persian and only two to Urdu. In spite of all, the entire sentence is taken to mean an Urdu sentence. The reason is simple, because, the verb and the preposition in the sentence belong to Urdu. If these two Urdu words, i.e. verb and preposition are substituted with Punjabi. Verb and Preposition, the sentence is changed into Punjabi, such as:-

ہسبند اینڈ وائف روزانہ شام کوں فلم شو دیکھدے نیس

The same words if substituted with Saraiki words the sentence becomes entirely converted into the Saraiki Language. For instance:-

ہسبند اینڈ وائف روزانہ شام کوں فلم شو دیکھدے نیس

From the above stated three examples it is crystal clear that difference of verbs and prepositions is the real and principal difference between languages. So, the basic difference between Saraiki and Punjabi languages is due to the construction and inflexions

of verbs.

To conclude, the disagreement in the languages is chiefly and solely due to the inflexions and forms of verbs. One example of the inflexion of the past indefinite tense of the verb shall reveal the difference in both the Saraiki and Punjabi languages:

سرایکی کھاؤس کھوئیں کھوئی کھوئے کھاؤم کھوے
پنجابی کھادا کھادا کھادا کھادا کھادا کھادا

Lastly and briefly it must be remembered, that where even the forms are common, there, prepositions should be taken into considerations. And, where prepositions are common, then, singular, plural, masculine, feminine, vocabulary, proverbs and the peculiarities of tone should be taken into account.

The same words if substituted with Saraiki words the sentence becomes entirely different into the Saraiki language. For instance:

From the above stated three examples it is crystal clear that difference of verbs and prepositions in the oral and principal dialects of the two languages. So, the basic difference between Saraiki and Punjabi languages is due to the construction and inflexions

CONCLUSION

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them through the bond of vital interests and class consciousness.

Now a days S.S.B. whose population comprises over three-fourth of the rural population is going through a period of rapid national and international growth.

The peasantry in S.S.B. though less advanced than the industrial workers in political consciousness, organizationally is still a revolutionary class but stands isolated. Even then, in view of the peculiar circumstances of this belt it has to play a role in advancing the national liberation movement. (From the report of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1957, in the report of the World and a Party, Revolutionary Party, with all the various variations and ideological and political contradictions. We think it has been otherwise).

Saraiki national question and the national liberation movement of S.S.B. in economic sense is meant the establishment of collective ownership of the means of production, on the one hand, the confirmation in the consciousness of the masses of a desire for national consolidation of Saraiki peoples on a new basis and, on the other hand the drawing together of the various peoples of the Indus valley and Baluchistan. In the social and political sense it believes in the abolition of the exploiter classes; the coming to power of the working class, the most internationalist of classes, which is deeply aware of the need for national development, a class that is capable of uniting all the vital forces of a nation or nationality and to defend the interest of the working peasantry and intelligentsia without dividing the working people according to class or national features, but uniting

them through firm bond of vital interests and class consciousness.

Now a days S.S.B. whose population comprises over three-fourth of the rural population is going through a period of rapid national and international renewal.

The peasantry in S.S.B., though less advanced than the industrial workers in political consciousness, organisation, is still a revolutionary class but stands scattered. Even then, in view of the peculiar circumstances of this belt it has to play major role in advancing the national liberation movement. Leonid Brezhnev said, speaking at the International Meeting of Communist and Worker's parties: "peasants in that part of the world are a mighty revolutionary force, with all the ensuing vacillations and ideological and political contradictions. Nor could it have been otherwise for the time being, because the great majority of the peasantry still lives in conditions of monstrous poverty, denial of rights and surviving feudal and some times even pre-feudal relations.

The specific nature of the present development of nations and national relations in Pakistan can be seen through the correlation of the class and the national in the national liberation movement of S.S.B. against imperialism and national oppression.

Saraike national question and the national liberation movement of S.S.B. stands for the abolition of the power of the imperialist monopolies and the local large scale bourgeoisie and feudalists; limiting the interference by foreign capital; transferring economic leadership to the state; transition to a

Planned development of the productive forces and encouragement of Cooperative movement in the country-side; increasing the role of working masses in social life; reinforcing the state machinery with national cadres devoted to the people's cause; following on an

anti-imperialist foreign policy, establishing ties with the socialist countries and the formation of the voluntary federation of three independent federating zones, which can also scientifically be named as union republics:

1. **S.S.B.** with three independent nation states:

A. **SARAIKL** Comprising of:

1. Multan Division.
2. Bahawalpur Division.
3. D.G. Khan Division including Dera Ismail Khan District, Bakhar, Lieha Mianwali and Jhang.

B. **SIND** (As it is)

C. **BALUCHISTAN** (As it is)

2. **PUNJAB**

3. **PAKHTOON KHA**

There can further be other autonomous regions, national areas and even independent nation states within these federating zones or union republics based on voluntary consent, free will and brotherly unity, depending upon the exigencies of the time and circumstances. The territorial claims of the federating zones or union republics can be

adjusted by way of referendum.

Pakistan can only exist as a federation; if, it is going to be a voluntary union of the above-stated three independent federating zones or union republics.

The aggravation of the national question in Pakistan coincides with the powerful upsurge of the national liberation movements through out the world and collapse of the imperialist colonial system. Since the former colonialists were now deprived of large incomes earlier derived from the national oppression of the colonial peoples, they took measures to consolidate their position in the "internal colonies". Ruling class of the imperialist powers do their utmost to prevent the unification of the oppressed nations, nationalities and national minorities' liberation movement with the class struggle of the exploited masses of the ruling nation.

Today the national question in Pakistan has become an immediate question and it will infallibly arise strong passions, no matter how earnestly the advocates of moderation may call for the calmness or the arm-chair thinkers of the utopian left oppose it.

No great step in history has ever been taken without the aid of passion, which multiplying as it does the moral strength and sharpening the intellectual faculties of people, is itself a great force of progress.

The national question in Pakistan is precisely that great social question which we cannot now discuss with moderation for the simple reason that it has become an immediate question. Now the whole of our future will be shaped by the way the solution to the national question is answered.

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Handwritten notes in Urdu script, including the word 'تاریخ' (History) and other illegible text.

