BS HISTORY

BALOCHISTAN: HISTORY & POLITICS

(BS HISTORY PROGRAMME)

Code: 9194 **Units: 1-9**



Department of History
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

STUDY GUIDE

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Department of History
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

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First Printing 2026

Quantity..... 1000

Layout Setting..... Ikram Yousaf

Incharge Printing..... Dr. Sarmad Iqbal

Printer..... AIOU-Printing Press, H-8, Islamabad

Publisher ..... Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

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PREFACE

The curriculum for an academic person at AIOU is designed on modern lines through the use of the latest information, theories and techniques. An extensive consultative process is also a part of the activity.

The development of the study material to help students scattered throughout the country is taken as a challenge. AIOU takes pride in undertaking this major task for the effective learning of the students.

The scheme of study for M.A. History has been revised to update the courses and their contents and make them relevant to the emerging social, economic, political and global trends, needs of the society and advances in this particular discipline. The courses included in the program will not only be one of the sources of the latest information but also help learners gain insight into the historical process for international understanding in the wake of globalization. Focusing on ancient civilizations, the Middle Ages and the modern world, the graduates of history would be sensitized, educated and trained in using appropriate approaches in looking into the events. These graduates will be expected to have a world view and serve the humanity without any social, regional or intellectual biases. It is hoped that this program will facilitate the process of learning and develop skills to understand, write and analyze history for their personal as well as for professional endeavours.

Historiography is a relatively new area of study introduced at graduate and postgraduate levels. It will enable students to understand the new paradigms and shifting debates on the history of human beings from local to global levels.

Since the subject is relatively new in Pakistan, students look to the teacher for support and guidance, though they would have access to web sources as well. A good course book is essential as a core for the study of the subject. The book at hand is an attempt to present the latest material. It gives an updated account of historical events.

I appreciate the efforts of the Chairperson, Department of History, in general and Dean, Faculty of Sciences, Dr. Rashid Naeem, in particular, for the production of such a fine book for students. I congratulate them on the successful launch of the book.

Prof. Dr, Nasir Mahmood
Vice Chancellor

BALOCHISTAN: HISTORY & POLITICS

Unit 1 **Geography of Balochistan**
- 1.1 The Land
- 1.2 Physical features
- 1.3 Resources
- 1.4 Geo-Political & Strategic Importance

Unit 2 **People of Balochistan**
- 2.1 Origin
- 2.2 Baloch
- 2.3 Brahvi
- 2.4 Pashtoon
- 2.5 Tribal Structure & Society

Unit 3 **The Baloch Rulers**
- **3.1** Chakar Khan Rind
- 3.2 Mir Ahmad Khan
- 3.3 Khawaneen

Unit 4 **The British & Balochistan**
- 4.1 Territorial Re-adjustment
- 4.2 Administrative Structure
- 4.3 Colonial Politics

Unit 5 **Kalat State & the British**
- **5.1** Relationship
- 5.2 Economic
- 5.3 Communication

Unit 6 **The British Balochistan**
- **6.1** Occupied Area
- 6.2 Leased Area
- 6.3 Routes of Communication

Unit 7 **Sandeman's forward policies & the Reaction**
- **7.1** Sindh Policy
- 7.2 Punjab Policy
- 7.3 Outcome of the Policy

Unit 8 **Freedom Movement**
- 8.1 Jinnah & Balochistan
- 8.2 Qazi Muhammad Eesa
- 8.3 Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai
- 8.4 Jafar Khan Jamali
- 8.5 Yousaf Aziz Magsi
- 8.6 Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti
- 8.7 Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogazai
- 8.8 Role of Press

Unit 9 **Accession to Pakistan**
- 9.1 Shahi Jirga
- 9.2 States of Balochistan
- 9.3 Khan of Kalat

OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

- To create awareness regarding different regions of Pakistan.
- To inculcate knowledge about the biggest province (area-wise) of the country.
- To enhance the capability of the students about the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic spectrum of the province.
- To know the contribution rendered by Balochs in the struggle for Pakistan.

INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Pakistani society is in turmoil and the reason behind this is the lack of efforts to build a Pakistani national identity. Allama Iqbal Open University has taken this responsibility to create harmony and tolerance among different regions in the country. In this regard, the Department of History has designed a cluster of regional history in its new updated scheme of studies. Balochistan: History & Politics is a course in the series.

Balochistan is a unique province of the federation, having diversity in almost every sphere of socio-cultural as well as geographical aspects. An effort has been made to present a synthetic view of the history of the area, starting from ancient times to the creation of Pakistan and the inclusion of the area consisting of the British Balochistan and the states in to federation. Chapter One deals with the geography of the land, including its physical features and resources and also sheds some light on its geo-political & strategic importance.

Chapter Two is about the people of Balochistan, their origin and demographical divisions i.e. Baloch, Pashtoon and Brahvi tiers of society at large. It also explains commonalities and diversities of the people in the region. Balochistan has its own tribal based social and cultural values and it is essential to understand this reality while considering any policy or viewpoint.

Chapter Three deals with the Baloch rulers, including Chakar Khan Rind, Mir Ahmad Khan and all other Khawaneen as well. To understand present day scenario, it is necessary to know about the nature and policy of the Baloch rulers in different times in the past.

Chapter Four is about a 'turning point' in the history of Balochistan, which is the political expansion of the British into Balochistan, resulting in territorial readjustments and introductions of colonial administrative structure. The British managed their presence by employing a multi-facet policy, such as how to deal with the Pukhton region and states differently, to secure their own interests and the prevalence of peace in the region. Balochistan remained a 'buffer zone' between the terrorizing Afghanistan and the British India.

Chapter Five deals with the turbulent relationship between Kalat State and the British. The British had to deal with the state politically in an extraordinary manner. It was due to the British implication to rule the region in defense and communication priorities.

Chapter Six is about the British management policy in Balochistan, which includes three patterns occupied area, leased area and routes of communication.

Chapter Seven deals with the British forward policy adopted and its outcome. It was an exclusive policy different from that in the Punjab and Sindh. It brought its consequences, which would be under study later.

Chapter Eight is important for the student of the freedom struggle, starting with the introduction of Jinnah's interest and affiliation with Balochistan and discusses stalwarts like Qazi Muhammad Eesa, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Jafar Khan Jamali, Aziz Magsi, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, Jam Ghulam Qadir and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogazai. It also discusses different political parties and their role as well. The role of the press would also be under discussion.

The Last chapter deals with the accession of Balochistan, the Shahi Jirga, the States of Balochistan and the role of the Khan of Kalat. It is hoped that the students will enable themselves to understand an important province of Pakistan, which has substantial potential to enlighten the future of Pakistan.

Unit-1

GEOGRAPHY OF BALOCHISTAN

Written by: **Abdul Basit Mujahid**
Reviewed by: **Syed Akmal Hussain Shah**

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INTRODUCTION

Balochistan is situated in the westernmost part of Pakistan and it has an area of 347,190 square kilometers (134050) square miles. It is Pakistan's largest province by area, constituting 44% of Pakistan's total land mass. The province is bordered by Afghanistan to the north and north-west, Iran to the south-west, Punjab and Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas to the north-east and the Arabian Sea. Balochistan is located at the eastern edge of the Iranian plateau and in the difficult-to-define border region between Southwest, Central, and South Asia. It is geographically the largest of the four provinces at 347,190 km² and composes 42% of the total land area of Pakistan. The population density is very low due to the mountainous terrain and scarcity of water. The southern region is known as Makran. A region in the centre of the province is known as Kalat.

The Sulaiman Mountains dominate the northeast corner and the Bolan Pass is a natural route into Afghanistan towards Kandahar. Much of the province south of the Quetta region is sparse desert terrain with pockets of inhabited towns mostly near rivers and streams. The capital city is Quetta, located in the most densely populated district in the northeast of the province. Quetta is situated in a river valley near the border with Afghanistan, with a road to Kandahar in the northwest.

At Gwadar on the coast, the Pakistani government is currently undertaking a large project with Chinese help to build a large port. This is being done partially to provide the Pakistan Navy with another base, and to reduce Pakistan's reliance on Karachi and Port Qasim, which are currently the only major ports.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Understand the location, size, and boundaries of Balochistan.
2. Identify the major physical features such as mountains, plateaus, deserts, and coastline.
3. Explain the distribution and importance of natural resources in the province.
4. Analyze how geography affects settlement patterns and economic activities.
5. Evaluate the geo-political and strategic importance of Balochistan in regional and global contexts.

1.1 The Land

Balochistan, the largest of the four provinces of Pakistan, spreads over an area of 347,190 sq. km, forming 43.6 per cent of the total area of Pakistan. It has a clustered population and is the smallest in proportion compared to that of other provinces. Its population, according to the 1998 census, is xx million, having a low density per square kilometer. Physically, Balochistan is an extensive plateau of rough terrain divided into basins by ranges of sufficient height and ruggedness. Broadly, ,the geographic area can be divided into four distinct zones: Upper highlands, lower highlands, plains, and deserts. The upper highlands, known locally as Khorasan, rise as high as 3,700 meters, with valley floors about 1,500 meters above sea level. The highlands include Makran, Kharan and Chaghi ranges in the West and Sulaiman, Pab, and Kirther in the east. The Upper High Lands fall mainly in districts Zhob, Killa Saifullah, Pishin, Quetta, Ziarat and Kalat. It comprises a number of ranges such as Sulaiman, TobakKakari, Murdar, Zarghoon, Takatu, and Chiltan ranges.

The Lower High Lands have an altitude ranging from 1970 to 3940 ft (600 to 1200 M). They are located in the south-eastern Balochistan, except the eastern part of Kachi, the southern end of Dera Bugti and Nasirabad districts. Some are extensions of the lower highlands that exist at the boundaries of Gwadar, Turbat, Panjgur, Kharan and Chaghi districts.

Balochistan has a relatively small area of plains compared to its total land area. They include the Kachi plain, situated to the south of Sibi and extending into Nasirabad Division, the southern part of Dera Bugti district, and a narrow plain area along the Mekran coast stretching from Kachi to the Iranian border. The plains of Kachi, Las Bela and that of river Dasht cover a sizable area. Mountains dominate the terrain, and valley floors and piedmont plain make up only 15% of the landscape. The western part of the province, mostly in Kharan and Chaghi districts, consists of vast plains covered with black gravel surface and broad expanses of sanddunes.

The coastline is about 760 Kilometers long, with a number of peninsulas and promontories. The coastal area is not effectively connected with the interior; the steep hills rise abruptly beyond the narrow coastal plain. Ports, such as Somiani, Pasni and Gwadar, are unsheltered. Federal and provincial governments have comprehensive development plans that feature a deep-sea port at Gwadar and a coastal highway.

1.2 Physical features

Balochistan's political boundaries widely vary from its physical frontiers. Physically, it encompasses a large chunk of Iran, Afghanistan and parts of Sindh, Punjab and NWFP of Pakistan. The encyclopedia of Islam describes Balochistan: "It includes the whole country over which the Baloch area is spread without regard to political boundaries." In view of its physical features, the Greek historian F_ Lerodotus had divided Balochistan into three distinct parts, which by and large, conform to the description given by the Encyclopedia of Islam. They were;

Aracosia; comprising Kandahar and Quetta Region

Drangiana; including Helmund, Seistan and Chagai
Gedrosia comprising the Pakistani and Iranian Mekran Coast
In fact, the large chunks of Eastern lran, Southern Afghanistan and Pakistani Balochistan are so identical in geography and ecology that they form one natural region. Together, they appear “more Central Asian than Indian." It has lofty snow-covered mountains, dry highlands, desiccated deserts, and a small alluvial plain inle6, that is the Upper Highland, the Lower Highland, the Plains, and the Deserts. The Upper Highland locality known as Khorasan occupies the north-eastern and central parts of Balochistan. It is bounded by the Suleiman Rangeto the east, Toba Kakar in the north and Chagai Hills to the west. In the Upper Highland, the Suleiman Mountains (Takhta-i Suleiman) converge near the town of Quetta to form a knot of high peaks, at a height of 12,000 feet above sea level. The valleys nestling between high mountains are generally 5,000 feet above sea level. There is also a prominent highland lobe, 150 miles long and 100 miles wide, along the Gomal River.
The Lower Highland is formed by the slopes of the Suleiman Range on the east and the Central Brahvi Range and the Kirthar Range further in the south, running in nirth south direction. The mountains forming the Lower Highland extend from the Makran Coast right up to the Afghan frontier in the north.
Roughly, they comprise:

- Talar-e-Band or Makran Coast Range
- The Central Makran Range,
- The Siahan Range (bordering Kharan), and.
- The Ras Koh (skirting Chagai) on the Afghan border.

The white clay mountains on the Makran Coast are distinguished by the absence of "stone"; they are made up of mestone or conglomerate. The lowland Karachi plain, formed by the Sibi re-entrant in the Suleiman Range, is a flat alluvial plain with extreme temperature variations in summers and winters. It is subject to strong winds and blinding dust storms. The other plain areas are Las-Bela and certain triangular inlets on the Makran coast. Balochistan has two raised plains or plateaus. One is the Quetta Valley and the other is in Kalat. The latter is a quadrangular plateau, measuring about 300 miles by 300 miles. On this plateau lies the ancient capital city of Kalat at a height of 6,3l8 feet. A large desert called Kharan, which is an extension of Iranian Seistan and the Dasht-i-Lut, is located in the north-west.

1.2.1 Climate

The climate of the upper highlands is characterized by very cold winters and warm summers. Winters of the lower highlands vary from extremely cold in the northern districts to mild conditions closer to the Makran coast. Summers are hot and dry. The arid zones of Chaghi and Kharan districts are extremely hot in summer. The plain areas are also very hot in summer, with temperatures rising as high as 120 degrees F (50 degrees C). Winters are mild on the plains, with the temperature never falling below the freezing point. The desert climate is characterized by hot and very arid conditions. Occasionally, strong windstorms make these areas very inhospitable. It starts from the coast of the Arabian Sea and stretches northwards,

the coastline itself being about 470 miles long and entirely arid. Col. Sir Thomas Holdich, the great geographer and author of The Gates of India, describes it as a "brazen coast, washed by a molten sea", and travelers, through the centuries, have pictured it as an inhospitable land. On the north, it is bounded by Afghanistan and the KPK of Pakistan; on the west by Iran; and on the east by Sindh, the Punjab and a part of the KPK. Approximately four hundred miles further west along the Iranian coast lies one of the three most important choke points in the world, the straits of Hormuz, and about the same distance north from the coast is the sprawling air base of Qandhar, hopefully built by Americans about a quarter of a century ago and now fully under the control of the Americans.

The characteristic divisions of the region are four: The upper highlands, the lower highlands, the plains and the deserts. The upper highlands, locally known as Khorasan, occupy the central and east central portion of the country. the mountain the mountain reaches an elevation of 12000 feet, while the valleys lie about 5000 feet above sea level. The lower highlands include the slopes of the Sulaiman Rang on the east and the Pab and the Khirthar Range on the south, and the ranges of Mekran, Kharan and Chaghi on the west. The plains include the country known as Kachi and Las Bela and the valleys of the Dasht river. The deserts are situated in the north-western part. They consist of open level plains covered with black gravel or broad expanses of deep sand-hills, which sometimes assume the proportions of formidable sand mountains. The general outlook is unattractive, though its peculiarities are not without a certain charm. Rugged, barren Sunburn Mountains, rent by huge chasms and gorges, alternate with arid deserts and stony plains, the prevailing colour of which is a monotonous drab. But it is redeemed in places by level valleys of considerable size, in which irrigation enables much cultivation to be carried on and rich crops of all kinds to be raised. Within the mountains lie narrow glens whose rippling water courses are fringed, in early summer, by the brilliant green of carefully terraced fields. Rows of willow interlacing festoons of vines border the clear water, while groups of ruddy children and comely Italian-faced women in indigo blue or scarlet shifts and cotton shawls complete a peaceful picture of beauty and fertility. Few places are more beautiful than Quetta on a bright frosty morning, when all the lofty peaks are capped with glistening snow, while the date groves which encircle the thriving settlement of Mekran are full of picturesque attraction. The rowing rifts and gorges in the upper plateau make a fierce contrast to the smile of the valleys.

1.3 Resources

Balochistan possesses a great unexplored potential of metallic and non-metallic minerals. The least populated areas of the province contain copper, uranium, gold, coal, silver, and platinum deposits. In addition, it is producing about 36% of Pakistan's total gas production. Large deposits of natural gas, oil and minerals are present in the mountains and deserts of Balochistan. Its coastal line with the Arabian Sea and a gateway to Afghanistan and Central Asia increased its importance, as Central Asian countries are also rich in natural gas and oil. Presently, the minerals being exploited are:

1.3.1 Coal

Balochistan coal can cater to the existing and future energy requirements of our country to a great extent. More than 90% of coal is dispatched to other provinces for use in brick kilns. Its reserves are found in

1.3.2 Chromite

Sizable deposits of this mineral are found at Muslimbagh, district Killa Saifullah. Lasbela, Khuzdar, Kharan and Chaghi districts have chromite reserves. The private sector has been engaged in mining this mineral.

1.3.3 Barytes

The biggest deposit of barytes is located near Khuzdar with a total reserve of over 2.00 million tons. Scientific mining as well as grinding of this mineral started in 1976. Almost the entire production of barites is consumed locally by OGDC and other oil drilling companies.

1.3.4 Sulphur

Sulphur deposits are available at Koh-e-Sultan in District Chaghi. Three main deposits are clustered around the Southern half of the extinct volcano, Koh-e-Sultan. The deposits are of fumarole origin and native Sulphur is found in cracks and as impregnation in volcanic tuffs. The Chief use of Sulphur is the manufacturing of Sulphuric acid, etc.

1.3.5 Marble

Large commercially exploitable deposits are found throughout the district of Chaghi, starting from Dalbandin and extending to the borders of Iran. Some deposits are located close to the Pak-Afghan border areas, namely Zardkan, Siah-Chang, Jhulli, Patkok, Maskichah, Zeh, Chilgazi and Buttak. Onyx, a dark green marble found in Chaghi, is of superior quality. Onyx of good quality is found in Bolan, Lasbela and Khuzdar districts.

1.3.6 IronOre

Chaghi, a mineral-rich area, possesses nearly 30 million tons of iron ore. Geological Survey of Pakistan, in a report, states that there are 1 to 7 meters (averaging about 2 meters) thick hematitic sedimentary ironstone bed of Jurassic age(150 million years old) at the contact of Chiltan Limestone, and Sember formation of Cretaceous age (150-65 million years old) near Johan in Dilband area of Mastung district. The reserves have been tentatively estimated at over 200 million tonnes.

1.3.7 Quartzite

This is a relatively newly discovered mineral. Its deposits are found in the Lasbela district.

1.3.8 Limestone

Limestone exists in abundance in different parts of Balochistan. Several hundred meters-thick layers of limestone, at places dolomitic, occur in the Chiltan Formation of Jurassic age in Quetta and Kalat. Limestone of

Cretaceous age, 300 to 50 meters thick, is widely found in Balochistan. Harnai, Sor Range, and Spintangi areas have reserves of limestone.

13.9 Sulphor

Sulphur deposits are available at Koh-i-Sultan in Chaghi district. Three main depots are clustered around the southern half of the extinct volcano, Koh-i-Sultan. The deposits are of fumarolic origin and native sulphur is found in vugs, cracks, and as impregnation in volcanic tuffs. The chief use of sulphur is in the manufacturing of sulphuric acid and explosives.

1.4 Geo-Political &Strategic Importance

Balochistan possesses a great unexplored potential of metallic and non-metallic minerals. Presently, the minerals being exploited are located in the south-eastern part of the Iranian plateau. It borders the geopolitical regions of the Middle East and Southwest Asia, Central Asia and South Asia. Balochistan lies at the mouth of the Strait of Hormuz and provides the shortest route from seaports to Central Asia. Its geographical location has placed the otherwise desolate region within the scope of competing global interests like Afghanistan for all of recorded history. The capital city, Quetta, is located in a densely populated portion of the Sulaiman Mountains in the north-east of the province. It is situated in a river valley near the Bolan Pass, which has been used as the route of choice from the coast to Central Asia, entering through Afghanistan's Kandahar region. The British and other historic empires have crossed the region to invade Afghanistan by this route. A place could be strategically important for different reasons, like:

- Owing to nearness to strategic locations, such as choke points on major sea routes
- On crossroads of great Powers
- Immediacy to mineral-rich areas
- May be a reservoir of strategic minerals, like oil, Iron, Uranium Ores etc.
- Large dealer of food.

The great powers always design striking strategies and plans, and to accomplish their policies, they use small powers, sometimes for a solo role and at times for numerous ones. Another thing, regarding the policies of the great powers, is that they do not always use their territory for clashes, so they choose the small powers as “subjects, in order to resolve their differences. Resultantly, it leads to the conception of “National Security Syndrome”, because those small powers do not in every case help in achieving the objectives of those great powers; rather, at times become “Bone of Contention” among the major powers. Sullivan (1986) writes, “Geo-politics is the study of the geography of relations between wielders of power, be they rulers of nations or of transnational bodies (Sullivan, 1986: 2).

The global situation has transformed a lot today. Many areas that were earlier of significance geographically at the moment have become insignificant; while on the

other hand, many unimportant areas have gained importance. Though for a long period of history, Balochistan occupied a "fluctuating position" sandwiched between "insignificance and importance", yet it has never lost its geo-strategic significance and value. The event that added value to Balochistan is the "Russian intervention' in Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. Consequently, on one hand, the national and international politics of Pakistan had a deep impact; while on the other hand, it influenced world history in the days to come. Furthermore, Balochistan, being no exception, turned into a "Hot Bed" of power politics between two "Superpowers" and their "Partners, Proxies and Surrogates". Strategically, Balochistan is unique in terms of the following factors, which are crucial in its strategic calculations:

- Largest in terms of size
- Having the largest coastline
- Sensitive borders
- Arm of the Arabian Sea
- Lying under the lines of Machkinder's rim land, Western and North Eastern.

Placed extremely next to the oil lanes of the Persian Gulf and covering a common border with "Iran and Afghanistan", Balochistan is strategically too significant; commanding almost the entire coast of the country, 470 miles of the "Arabian Sea and boasting of a deep sea port", completed with Chinese support at Gwadar (Balochistan). Ahmad (1992) writes, "Serious observers of the contemporary scene cannot miss the importance of certain new, or tainted, geo-political realities vis-à-vis Balochistan which will impinge upon and help shape the future history of Pakistan and the region" (Ahmad, 1992: 248-249).

The following factors have made Balochistan strategically very valuable.

1.4.1 Gwadar Port

Gwadar is an important district of Balochistan, having 600 Kilometers long border. Until 1958, it had been a part of the State of Oman. In December 1958, Pakistan bought it for an amount of 550 million Rupees. It was suggested as a suitable site for a port in 1964 and thus, in 2002, the construction of the port was initiated with the help of China. The Gwadar Port, being the third largest port of the world, is situated at the doorway of the Persian Gulf (180 nautical miles from the Strait of Hormuz through which 40% of the world's Oil passes) and at the largest trade route of the world. It is due to this fact that makes it geo-strategically more important to the world powers. In addition to that, due to the Iraq-Iran War, Gulf War and Russian disintegration, which led to the emergence of new Central Asian Republics (CARs), it has added to its value, as it will provide the shortest route (Quetta to Chaman) to Central Asia. America has an eye on Gwadar as its future "Potential Military Base", and the UAE considers it an undesirable contest. The potential of

Gwadar is not new, but the geo-economics of today and even of tomorrow have converted a national potential treasure into an international potential treasure.

1.4.2 Rickodek

Rickodek, the part of Chagi (Tehsil of Balochistan), means "Hillock of Gold". Pakistan and the international media have highlighted a new discussion on 'Rickodek'. It is the world's 4th largest deposit of gold and copper. It has dawned that the mountains of Balochistan are filled with many costly mineral reservoirs. Nevertheless, it has also been proven that the gold and copper reserves of about $260 billion are buried under the Rickodek. But it is unfortunate enough on the part of Pakistan that in this developed age, Pakistan is dependent upon foreign companies for their exploration, mining, surveying and refining. The borders of Iran and Afghanistan are also not so far from here. The decision of the Supreme Court about Rickodek has exposed that "under and around this hillock of gold, there exists 10 billion kilogram copper and 370 million gram gold". In order to attain this wealth, the international powers are being exposed under their agendas. And so are the Baloch being misled. Some of the foreign agencies that have shown their interests for exploring these reserves belong to Israel. While a few foreign mining companies have contacted the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) that if they cooperate in exploring and taking away these reserves safely, they would be given enough compensation. Therefore, in this backdrop, the US and India want to deteriorate the situation in Balochistan so that Pakistan cannot benefit out of this; and they keep on blaming Pakistan for giving shelter not only to Al Qaeda members, but the Riggi Brothers are also in Balochistan.

1.4.3 Foreign Involvement

The international colonial powers crave to open the stage of hostilities against Afghanistan and Iran by exploiting Balochistan. "Taking Hostages and Target Killing" of Chinese engineers, workers and investors is interrelated to it. The international players have raised issues like:

- Durand Line
- Pushtoonistan (by setting apart the Pushtoon Area and Balochistan)
- Watchwords of "Greater Balochistan."
- Economic and financial aid in the name of "Terrorism."
- Encouraging the rebellious movements
- Drone Attacks by making allegations about "Quetta Shura" in Balochistan.

But these are all false pretexts to control the natural resources, oil and world economy and nothing else. Balochistan has always been under the tyrannical rule of Sardars (Tribal Chiefs) who have been a major factor in keeping the Baloch people diffident, uneducated and under-privileged. Therefore, it has drawn the attention of the "players of the regional politics". Not only is it in American interest,

but also in the interest of Russia and India too, if "Balochistan might become an independent state. Ahmad (1992) writes that, "Balochistan acts as a common denominator to them. In fact, no policy of any of the countries competing for power in the region could be called comprehensive and practical unless it considers Balochistan in its defense plans. The conflicting interests of the Great Powers in the region, ranging from peripheral to central, converge in Balochistan, in a way that they are subject to political pressures of varying degrees at various points of time and space. It has been observed throughout history that "the location of Balochistan has enticed foreign powers to venture into its latitude".

Russia-Back in the old days, both Superpowers had focused their interest on Balochistan because they wanted to make Pakistan a weaker state. It is due to this fact that the Soviet Union encouraged the Secessionist Movement of Sindhu Desh, Pakhtonistan or Azad (Independent) or Greater Balochistan. As the shortest way for Russia to reach the Indian Ocean is Balochistan, it was considered whether Russian lose their interest in Afghanistan, yet in Balochistan and the Indian Ocean, its interest would not die down. Soviet Interests in Balochistan can be seen under the following points:

1. It wants to control the Gulf oil (60% of the world's known reserves) and thus the natural resources of the Indian Ocean and Antarctica will be under its influence.

2. Transportation of fish catch (1/3rd of total fish catch), from the Indian Ocean (particularly from the Arabian Sea) to the Central Asian Republics over land would be trouble-free, speedy and economical.

3. It will have the shortest route to Antarctica for mineral resources (the world's largest untapped mineral resources)

4. The Russian economy will boost. China is keen and has a focused eye on Balochistan. The Gwadar Port has been completed with its help because China wants to import raw material and oil from the Middle East and Africa and export goods through a land corridor that would extend from Gwadar to China's Xinjiang Province. Strategically, Muhammad et al., this port is situated near the Straits of Hormuz, "A Major Oil Shipping Lane," and China wants entrée to the sea for its land-locked western provinces. America- Pakistan is important for America due to Balochistan. In order to counter Iran, America has already given the signal of attack to Israel and the US Congress has agreed on it. The main factor is "China".

The experts are of the opinion that in the next 30 or 40 years, there are chances that the natural resources of China and oil of the Arab world will be depleted, and after that, the US will be dependent on Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan; and for which the US would have to cross Balochistan and its Coast. Therefore, it would not be an easy job, owing to the interference of China. Though Americais an economic

giant of the world; yet it would not be able to sustain its position in the next 25 or 30 years. It will be replaced by China. In this regard, Gwadar Port and the coastal line of Balochistan will play a key role. That is the main reason behind US annoyance over the contract of Gwadar Port that was given to China.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Identify the major physical features and natural resources of Balochistan.
2. Explain how climate influences the lifestyle and economic activities of the people of Balochistan.
3. How can the mineral resources of Balochistan contribute to the economic development of Pakistan?
4. Analyze the geopolitical and strategic importance of Gwadar Port and Reko Diq for regional and international trade.
5. Assess the impact of foreign involvement in the development of natural resources and strategic projects in Balochistan.

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Unit-2

PEOPLE OF BALOCHISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

This unit focuses on the people of Balochistan and examines their origins, ethnic composition, and social organization. The province is home to diverse communities whose identities have been shaped by geography, migration, and centuries of interaction with neighboring regions.

Situated at the crossroads of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, Balochistan has historically experienced waves of movement and cultural exchange. As a result, its population reflects a rich blend of traditions, languages, and tribal affiliations.

This unit explores the origin of the people of Balochistan and provides an overview of its major ethnic groups: the Baloch, the Brahvi, and the Pashtoon. It also studies the tribal structure and social system that continue to influence political authority, social relations, and patterns of leadership in the province. Understanding these communities is essential for appreciating the cultural diversity and social dynamics of Balochistan.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Trace the historical origins of the major communities of Balochistan.
2. Describe the cultural and linguistic characteristics of the Baloch, Brahvi, and Pashtoon populations.
3. Understand the historical development of tribal organization in the province.
4. Analyze the role of tribal leadership and social hierarchy in shaping society.
5. Evaluate the impact of ethnic diversity on the social and political life of Balochistan.

2.1 Origin

Baloch played an important role in shaping the history of Iran, Iraq and Syria from 600 B.C to 700 A.D. They remained the cavalry of Cyrus of the Achaemenian Empire, who helped in defeating Median. The Baloch were warrior and even they were unknown to the word surrender. Even the strong armies of Ardsher in 248 A.D and Nausherwan in 570 A.D. did their best but failed and met with defeat at the hands of Baloch warriors. Unfortunately, their leader atthat time was not mentioned by the historians. From the start of the seventh century, they were engaged in wars with Arabs and in the tenth century, they were in conflict with one or other ruler in their neighbourhood.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the Baloch established their independent states of Sind under the Talpur Mires and Balochistan under the Khan of Kalat. In the tenth century, Ahmad Ali and Hassan Ali declared themselves masters of a major portion of Iran and Iraq, reducing the authority of the caliph. In 943 A.D Ahmad Ali entered Baghdad, ending the rule of the Buwaihid dynasty. The Baloch remained in war with Bawaihid due to the first and second Kirman wars in 946 A.D. and 998 A.D., due to which the Baloch rule became limited to Kirman, Makran and the coastal areas of Seistan province. Latterly, due to weakening of military power and tribal conflict, the area was split among the Baloch tribes.

With the loss of central control over the tribes, the warriors disturbed the trade routes. Noor ud din Ufi, a historian of Sultan Altamish (1221-1255), wrote in *Moajm-al-Tawarikh* that some emissaries of Mahmood Ghaznavi were looted and killed by Baloch robbers. Mahmood sent his son Masood to deal with them. During the war, Baloch fought bravely; forty of them were killed and the remaining forty were captured. Another time when Masood was in Iraq, he was informed about the Baloch disturbance. He sent a caravan of poisoned apples, which was looted by robbers. Many of them died due to eating those poisoned apples. Another court historian of the Delhi sultanate, Abu Omar Minhaj ud din (1246-1265), wrote that Baloch tribes were organized under their tribal chiefs. They were warriors but kind, who preferred fighting till death instead of being subdued or captured by others.

Balochistan in those days was loosely defined as the area inhabited by the Baloch and Brahui tribes. Their domains extended all the way from eastern Persia to the Indus in Sindh. The borders of present-day Balochistan evolved during the British period and included non-Baloch parts as well. For strategic reasons, the British in the late nineteenth century annexed large parts of the Pashtun territories north of the Bolan Pass and clubbed it with the valley of Quetta, leased from the Khan of Kalat.

In the sixteenth century, the Baloch established themselves in Makran, Kalat, Kachi and Sibi under Mir Chaker Khan. The tribal wars of the Rind tribe under Mir Chaker Khan and the Lashari tribe under Mir Gwaharam were ignored by historians, as

they only affected Sind and Punjab, whose rulers were of less importance and were called *Zamindars*. From 1535 to 1620, the Kalat split into smaller factions controlled by tribes due to the Rind-Lashari tribal conflict.

2.2 Baloch

The Baloch or Baluchi live mainly in the Balochistan region of the Iranian plateau in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. They are Iranian people who mainly speak the Balochi language, a branch of the Northwestern Iranian languages. In 2009, Vidya Prakash Tyaji estimated the worldwide Baloch population to be around 8.8 million. About 50% of the total Baloch live in East Balochistan, a western province of Pakistan; 40% Baloch are settled in Sindh; and a significant number of Baloch people live in South Punjab of Pakistan. They make up nearly 8.6% of the Pakistani population, about 7% of Iran's population (1.5 million) and about 9% of Afghanistan's population.

2.2.1 History

According to Balochi myths, they are descendants of Hazrat Ameer Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad *Sallahu Alaihi Wa Salam,* who settled in Haleb (present-day Aleppo). In 680, Yazid drove them out following the Battle of Karbala and they fled to the Siestan region. They allegedly remained there for 500 years until they fled following a deception against the Siestan leader Badr-ud-Din, to Khvosh Mardan.

Historians, on the other hand, have a number of theories, from being Aryans from northern Elburz, Semites from Halleb and Allepe, to being Sumerians from Mesopotamia or simply the indigenous people of those regions they live in.

2.2.2 Baloch culture

The Baloch generally live in remote mountainous and desert regions, which have protected them from invasion and allowed them to form a distinct cultural identity. They are predominantly Sunni, but a number in the Balochistan region are also Shias as well. Baloch customs and traditions are conducted according to codes evolved through tribal laws. Pir M. Zehi's account of his travel to the province of Sistan, present-day Sistan province of Iran, has the first mentions of Baloch customs. The Baloch men wear long shirts with long sleeves and loose *shalwar*. The dress is often accompanied by a turban on their heads.

In contrast to Pakistan, the Iranian Baloch dress code is more conservative in terms of length and material. Some Baloch women in Iran also cover their faces with a thick red colour woolen *burqah* and wear a head scarf or *chadar,* which is a long veil.

Baloch women put on loose dresses and shalwar with sophisticated and colourful needlework, including a large pocket at the front of the dress to hold their

accessories. The upper part of the dress and sleeves are also decorated with needlework, a form of artistry that is specific to the clothing of the Baloch women. Often the dress also contains round or square pieces of glass and coins sometime to further enhance the presentation. They cover their hair with a scarf, called a *sarig* in the local dialect. These customs are unique to the people of Iran and the art of this needlework on women's clothing may depict the freedom and high status of Baloch women in the Achaemenid era.

Gold ornaments such as necklaces and bracelets are an important aspect of Baloch women's traditions and among their most favourite items of jewellery is *dorr*, heavy earrings that are fastened to the head with gold chains so that the heavy weight will not cause harm to the ears. They usually wear a gold brooch *tasni* that is made by local jewelers in different shapes and sizes and is used to fasten the two parts of the dress together. In ancient times, especially during the pre-Islamic era, it was common for Baloch women to perform dances and sing folk songs at different events. The tradition of a Baloch mother singing lullabies to her children has played an important role in the transfer of knowledge from generation to generation since ancient times. Apart from the dressing style of the Baloch, indigenous and local traditions and customs are also of great importance to the Baloch.

2.3 Brahvi

The 'Brahui' is a very old term and a purely Dravidian one. The fact that other Dravidian languages only exist further south in India has led to several speculations about the origins of the Brahui. There are three hypotheses regarding the Brahui that have been proposed by academics. One theory is that the Brahui are a relic population of Dravidians, surrounded by speakers of Indo-Iranian languages, remaining from a time when Dravidian was more widespread. Another theory is that they migrated to Balochistan from inner India during the early Muslim period of the 13th or 14th centuries. A third theory says the Brahui migrated to Balochistan from Central India after 1000 AD. The absence of any older Iranian (Avestan) influence in Brahui supports this last hypothesis.

The main Iranian contributor to Brahui vocabulary is a northwestern Iranian language, Baluchi and Sindhi and the southeastern Iranian language, Pashto. Over the centuries, due to their location, the Brahui have mixed with Iranian peoples as well as the Sindhis, among other Indo-Aryan peoples. They culturally resemble their Baloch and Sindhi neighbors, although they still continue to speak their Brahui language. Brahui tribes

include Yagizehi, Mengal, Natwani, Mengal, Mirwani, Bangulzai, Banulzai, Khea zai,

Sarparah, MuhammadShahi, Kurd, Meskanzai(Sarparah), Zarakzai(Zehri), Sasoli, Sataksai, Qambarani Rodeni, Pandrani, Jattak. The Brahui language is a language

within the Dravidian sub-group of languages. While it does contain many similar words to the Iranian Balochi language, it also has many words that areborrowed from Indo-Aryan languages as well as the Dravidian words of its own. It is mainly spoken in the Kalat areas of Balochistan, Pakistan, although there are a considerable number of speakers in Southern Afghanistan and Iranian Balochistan. It includes three dialects: Sarawani (spoken in the north), Jhalawani (spoken in the southeast), and Chaghi (spoken in the northwest and west). The 2013 edition of Ethnologue reports that there are some 4.2 million speakers; 4 million live in Pakistan, mainly in the province of Balochistan. Due to its isolation, Brahui's vocabulary is only 15% Dravidian, while the remainder is dominated by Persian, Balochi, and other Indo-Aryan languages (for example, of the number names from 'one' to 'ten', those starting with 'four' are borrowed from Persian), while the grammar and overall morphology still resemble other Dravidian tongues. Brahui is generally written in the Perso-Arabic script and there is even a Latin alphabet that has been developed for use with Brahui.

2.4 Pashtoon

The Pashtoons are an ethnic group of about fifty million that occupies a larger territory across Afghanistan and Pakistan. The problem with Pashtoons is that they never integrated completely into a state. The Pashtoonwali is a central element of Pashtoon identity: indeed, it is said that a Pashtoon is to follow the Pashtoonwali. In Pakistan, Pakhtoons are the inhabitants of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Northern Balochistan and Karachi.

Historically, most part they remained independent and out of the sphere of centralized government. Geographically, it is difficult to access to Pashtoon inhibited areas for state law enforcement agencies to access Pashtoon-inhabited areas. The difficulties are multiplied by the lake of modern communication systems in these areas. Thus, in such an individualistic and tribal society, how can peace be maintained? How is law and order regulated? How can the actions of the people be controlled for the establishment of peace? And most importantly, how can independence be maintained? To answer all these questions, Dr. Sultan-i-Rome has a simple answer that Pashtoonwali is the code of life of Pashtoons, which has the solution to all these problems. The following are some main ingredients of *Pashtoonwali.*

2.4.1 Melmastia (Hospitality)

Melmastia means generosity, hospitality or welcome. *Melmastia* is an important component of Pashtuoowali, which is obligatory for all the Pashtoons (includes male and females). *Melmastia* means showing hospitality and deep respect to all guests, regardless of distinctions of race, religion, national affiliation, or economic status. *Melmastia* stands for providing food, boarding, and convenience if required

without any hope of reward or favor. Pashtoons are widely considered to be the most hospitable people in the world and a Pashtoon will go to great lengths to show his hospitality. *Melamstia* requires a Pashtoon to provide for a guest, even unto his personal distress. A guest is offered the most costly meal that a Pashtoon can provide, given the best bedstead, pillows, and blanket, and waited on by all of the members of the host's family. The host will sit and talk with the guest so long as the guest wishes to converse.

2.4.2 Badal (Revenge)

Badal is also one of the significant commandments of Pashtoonwali. *Badal* means revenge. *Badal* obliged that, to seek justice or take revenge against the offender. This applies to injustices committed in contemporary times or centuries ago if the offender still exists. Here is a *Pashtu* proverb that '*Pushtoon se salkaala bad badalwakhli no hum chabaqikawi'* means that when the Pukhtoon takes revenge after a hundred years, then too he makes a hurry. So the Badal is free from the limitation of time. *Badal* depends on the reaction of the family and also on the nature of the offence.

2.4.3 Nanawatia or Nanawatay

The word *Nanawatia* or *Nanawaty* means asylum or sanctuary. It is a peculiar form of 'Honorable' submission, in which an enemy strives for 'sanctuary' at the house of his enemy. This is used for protection given to a person who requests protection against his or her enemies. It is also extended to those running from the state law. The people are protected at all costs until the situation is clarified. It can also be used when the beaten party is prepared to go into the house of the victors and ask for their forgiveness.

2.4.4 Jirgah

The word *Jirgah* means council of the tribal chiefs or conciliatory assembly. At this forum, issues of mutual interest have been deliberated and decided. The decision in the *Jirgah* system is taken unanimously after the deliberations. The decision-making process of *Jirgah* differs from those of Western democracies. In the modern Western democratic system, decisions are made by majority votes, but in the *Jirgah,* decisions are taken by consensus.1 The official Report on the Administration on the Border of the North-West Frontier Province for the year 1938-39 clearly stated that,

. . . . each tribe has a tribal *'jirgah',* or representative body of persons with an acknowledged position in the tribe. . . . where every man considers himself a member of the tribal *jirgah* and where the political officer's task is not completed until he has convinced the last man of a *jirgah* numbering anything up to three thousand. ... In Waziristan . . . almost every head of a household considers

[1] Sultan-i-Room, *Pakhtu: The Pakhtun Code of Life*, p. 5.

himself a member of the tribal *jirgah* and has no intention of obeying the *jirga's* decision unless he happens to agree with it.[2]

In the *Jirgah* system, the decision required consensus, not majority, but here a question arises in the mind of the reader that, in the absence of a central authority, how can the decision taken by the *Jirgah* be implemented? The answer is very clear that the force of enforcement will be the society and social pressure, as Barfield wrote that,

When conflicts have escalated and have become very serious, attempts will be made to persuade the parties to accept a negotiated settlement. The local community has no formal means at its disposal, but is dependent on putting social pressure on the parties to accept the negotiated solution.[3]

2.5 Tribal Structure & Society

2.5.1 Tribal structures

Tribes and tribal networks dominate social organization among the main ethnic groups of Balochistan – Baloch, Brahui and Pashtoon. The only significant exception in this regard is the southwestern Baloch coastal region of Mekran (consisting of the districts of Gwadar, Kech and Panjgur), where racial origin competes with tribal affiliation as a marker of identity. The image of the 'tribal' Baloch, Brahui and Pashtoon is partly the result of contrasting historical experiences, nomenclatures and governance systems that became associated with the British colonization of the country. The 'tribe' can be regarded as a broadly kinship-based group with a shared history, exclusive customs and myths, and coherent internal systems of leadership and collective action. It is not immediately clear why the extended patriarchies that are known as tribes or *qabail* (plural of *qabeela*) in Balochistan ought to be regarded as being qualitatively distinct from patriarchal *biraderi*s (also extended kinship groups) in the Punjab and Sindh plains. In fact, in common parlance, extended patriarchal kinship groups are often referred to as *quom* in Balochistan as well as other provinces of Pakistan. There is an active debate in Balochistan about whether and to what extent the social organization of the Baloch (and Brahui) and the Pashtoons corresponds to a 'tribal' or a 'feudal' system. Why, then, is it necessary to single out tribes and tribalism in Balochistan as possible sources of political fragmentation? And if the tribalism in Balochistan has, indeed, morphed into some variant of "feudalism", is there any additional analytical value in focusing on 'tribalism' in Balochistan? The Balochistan tribe (Baloch, Brahui or Pashtoon) appears to command a stronger bond of affiliation than kinship groups in other parts of the country. The corporate identity of the tribe is well-defined, exclusive and complete. There is little ambiguity about the tribal identity of a person, and a person can be easily 'placed' – in a social sense – with

[2] *Report on the Administration on the Border of the North-West Frontier Province for the year 1938-39* (Delhi: The Manager of Publications, 1940), p. 11-13.

[3] Barfield, *Afghan Customary Law and Its Relationship to Formal Judicial Institutions*, p. 10.

reference to his or her tribal and kinship coordinates. The membership of a tribe is connected with ethnic identity at the top, and works its way all the way down to smaller kinship groups of extended families. The bonds of affiliation are maintained even across long distances. There are a few in the tribal regions of the province, which do not clearly 'belong' to any particular tribe. The tribal identity, therefore, is simply one part of a more intricate kinship-based system of social affiliation extending from families to entire ethnic groups. The tribal system has active functions and roles in the management of collective action. There are unambiguous structures of leadership, and established informal norms concerning the conduct of leadership, dispute resolution, management of common property resources, and leadership transition. It can be argued, of course, that the *biraderi*s and *quom*s in other provinces (particularly in the supposedly non-tribal Punjab and Sindh) function in an analogous manner. Many of the castes or *biraderi*s in Punjab and Sindh have strong corporate identities, intra-community norm-setting, leadership and collective action.

In fact, some observers have noted that the extended patriarchal kinship organizations of Balochistan's tribal regions might be considered qualitatively distinct from those of these provinces because the tribal system is 'comprehensive' – i.e., everyone is organically linked to some sub-tribe, tribe and ultimately, to an ethnic group. In Punjab and Sindh, by contrast, there are many, particularly those belonging to 'low status' kinship groups who are affiliated with more powerful patrons in factional alignments rather than social networks. In fact, however, Balochistan tribes also have 'low status' affiliates whose full and equal membership of the tribe or even the ethnic group has been contested and negotiated over time. The difference between the social organization of tribal Balochistan and other 'nontribal' parts of the country is perhaps not qualitative in nature, but a matter of degree; the extended kinship group bond simply happens to have been stronger and more active in Balochistan than in the supposedly non-tribal areas. What is clear, moreover, is that whether or not the tribal form of organization was really distinctive in Balochistan, it was acknowledged, endorsed and perhaps even strengthened in the development of modern governance in the province. Until 2006, the predominant provincial force for the maintenance of law and order was 'Levies' that were raised on a tribal basis (the system has been revived again). The 'sardari' system was only legally abolished in 1978, and till 1997 most of the province was governed using the Frontier Crimes Regulations drawn up by the colonial government for dealing with 'tribal' territories on the northwestern fringes of the British Indian Empire. The tribal system was also accommodated (or strengthened) by modern corporations that have been engaged in Balochistan, particularly in the minerals sector. There are differences of opinion about the relationship between modern governance and tribal social organization. On the one hand, there is the view professed by the architects of British colonial policy in Balochistan, and their

institutional heirs in Pakistan, that accommodation with traditional structures was a necessary condition for the establishment of basic law and order. Any concession to tribal social organization, therefore, was simply based on an acknowledgement of existing centres of political power. A rather different perspective is held by those who prefer to take a more dynamic view of social change in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Balochistan. This view holds that colonial policy did more than simply acknowledge the existence of tribal social organization – it fossilized a corrupted form of tribal organization and vested the power of the modern colonial state into this archaic system. It can be stated with certainty at this stage that a distinct treatment of the Balochistan tribe, in contrast with the Punjab and Sindh caste, is at least partly an outcome of the importance of the former in the formal system of governance in the province. In the meantime, it is useful to note the possible ways in which the predominance of tribal social organization impacts development outcomes. First, kinship groups, sub-tribes and tribes constitute vertically aligned social networks that act as important domains of political mobilization and action. The presumed division between the social, economic and political domains that allows for and Punjabi castes have adopted, over time, the informal governance structures and nomenclature of their Baloch and Pashtoon neighbours. The development of institutions such as anonymous markets, civil society and political representation, therefore, cannot be expected to work in the same way in tribal societies. Tribal leaders are quite often political leaders as well as channels for accessing economic resources. The Baloch-Brahui tribal *sardar*s in particular are thought to enjoy positions of preeminence in multiple domains. Second, tribal social organization tends to favour vertically-aligned cooperative behaviour, often at the expense of consensus building, or even horizontal class-based mobilization. Conflicts between tribes and kinship groups and cooperation within these groups can make it costly to obtain agreement on issues that affect people across kinship and tribal lines. The Balochi-speaking Mekran – comprising the districts of Panjgur, Kech and Gwadar stands out in Balochistan as a region where the tribal social organization is relatively weak. The traditional informal system of governance in this area was constructed around a land-owning aristocracy (*hakim*s or rulers) who controlled large villages and oases. These aristocrats – claiming to belong to 'pure' racial Baloch and Gichki families – used farm servants and slaves on date plantations, and the 'aboriginal' med fisher-folk community for marine labour. Unlike the Baloch tribes elsewhere, there was no system of social incorporation of the subalterns into a hierarchical tribal structure. The system of hierarchy here was based on racial divisions. People of African origin had been brought as slaves, and descendants of slaves were known as Ghulam (slave) or *Darzada* ('home born'). With the abolition of slavery and the steady economic and political empowerment of the Meds and the *Darzadas*, a cultural Baloch identity has emerged to challenge racial divisions in Mekran society. The former aristocratic

families still see themselves as racially superior, but they constitute a small minority of the population and are unable to dominate in terms of social interaction.

2.5.2 Social Structures

The abstract picture of tribalism in Balochistan above outlines stylized routes to political fragmentation and social stagnation, which is confronted here with historical as well as current observations about society and governance.

2.5.3 Historical Overview

The province of Balochistan was formed in 1970 following the abolition of the 'One-
Unit in what was then West Pakistan. One-Unit had been formed in 1955 by merging
all of the territory in the western wing of Pakistan into a single provincial administrative unit. At the time of independence in 1947, the regions constituting present-day Balochistan were broadly clubbed together into two distinct political administrative entities: British Balochistan and Kalat Khanate. The former, with its headquarters in Quetta, consisted of the present-day districts of northwestern, northern, and eastern Balochistan and the Kachhi plains. The latter included the Khanate governed out of the fort-city of Kalat, as well as its vassal states of Kharan, Mekran and Lasbela. In addition, until 1957, there was a third nominal source of sovereign authority in Balochistan. The coastal town of Gwadar and some of its neighbouring areas in Mekran were under the rule of the Sultan of Oman across the Arabian Sea. British Balochistan and the Kalat Khanate were distinct, of course, at least in the sense of political symbols. The former was nominally under the direct control of the government of British India, whereas the latter was a formally sovereign state with treaty status with the British Crown. In terms of actual governance, however, the picture was more complicated. Much of British Balochistan was administered indirectly in a manner that was more in line with the 'native states' of British India. Quetta, the provincial headquarters, was probably unique within the territory of British Balochistan to have a semblance of direct colonial rule. The Kalat Khanate, for its part, was sovereign only in nominal terms. It was held under the watchful eye of political agents and other officials of the government of British India. The Kalat Khanate owed its origins to a state consolidated in the 18th century by Brahui chieftain warrior Naseer Khan, who became strong enough to enter treaty terms with neighbouring sovereigns. Naseer Khan had served in the armies of Afghanistan under Nadir Shah and returned to Kalat after the death of his mentor to establish a confederacy centred around Kalat. The core territory of the state consisted of the Brahui-speaking central uplands. In addition, the Kachhi plains region had been annexed from the Kalhora rulers of Sindh and allocated to the various tribal allies of the Khan. The confederacy has

been seen by some observers as a step towards state-formation out of the existing system of loose tribal alliances. The fact that Naseer Khan was able to enter treaty relations with the Afghans in the north, and the Persians in the west, meant that Kalat was successful to some extent in establishing political overlordship on Kharan, Mekran and Lasbela. The eastern Baloch regions, consisting of Barkhan, the Marri and Bugti tribes, and the *Derajat* plains along the Indus, were not under the Khanate and were inhabited by autonomous self-governing tribes. The system of governance in British Balochistan was innovated by a Punjab Civil Service officer called Robert Sandeman, who constructed what came to be known as the 'Forward Policy'. Operating out of Dera Ghazi Khan, which shared a border with the eastern districts of present-day Balochistan province and with a substantial Baloch tribal and ethnic population itself, Sandeman concluded a series of agreements with Baloch chiefs aimed at controlling tribal raids and ensuring safe passage. The 'Forward Policy' evolved, eventually, into a system of governance based on an implicit pact between the colonial state and tribes. Tribes were held collectively responsible for security in designated areas. This responsibility was often delegated to the tribal chief or sardar, who received a stipend in return for raising a local force of Levies who would ensure safe passage and carry out law and order duties. The northern region of present-day Balochistan came under British colonial rule as a result of the British-Afghan wars, and this too was made subject to the Forward Policy. The present-day districts of Nushki and Chaghi were also brought under direct British colonial control in order to ensure the safety of the road and rail link from Quetta to the Iranian border and beyond. All of these regions that had come under the direct control of the British Indian state were eventually consolidated into a single administrative unit in 1887 and called British Balochistan. The 'Forward Policy' found formal legal expression in the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) in 1901 and the Levies system, which was extended to all parts of British Balochistan except Quetta. At one level, the British colonial government was eager to limit the power of the Khanate. Once its political ambitions had been successfully curbed, however, the Khanate became an important ally and instrument in spreading the influence of the colonial state. Makran, for example, which was a remote region with a loose affiliation with the Khanate, was brought under the formal tutelage of Kalat in 1898 following a failed uprising of local clans. The British instructed the Khanate to dispatch forces to quell the uprising and to convert Mekran into a province with a governor from Kalat.

Similar arrangements existed with respect to Lasbela in the south and Kharan in the west, whose formal association with Kalat was endorsed and encouraged by the British. The traditional legal code was an unwritten constitution known as *rawaj*. All tribes, even those outside the Khanate, had their own *rawaj* or unwritten legal codes. In the Khanate, however, this was later formalized as the *Dastoor-ul-Amal Diwani Kalat.*

(Constitution of the state of Kalat). The judicial system was a mix of religiously sanctioned Qazi courts and a hierarchy of tribal councils. Kalat was formally governed by a ruling council consisting of the chiefs of the Sarawan and Jhalawan tribes. The *diwan,* a bicameral legislative body, consisted of the *Darul-Umara* (the House of the tribal chiefs or Upper House) and the *Darul-Awam* (the House of Commons or Lower House). *Darul-Umara* was composed of hereditary chiefs of the tribal provinces of Jhalawan and Sarawan. *Darul-Awam* had 52 members, of whom 47 were elected and 5 nominated by the Khan. The official court language was Persian, though there was state patronage for Brahui. An important distinction between Kalat and the eastern Baloch regions (Marri-Bugti areas, Barkhan and Derajat) was the existence in the former of state or proto-state institutions. According to some historians, the Kalat confederacy represented a qualitative development in the social organization of pastoral autonomous tribes. There were further variations in Mekran and Lasbela, the vassal states or provinces of the Khanate. In these two regions, the system of governance was based on the rule of recognized chief families over economically dependent but socially unconnected subservient populations. This '*hakimi*' system was distinct from *sardari* in the important sense that political power was not even nominally derived from tribal leadership. At the time of independence in 1947, British Balochistan was incorporated into the new state of Pakistan at the very outset. The Kalat Khanate attempted to negotiate from the standpoint that it was already a sovereign entity. Political opinion within Kalat oscillated between negotiation and outright declaration of independence. In the meantime, three of the vassal states or provinces of Kalat autonomously declared accession to Pakistan. It is interesting to note that the tribal chiefs of eastern Balochistan and the Derajat, who had remained fiercely independent of Kalat through its history, petitioned unsuccessfully around the same time to be merged into the Khanate. In 1948, Kalat's councils of representatives voted for accession, though this did not prevent the breakout of a small revolt for independence. In the initial period from 1952 to 1955, the former Khanate of Kalat, as well as its associated territories of Mekran, Kharan and Lasbela, were amalgamated once more into one entity known as the Balochistan States Union. British Balochistan had, in the meanwhile, been made into the province of Balochistan. Then, in 1955, with the formation of the One-Unit, all provinces, as well as 'princely states', were merged into the West Pakistan province. It was finally in 1970 with the dissolution of the One-Unit that present-day Balochistan came into being as a full province and federating unit of Pakistan. It is important to note that in both British Balochistan (except Quetta) and the Khanate of Kalat (except possibly Mekran and Lasbela), tribal social organization formed the basic unit of governance. The Forward Policy, after all, was premised on ensuring security for the colonial state by delegating the responsibility of governance to the tribes. It might be paradoxical, in fact, that tribalism was probably a more

conspicuous feature of British Balochistan compared with the Khanate, which, though a tribal confederacy, did attempt to acquire some institutional trappings of a state. The persistence of "tribalism" in Balochistan society, therefore, needs to be understood from a historical perspective. Contrary to some impressions, 'tribalism' as observed today is not simply the perpetuation of some age-old cultural tradition, but has been part and parcel of Balochistan's interaction with modern sources of governance. The main formal-legal manifestations of 'tribalism' – the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) and the system of Levies – remained intact long after independence. FCR was finally abolished in Balochistan in 1997 after a series of court decisions ruling it to be unconstitutional. It is striking that FCR survived the 1973 Constitution, and *jirgah* courts were recognized formally as judicial authorities some thirty years after Balochistan's full incorporation into the state. The origins of the Levies system are worth highlighting. British Balochistan was divided into 'A' and 'B' areas respectively. Any area with the presence of a 'non-indigenous' majority was classified as an 'A' area and placed under the jurisdiction of regular British Indian law. In practice, these included urban localities and other 'non-indigenous' enclaves such as cantonments, telegraph installations, and colonies of railway workers. Law and order were maintained in these areas using the provincially administered police force as in other directly-governed parts of British India. Areas with an 'indigenous majority' were classified as 'B' areas where the overall political control remained with the political agent, but the maintenance of law and order was the responsibility of the local *malik* or *sardar* in accordance with customary and traditional codes. Specifically designated individuals were entitled to head tribal *jirgah*s (councils), which acted as the basic forum of arbitration and judicial authority. The Levies were drawn from local tribes and placed under the nominal authority of the designated chief. The entire 'customary' system was overseen by the political agent, and subsequently the district administration, and the chieftain, *jirgah* and Levies were formally accountable to administrative officials. While the Levies and *Jirgah* systems continued to undergo changes – with greater control being exercised by administrative officials over time – it is only since 2004 that there has been a policy of replacing them with the 'regular' system of policing and judiciary.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. List the three major ethnic groups of Balochistan and identify their primary languages.
2. Explain the historical origins of the Baloch, Brahvi, and Pashtoon communities in your own words.
3. How does the tribal structure influence everyday social and political life in Balochistan? Provide relevant examples.
4. Compare the social organization of the Baloch and Pashtoon tribes. What similarities and differences can you identify?
5. Assess the impact of ethnic and tribal diversity on the unity and development of Balochistan. Provide arguments to support your view.

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Unit 3

THE BALOCH RULERS

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INTRODUCTION

This unit explores the political leadership and ruling traditions of the Baloch in the region that is now known as Balochistan. Leadership among the Baloch developed within a tribal framework, where authority was based on bravery, lineage, consensus, and loyalty. Over time, tribal chiefs and khans played a central role in shaping the political structure of the region.

The unit begins with the study of Chakar Khan Rind, a prominent tribal leader remembered for his role in uniting Baloch tribes and for his influence in regional politics. It then examines Mir Ahmad Khan, who laid the foundation of organized rule under the Khanate of Kalat. Finally, the unit discusses the Khawaneen (Khans), whose leadership institutionalized authority and contributed to state formation in Balochistan.

Through these figures, students will understand how tribal leadership gradually evolved into more structured political authority and how Baloch rulers shaped the historical and political identity of the region.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Describe the role of tribal leadership in early Baloch society.
2. Explain the political contributions of Chakar Khan Rind.
3. Analyze the foundation and development of rule under Mir Ahmad Khan.
4. Understand the significance of the Khawaneen in consolidating authority in Balochistan.
5. Evaluate the impact of Baloch rulers on the historical and political development of the region.

3.1 Chakar Khan Rind

The Rind period, from its rise till the early disorganization and ultimate atrophy, is very vital in the history of Balochistan, and can be conveniently called the classical age. This period is of great interest and importance, for it marks once again the glory and greatness of the Baloch people after a long and chequered period of nearly two thousand years, embodying a history of chaos and confusion, war and woes, decay and degeneration in an alien land, Persia. Throughout this long period, the Baloch in Persia witnessed an iron age, and kept on moving and migrating from age to age, province to province, and place to place in search of food and fortune, peace and prosperity. Unreconciled with and recognized and unheeded by any court and camp, they had to inhabit the barren, dreary, unheard of and uninhabited parts of Persia, which had ever remained far from the place of civilization. Within that long range of history, the Baloch lived amidst the race and region of Magi, under the influence of the most unreceived star. The Persian race and rulers never attempted to win the love and loyalty of the Baloch race. The Persians throughout history deemed them as outlaws and the latter believed them to be timid and tyrannical.

Chakar held the Baloch race under his thumb for nearly seventy years, and his conquering banner shook from Kech to Kachhi. His prominent energy and benevolence cultivated the art of chivalry and heraldry; besides it, poetry too bloomed under a favourable sun. He was far more favourable to culture than any of his predecessors and successors. Being himself a poet of unmatched excellence, his mind was stored with the traditions, battles and history of the preceding Baloch. He found his highest pleasure and perfection in the blood purity, high traditions and honourable conduct of his race. It is therefore found to be the same spirit as a main characteristic of the Rinds. In briefest and barest statement, one is apt to exclaim and assert that the Rinds were the best representative of all Baloch virtues and vices. Almost all the succeeding distinguished poets have extolled Chakar and the Rind hegemony to the pitch of their passion and profession. The 19th-century famous Rind poet of Makran, Mulla Fazil, feels proud while stating in one of his verses that "he belongs to the proud progeny of Chakar".

Another noted poet of nineteenth century, Muhammad Khan Gishkauri, pays a glowing tribute to the Rind ruler and his age: "Amir Chakar was the king of Balochs, He was chief of the Rind, had under him an army of forty thousand strong; His fury wrought more havoc than the Demon's disaster could, (Under his reign) the name of Baluchis equaled in fame to that of mighty monarchs". Tauq 'Ali Mast, the nightingale of the mountain, observes as follows: "The Mir (Chakar) abondened his kingly palaces, because of internal family strifes and dessensions; Left his homeland, only to seek new fortune (in alien lands)".

Under Chakr's palmy days, the three celebrated places, Sibi, Dadhar and Gandawa, watered by the springs of three streams, Nari, Bolan and Mulla respectively, became the great field of poetic genius. All the far-famed classical poets belong to the Chakarian age, and all big romances of Baloch history are the product of this age, and all traditions are the crop of Rind society.

3.2 Mir Ahmad Khan

Amidst the great confusion and conflict, the Rinds looked bewildered, both their fortunes and friend were at stake. Bereft of any single or supreme leader, the unfortunate Rinds, as is the case with all nomadic races, started to employ and exhaust their martial characteristics and national character against each other.

Amidst the general chaos and confusion that enveloped the Baloch land and drowned in blood all families of power after the ruin of the Rind sovereignty over Balochistan, the Arghun adventurer, Shah Beg, son of Shauj-uddin Zannun, flew from Kandahar, captured Pishin and soon advanced and occupied Siwr (Sibi), wherever was precious or profane in and around the deserted capital of the Rind, became the first prey of conquer of the greediness of the Arghun hero. This family is known in Balochistan anals as the Ahmadzai Khans of Kalat, who are supposed to be a branch of the Humble Stock Kambarari section of the Mirwari tribe of Brahvis, with their principal ancestor Rais Ahmad.

Probably in 1026 A.H (1604 A.D), the star of a nobleman of this family, named Mir Ahmad II, began to rise over the Kalat Highlands, and was declared the chief of Kalat. His ambition for sovereignty, which might be self-centered , was undoubtedly brave, but he had not much to applaud his start and status as he could not confuse a soul into the wide of Kalat highland. Nonetheless, he contented his ambition and avainess with the life and luxury of the mountain. The neighboring Barhvi tribes clustered around him and praised his days, as is usual, the present eye praises present subject, the new dynast, as we see, in due course of history, did not prove to be a messenger of peace and plenty.

The fact that Britain had been two years, Mohammad Azam Jam died on 9th September 1933, and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Yar Khan the next day.

Ahmad Yar Khan was born in 1902 at Loralai, where his grandfather (Mir Khudadad Khan), father (Mir Azam Jan), and other family members were imprisoned by the British. He received his early education from private tutors in Persian, Arabic and English. He was married to the granddaughter of the famous leader of Pan-Islamism, Syed Jamal al-Din Afghani. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan was a supporter of the programme and manifesto of the Anjuman and his policies gave the movement legitimacy. Consequently, his accession to the throne led to the development of more favourable conditions for the Anjuman's work aimed at achieving independence for Balochistan. Influenced by the Baloch nationalist movement, he carried out some important reforms in the state. For example, he

abolished the *bigar* system, improved the judiciary and education. The education budget was raised from Rs. 13000 to 400,000. Scholarships were given to students to study in India and at foreign universities. Preference in employment was given to the Baloch, and he also established a printing press in Kalat.[4] To improve the woeful economic condition, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan established a factory for manufacturing small arms and ammunition, thereby providing employment to people and the needed equipment for the state army. Small-scale industries like spinning and cloth weaving, carpet making and leather tanning were opened at various places. Moreover, by establishing numerous farms and by giving the Baloch students special stipends to specialise in this field, he paid due attention to agriculture. An extensive chain of fruit farms was set up under the direct management of the state government to streamline the horticulture production on a commercial basis. To link towns and ports, attention was given to roads and communication. This created a good and healthy competitive atmosphere between the state-run and private sector farms. More important, however, was his sympathetic and cooperative role in the Anjuman's struggle for independence. In this respect, his contribution is much greater than that of the previous Khans. In 1934, he sent Magasi to Britain as his personal representative to discuss the sovereignty of the Khanate of Kalat with the highest authorities and to negotiate the return of all the leased area to the Khanate. However, according to Malik Faiz Mohammad Yusufzai, a leading figure of the Anjuman, Magasi's travel to London was in fact a secret conspiracy against the Anjuman by the British. The British thought that in the absence of Magasi, the Anjuman could not survive. Of course, before Magasi's compulsory departure, the Khan asked him to look for means and ways in London for the freedom of the Khanate.[5]

3.3 Khawaneen

The beginning of the fifteenth century saw a new and great migration of the race from Bampure, the homeland and distributing centre of the race in Persia, under the banner of Amir Shaihak Rind, right in the line of descent from Amir Jala Khan, towards Kech Valley in Makran. Under the Rind hegemony, acting as the centre of gravity of the entire race, various Baloch tribes flooded Makran. The Rind chief ruled the race on the basis of the feudal system.

In the sixteenth century, the Baloch established themselves in Makran, Kalat, Kachi and Sibi under Mir Chaker Khan. The tribal wars of the Rind tribe under Mir Chaker Khan and the Lashari tribe under Mir Gwaharam were ignored by historians, as f they only affected Sindh and Punjab. Whose rulers were of less importance and were called *Zamindars*. From 1535 to 1620, the Kalat split into smaller factions

[4] Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, Inside Baluchistan, p. 126

[5] M. A. Shaheen Qaisarani, Balochistan. Tarikh wa Mazhab. Quetta: Edareh Tadris, 1994, p. 204.

controlled by tribes due to the Rind-Lashari tribal conflict.

The end of the Rind-Lashari confederacy in about 1512 A.D. ended an era in Baloch history. Subsequently, the Baloch territory was divided into several independent kingdoms, including the Dodai Kingdom of Derajat, the Makkoran Kingdom of Malik and Boleidai, and the Khanate of Kalat. Civil strife continued for about a century until Mir Ahmad Khan of the Ahmadzai tribe established the Khanate of Balochistan or the second important Baloch confederacy, in 1666 AD. Its unification, however, was completed by the Khans of Kalat, Abdullah Khan (1714-1734), and Nasir Khan the Great (1749-1795)167.

The Khanate of Balochistan grew and became established from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. Centering in the Kalat highlands, southwest of Mir Chakar's former capital, the Khanate was the first Baloch State to embrace all the Baloch regions, such as Makkoran, Western Balochistan, Derajat, Sistan, and Lasbela and consolidate them into a body under the authority of a central government. The Khanate not only gave the Baloch a concept of unity and patriotism but also provided an unwritten constitution (Rawaj or Dastur) that became a "holy" document. The Khanate of Balochistan later became known as the Khanate of Kalat or Kalat State because of its capital city, Kalat. In 1666, Mir Ahmad 1 was elected by the *Jirga* (council of the elders or tribal assembly) as the Khan of Kalat. The Khanate was a loose confederacy of Baloch tribes living around Kalat. As a political synthesis, its internal cohesion was still very weak, and indeed, such weakness is typical of all tribal confederations; there were numerous local power centers, but no sovereign figure of reference. The Khanate of Kalat came into being by exploiting this very vacuum, which followed after the disintegration of the Rind-Lashari confederacy in Balochistan in the early fifteenth century. Mir Ahmad 1 expanded the border of the Khanate. From then onward, the history of the Khanate assumed a clear, definite shape; and its chronology could be determined.

Formation of the Khanate of Kalat, according to historian Inayatullah Baloch, was another important and significant chapter of Baloch history. The Rind-Lashari Confederacy did not survive because of its nomadic character. The Baloch State of Derajat was feudal in character, but it did not expand because of its dependency on Mughal India. Makkoran maintained its independence but failed to expand due to the Persian invasion and internal tribal conflicts with its Baloch neighbors, Kalat. As indicated above, since the fall of the Rind-Lashari confederacy in the 16th century, various empires and political syntheses were in fact contending for the Baloch country; the Shiite Safavids to the west and the Mughals to the east, both intent upon consolidating their frontiers, so as to fend off forays and incursions by nomadic tribes from Afghanistan and Central Asia. Thus, the rising Baloch confederacy was entangled in continual struggle with the Mughal and Persian empires. To encounter the growing pressure of the Shiite Safavids, the founder of the Ahmadzai dynasty, Mir Ahmad I, pursued a policy of friendship with the

powerful emperor of India, Aurangzeb. However, in the reign of Mir Samandar, the Iranian army under General Tahmasp invaded Balochistan, aiming to occupy western Balochistan, but it was defeated and Tahmasp was killed. The Mughal emperor not only admired this deed but also agreed to pay him Rs. 200,000 annually as military aid to meet the challenge of Iranian aggression.

The Khanate of Kalat consolidated most of the Baloch country into a feudal state during the 18th century. During the early 18th century, Abdullah Khan, the fourth Khan (1714-1734) expanded his realm "from Kandahar in what is now southeastern Afghanistan, across the Makran area all the way to Bandar Abbas in what is now a southern Iranian port and extended his dominion to embrace Dera Ghazi Khan District on the edge of Punjab". By the middle of the eighteenth century, Nasir Khan I (the sixth Khan), the most popular, powerful and dynamic ruler of the Khanate (1749-1795) claimed sovereignty over "all lands where Baloches lived". He brought Karachi and most of western (Iranian) Balochistan under his administration. Speaking of Nasir Khan, Masson, narrator of various journeys in Balochistan, said, "At an early period, he consolidated his authority over an immense kingdom, the secret of his success being that he had influence enough to ensure the obedience of his feudal chiefs, and discretion enough to refrain from interfering in their internal affairs". With the confederate force bound to him by this feudal tie, Nasir Khan consolidated his dominions. The Marri and the Bugti, Las Bela, Makkoran, Kharan, and Quetta formed his kingdom. Moreover, according to Harrison, at the height of his power, Nasir Khan renewed Kalat's claims of sovereignty over the Iranian Baloch areas and sent occasional expeditionary forces to his western borderlands. Nasir Khan I reigned from the seaboard stretching from Karachi for about 400 miles west to the present Iranian frontier, the cairn of the Maliks (Maliki Chedag) on the "Minab River", and up to Quetta and east from Quetta to the Derajat border country, considerably greater than Great Britain and Ireland put together. Administratively, Nasir Khan came closer to establishing a centralized bureaucratic apparatus covering all of Balochistan than any other Baloch ruler before or since. Organizing the civil and military affairs of the Baloch Khanate on semi-modern lines, Nasir Khan established a "proto-parliament based on a workable constitution and congenial Baloch tradition". He had a *Wazir* (prime minister), who supervised all internal administration and foreign affairs matters, and a *Mustoufi,* whose responsibility was to collect revenue from crown lands. The Khanate under Nasir Khan had its own flag and currency. Like Mir Jalal Han and Mir Chakar Rind, Nasir Khan continues to be among the most popular heroes in the Baloch folklore and political literature.[6] Character of Nasir Khan, whether as a soldier, a stateman, or a prince, and call to mind the people among whom he was placed, he was a most extraordinary combination of all the virtues attached to those

[6] M. H. Hosseinbor, "Iran and Its Nationalities: The Case of Baluch Nationalism", p. 61

stations and duties. Possibly the most interesting aspect of the long reign of Nasir Khan was his skilful internal policy, directed towards strengthening the powers and figure of the "Khan", though without destroying traditional political mechanisms of a society that was still eminently tribal and pastoral in nature. The Khanate under Nasir Khan, as observed by Janm Ahmad, was an improved version of the Rind-Lasharl tribal union. It did not bring any changes to the general tribal setup. The tribal alliance was broad-based, with tremendous power allowed to the tribal chiefs, who recognised the Khanate as the paramount power and contributed nominal revenue to him as well as a fixed contingent of men in time of war. The tribal area of responsibility was fixed and allowed to continue. The most important innovation of Nasir Khan was the tribal army, traditionally known as the Lashkar. Having spent some time in the courts of the Afghan and Persian, he had watched techniques of warfare and realised the necessity of maintaining a well-organised army in his Khanate. Accordingly, he chose and stationed a permanent army unit, called Dastae-Khas (Special Division), in his capital, numbering 1200 men. In emergencies, Dasta-e-Khas increased to 10860 men. Furthermore, he had created two additional Divisions, which used to be called the "Sarawan *Lashkar"* (Sarawan Division) and the "Jhalawan Lash/ear" (Jhalawan Division). Nasir Khan was the Supreme Commander of the whole body of the State army. Nasir Khan, I was the greatest and most powerful Khan among all the rulers of the Khanate. As a result of his successful reformist policies, he is sometimes compared to "Peter the Great" of Russia, in the Baloch nationalist circles. Nasir Khan, I sought to build a kingdom in which all tribes, including those in Kachhi, would be voluntarily united.

With the death of Nasir Khan I in 1795, the deterioration of the central authority in the Khanate started, even though it maintained its independence until the arrival of theBritish on the scene in the mid-19th century. Given to ease and luxury, his son and successor, Mahmud Khan, soon proved to be incapable of holding the vast territory and the state built up with so much hard work and bloodshed by his father, Nasir Khan. "Naseer had hardly been a year in his grave before the whole achievements of his life were in destruction of oblivion". During his rule, Afghanistan occupied Derajat, the vassal province, the district of Kech in Makkoran refused to pay taxes, the port of Karachi slipped away from his dominions and was recovered and possessed by the Talpur. The Khanate and its military ally, Afghanistan, were in anarchy at the beginning of the 19th century. Punjab came under a powerful ruler, Ranjit Singh, and Iran became strong. Thus, the main source of income of the tribes and their chiefs, which was the share in the war booty from their invasion of Mughal India, Iran and Sindh, disappeared because of new circumstances. The tribal chiefs instead occupied the crown lands and tried to consolidate their own power in an independent position and refused to pay taxes. By 1810, the British team of spies (Pottinger, Christie and Grant) found the Khanate in chaos and anarchy.

According to Dr Inayatullah Baloch led to the disintegration of the Khanate of Balochistan. Perhaps, it was against this background that the Baloch principality of the distant western provinces was the first to succumb to their tribal/feudal loyalties, and become independent in the early nineteenth century.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Identify the major Baloch rulers discussed in this unit, including Chakar Khan Rind and Mir Ahmad Khan.
2. Explain how tribal leadership formed the basis of political authority in early Baloch society.
3. How can the leadership qualities of Chakar Khan Rind be applied to understand tribal unity and conflict resolution in Baloch history?
4. Compare the leadership style of Mir Ahmad Khan with the traditional tribal system of the Khawaneen. What structural changes can you identify?
5. Assess the overall contribution of Baloch rulers to the political development of the region now known as Balochistan. Support your answer with logical arguments.

Unit-4

THE BRITISH & BALOCHISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the relationship between the British colonial power and the region of Balochistan during the period of British expansion in South Asia. Balochistan held strategic importance for the British because of its geographical location between Afghanistan and Iran, and its proximity to routes leading toward Central Asia. With the expansion of the British East India Company and later direct rule under the British Raj, Balochistan underwent important territorial and administrative changes. The British introduced new systems of governance, redefined boundaries, and established political arrangements with local rulers and tribal leaders. These measures were closely linked to imperial interests, especially concerns about Russian influence in the region. This unit explores territorial re-adjustments, the administrative structure imposed by the British, and the nature of colonial politics. It highlights how colonial policies reshaped political authority and influenced the future development of Balochistan.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Describe the reasons behind British interest in Balochistan.
2. Explain the major territorial changes introduced during British rule.
3. Understand the administrative structure established by the British in the region.
4. Analyze the nature of colonial politics and its impact on local leadership.
5. Evaluate the long-term effects of British policies on the political development of Balochistan.

4.1 Territorial Re-adjustment

Balochistan came under British influence by the treaties of 1854 and 1876. In 1854, the British entered into an agreement with Nasir Khan II, the ruler of Kalat, which was subsequently renewed and affirmed in another treaty in 1876, in which the British government once again committed itself to respect the independence of Kalat, and to aid the Khan in case of need in the maintenance of a just authority and protection of territories from external attack. During British hegemony, the Baloch region was arbitrarily divided into several parts. One portion was given to Iran, a small portion was with Afghanistan and the northeastern region remained with the colonial administration under lease. The rest of the territory was left in possession of the Kalat State. The Kalat state was further carved into the agencies' territories and the federation of Baloch States (Kalat, Kharan and Las-Bela) with the Khan of Kalat as the head of the federation. In 1879, British Balochistan included the Pashtun districts and the leased Baloch areas, with its capital at Quetta.

The British hegemony in Balochistan in the 19th century raised the question of Baloch national sovereignty. Big-power rivalry in Central Asia, which resulted in the British invasion of Afghanistan, also brought its forces into the Baloch region. In 1809-10, the East India Company's army, up to the mid-19th century, the Baloch state of Kalat, then generally known as Balochistan, embraced the present-day Balochistan provinces of Iran and Pakistan, including some areas now forming parts of Punjab and Sindh provinces in Pakistan, and was an independent state. When the British arrived in the subcontinent, they entered into treaty relations with the state of Kalat. Kalat and Nepal were the two states that never formed part of the Indian Empire. With the beginning of the twentieth century, Baloch discontent found new forms of expression. Political unrest took various forms and there was an increase in sporadic uprisings both in eastern and western Balochistan. External events, such as the Iranian Revolution (1907), the First World War, the 1917 Russian Revolution, Turkish and German activities, pan-Islamism and the Indian freedom movement, also had effects on the Baloch. The Baloch tribes of Sarhadd resisted the British occupation in Western Balochistan. However, they were defeated and Sarhadd was occupied in 1915. Simultaneously, the Mengal revolted against attempts by the British government to raise mercenaries in Balochistan. Rebel chiefs fled to the Soviet Union and formed the delegation to the famous "Baku Congress of the People of the East". Communist influence in Balochistan, though not to be overestimated, dates from that time, and Lenin's appeal for the "right of self-determination for all oppressed nations had already had some influence on rapidly developing nationalist tendencies.

Western Balochistan became part of Iran in 1871 under the Perso-Baloch agreement. The British representative, General Goldsmid, supervised the demarcation of the Perso-Baloch frontier. In the late nineteenth century, Pan-Islamism, as propagated by Syed Jamal al-Din Afghani and Caliph Sultan Abdul

Hamid, influenced the politics of Persian Balochistan. Their influence led to Baloch revolts against Persian rule and against British control of eastern Balochistan. During the First World War (1914-18), a number of Baloch tribes, irrespective of their beliefs or sectarian affiliation, took part in uprisings, which were guided by the Turko-German alliance. In 1907, the Baloch tribes of Iranian Balochistan under the leadership of Mir Bahram Khan Baranzai established a semi-independent state in Persian Balochistan, which lasted until 1928.

Mir Dost Mohammad Khan united most of Iranian Balochistan by force, by marriages, and by tribal alliances, in the face of Iranian weakness. In 1925, Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, implemented an aggressive policy towards minority ethnic groups aimed at their *Persianization* and at restricting their autonomy. In 1928, the Iranian army defeated the Baloch forces in western Balochistan. Some Baloch tribes, however, supported the Iranians. Dost Mohammad Khan's defeat marks the beginning of a thirteen-year
crusade by Reza Shah against the Baloch, until the Shah had flirted with the Axis powers, and the Allies removed him from office in 1941.

4.2 Administrative Structure

Indian rulers normally found it to their advantage to maintain a high level of ambiguity towards turbulent border regions. This was often deliberate as it allowed the paramount power greater freedom of action. This freedom was necessary for the center to avoid getting drawn into conflicts too often. Surprisingly, the British were not clear about the real status of Balochistan and its rulers. For example, Colonel Graham, the Commissioner of the Derajat and Colonel Phayre, the Political Superintendent of the Upper Sindh Frontier, were not even sure whether Balochistan was a confederacy or a state with a sovereign ruler. The Administration Report of 1886 reflected this confusion. Indeed, in its estimate, the view to be taken of the conduct of the Sardars towards the Khan during the prolonged struggle between them, which involved so much loss of life and property, depended entirely on the answer to be given to this question. It was said that if the Khan were a supreme ruler, the Sirdars were rebels without excuse for their rebellion; but if the Khan were the head of a confederacy, of which the Sirdars were members, the latter must be regarded as men engaged in an earnest endeavour to defend their liberties and privileges.

In an earlier Conference held at Mithankot in February 1871, on the question of the relations of the Khan of Kalat towards the Sardars of Balochistan, the British administrators expressed conflicting opinions. Sir W. Merewether and Captain Harrison, Political Agent at Kalat, regarded the Khan as a supreme ruler and the Sardars as his subjects and feudatories. On the other hand, Colonel Phayre, Police Superintendent of Sindh, held that the Khan was no more than the head of a

confederacy. He could not rule without the support and countenance of the British Government. Robert Sandeman and Colonel Graham were of the same opinion.
This policy was certainly meant to ensure that the Khan would not emerge as a strong leader. The British wanted to keep for themselves the role of the final arbiter between the Khan and the Sardars without committing their soldiers to strengthen the office of the Khan. Hence, the memorandum on his powers and the responsibilities of the British government clearly stated that it was not the duty of the British Government to settle by armed intervention the administration of the Kalat, or to adjust the quarrels between the Khan and his nobles or to help the Khan to assert nominal suzerainty over recalcitrant tribes; and that His Excellency in Council would only give moral and material support. Robert Sandeman further noted in this respect:

> His Excellency in Council has long ceased to expect from the Khan any efficient action towards the establishment of even a responsible Government. During the last 17 years, the British Government has done everything in its power to strengthen its hands and enable it to fulfil its treaty obligations. Extra subsidies have been given; he has received from us presents of money. The Viceroy, with distinctions, has received him. In short, everything has been done by the British Government that could have been done to raise him in the estimation of his subjects, and enable him to discharge all the duties which devolve upon him as the ruler of the Kalat State, but all has been of no avail. [7]

That does not mean that the British did not intervene in the feuds between the Khan and the Sardars. Often, they settled the disputes, but each time, the Khan's financial and administrative powers were further curtailed. The real author of this policy was Sandeman, who ensured that Khan had no right to a financial contribution from the Sardars. He was allowed income only from crown lands and customs duties, after paying the share to the local Sardars. The Sardars remained supreme in their own tribes, whereas inter-tribal feuds were adjudicated by *Jirga,* in which the Khan did not enjoy any special privileges. Thus, for all practical purposes, the Agent to the Governor-General was the real head of the Baloch Confederation. The glory of the Khan's status was confined only to rituals of his court, where His Highness was still the nominal head, the Sarawan and Jhalawan Chiefs still sat on his right and left in the court. And till he (Sardar) is invested by the Khan with the robe of succession, a Sardar is not legitimized as a representative of his tribe.
With the passage of time, the AGG assumed the power of nominating the Sardars, summoning Jirgas for the settlement of inter-tribal disputes, and the general observation of law and order in the country. The British believed that the AGG commanded more respect and obedience than the Khan, in spite of the fact that in certain parts of the tribal areas like Sarawan and Jhalawan, the Khan was still respected. The presence of five thousand British soldiers at the Quetta Cantonment

[7] *First Administration Report of the Baluchistan Agency* (Calcutta, 1886),

further strengthened the position of the AGG. The local chiefs were either ruled through the Khan or received money from the AGG, either as pension compensation for custom dues or for rendering services in the levies. Whenever either the Khan crossed his limits, in internal matters or in relation to the British interest, he was changed and replaced by a son or brother, whatever the requirement. On March 29, 1893, Mir Khudadad Khan was imprisoned and his son, Mir Mahmud Khan II (1893-1931), was placed on the throne of Kalat. Mir Khudadad died in captivity on May 21, 1907, at Pishin. The Khan functioned virtually like a dummy and the British AGG, in the name of the Khan, passed practically all court and administrative orders.

4.3 Colonial Politics

In the course of time, however, the British direct rule in Eastern Balochistan led to the construction of the first networks of roads, railroads, and telegraph lines. The British, though on a limited basis, introduced modern education. They also developed several coal mining.

fields and related servicing facilities in that part during the second half of the 19th century. As a result, the first educated and politically conscious Baloch class emerged in Eastern Balochistan.

By signing a treaty on October 6, 1841, the Khan of Kalat agreed that the British Government would station troops in Kalat, control its foreign relations and rule the State with the British Resident. Within the next few years, the British had annexed Sindh (1843) and the Punjab (1849) and now there was hardly any possibility for the Khan to look for a potential ally in the neighbourhood. This policy was certainly meant to ensure that the Khan would not emerge as a strong leader. The British wanted to keep for themselves the role of the final arbiter between the Khan and the Sardars without committing their soldiers to strengthen the office of the Khan. Hence, the memorandum on his powers and the responsibilities of the British government clearly stated that it was not the duty of the British Government to settle by armed intervention the administration of the Kalat, or to adjust the quarrels between the Khan and his nobles or to help the Khan to assert nominal suzerainty over recalcitrant tribes; and that His Excellency in Council would only give moral and material support.

First, it can be said that by the time political activities began in India on a large scale, Balochistan was still struggling to cope with the advent of the new British administrative set-up. After the death of Mir Mahmood Khan on November 2, 1931, his brother, Amir Azam Khan, was taken out of captivity and installed as the Khan of Kalat. Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India, visited Balochistan to install the new Khan himself. A Grand *Durbar* was held at Quetta on April 26, 1932, for the purpose. Khan Amir Azam Khan died in December 1932 and his son, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, succeeded him in 1933, which eventually helped the transformation of Balochistan from a British dependency to a part of Pakistan.

Secondly, the British had employed the policy of ‘divide and rule’ by keeping the Khan under their supervision, curtailing his powers, and acting as intermediaries

between the Sardars and the Khan. Instead of establishing a clearly demarcated role for the Khan and the tribal chiefs, they ensured that confusion and complications existed between their relationships. They had established their rule in Balochistan but continuously faced opposition from different tribes.

Thirdly, the British never lost sight of their initial objective in occupying Balochistan, which was to guard the frontiers of India against possible intrusions from the mountain passesthat separated the subcontinent from Iran and Afghanistan.

Fourthly, since the major victims of British colonialism in India were Muslims, the British wanted to ward off any linkages between the Muslim world and Muslim India. They achieved this through a clever use of strategic points in Balochistan, demarcation of boundaries, and actively intervening in the affairs of the two neighbouring Muslim states of Afghanistan and Iran.

Fifthly, though in the traditional sense, the Russian and the French threats were over, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the emergence of Germany as a major power, and, Turkey being its ally, never let the British sit comfortably in the saddle of power. All this indeed determined the nature of the administrative patterns of the British rule in Balochistan.

Finally, one has to agree with Embree in context with the continuing policy of Pakistan towards Balochistan that in any case the new state of Pakistan, for better or worse, lives with realities that link it with the great transformation of politics that took place in the sub-continent in the mid-nineteenth century.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Identify the key territorial changes made in Balochistan during the period of the British Raj.
2. Explain why the British considered Balochistan strategically important in relation to Afghanistan and Iran.
3. How did the administrative structure introduced by the British influence local governance and tribal leadership in Balochistan?
4. Examine the relationship between colonial politics and tribal authority. What changes occurred in the balance of power?
5. Assess the long-term political and administrative impact of British rule on Balochistan. Support your answer with reasoned arguments.

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Unit-5

KALAT STATE AND THE BRITISH

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INTRODUCTION

This unit explores the interaction between the Kalat State and the British Raj. Kalat was the most prominent princely state in Balochistan, and its rulers played a crucial role in maintaining local authority while negotiating with the British. The relationship was shaped by treaties, alliances, and political agreements, reflecting both British strategic interests and the autonomy of the Kalat rulers. The unit examines the political and economic aspects of this relationship, including revenue systems, trade, and resource management. It also looks at communication and infrastructure developments, such as roads and postal networks, which linked Kalat more closely with British-administered territories. Understanding this interaction provides insight into how colonial influence shaped local governance, economy, and connectivity in Balochistan.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Describe the political relationship between Kalat State and the British.
2. Explain the economic arrangements and trade practices under British influence.
3. Understand the development of communication and infrastructure in Kalat.
4. Analyze the balance between local autonomy and colonial control.
5. Evaluate the impact of British policies on the governance and economy of Kalat State.

5.1 Kalat State & the British

The relationship between Kalat State and the British was formalized through treaties and political agreements. In 1876, a treaty recognized Kalat as a state under British suzerainty while allowing internal autonomy to the Khan. The British sought indirect control rather than full administration, relying on the Khan of Kalat to maintain order among the fiercely independent Baloch tribes. The Khan of Kalat and the British maintained a complex political balance. The British considered the Khan as "semi-independent" in matters of internal governance but controlled external relations. Over time, with shifting geopolitics in Afghanistan and Iran, the British asserted more influence, installing compliant Khans when necessary. Despite these pressures, Kalat's rulers continued to negotiate their autonomy, appealing to treaties such as that of 1876, which guaranteed independence in internal affairs and recognized the Khan as head of the Baloch Confederacy.

At the time of Partition in 1947, Kalat initially explored accession to India but ultimately acceded to Pakistan, influenced by its peripheral location, religious alignment, and assurances from Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding federal control over defense, foreign affairs, and currency.

It has been known in earlier times as Kalat-i-Seva (from a legendary Hindu king) and Kalat-i Nicari, which connects it with the Brahvi-speaking Baloch tribe of Nicari, which is generally accepted as belonging to the oldest branch of the indigenous Brahvis.The town of Kalat is said to have been founded by and named Kalat-e Sewa (Sewa's Fort), after Sewa, a legendary hero of the Brahvi people.

Brahvi Speaking Baloch arrived in the Kalat area nearly the same time as the Balochi speaking tribes arrived from the west. The Balochis established a large kingdom in the 15th century, but it soon declined and the region fell to the Afghan and Iranian for a short period. The Brahvi-speaking Baloch Khans of Kalat were dominant from the 17th century onwards until the arrival of the British in the 19th century. A treaty was signed in 1876 to make Kalat part of the British Empire.

Balochistan, which Pakistan inherited, consisted of three types of territory. First, there was a long strip of territory separating Balochistan from Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province, which was directly administered by the British. The purpose of this territory was to have a buffer to isolate the Baloch tribes from their neighbors.

Then there were districts leased from the Khan of Kalat after the original annexation. Both these territories, the leased and the directly administered strip, were under the control of the Chief Commissioner. The chiefs, who had treaty relationships with the British, controlled the rest of Balochistan. They had internal independence, but the Government of India controlled their external relations. The Khan of Kalat was the most important of these chiefs, whose territories were divided amongst a number of feudatories with different levels of independence. Three of these feudatories, Makran, Las Bela and Kharan, had emerged as separate

political entities by 1947, and with Kalat formed the Balochistan States Union. They were something more than tribes, but less than states.

The Viceroy to India, Lord Lytton, invited the Khan of Kalat to attend the imperial assemblage at Delhi in January 1877. A nationalist historian has argued that the British regarded the Khan of Kalat as independent because, on this occasion, he was not given a flag like the other princes. Moreover, the Viceroy received the Khan and the Sultan of Oman and also paid them return visits. None of these gestures was made to other princes, he argued, because they were not regarded as independent. However, British policy changed with the ascension of Abdur Rehman as the Amir of Kabul in the late nineteenth century, when Afghanistan became pro-British. Sir J. Brown, who was the successor of Sandeman, deposed the independent Khan and had Mir Mahmud II installed as the Khan of Kalat. The British also framed a new constitution for Kalat.

In 1942, the Khan wrote to the Cripps Mission and forwarded the case of an independent Khanate of Balochistan. In the same year, the Secretary of State for India informed the Viceroy about the British policy towards the Khanate, denying its status as an independent, sovereign, and non-Indian state. The decision of the Government of India was conveyed to the Khan in June 1942. The British gave legal arguments, which were not contested by the Khan. The Khan reopened the question in 1946 at the end of the Second World War.

Kalat did not feature large in the competition between India and Pakistan for the accession of princely states at the time of the partition. Since it was on the periphery of the Indian sub-continent, it did not hold the same importance as Kashmir or Hyderabad, or even Junagadh. Nor did it have the conflict of the ruler belonging to one faith while its population belonged to another, as both were Muslim. However, the Quaid-i-Azam had promised Kalat and other princely states independence if they acceded to Pakistan. Independence in this context meant that foreign affairs, defence and communications would be handled by Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of Kalat, Muhamed Aslam, went to meet the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, in December 1946 to discuss the future status of the Kalat state. He gave an account of this meeting in a letter to Lancelot Griffin, Assistant to the Crown Representative. The meeting, he said, was to discuss Kalat three concerns once the British had withdrawn: the relationship of Kalat with India and the rest of the world, the return of the leased areas of Nushki, Quetta and Nasirabad to Kalat, and the future of the feudatory states like Las Bela and Kharan, and the tribal areas like the Bugti and Marri territories. The letter recounts all the treaties concluded between Kalat and the British Government in India, and then quotes from Article 3 of the Treaty of 1876 that binds the British Government to respect the independence of Kalat and that this Treaty is in force at the present time. The same letter to Lancelot Griffin said that the Government of India Act of 1935 held the Kalat state as situated in India, but argued that the state was not consulted

in the drafting of this Act, and in response, the Khan of Kalat had written to the Crown Representative protesting the infringement of the Treaty of 1876.
The Crown Representative had replied that he recognized the 1876 Treaty as valid, which would form the basis of the relationship of Kalat and the British Government. The letter also discussed the future of the territories leased from Kalat by the British, and that when the British relinquished control of these areas, they should be restored to the Khan of Kalat, their rightful owner. It argued that the Khan was the head of the Baluch Confederacy, and the suzerain of the Kharan and Las Bela states, and that all Baluch tribes are anxious to preserve their national existence and stay out of the Indian Union. Muhammad Aslam said that the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes had appreciated the point of view that Kalat could not be party to any formal negotiations conducted by the Negotiating Committee of the Chamber of Princes with the Constituent Assembly, without compromising its position as an independent state in the Treaty of 1876. As the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, sought to settle the question of the accession of all princely states, Kalat was the subject of a meeting on July 19, 1947. At this meeting, Lord Mountbatten, the Crown Representative, said that those districts which were all acknowledged to be administered by Kalat were Mekran, Jhalawan, Sarawan, Kachhi, Dombki and Kaheri. He also said that Las Bela and Kharan were disputed, as their rulers claimed not to be under the suzerainty of the Khan of Kalat. At this meeting, the Prime Minister of Kalat, Nawabzada Aslam Khan, claimed that the relationship of Kalat with the British Government was defined in the Treaty of 1876 as one of an independent, sovereign state. While the Viceroy said he would accept this only for the purposes of negotiations, Nishtar, the Pakistan government representative, said that he would not contest this claim. Economics might be viewed as defining the context of development in the province.
The Khan of Kalat in March 1946 deputed Samad Khan - a member of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) - to plead Kalat's (the then Baluchistan's) case with the Congress leadership. In 1947, the Khan of Kalat reportedly acceded to the dominion of India. But his accession papers were returned by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. Afterwards, Mir Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo, President of the Kalat State National Party, went to Delhi and met Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Azad argued that Kalat would never be able to survive as a sovereign, independent state and would have to ask for British protection. Such a demand, Azad said, would render the sovereignty of the subcontinent meaningless. This was why Indian help for Kalat was ruled out.
Later, an All India Radio (AIR) broadcast of March 27, 1948, reported a press conference by VP Menon, Secretary in the Ministry of States. Menon revealed that the Khan of Kalat was pressing India to accept Kalat's accession, but added that India would have nothing to do with it. This was rejected by the Khan of Kalat, who, upset by the claim, issued a communiqué that on the night of March 27, All

India Radio, Delhi, announced that two months earlier, Kalat State had approached the Indian Union to accept its accession to India and that the Indian Union had rejected the request. Khan declared that it had never been his intention to accede to India. He said that it was, therefore, declared that from 9 pm on March 27th, the time when he heard the false news over the air, he forthwith decided to accede to Pakistan, and that whatever differences then existed between Kalat and Pakistan be placed in writing before Mr Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan, whose decision he would accept. He reportedly told Pakistan's President Muhammad Ali Jinnah to begin negotiations for Kalat's treaty of accession to Pakistan.

In 1948, the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, decided to join Pakistan on the request of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (founder of Pakistan), and the decision was made that defence, currency, foreign office and finance would be controlled by the federal government and the rest of the departments would be controlled by the state. However, later, after the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the formation of one unit changed the situation and it was merged into Pakistan like other areas. In 1948, Kalat became part of Pakistan when the British withdrew. The last Khan of Kalat was formally removed from power in 1955, but the title is still claimed by his descendants. The current Khan of Kalat was Mir Suleman Dawood Khan.

Balochistan formed the western borderlands of the British India. What the British sought here was not political dominion, but suzerainty, as the cheapest and most efficient way of controlling the area inhabited by fiercely independent tribes. This did not require direct administration of British India.

5.2 Economic

Economically, Kalat’s arrangement with the British was based on leased districts, trade facilitation, and revenue sharing. The British directly administered strategic strips of land, such as Quetta, Nushki, and Nasirabad, primarily to act as a buffer between Baloch tribes and neighboring Afghanistan. Revenue from these areas flowed to the British, while Kalat retained control over internal taxation in the rest of its territories.

The tribal structure of Kalat meant that feudatories like Las Bela, Kharan, and Mekran paid tribute to the Khan, creating a decentralized but functional revenue system. The British recognized this structure, allowing them to extract economic and strategic benefits without costly direct administration.

Trade routes through Kalat were critical for British interests. Goods from Afghanistan and Iran passed through Kalat to reach ports in the Arabian Sea. The British encouraged infrastructure development, such as caravan routes, and regulated trade to support military mobility and secure the economic integration of peripheral territories.

5.3 Communication

Communication was vital for the British to maintain indirect control. They developed roads, postal systems, and telegraph lines connecting Kalat to Quetta and other British-administered areas. This allowed the rapid transfer of information, troop movement in case of tribal uprisings, and smoother administration of leased territories.

The British also utilized the existing tribal communication networks of Kalat. Tribal leaders acted as intermediaries to relay intelligence, enforce revenue collection, and maintain law and order. The combination of modern infrastructure and traditional tribal networks ensured that Kalat remained politically stable under British suzerainty.

Additionally, communication played a role in integrating Kalat into wider regional developments. Access to telegraphs and postal services linked the state to major political centers in India, allowing the British to enforce treaties, negotiate succession issues, and coordinate the accession process during Partition.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. List the key treaties and agreements that defined the relationship between the Kalat State and the British Raj.
2. Explain the concept of suzerainty and how it applied to the Kalat State under British influence.
3. How did the leased districts like Quetta, Nushki, and Nasirabad help the British maintain control over the region? Give examples of their strategic importance.
4. Compare the role of the Khan of Kalat with that of tribal feudatories such as Las Bela and Kharan. How did their authority differ under British suzerainty?
5. Assess the impact of British political, economic, and communication policies on Kalat State. To what extent did these policies influence its integration into Pakistan?

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Unit-6

THE BRITISH BALOCHISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

Initial British forays into Balochistan were largely exploratory and prompted by the fear of a French invasion. There was no initial desire to take control of Balochistan, which at that time did not share borders with British India; both Sindh and Punjab were independent kingdoms. The British desire to control parts of Balochistan bordering Afghanistan arose only after increased Russian interest in Central Asia and the inexorable advance of the Tsarist Empire into Central Asia. The First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42) necessitated the securing of communication and transport lines through the Bolan Pass to Chaman and beyond. Following the British military disaster in Afghanistan, the British realized that military intervention might be required from time to time to ensure that the ruler in Kabul honoured all agreements with the British and kept the Russians out.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Identify and describe the areas of Balochistan that were directly occupied by the British and understand their strategic significance.
2. Explain the concept of leased areas, including districts taken from the Khan of Kalat, and their administrative and political implications.
3. Analyze the development of routes of communication—roads, telegraphs, and trade routes—under British administration.
4. Understand how occupation, leases, and communication networks facilitated British control over Balochistan without full annexation.
5. Evaluate the long-term effects of British territorial and infrastructural policies on the political and economic landscape of Balochistan.

6.1 Occupied Area

During the movement of the Army of the Indus, the name of the British Indian force that invaded Afghanistan in 1939, through the Bolan Pass and other parts of Balochistan, had been greatly hindered by predatory Baloch tribesmen. Therefore, to keep the passage through the Bolan Pass to southern Afghanistan open and safe, the British felt they had to establish some sort of control over those areas of Balochistan. This was the beginning of British intervention, a process that would forever change the destiny of this wild borderland. Historian Javed Haider Syed notes that: "On the eve of the British advent, the social and economic infrastructure of Balochistan represented almost all characteristics of a desert society, such as isolation, group feeling, chivalry, hospitality, tribal enmity and animal husbandry. There was hardly any area in Balochistan that could be considered an urban settlement. Even the capital of the state of Kalat looked like a conglomeration of mud dwellings with the only royal residence emerging as a symbol of status and power." One of the first steps the British took was to sign a treaty with the then ruler of Kalat, Mehrab Khan, on 28 March 1839, which allowed the invading British military columns to use his territory. The treaty basically required the Khan of Kalat's acquiescence to British policy on Afghanistan and the use of his territory in exchange for an annuity of Rs 150,000, which was in those days a princely sum for a frontier lord. A few days later, the British force had reached Quetta, which was then a village with a solitary Baloch fort. By 26 April, the British had marched to Kandahar and taken the city without a fight. What followed thereafter has been much written about and culminated in a diplomatic as well as a military disaster. The Khan of Kalat too met his end and on 13 November 1839, British troops occupied Kalat and subsequently installed a youngster, Shanawaz Khan, as ruler and appointed a British regent to guide him. The British further inflamed the Baloch tribes by ceding the fertile Kach Gandava area to Sindh and the districts of Quetta and Mastung to Afghanistan. Not surprisingly, the Baloch Sardars revolted as soon as the British troops had departed and helped the son of the slain Khan to the throne of Kalat. Nasir Khan II (1840-1857) was thus enthroned but soon realised that to survive, he would have to fall in with British plans.

6.2 Leased Areas

Had Mehrab Khan acted like Ranjit Singh and made an alliance with Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, perhaps the future history of the area would have been different. However, with the passage of time, the British involvement increased and they gradually attained and strengthened their control in Balochistan through further treaties, military expeditions and intrigues. They installed a teenager, Shahnawaz Khan, a distant relative of Mehrab Khan, as the new ruler with Lt. Loveday as Regent and started the dismemberment of Balochistan by giving Quetta and Mastung to Shah Shuja and Kachi to the rulers of Sindh. But as soon as the British

forces left Kalat, the tribal sardars revolted and Nasir Khan II (1840-1857), son of Mehrab Khan, was enthroned. By signing a treaty on October 6, 1841, the Khan of Kalat agreed that the British Government would station troops in Kalat, control its foreign relations and rule the State with the British Resident. Within the next few years, the British had annexed Sindh (1843) and the Punjab (1849) and now there was hardly any possibility for the Khan to look for On March 28, 1839, the British had entered into a treaty with the Khan of Kalat to provide a passage and supplies to the Army of Indus on way to Qandahar through Shikarpur, Jacobabad (Khangarh), Dhadar, Bolan Pass, Quetta and Khojak Pass. The son of a deposed vazier, Akhund Mohammad Hasan, secretly opposed it. Even the Khan did not like such terms of the treaty, which included acknowledgment of the supremacy of Shah Shuja, his reinstallation in Kabul, to collect and protect supplies of British troops and to get in return an annuity of 150,000 rupees. The Army of Indus faced problems when passing through the Bolan Pass, as they were attacked by the tribes of Kachhi and Bolan and it was alleged that all was done at the instigation of Akhund Mohammad Hasan. The British held Mir Mehrab, Khan of Kalat (1817-1839), responsible for this "violation". General Willshire, on return from Qandahar, proceeded towards Kalat and deposed the Khan. Mir Mehrab Khan was killed fighting and the British occupied Kalat on November 13, 1839. Now it was established that Akhund Mohammad Hasan was, in fact, a protege of the British, and, in order to avenge the removal of his father by the Khan, he had informed the British of the machinations of the Khan.

The new treaty recognized the Khan as an independent ruler, while he was expected to oppose the enemies of the British and to be friendly with their supporters. Their foes and friends were not named; however, it was clear that the Khan would act as a close ally of the British. In return, the British promised to pay an annual subsidy of 50,000 rupees and to provide military help in case of foreign invasion. This treaty was signed at Mastung, by which Khan's authority was recognized over the areas from south of Kalat to the Arabian Sea and west of Sindh to Iran, including Lasbela. According to a British source, "In 1854, when war was anticipated between England and Russia, to strengthen the position on the frontier, a fresh treaty was made." This treaty was further strengthened in 1862 when the boundary between Balochistan and British India was defined and Kalat was declared a neighbouring state of India.

Treaty of Gandamak (1879), formally declared to be part of British India in 1887. The three subdivisions are, namely, areas directly administered by native states and tribal areas. The directly-administered districts include areas acquired in various ways. Some portions are held on lease from the Khan of Kalat, while others are tribal areas in which it has been decided, for various reasons, that revenue shall be taken. They include the whole of the Zhob and Chaghi political agencies, the eastern portion of the Quetta tahsil and other tracts, among which may be

mentioned the Bolan Pass, comprising 36,401 sq. m. in all. The whole of the northern boundary, with the north-eastern corner and the railway which traverses Balochistan through Quetta up to Chaman on the Afghan-Baluch frontier, is therefore in one form or other under direct British control. The remainder of the territory (79,382 sq. m.) belongs to the native states of Kalat (including Makran and Kharan) and Lasbela. Tribal areas, in the possession of the Marri and Bugti tribes, cover 7129 sq. m."

In 1877, the cantonment of Quetta, which became the headquarters of the administration, was occupied by British troops, and in 1879, the administration of the district was taken over on behalf of the Khan of Kalat. The nebulous claims of Afghanistan to Sibi and Pishin were disposed of by the treaty of Gandamak in the spring of 1879. After the Afghan war, 1878-81, the districts of Duki, Sibi, and Shahrag were assigned to the British and, in November 1887, were formally constituted as British Balochistan.

The final consolidation of the existing form of Kalat administration was effected by Sandeman's expedition to Kharan in 1883, and the reconciliation of Azad Khan, the great Naushirwani chief, with the Khan of Kalat. In 1883, the districts of Quetta and Bolan were made over by the Khan to the British on aquit-rent of 25,000 rupees and 30,000 rupees, respectively. In 1886, the Bori valley, in which is now the cantonment of Loralai, was occupied. In 1887, the Khetran country, now known as the Barkhan tehsil, was brought under British control; in 1889 British authority was established in the Zhob valley and Kakar Khurasan; in 1896 Chaghi and Western Sinjrani were included in administered territory; in 1899, the Nuskh was made over by the Khan of Kalat on an annual quit-rent of 9,000 rupees; and in 1903 the Nasirabad tehsil was acquired from the Khan on an annual quit-rent of 117,500 rupees.

6.3 Routes of Communication

The British Government agreed to pay 20,500 rupees per annum to the Khan for the establishment of posts and development of traffic along the trade routes. In that year, the Khan received a further boost from the death of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, the ruler of Kabul. In fact, the British Agent in Qandahar reported to the government that Khan of Kalat, Mir Khudadad Khan (1857-1893), had offered the province of Shal (Quetta) to the ruler of Qandahar if the latter would assist him in consolidating his position at Kalat. By now, the British had realized that, for the Khan to be an effective and successful ruler, it was essential that he should have the best of relations with the Sardars of different tribes in his area. If the relationship was good and friendly, the Khan would feel secure. If there was mistrust or enmity between the Khan and the Sardars, the former would either look for help from the British or from the neighbouring rulers. Therefore, it was stipulated that it would be better if the British presence was secured in that area to ensure that this

relationship remained good and cordial, as well as to keep an eye on the activities of the Khan. It was in view of the same that the British occupied Quetta in December 1876, and a new treaty was signed. It was a renewal of the 1854 treaty with a few supplementary provisions and was named the Treaty of Kalat. Some of the provisions of the treaty were:

1. A British Agent would permanently reside at the court of Kalat. 2. The British Agent would use his good offices to settle any dispute between the Khan and the Sardars so that the peace of the country is not disturbed; and 3. The British Government would be at liberty, by arrangement with the Khan, to construct in Kalat territory such lines of telegraph or railways, roads, which might be beneficial to the interests of the two governments.

The treaty was literally imposed on the Khan by the special representative of the Governor-General, Sir Robert Sandeman. It is reflective of the way the British influence in the affairs of Balochistan had increased. It is pertinent to point out that John Jacob had written on July 28, 1856, to the Viceroy, Lord Canning, "we should continue to exert such influence which is absolutely necessary and it would neither be advisable nor necessary to assume, in these respects, greater power, either in nature or extent than we now virtually possess or exercise."

But, now, the situation had changed and the British had assumed more power in the region than was envisaged before the Uprising of 1857. The treaty was essentially concerned with the relationship between the Sardars and the Khan, but neither for this treaty nor for the treaty of 1854 were consultations with the Sardars deemed necessary. These treaties were between the British and the Kalat Khanate, yet the Sardars were mentioned with the Khan as parties. The treaty, of course, led to the construction of telegraph and railway lines through the Kalat territory. Sandeman, who was Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, was instrumental in stationing a British garrison at Quetta. The subsidy of the Khan was increased to rupees thirty thousand per annum with the appointment of Sandeman as Agent to the Governor General, with his headquarters at Quetta. On February 21, 1877, the foundation of the Balochistan Agency was laid. The British extended their influence around Quetta and the Bolan Pass and the Khan's control was reduced to nominal. In order to understand subsequent events in Balochistan, it had to take into account how the British perceived their interests in Afghanistan. As discussed earlier, the relevance of the vast territory of Balochistan to the British Empire became manifest during the First Afghan War (1839-1842), which was apparently fought to protect Afghanistan from the Russian influence. Since Balochistan provided easy access to Qandahar and Herat, developments in Afghanistan and Central Asia shaped the British policy towards Balochistan. A loyal and friendly Balochistan definitely meant a safe and reliable launching pad for the necessary interventions in Afghanistan and even in Iran. We shall see how the 'Great Game' shaped the destiny of Balochistan after the Second Afghan War.

This was a very important development because now the British had established themselves on the western frontiers of Balochistan, which sandwiched the Khan and the Sardars between British India and British Balochistan. Now the British frontier stood across the Khojak Range to Chaman near Qandahar. Within the next decade, a broad-gauge railway line was constructed up to Chaman by tunnels through the hilly areas. In the words of Edward Oliver, "Baluchistan thus became the first point of advance in the pursuit of Forward Policy." By the end of the nineteenth century, the British had consolidated their hold on Balochistan, reduced the Khan of Kalat to the status of a vassal, and secured their borders with Iran and Afghanistan through rail and road links and cantonments. It is interesting to note the way the British saw the role of the Khan of Kalat and the Baloch Sardars. In a memorandum, Robert Montgomery described the political structure of Balochistan and advised the British Government to strengthen and secure the position of the Khan of Kalat. According to him, "this would secure not only our borders of Sindh and the Punjab against the inroads of Baloch robbers, and the plunder of travellers and merchants to and from our territories to Central Asia, but also to the protection of India itself against the possible dangers from the direct or stimulated advance of Persia." He conceded that the revenues of Balochistan were not sufficient for the Khan and the Sardars to effectively manage the affairs of the confederacy. But since there was the British Resident in Kalat, he suggested, "Would it not be possible to make arrangements for the subsidizing of inferior chiefs guaranteed and secured by English power, through English payment? It is my opinion that great political advantages may be gained by the extra grant of the subsidy to the Khan."

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Name the areas of Balochistan that were directly occupied by the British and those that were leased from the Khan of Kalat.
2. Explain why the British preferred leasing territories instead of directly annexing the entire Balochistan region.
3. How did the development of roads, telegraphs, and other communication routes help the British maintain control over occupied and leased areas?
4. Compare the administrative and political differences between the occupied areas and the leased districts under British control.
5. Assess the impact of British territorial and communication policies on the social, political, and economic structures of Balochistan.

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Unit-7

SANDEMAN'S FORWARD POLICIES & THE REACTION

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INTRODUCTION

The Great Game between Britain and Russia was brewing and both sides were beginning to explore Central Asia in greater detail. All this, as well as concerns about the security of the British Raj, prompted the despatch of another series of soldier-explorers to ascertain the nature of the frontier lands in the west and northwest. Although the focus at that time was primarily on Afghanistan, Balochistan too came into the picture due to its strategic location.

When the British decided in 1839 to move against the Afghan ruler Dost Mohammad Khan, who had refused to turn away Russian emissaries, a southerly route to Kabul had to be discovered as the northern route via Peshawar and the Khyber Pass was in Sikh hands. Although the Sikhs had by then allied with the British, the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh decided at the last moment not to allow a large invading force to march through his territory.

Consequently, the large British military force, comprising 9,500 men of the Bengal division, 5,600 from Bombay and 6,000 Afghans, known as the "Army of Indus," that had assembled at Ferozpur in the Punjab to attack Afghanistan, had to find an alternative route to Kabul. Only then could the British install the pliable Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne. Dost Mohammad Khan had to be removed at any cost. For Shah Shuja had agreed to renounce Afghan claims on Peshawar and all the regions east of it. The British had agreed that he could retain Kabul and Qandahar but allow Herat to be independent.

Lt. General Sir J. Keane, Commandant of the Indus Army, had to take his force by the longer and more difficult route through Sindh and Balochistan. The route passed through the territory of the state of Kalat and its ruler was coerced into signing a treaty that permitted British troops to pass unhindered.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Describe the key elements of Sandeman's forward policy and its purpose in British Balochistan.
2. Explain how the policy was applied in Sindh and Punjab, highlighting regional differences.
3. Analyze the reaction of local tribes and rulers to Sandeman's approach.
4. Evaluate the political and administrative outcomes of the policy on Balochistan and neighboring regions.
5. Assess the long-term impact of Sandeman's forward policy on British control, tribal relations, and regional stability.

7.1 Sandeman and Annexation

The Sandeman episode in Balochistan's history ushered in the most profound changes the region has ever seen and defined the setting for its subsequent history and politics. The changes effected by Sandeman in the broader geopolitical framework have been well documented by his numerous admirers in the British civil service, including ALP Tucker, a xix former civil servant in the British Indian political department. The story of Sir Sandeman is best excerpted from Tucker's work. The Indian western frontier, wrote Tucker, “is some twelve hundred miles long, and is fenced by mountain barriers which stretch from the Himalayas to the coast of the Arabian Sea. The river Indus may be conveniently taken as its base line, from the point where the stream bends southward in the great mountain ranges, to the sea which it reaches below our harbour at Karachi, the port and capital of Sind. But the river is by no means the frontier itself: that lies considerably to the west of it. The distinguishing feature of the frontier is that its mountain walls are pierced by passes, by which the plains of India have been entered and overrun from Central Asia from time immemorial. These passes are very few. The physical features of the frontier are stupendous. Its distances are immense. The mountains from which the river Indus flows are the highest in the world and the river itself is xx one of the greatest known to geographers.” Tucker further observed that: “In 1843, we conquered the Amir of Sind and annexed that country. We were then, for the first time, brought up against the tribal country, border to border. Our border, or rather the only dangerous part of it, was covered by the Sind desert, which stretches from the Indus to the foot of the hill country and the mouth of the Bolan Pass. This desert, the warmest region in the country, is about 200 miles long and 150 miles across. One of the first tasks of our two border administrations was the protection of the Indian plains. Sir Charles Napier, conqueror and governor of Sind, was compelled by continued raids to march into the Murree and Boogtee tribal country in 1845. He proclaimed the tribesmen to be outlaws and offered a reward for every one of them who was killed or captured within his borders. He tried to guard his border by military posts and forts, but he had little success until, in 1847, he formed a frontier force and gave its command to Captain, afterwards General, John Jacob. Jacob soon brought the raiders under control. Disdaining the use of forts or defensive posts, he used his troopers to wage swift and

Please divide the text numbering (sub-sub-titles of the unit) as carried out in units (1-9)

unceasing war against cattle-lifters and all who harried the plains. The desert and its heat were no obstacle to his indomitable energy and courage. In 1847, a force of marauders, seven hundred strong, was cut off by a detachment of the Sind Horse under Lieut. Merewether. The band was destroyed, with only two men escaping death or capture. This, with other successes, effectively stopped the evil. Nor did Jacob confine himself to watch and ward. He dug canals, made roads, and founded in the desert the thriving town of Jacobabad, which is named after him. He also conducted our relations with the Khan of Kalat, with whom he had much influence, and arranged with him the treaty of 1854. Jacob clearly saw the value of Quetta, and in 1855 he was as anxious that our troops should be there as Sandeman was many years later. Jacob left the frontier in 1855; he returned there to die in 1858 at Jacobabad, where he xxi is buried."

Over the next eight years, chaos reigned supreme in the region. Baloch tribes resumed their conduct and conflict effectively engulfed the state of Kalat. Robert Sandeman arrived as administrator of Dera Ghazi Khan, the town where the Punjab and Sindh meet and the Baloch country begins, in 1866. Sandeman's genius in picking the right person and supporting him to the hilt proved successful immediately. He won over the two local Baloch tribes – the Mazaris and the Legharis – by restoring the authority of their tribal chiefs. He also found a handful of extremely useful and loyal assistants in
the form of a Mr Bruce, who would serve him for eighteen years, and a diminutive Hindu, Hittu Ram, who became one of his most trusted subordinates and chronicler. Another trusted subordinate was Diwan Ganpat Rai. One of Sandeman's first acts was to summon the Baloch chiefs from the hills and warn them to stop marauding or be killed. His warning was accepted after one of the marauding tribes was cut to pieces and its chief beheaded. Thereafter, he used the Pathan Jirga system to sort out disputes
and arrive at a consensus. Tucker writes that: "Much of his influence with the Baluch tribes was due to his habit of always dealing with them in the Baluch manner and settling disputes in accordance with their own customs. He used the Baluch chiefs whenever he could. Baluch horsemen generally formed his escorts and offered themselves eagerly for the duty. They liked his well-looking features, and, in the lays of which they are so fond, the xxii praises of "Sinniman" were sung in many a border village."

In March 1872, Sandeman was ordered to leave the area as it was felt his influence had caused the Baloch Sardars to step beyond their limits and attack the Khan of Kalat, with whom the British had treaty obligations. The

Khan of Kalat, however, did nothing to sort out his problems with the Sardars and as reports of his misrule mounted, in 1873, the British stopped the Khan's subsidy and withdrew their agent from Kalat. The Baloch raids into the plains of Sindh resumed and the British were wondering what to do when Sandeman offered to settle the problem. His offer was accepted as the British authorities did not want to resume military operations in the area. Sandeman led a mission into Baloch country in November 1875 with a small escort of 120 men, but was soon joined by Baloch chieftains and eventually, as recorded by Sandeman's Hindu Chronicler, comprised "eleven chiefs of rank, with 1106 horsemen and 300 footmen." The mission finally arrived in Kalat, where the Khan granted it an audience.

The overall Mission was, however, a failure because the Khan refused to come to terms with the Baloch chiefs or renounce violence as his chief means of resolving disputes. While the Mission was a failure, Sandeman's views were upheld by the authorities who sided with him and relieved the Sindh governor who had opposed him. In April 1876, Sandeman was sent on a second Mission, this time with full authority to act on behalf of the British Government to effect a settlement of disputes. Sandeman succeeded in working out a compromise by forming a committee of four men – two from the Khan of Kalat and two independent Baloch chiefs – to sort out the differences with the Brahui chieftains. This was concluded successfully and the breach between the Khan and his highland Sardars was repaired. The Khan now became Sandeman's friend and declared that the burden of maintaining peace "must now be borne half by myself and half by Major Sandeman." Sandeman's chronicler observed: The Mastung Settlement, which is the foundation of all order in the Kalat country, thus came about…" Robert Sandeman's official reputation was made. Thereafter, in December 1876, Lord Lytton, the then Indian Viceroy, travelled in state to Jacobabad, where he met the Khan and signed a new treaty at a grand durbar. Under the terms of the treaty – called the Treaty of Kalat - a British Agent would permanently reside at the court of Kalat to guide the affairs of the state and use his "good offices to settle any dispute between the Khan and the Sardars so that the peace of the country is not disturbed."

The Treaty also stipulated that henceforth the British Government would be at liberty "to construct in Kalat territory such lines of telegraph or railways, xxiii which might be beneficial to the interest of the two governments." "This treaty was literally imposed on the Khan by the special representative of the Governor-General, Sir Robert Sandeman. It is reflective of the way xxiv the

British influence in affairs of Balochistan had increased." Sandeman was appointed agent to Kalat and permitted to set up his headquarters at Quetta, which was then no more than a village. He moved there in the spring of the next year and bought land to set up a residency and barracks for the troops. "When Major Sandeman first came to Quetta, it was a fearful time," his chronicler wrote. "Thieves and robbers infested it in those days. It was seldom that a night passed over our heads without the report of firearms, and often one would get out of bed through fear." Quetta was barely a town – it was marked by an ancient fort on a hill and a sprawl of mud huts. Quetta again assumed importance in the prelude to and during the Second Afghan War.

In September 1878, Tucker records: "the storm broke, and our mission to the Amir of Afghanistan was refused passage through the Khyber Pass. The Quetta garrison was at once strengthened by a division under General Biddulph. On November 21, war was declared. Biddulph's force moved forward and occupied Pishin without resistance. Sandeman went with it. Sibi, below, was also occupied. In both places, the inhabitants were quite friendly. A further force, seven thousand strong, moved up the Bolan under General Stewart, while a reserve force was placed at Sukkur on the Indus. Meantime, Sandeman, with the aid of the Pathan tribes, crossed the mountains between Pishin and Kandahar, and found the pass, the Khojak, unoccupied. The Khan of Kalat proved a loyal and helpful ally. Stewart crossed xxv the Afghan border on January 1, 1879."

The Amir of Afghanistan had already been defeated and by February 1879, his son had been placed on the Kabul throne. A large force under the command of General Biddulph had to return to India quickly and Sandeman helped forge a new, shorter route to the Punjab plains through the Zhob Valley and from there to Dera Ismail Khan. In May that year, the peace treaty of Gandamak was signed between the British and the young ruler of Afghanistan, which granted the British all rights to Pishin, Sibi, and other Pashtun-dominated areas of Balochistan.

Tucker further notes that: "On September 5, when the tents had been struck in Kandahar, and the division had started on its march back to Quetta, came the grave news of the massacre at Kabul of our envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, and his entire staff and escort. Kandahar was at once occupied again. Sandeman left for the Afghan border to reassure the tribes and help to keep open communications. On the Peshawar side, General Roberts reached Kabul, after severe fighting, on October 12. The Amir

Yakub Khan abdicated and was sent to India. In December, there was heavy fighting around Kabul, and a general rising, but Roberts held his ground. At Kandahar, things were quiet. Below Quetta, the railway was pushed on as fast as possible from Sukkur to the foot of the Bolan. It was open for xxvi traffic up to Sibi by January, 1880." Sandeman had managed to elicit the help of the Baloch tribes during the protracted conflict with Afghanistan. Peace in this region allowed long trains of troops and supplies to pass through from the plains to Quetta and from there to Afghanistan. Peace in Afghanistan was finally forced by the military successes of the British. But Sandeman issued a warning that is relevant even today. "The new Amir of Afghanistan, whoever he may be", he wrote, "can never be our friend as long as the most valuable part of the Afghan kingdom is in our possession."

Sandeman returned to Balochistan in 1882 and succeeded in getting the British Government in Calcutta to accept his suggestion, retaining the Afghan districts of Pishin and Sibi as part of British Balochistan instead of returning them to Afghanistan. In the subsequent years, Sandeman travelled the length and breadth of the province, including the desert areas of Kharan and the waterless Makran. Wherever he went, he tried to resolve disputes and consolidate far-flung tribal chiefs with the state of Kalat. It was during the 1880s that the Afghan-Balochistan boundary was demarcated. The railway was opened from Sibi to Quetta and beyond. Sandeman's "Forward Policy" had won the day.

Sandeman's proposal to incorporate the Zhob Valley was accepted by the authorities and he set out in December 1889 to establish British writ in those xxvii areas. The expedition is well documented in Holdich's book. "On December 27, Sir Robert proclaimed the protectorate of Zhob, and commenced to build the station at Apozai, now called Fort Sandeman after its founder. He remained there until the latter half of January, to watch the new buildings and give time for the assembly of the tribesmen who had been summoned from Waziristan." The Zhob Valley was thus finally
absorbed and resistance put down.

The Pashtun tribes south of South Waziristan and in the Suleiman mountains were effectively subdued and their border raids into the Indus plains stopped. To maintain peace, regular British troops were permanently stationed at Quetta, Chaman, Fort Sandeman, Loralai and smaller detachments were stationed at different places, principally in the Zhob and Loralai Districts. Sandeman also managed to convince the rulers of Makran and Kharan to sink their differences with the Khan of Kalat and join the tribal confederacy.

Tucker observes that the "dry, sun-baked border region had a great hold on him. Sandeman died on a trip to Las Belas while on his way to the Makran. He was buried there."

7.2 Sindh Policy

In Sindh, the British initially followed a conservative approach, focusing on controlling the frontier districts rather than interfering deeply in tribal territories. The Sindh policy sought to secure trade routes and maintain stability along the border with Balochistan. British authorities engaged with local tribal leaders through negotiation, subsidies, and recognition of traditional authority to prevent raids and unrest. Sindh's strategic importance as a gateway to Balochistan and Afghanistan made it essential for British communication and defense, prompting gradual expansion of influence in the region.

7.3 Punjab Policy

In Punjab, British authorities implemented a more proactive approach to frontier control. Sandeman's forward policy emphasized direct engagement with tribes and chiefs. Tribal leaders were offered recognition, allowances, and responsibility for maintaining order in exchange for cooperation with the British. This strategy extended British influence into Balochistan indirectly, as the tribal system was integrated into the colonial administration. By co-opting local chiefs, the British reduced the need for costly military campaigns while ensuring security of key routes and trade corridors.

7.4 Outcome of the Policy

Sandeman's forward policy had several important outcomes:

1. **Expansion of British Influence:** The policy allowed Britain to control large parts of Balochistan without direct annexation. Treaties with the Khan of Kalat and tribal leaders formalized British authority.
2. **Indirect Rule:** Tribal leaders were integrated into the colonial system, tasked with maintaining order, collecting revenue, and supporting British interests, a system often called *Sandemanization*.
3. **Secured Communication and Trade:** Roads, telegraph lines, and postal services linked Balochistan with Sindh, Punjab, and British-administered territories, strengthening strategic control.
4. **Stability and Limited Conflict:** The combination of negotiation, subsidies, and indirect governance minimized military confrontations and allowed British resources to be used efficiently.

5. **Long-Term Impact:** Tribal structures were reinforced under British supervision, limiting internal reform but creating a stable environment for imperial administration.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What were the main features of Sandeman's forward policy in Balochistan?
2. Explain the difference between the Sindh Policy and the Punjab Policy in relation to British frontier administration.
3. How did the British apply tribal diplomacy and allowances to strengthen their control in Balochistan?
4. Analyze the political and administrative impact of Sandeman's policy on the Kalat State and the tribal sardars.
5. To what extent was Sandeman's forward policy successful in achieving British strategic objectives in Balochistan? Justify your answer with arguments.

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Unit-8

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the freedom movement in Balochistan and highlights the role of key political leaders and institutions in shaping political awareness in the region. It explains how national politics interacted with local dynamics and how Balochistan gradually became part of the wider struggle for independence.

The unit begins with the relationship between Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Balochistan, focusing on his political engagement with the leadership of Kalat and other regions. It then discusses the contributions of Qazi Muhammad Isa, who organized the Muslim League in Balochistan and connected the province to the All-India Muslim League. The role of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai is examined to understand nationalist politics from a different ideological perspective.The political efforts of Jafar Khan Jamali and Yousaf Aziz Magsi are studied to explore early constitutional and reformist movements. The unit also considers the later influence of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai in regional politics. Finally, it evaluates the role of the press in spreading political ideas, creating public opinion, and mobilizing support for constitutional reforms and independence.Through these themes, the unit presents a broader understanding of political awakening, regional identity, and participation in the freedom movement.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Describe the political background of the freedom movement in Balochistan.
2. Explain the role of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in relation to Balochistan's constitutional and political developments.
3. Identify the contributions of key leaders such as Qazi Muhammad Eesa, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, and Yousaf Aziz Magsi.
4. Analyze the differing political approaches adopted by nationalist and Muslim League leaders in the region.
5. Evaluate the role of the press in promoting political awareness and shaping public opinion in Balochistan.

8.1 Jinnah & Balochistan

The Quaid-e-Azam was aware of the vexing problems of Balochistan. He had demanded reforms in Balochistan in his famous "fourteen points'. He pleaded that Balochistan should be brought in line with other provinces of India. The Muslim League was another political organization that sponsored the cause of Balochistan for the creation of a separate province for Balochistan. The foundations of the Muslim League in Balochistan were laid by a young, known lawyer of Balochistan by the name of Qazi Isa...It was in 1938 that Esa paid a visit to Quaid-e- Azam at Bombay on his return from his studies in England and was so impressed that he accepted the invitation of the Quaid-e-Azam to form and organize the Muslim League in Balochistan.

Apart from the other activities and visits of Muslim League leaders, Jinnah himself visited Balochistan many times. He spent two months there. Qasi Isa presented the Sword of Ahmed Shah Abdali to Jinnah. He expressed, "Throughout history, the sword had been the constant companion of the Muslims. When the Muslims did not have an Amir, this historic sword was lying in safe custody. Now that you have taken over as the Amir of this nation, I hand over this historic sword to you. This has been used in defense, in your safe hands, also, it will be used only for this purpose."

On this occasion, Jinnah paid four-dayvisits to Kalat on the personal invitation of Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, the ruler of Kalat. In 1944, General R.C. Money submitted a memorandum, "Post–War Reconstruction Balochistan Jinnah was interested in the socio-political and economic development of Balochistan. He wanted democratic political development in this province. He visited Balochistan in Feb,1948 as Governor General of Pakistan. The Governor General of Pakistan, Jinnah, said in reply to a question at a press Conference at Sibi on Feb 15, 1948, that he was not in favor of dictatorship. The question was: Why is Balochistan being made into the Governor General's province under reforms announced by you at the Durbar yesterday and are you in favor of dictatorship? The Governor General's answer was: I believe it will be better off that way. Things would be done far more quickly than in the usual process of full-fledged parliamentary discussions. But it does not mean that I am in favor of dictatorship.

I take this as flattering to myself that my heart, my soul and my pulse ensure that I shall be very useful to Balochistan in its present condition. There are two reasons for this proposed reform:

1. I want to help Balochistan in every way I can;
2. Things will be done far more quickly.

The Governor General stated that the other provinces in Pakistan had gone through all the preliminary stages of parliamentary Governments. For Balochistan, there was no other way in the present circumstances but to throw the whole burden on the Governor General. Asked regarding the constitution and scope of the proposed

Advisory Council for Balochistan, the Quaid-e-Azam said: The Constitution and scope will be nominated by the Governor General, but he will not make it a nominal body. He will see that he makes it a really representative body. Questioned as to what had transpired between him and the Khan of Kalat during their discussion in Sibi on the accession of Kalat State, the Governor General declined to state the talks, but he explained that the Khan of Kalat was to meet him in the evening on Feb 14, but owing to sudden indisposition, he was unable to do so. The Quaid-e-Azam then read out a letter which he had received from the Khan of Kalat late last evening. The letter stated, "I have summoned both the houses of Dar-ul-Awam and Dar-ul-Umra to give me their final opinion on their future relations with the dominion of Pakistan by the 21st or 22nd of this month and the end of the month." After reading the letter, Jinnah told the pressmen, under these circumstances, I shall wait for his final reply and I hope that he will send it to me definitely before the end of this month.

8.2 Qazi Muhammad Isa

Qazi Mohammad Essa, a trusted lieutenant who worked day and night under the leadership of Jinnah for the cause of independent Pakistan, opened his eyes in a small village of District Pishin on July 17, 1914. He was educated at Sundeman High School and Government High School, Quetta. In 1933, he went to England for higher studies, and after getting a degree in law from the Middle Temple, he joined the Bar in England. After one year, he came back to his own country and started his profession as a lawyer at the Bombay court in 1938. There he met Jinnah, with whom his lifelong friendship developed. Jinnah's vision and the policies of the League, which aimed at achieving an independent State for the Muslims, impressed Qazi Isa, who dedicated himself to the Pakistan Movement. Due to the immense hard work of Qazi Isa Muslim League was organized for the first time in Balochistan in 1939. He was a great supporter of the League in his own province, due to which the League got roots in the hearts of Balochistanis. The first Conference of League was organized on June 10, 11 1939 at Quetta presided over by Qazi Isa. When the Muslim League passed the historic resolution of Pakistan on March 23, 1940, at Lahore, Qazi Isa spoke on the occasion as the representative of Balochistan and vehemently supported the resolution. In the same year, he was elected as the youngest member of the working committee of the All India Muslim League. In 1946, he was made Chief of Publicity Committee of the All-India Muslim League for the general elections 1945-46. He was later entrusted with a task to organize the Muslim League in the NWFP (now KPK), which he successfully fulfilled within a year. Thus, Qazi Isa played a pivotal role in the referendum of NWFP as well as the vote for Pakistan in Balochistan.

In less than seven years, 1940-47, he traveled more than 300,000 miles to campaign for Pakistan. In February 1948, he was appointed as a Member of the Advisory

Council of Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan. He held various important political offices in the party. In 1951, he was made Pakistan's Ambassador to Brazil and served in that capacity for two years. He had been a member of Pakistan delegations to the United Nations in 1950, 1954 and 1974 respectively. He was also a member of the Committee on Minorities in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Whenever the Quaid came to Quetta, he was highly impressed by the hospitality and warmth of Qazi Isa. He realized the future importance of Balochistan in the development of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims and advised the Balochistanies to be politically united, as it was indispensable to their future stability. It was the initiative of Quaid's visit to Balochistan, which led to 'Balochistan: Case and Demand', a pamphlet written by Qazi Muhammad Isa. Comprising 11 chapters, it was a blueprint for the package of reforms to be implemented under the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam. The work on the 'Case and Demand' for Balochistan partially started after independence but was put into cold storage soon after the death of the Quaid in the wake of a volatile struggle for power, which ultimately led to a series of undemocratic rules.

He was also the founder of the pro-League weekly "Al-Islam," which aimed to introduce the message of the Muslim League to the inhabitants of the province. Qazi Isa devotedly served the Muslim League for 37 years. He died on June 19, 1976.

8.3 Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was a great national hero, not only playing a great role in the liberation of the Pashtoons but also collaborating with other outstanding leaders for the liberation of other oppressed peoples of the Subcontinent. He was such an honest, courageous and steadfast leader who not only fought against the Imperialists but also against the dictators and anti democratic rulers of Pakistan. He organized and empowered the peoples against the tyranny and exploitation of the colonizers. He formulated a sound philosophy and correct strategy for the liberation of his people. These were disliked by the rulers and thinking him to be a great hindrance in the way their nefarious designs. So, they planned to remove him out of their way and so on the night of 2nd of December 1973, they martyred him by throwing two bombs into his sleeping Room while he was asleep.

Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was born in the Gulistan tehsil of District Kialla Abdullah of the Colonized Afghanistan in 1907. Khan was only ten years old when in the Czarist Russia the vanguard of the workers of Bolshevik Party that complied with the principles of Internationalism in true meaning of the word, the Government of the toiling people by over throwing the exploiting classes in October, 1917 and emancipating all the slave and subjected nations of Russia on

the principles of self determinations and equality of the nation, established their own republics where the peoples of these free republics of their own consent united the Soviet republics and formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. Khan was arrested immediately after his decision to found a democratic political party for freedom during his struggle. After his release in 1931, he went to Bombay, where he met Mahatma Gandhi, who was on his way to London to attend the Round Table Conference. On this occasion Khan had the opportunity to meet many other known political figures including Bacha Khan and as a result of this visit they united the freedom movement of oppressed classes in particular of Pashtoon of Peshawar and Quetta region with the cooperation of other Pashtoon leaders playing a great role in the organization of the Khudai Khidmatgar of Surkpoosh Movement (red Shirt) which was the association of the patriotic masses specially the Pashtoon workers and farmers.

Khan and his Pashtoon and Baloch companions struggled very hard and untiringly against the British imperialists and the tribal chiefs attached to them. During the struggle, he suffered many years behind bars, exile and detentions. He established a platform to complete the aims and objectives of his revolutionary struggle to the Pashtoon and Baloch masses and people of the Subcontinent and afterwards started the newspaper *Istiqlal* from Quetta in 1938. Thus, during the thirties, in spite of confinements, detention, exile and all sorts of perils in the imperialists, colonialists and retrogressive conditions. Khan Shaheed and his courageous friends, namely Ayub Khan Achakzai, Moulan Obedullah of Bostan District Pishin, Molovi Ghulam Haider Mehterzai of Kan Mehterzai, Aslam Achakzai and many more, conducted their political struggle, organized conferences and arranged processions, wrote and published articles and founded the political Party Anjuman-i- Watan for the freedom of motherland and for the democratic values where each and every person must have equal opportunity and rights. Khan Shaheed was elected as the President of the Party. In Kalat State Gul Khan Naseer and other freedom-loving Baloch leaders formed the Kalat National Party. It was the culmination of such enthusiastic endeavours that the freedom movement of Pashtoon and Baloch people gained the leadership of revolutionary democratic political movements for the emancipation of Pashtoon and Baloch peoples. The cooperation of the Brotherhood was established on the basis of equality.

Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali

Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali was a prominent leader of the Pakistan movement of the Balochistan chapter. He was born in his village, named Rojhan Jamali, in 1911. His father's name was Mir Taj Muhammad Jamali. His father was a landlord and one of the heads of the Jamali tribe at that time. His father was a generous person by nature and these abilities were later transferred to his son, Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali. In fact, the Jamali tribe has been remained the prevailing class in the politics of the

Balochistan from the very beginning. Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali was one of the great leaders from that tribe. Moreover, Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali got his early education in his hometown. Later he moved to the Jacobabad District of Sindh for the purpose of higher education. He joined politics on behalf of his father because his father was a great supporter of the All India Muslim League and a diehard opponent of the Congress. His father taught the lesson of Muslim brotherhood, unity, prosperity and progress to his son Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali. Furthermore, Jaffer Khan Jamali actively participated in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

Mir Jaffer Khan was the prominent supporter and leader of the All India Muslim League and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He worked hard for the uplift of the Muslim League in Balochistan. He gathered a number of people from his area to join the Muslim League. In fact, He was the man who strongly opposed the hegemony of the Congress in his area because the border districts of the Balochistan were under the control of the Congress. He eliminated the power of the Congress from Jafferabad and Naseerabad by greatly preaching and supporting the doctrine and policies of the Muslim League. These steps of Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali made him a close associate of the Quaid-e-Azam. At the same time, in 1939, he became fully known and his abilities were recognized on the political panorama of Sub Continent when he organized a high level meeting in the Jacobabad district of Sindh, which was attended by prominent Muslim League leaders such as Sir Haji Abdullah Haron, Abdul Waheed Farangi Mahali, and Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad Amir Ahmed Khan. This gathering was also one of the major reasons for the elimination of Congress's dominant constituencies from Jafferabad and Naseerabad.

In 1939, he presided over a delegation consisting of the prominent political figures from Balochistan to attend the Annual Session of the Muslim League in Madras. He continuously attended the Annual Sessions of the Muslim League in 1940 at Lahore, Karachi in 1941, Allahabad in 1942 and Delhi in 1943. He was also accompanied by a delegation with him in all these Sessions. It was due to these continuous and untiring efforts of Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali that the idea of Pakistan and the manifesto of the Muslim League became popular in Balochistan.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1943 visited Quetta on the invitation of Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali. He warmly welcomed the Quaid in Balochistan and arranged a huge reception for him. Quaid-e-Azam once said rightly that Mir Jaffer Khan and the Jamali tribe are the “gateway to Balochistan“. After that, Mr. Jinnah started calling Balochistan my province. In addition, once there occurred a land dispute between Mir Jaffer Khan and the Khan of Kalat and the British government. It was because those areas were given to the British government on lease by the Khan of Kalat, that the dispute over the land happened. Mir Jaffer Khan hired Mr. Jinnah as a lawyer for that dispute and Mr. Jinnah won the case. This caused the relation between both as personal friendship.

In the 1940s, Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali established a newspaper, *Tanzeem,* in order to spread the doctrine and policies of the Muslim League and Muslim Ummah. This newspaper played a leading role in the political horizon of the Balochistan and upper Sindh. This paper realized the people about the importance of a separate homeland for the Muslims. Besides, Mir Jaffer Khan never accepted any type of grant or stipend from any source and fully financed it by himself.

Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali remained the Member of the Legislative Assembly from Jacobabad and served his countrymen. He was the Vice President of the Muslim League from the Balochistan chapter and a senior leader of the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League. Further, he was the right-hand man of Qazi Muhammad Isa Khan, the man who represented Balochistan in the Lahore Resolution. Furthermore, he was the man who voted for Pakistan in the Shahi Jirga of Balochistan to join Pakistan. It was he, due to whom the people from all over the Balochistan opted to join Pakistan.

To conclude, Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali was a great leader, social reformer, politician, and one of the strong supporters of the All India Muslim League and the Quaid-e-Azam. His name and fame is still famous in his area and the whole of the Balochistan. In the history of Balochistan and the history of Pakistan Movement from Balochistan, his name is written in golden words. The district of Jafferabad and the Jaffer express train are named after him. Moreover, his family is still famous and prevailing in the politics of Balochistan and Pakistan. His nephew, Mir Zaffarullah Khan Jamali, was the 13th Prime Minister of Pakistan.

He died on April 7, 1967, in Karachi. His body was laid to rest in his ancestral graveyard in his own village, named Rojhan Jamali. The founder of Pakistan People's Party, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, wished to his family that his body be laid to rest beside the Quaid's grave in the Quaid's mausoleum in Karachi. His death has left a huge gap in the political environment of the Balochistan and the Pakistan, deprived of a great leader who strongly took part in the Pakistan movement. In short, Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali was a sincere, devoted, purposeful, supporter of the Muslim Brotherhood and an untiring leader in the history of Pakistan.

8.4 Yousaf Aziz Magsi

Nawab Yousaf Ali Khan Aziz Magsi was born in 1901 in Jhal Magsi, Balochistan. His father, Nawab Qassir Khan Magsi, was the chief of the Magsi tribe. He learned his Basic and religious education from Qazi Rasool Buskh. Mulana Gulam Qader of Baulpur taught him Urdu, Persian and Arabic. He became a pupil of Kaniah Lal of Lahore to learn English. Under the guidance of such a great teacher of their time, Yousaf Magsi's personality was built, which made him the visionary, revolutionary, freedom-loving leader of the Baloch nation. The history of Balochistan has witnessed a number of brave personalities and well-known Yousaf Aziz Magsi is one of them who devoted his life to gaining independence and autonomy from the

brutalities of the British during its reign of barbarism in Balochistan. Yousaf was born in 1908 at Tahal, hailing from the royal family of Nawab Naseer Khan. Furthermore, as an educationist, he held the honor of being a multilingual and a versatile personage who believed in egalitarianism and positive politicization, spreading awareness among his people, and the rational armed resistance against the enemy of the Baloch nation was at the top of the list of national commodities to apply.

He didn't like the Baloch patriarchal and paradoxical tribal regime, the gender discrimination and the racism had never got any room in Baloch nationalism in his viewpoint and as a struggler in relation to the defense of his people. In addition to that, his purported credentials to define his educational background are the spectacular acquisition of Arabic, Persian and literature. Moreover, taking swiftly into consideration the ruthlessness, the flawed jurisprudence of injustice and the brutalities of the British, Yousaf Aziz Magsi took painstaking personal measures by firstly raising his own voice against it. After much contemplation, he penned down an article under the name of Faryad-e-Balochistan (The Lament of Balochistan), which was published in 1927 in a newspaper. The emphasized key points of his article were that "The world is advancing, but folks of Balochistan are dozing. I plead to the people of Balochistan, do not make yourselves a laughing stock, break the chains of slavery and remove conflicts; be a light for the nation, learn lessons and sacrifice".

His revolutionary attributes and the presentation of his message compelled the Baloch nation to envisage and wake up. Besides, Yousaf Aziz Magsi with his party conducted all India Baloch conferences on 28 Dec, 1932, 33, and 34. The predominantly important objectives of his conducted conferences are following.

- Unity, complete political liberty overall in Balochistan.
- Patriarchal system to be abolished.
- Heritage of women according to Islamic law.
- Inclusion of Derajat and Jaccobabad.
- Establishment of new schools and colleges.
- Reforms and provincial grade to Balochistan.
- Establishment of small industries.
- Ban on traditions such as "Walwor, Lubb, and Kala Kali".

With the above-mentioned objectives, Yousaf Aziz worked day and night on a national level to get a sigh of relief to the entire Baloch nation; as with swift progression, he made the Baloch united and struggled hard against the British powers to gain independence. He and his ideological, philosophical and political theories at present are a source of guideline today for the entire grieved Baloch nation to apply the footsteps of Yousaf Aziz Magsi. Surely, Yousaf Aziz Magsi is a legend forever in the revolutionary aspect of Baloch history.

Unfortunately, a catastrophic earthquake occurred in Balochistan and consequently, resulted in his martyrdom, but indeed, today, his philosophical thinking, guideline and bravery with tolerance are present for the entire Baloch nation as an ideology to apply. Obviously, Yousaf Aziz Magsi lives in the hearts of the entire Baloch nation.

8.5 Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti

Despite the opportunity to live a high and luxurious life, Akbar Shahbaz Khan Bugti chose to live a hard life in the mountains, sacrificing everything for the sake of the Baloch Nation. Regardless of his age, he bravely fought for the ownership of the Baloch land until his dying breath. He was the one who stood up for Balochistan and made the entire Baloch Nation proud.

On July 12th, 1927, Akbar Bugti was born in Barkhan, Balochistan, at the home of Nawab Behram Khan Bugti. Since childhood, Akbar Bugti was destined to be a great and brave man. He eagerly pursued education and was dedicated to his studies. In addition to his early education at Aitcheson College, Lahore. Akbar Khan Bugti also attended Oxford University in London, England. After the death of his father in 1939, the thirteen-year-old Akbar Khan Bugti was appointed as chief of his tribe.

Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti went on to play an important role in Balochistan politics. He began his political career when elected in a by-election to the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1958, serving as the Interior Minister of State. In October of the same year, President Iskandar Mirza declared martial law and dismissed the cabinet. In the early 1960's, Akbar Khan Bugti supported the National Awami Party candidate for the National Assembly from Quetta division and he was elected with great number of votes. The defeated Field Marshal Ayub Khan was offended by the young Khan's public endorsement of his political opponents and ordered Akbar to jail Akbar. Akbar Khan Bugti remained imprisoned until his release in the mid 1960's after a lengthy hunger strike.

In the early 1970's, the Federal Government appointed Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti as Governor of Balochistan. Soon after Akbar Khan Bugti was appointed Governor, the Pakistani military began a ruthless crackdown in Balochistan. When the Federal Government refused to cease military aggression towards Baloch citizens, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti resigned his post as Governor.

During the Military Operations in the early 1970's, the Pakistani Army deployed over 100,000 soldiers in Balochistan. As well as the ground troops, the Iranian King sent F-14 fighter jets and AH-1 Gunship helicopters to help Pakistan commit genocide. More than 4000 Baloch civilians were massacred by Pakistani and Iranian Forces during the crackdown.

In 1988, Akbar Khan Bugti joined the Balochistan National Alliance and was soon thereafter elected as Chief Minister. He soon resigned from the position after the

provincial assembly was dissolved in 1990 by Gen. Muhammad Musa Khan. Several years later, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti formed a new political party, the Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP). The JWP was wildly popular in Balochistan and Akbar Khan Bugti was elected to the new provincial assembly. Three years later, Akbar was elected to the National Assembly of Pakistan, representing JWP in the Parliament. In 1997, Akbar Khan Bugti was re-elected to the National Assembly.

8.6 Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogazai

Nawab Mohammad Ayaz Khan Jogezai is the Nawab of the Jogezai tribe, a sub tribe of the Kakar Pashtun of Pakistan and Afghanistan. He became Nawab after the death of Nawab Tamoor Shah Khan Jogezai. While he was still alive, Nawab Tamoor Shah Khan Jogezai nominated Nawab Mohammad Ayaz Khan Jogezai as the next Nawab. He survived an assassination attempt on Qilla Saifullah in 1988 but was seriously injured. At the request of the Chairman of PashtunKhwa Milli Awami Party, Mahmood Khan Achakzai, he joined the Party for the Unity of All Pashtoons. He was a senator in the Upper House of the Parliament of Pakistan from 2003 to 2009.

He is the convener of 'Pakhtoon Ulasi Qaumi Jirga' (Pashtoon National Council).[4] The Jirga was held in March 1998 and was attended by the majority of tribal elders throughout Western and Northern Pashtoonkhwa (a heavily Pashtoon-populated area of Balochistan).

He also participated in a Peace Jirga, commissioned by President Hamid Karzai in late 2008.[In Kabul, Nawab Mohammad Ayaz Khan Jogezai had a series of meetings to discuss Pakhtoon unity with Asfand Yar Wali Khan, Mahmood Khan Achakzai and President Karzai.

Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai was a very brave man and the Nawab of Pashtun. He made Balochistan part of Pakistan. He was the head of the Grand Jirga and he decided that Balochistan should be part of Pakistan, but India and the US government offered him 18 billion Rupees that Balochistan should be part of India, but he disagreed and Balochistan became part of Pakistan. he was a very patriotic person and loved Pakistan from the core of his heart.while during the grand jirga he stand and called balochistan should be the part of Pakistan, on listening his words other leaders were also impressed and supported him. he belong to a district near Zhob named Qila Saif ullah.

8.7 Role of Press

The media is generally referred to as various means of communication, such as television, radio, newspapers, websites, magazines or books. The term “media” can be used as a collective word for the press. For a couple of years, the role of media in Balochistan has been discussed on various TV talk shows, radio channels and newspapers. Still, the voice of the province is unreachable, ignored and neglected.

That is why most people in the country are unaware of the recent situations of Balochistan as well as the history of Balochistan.

The current situation of the province brings up the fact that the issues of this specific homeland do not carry any importance for the mainstream country's media. The lack of infrastructure and the control over the local newspapers and websites has fueled a fire of desire in the Baloch nation to be heard. In the past couple of years, many local newspapers such as Daily Asaap, Daily Azadi, and the Balochistan Express were banned or besieged.

In the meantime, Balochistan's first online English newspaper, the Baloch Hal, was banned by the country's telecommunication Authority (PTA) four years ago and the ban still continues. After the consistent struggle to keep the nation's voice out of the reach of the world, the nation's voice could not be stopped from being heard. Balochistan's local media has definitely played a role in bringing the serious issues of human rights violation in front of the world's attention. That is why now the Nation's issues are being discussed in different political talk shows internationally and the nation is aware of the issues as well as situations going on in the province.

Despite all that, in the midst of political crisis and extensive issues, the national TV talk shows are not showing both sides of the picture. Hence, most people of the country yet do not have any idea about the history of Baluchistan, which makes it harder to understand the current political ups and downs of the province and differentiate between myth and reality. On the other hand, the media, in other cases, shows a totally different angle of the situation. Facts which may not have taken place or that might have taken place but were not in favor of nationalism are often kept in the dark.

In these circumstances, the trust in the national media had come to an end. A source that doesn't bring up front the human rights violations in the province as a whole can't be expected to be believed anymore. People endured to sit in hunger camps with the photos of their loved ones, in front of the supreme court as well as high court for justice in Quetta, Karachi and Islamabad, along with the Voice for Baloch Missing Persons long march that started from Quetta, but didn't end till Karachi and now it is on its way to the supreme court in Islamabad. Their struggle or initiative for the sake of justice and desire to be heard doesn't possess enough strength to be covered by the national media and many of the websites covering the news related to VBMP are already banned as well. eing only a source of economic revenue, the province and its deprived people do not hold any importance or significance. They have been neglected for more than six decades now. However, the Balochs will continue the struggle for free media coverage in the world so that the world recognizes it's serious issues that include the most serious matter, the violation of human rights. These days, the world media is exclusively trying to bring up the Baluchistan issue to the forefront and hopefully will soon be well known throughout the world as well as may be by turns disgusting and refreshing

to see the ongoing debate in the electronic media over the political situation in Balochistan. It is disgusting because often the anchor person on a TV talk show displays more than palatable ignorance of the issues at stake; it is refreshing because never before dissident voices been given such an open forum from which to put across their points of view.

It can be argued that the electronic news media in Pakistan have yet to come of age, especially when it comes to responsible reporting and holding a logical debate on current affairs. But some kudos is due to the media for the latest coverage of the political situation in Balochistan, which, despite its tardiness and inadequacies, has crushed a number of myths and challenged some longstanding notions.

Dissident Baloch nationalists like Brahamdagh and Talal Bugti, Akhtar Mengal and Harbiyar Marri are these days seen speaking their minds on TV, challenging the many half-truths non-Baloch Pakistanis have been fed over the years by a civil-military establishment that the Baloch nationalists blame for their woes.

This is a part of the country where disappearances of young Baloch men and then the appearance of their tortured and bullet-riddled bodies have become the norm. The highest court in the land is seized of the matter for a few years now, without having made much of a dent in the working of the security forces whom the Baloch leaders accuse of carrying out the like atrocities against their people. Those targeted include mostly young men, students and dissident party workers.

There's no telling who will get picked up when and where, say the dissidents. Baloch nationalists hurry to draw a comparison of what's happening in their midst with the situation in the Valley in Kashmir and with the last days of the former East Pakistan — not entirely without merit. Reprisal attacks by armed wings of Baloch nationalist parties on non-Baloch residents, foreigners and state installations complete the picture of a full-blown insurgency. Yet, the unfolding events and the reasons behind them continue to be under-reported.

The Baloch leaders holding forth on TV own the truth that many *sardars* in Balochistan are responsible for keeping their own people in abject poverty through resistance to building basic communications, education and health care services infrastructure in their respective areas. But it is also true, they point out, that this is only half the truth because despite the so-called insurgency in Balochistan, Islamabad continues to do business with a majority of such *sardars* who sit in the provincial assembly and occupy coveted ministries in Quetta and Islamabad.

They say that there is no finger-pointing at those *sardars* who act as the 'stooges' of the federal government, and who are just as responsible for keeping their people in ignorance and poverty as the rest who have been driven to taking up arms. The sad fact is that in the worst of times as these days, the historical pattern of patronising and bolstering up one group of *sardars* against another continues by the powers that be.

The ordinary Baloch and non-Baloch residents with divided loyalties just bear the brunt of the violence perpetrated from both sides; sadder still, violence resorted to by state functionaries, the intelligence and security apparatus, is totally disproportionate to that practised by armed dissident groups. The civil-military establishment is still able to work the sinister system because the *sardars* can be bought and sold. A major contradiction is that today's dissidents come with family names that took turns doing the Centre's bidding in the past — against one another. They having vacated the field, now a whole new crop of *sardars* is at play.

However, another key contradiction that Baloch nationalist leaders now rightly point out pertains to the backwardness of the areas in the province which are not beholden to a feudal, tribal *sardari* system. The vast region of Makran readily comes to mind, where despite the development of a modern seaport at Gwadar, for instance, no public development projects have been launched for the uplift of the ordinary Baloch to show them that the old *sardars* instigating them to rebellion mean them no good. People in these areas too report missing persons and find bodies of their loved ones riddled with bullets.

The state really has little defence in the face of such critical contradictions, which reveal total apathy to the condition of the people of Balochistan. Add to this the disappearances of Baloch youth, leaders and their mutilated bodies, and you have what you have: a rebellion against injustice with a popular appeal.

These well-founded grievances need to be heard by the Pakistani public, and the media is doing well to mainstream the dissident Baloch leaders albeit a bit late in the day.

Unfortunately, the precarious situation on ground does not permit TV crews to be there and bring documentary coverage of the actual situation and happenings. And ensconced in their ruling privileges, those in the Balochistan government remain equally apathetic to the woes of those who elect them.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Identify the major political leaders of Balochistan who participated in the freedom movement and state their basic contributions.
2. Explain the nature of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's political engagement with Balochistan.
3. How did the Muslim League leadership in Balochistan translate all-India political objectives into local political action?
4. Compare the political ideas of Qazi Muhammad Isa and Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai regarding constitutional reforms and regional autonomy.
5. Assess the role of the press in mobilizing political opinion in Balochistan during the freedom movement. Was it effective in shaping public consciousness? Provide arguments.

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Unit-9

ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the process through which Balochistan became part of Pakistan in 1947–48. It explains the political negotiations, constitutional debates, and regional responses that shaped the accession. The unit places these developments within the broader context of the end of British rule and the creation of Pakistan.
Special attention is given to the role of the Shahi Jirga and its decision-making process regarding accession. The political position of the princely states of Balochistan is also discussed to understand their constitutional status at the time of independence. The unit further analyzes the stance of the Khan of Kalat and the negotiations between Kalat and the Government of Pakistan, highlighting both cooperation and disagreement during the transition period.
By studying these themes, students will understand the political complexities, legal arguments, and regional dynamics that influenced Balochistan's accession to Pakistan.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

1. Describe the political situation in Balochistan at the time of partition in 1947.
2. Explain the role and significance of the Shahi Jirga in the accession process.
3. Identify the constitutional position of the princely states of Balochistan.
4. Analyze the negotiations between the Khan of Kalat and the Government of Pakistan.
5. Evaluate the political impact of accession on the future governance of Balochistan.

9.1 Shahi Jirga

The 3rd June, 1947 Plan for the partition of India, maintained the autonomous status of the Baloch states as in the memorandum of the Cabinet mission. The Partition Plan aimed to divide British India into two sovereign states, India and Pakistan.. Besides that, princely states, including Kalat, were also given the right either to merge with India or Pakistan. A referendum was preferred to decide the fate of British Balochistan and other tribal areas. *Marri*and *ugti*sent a memorandum to British Balochistan and wholeheartedly expressed their desires to merge their territories with the Kalat state. Jamal Khan Leghari, the chief of Dera Ghazi Khan, also wanted to merge his area with Kalat.

Both Pakistan and the British had briefly accepted the sovereignty of the Kalat state in the partition plan of 3rd June of 1947. On 30, July 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah clarified his policy towards autonomous states by declaring to follow a non-interference policy toward princely states, including the Kalat state. The Tripartite Agreement between Balochistan, Pakistan and the British on 4th August 1947 accepted the sovereign status of Balochistan, and agreed upon the declaration of Kalat's independence on 5th August 1947, enjoying the same status it originally held in 1838, having friendly relations with its neighbours.

After signing the Standstill Agreement, Khan declared the independence of Balochistan on 12th August 1947. In a coronation speech khan expressed his intention for a peaceful and prosperous Balochistan free from foreign influence. The aim of Khan was to achieve unity among the Baloch so that they could retain their identity and live in accordance with their traditions. In an announcement on 11th August 1947, Khan declared that in the future the government of Kalat will exercise complete rights of an independent government having an overwhelming command on its internal and external matters. On 15th August 1947, a formal declaration of its independence was announced by the Kalat government. The national flag of Balochistan was hoisted with green and red colors.

The Khan had promulgated a constitution through what was called the Government of Kalat State Act 1947. The Khan becomes the supreme and absolute ruler while appointing Muhammad Aslam Khan the Prime Minister and Englishman Mr. D. Pell the foreign minister. The written constitution consisted of two chambers*, Dar-ul- Umara* (the house of tribal chiefs or upper house) and the *Dar-ul – Awam* (the House of Commons, or lower House).

The written constitution paved the way for the election, which resulted in the victory of KSNP which managed to get 39 seats out of 51 seats in the House of Commons. It was believed that the election was the great achievement of the democratic forces in Balochistan, who had insistently worked for democracy and an independent greater Balochistan. To discuss the issue of the leased area, which was under the control of the outgoing British government, the Khan of Kalat sent the prime minister and foreign minister to Karachi. The meeting did not bear fruit. Later, Khan visited Karachi on the invitation of M.A Jinnah to discuss the future relations of the Khanate and Pakistan. The visit was solely confined to the matter of accession with Pakistan.

Khan put the proposal of accession in front of the Parliament. From 12th to 15th December 1947, the proposal was debated in several sessions of *Dar-ul-Awam*. As

the house was dominated by the staunch nationalist members, they categorically rejected the proposal and aimed for an independent and sovereign Kalat state. The prime minister explained about Jinnah about the reluctance of parliament to the proposal of accession of Kalat into Pakistan. After returning, M.A Jinnah again dispatched a letter to Khan for the accession of Kalat. Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited *Sibi*on on February 12, 1948, where a meeting took place between the heads of both states. However, after the meeting, the Khan blamed M.A Jinnah for his unfriendly policy towards the Khanate.

Pakistani authorities adopted different tactics and strategies. They decided to make use of the long-standing rivalries between the Khan of Kalat and the rulers of the subordinate states of *Las Bela* and *Kharan.* Both states enjoyed considerable internal autonomy. Jam of *Las Bela* and the Nawab of *Kharan*were loomed by the Pakistani authorities in March 1948. They extended their territories to Pakistan separately and irrespective of the Kalat state. By losing these two territories, Kalat became deprived of its connection with Iran and its access to the Arabian sea and was left high and dry and in sudden isolation.

On 27th March 1948, Khan signed the unconditional merger documents with Pakistan. Khan said that he did so because the very existence of Pakistan was in danger. However, under the constitution of the Baloch confederacy, the constitutional head, the Khan, had no right to take a unilateral decision without the consultation and the approval of the state assembly. On August 15, 1948, Pakistan gained absolute power in Balochistan and the legal entity of the khanate was abolished forever.

9.2 States of Balochistan

The concept of nation-building among the Baloch emerged in the 16th century. In search of political identity, *Chakir Khan* established a short-lived tribal confederacy stretching from the Makran coast to present-day Quetta. His kingdom was severely destroyed by civil war between the two Baloch tribes, *Lashari* and *Rind*. The death of *Chakir Khan* caused a heavy blow to the Baloch confederacy. Due to apathetic statesmen and incompetent rulers, the Baloch were plunged into disastrous strife. After the fall of the first Baloch confederacy in the 16th century, Balochistan was divided into three states, *Makran state, the Dodai confederacy* and the *Khanate of Balochistan*.

The rise of the *Ahmedzai* tribe brought the establishment of the Kalat confederacy. The *Khanate* was the first Baloch state that had firmly embraced the entire Baloch region, such as *Makran*, Western Balochistan, *Derajat, Sistan*, and *Las Bela.* The *Khanate* not only fostered the concept of patriotism and unity among the Baloch but also provided an unwritten constitution.

In the seventeenth century *Brohvi-Bijar* tribal conflict was settled as a result of Mir Ahmad Khan'being accepted as Khan of Kalat. Mir Ahmad Khan ruled for thirty years. The rise of Mir Ahmed I extended the border of the confederacy and bestowed a definite shape to khanate. From the inception of his reign and until the last moment, he fought with *Barozai* Afghan, the *Kalhoras*of Sindh and the Mughals in order to extend Baloch dominion. In 1695, he was succeeded by his son Mir Mihrab Khan I, who was killed in 1697 in a battle with *Kalhres* of Sind. Mihrab

Khan was succeeded by his nephew Samander Khan. After his death in 1714, Ahmad Khan II became the Khan of Kalat. The Kalat state was confined to *Jhlawan* hills, Quetta and Mustung and the remaining part was controlled by tribal chiefs. He was so weak that his brother Abdullah Khan, with the help of chiefs of *Sarawan* and *Jhlawan,* managed a revolt against him. Abdullah Khan gets control of Mastung. Abdullah Khan was considered the first khan who united Balochistan under one flag. He was an ambitious ruler and wanted to enlarge the territory of the khanate. For economic and strategic benefit, he invaded Sindh and annexed Kachi into the khanate. Being as shrewd a man as Abdullah Khan came in matrimonial alliance with *Kalhores*, but was constantly fighting against them. In 1731, he was defeated and killed in the battlefield by *Kalhores*.

In 1736, for the first time in the history of Balochistan Persian king Nadir Shah enforced his sovereignty over the region by invading Balochistan. After the demise of Nadir Shah in 1747, Ahmed shah established the Afghan kingdom. Khan of Kalat Mir Mohabat Khan showed reluctance to accept Afghan authority and he was replaced by his brother Mir Nasir Khan. Mir Nasir khan I was the greatest and most powerful Khan among all rulers of the Khanate. He established a centralized bureaucratic apparatus covering all of Balochistan. In1758 khan refused *Ahmed Shah Durani's* sovereignty and declared Kalat's independence, which brought armed conflict between Nasir Khan and the Afghan ruler. Ultimately, both the rulers came to an agreement known as the "Treaty of Kalat'' recognized the sovereign status of Balochistan. In this agreement Afghan monarch promised not to interfere in the internal and external affairs of the Baloch confederacy. Mir Nasir Khan's reign was considered the golden age of Kalat. On his death in 1795, he was succeeded by a weak and inefficient ruler. In this period Khanate was plagued with insoluble problems, and more distant territories fell subject to the Afghan ruler. The political crisis was further intensified by economic difficulties.

The 19th century witnessed the beginning of the Great Game between Britain and Russia in Afghanistan. Both great powers wanted to spread their sphere of influence in central Asian regions. Therefore, to contain the Russians, the British moved towards Balochistan. Although Kalat was an independent state from the time of Ahmad Shah (1747), after a thorough inquiry into the khanate's strategic importance, the British stepped into Balochistan in an indirect manner. The British advanced to Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass on their return to India British faced tough resistance from the Baloch during the first Anglo-Afghan war in 1839. Khan of Kalat refused vassal status under Afghanistan, which resulted in conflict between the Baloch and the British. On 13th May, 1839, Mir Mehrab Khan was executed by the British in a conflict.

Before the death of Mahrab Khan in 1840, certain tribal chiefs were in a state of revolt. After the death of Mahrab Khan in 1840, they raised Shah Nawaz Khan with the help of the British to the Khanship of Kalat. Nasir Khan was in *Sarawan* province and Shanawaz Khan suspected a revolt from him. The *Sarawan'*s tribesmen gathered at Mustung and attacked Quetta against the British. On their retreat, they again gathered and attacked Kalat. Shah Nawaz was defeated and Nasir Khan was raised to the Khanship of Kalat. The British officer appointed at Shah Nawaz's court was expelled to Quetta. Nasir Khan was invited in 1841 to Quetta

by the British. A treaty was made through which Nasir Khan was declared the Khan of Kalat. The British and *Shah Shujah o*f Afghanistan were given the right of stationing troops at Kalat. Nasir Khan was bound to consult the British and *Shah Shuja* in foreign affairs. The robbers of Kachi again disturbed the trade route from 1841 to 1845. Nasir Khan sought the force to suppress them with the help of the British.

To establish direct control over the access routes to Afghanistan, the British fought bloody battles with the Baloch until 1854, when a treaty was signed. By 1876, the British became able to subjugate Kalat. Playing rival chiefs against each other, the British systematically proceeded to divide the Baloch area into seven parts. In the far West, the Goldsmiths line gave roughly one-fourth to Persia in 1871, in the North, the Durand line assigned a small strip to Afghanistan and British India in 1893. The British adopted the divide and rule policy to play tribal chiefs against each other and projected the Baloch and the Brahi as different ethnic groups. The Jacobabad agreement of 1876 briefly paved the way for the occupation of Balochistan and the rise of the *Sardari* system in Balochistan. This brought a sense of nationalism and resistance in the Balochi people toward foreign dominance.

With the passage of time British brought all strategically important regions under their control. The Baloch areas were divided into centrally administered cooperative British Balochistan and three smaller puppet principalities, *Kharan, Makran* and *Las Bela,* to weaken the power of the chief and khan in order to efficiently impose their rule on the Balochs.

9.3 Khan of Kalat

Khan of Kalat or Khan-e-Qalat is the title of former rulers of the State of Kalat. The rulers in Kalat were subjected to the political authority of a larger state for some period. First, they were subjected to the Mughal emperor Akbar in Delhi, then after 1839 to the British, and finally to the Pakistan government.

The rulers of Kalat held the title of Vali originally, but in 1739 also took the title (Begler Begi) Khan, usually shortened to Khan. The last Khan of Kalat had the privilege of being the President of the Council of Rulers for the Balochistan States Union.

The Khawaneen trace their origin to a Baloch hill chieftain named Qambar (or Qumbar). His tribe was hired by Sehwa, the Raja of Kalat, a Hindu princely state, to protect against marauding tribes from the Multan, Shikarpur and Upper Sind areas. Mir Qambar Baloch and his troops successfully repressed the incursion, but afterward, they deposed the raja and Mir Qambar Baloch became the first Vali.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. What was the role of the Shahi Jirga in the accession of Balochistan to Pakistan?
2. Explain the constitutional position of the States of Balochistan at the time of independence in 1947.
3. How were the principles of accession applied in the case of Kalat?
4. Analyze the political negotiations between Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan regarding accession.

5. Assess whether the accession of Balochistan to Pakistan was primarily the result of political negotiation or strategic necessity. Support your argument with reasons.

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