## Mumtaz Ali<sup>1</sup>

#### **Abstract:**

Balochistan has an old history and It has witnessed different ups and down. Since ancient times different invaders have invaded Balochistan in different times. Balochistan remained a tribal society even today; as a result of tribal society it faces different socio- economic and political conflicts.

This article will explore and analyzed the history of first Baloch confederacy, tribal and political system of Balochistan.

In 12<sup>th</sup> century the first Baloch confederacy was established in the existing territory of Balochistan by Mir Jalal Han (Khan). Later on Miro Kambarani made it second confederacy and lastly Naseer Khan Noori shaped it administration on the pattern of Baloch tribal confederacy.

When Pakistan came into being on  $14^{th}$  August 1947, Balochistan was merged in it on  $28^{th}$  March 1948.

**Keywords:** First Baloch Confederacy, History of Balochistan, Khanate of Kalat, Balochistan'a Merger, Mir Jalal Han, Tribal System.

First confederacy was formed in Makran by Mir Jalal Han who migrated from Seistan and Kirman to Makran in 12th century. In this sense Mir Jalal Han is considered the founder of Baloch confederacy and the ruler of all the Baloch in the existing territory of Balochistan (Baloch, 1987).

The second confederacy is considered the Kalat Khanate of Balochistan which included all Baloch regions such as Makran, Derajat, Seistan and Lasbela into a body under the control of a central government. The Khanate gave a concept of unity, patriotism and an unwritten constitution (Rawaj or Dastur) which became accepted document in the 14th or 15th century.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, UoB Quetta

Miro Kambarani was the founder of the Kalat confederacy, who ousted the Jata from the Jalahwan area (Baloch, 1987).In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Umer Khan the sun of Miro was killed. When Chaker Khan invaded Kalat and Kalat came under the control of Makran confederacy. But Mir Bijjar the sun of Mir Umer Khan recovered the possession of Kalat. In 1650, when the Baloch tribes refused to accept Mughals rule, the tribal assembly chose Mir Hassan as their chief.

In 1666, Mir Hassan died and the tribal assembly elected Mir Ahmed (I) as their Khan. This was the period when the independent Khanate was founded. The border of confederacy was extended by him. According to Mir Gul Khan Naseer, a Baloch Historian, Mir Ahmed was the first to rule Kalat like a sovereign (Naseer, 1986).

Ahmed followed the policy of both fighting and friendship. He fought with Barozai (Afghan) Kalhoras of Sindh and the Mughals, for the Baloch dominions. He established friendly relations with the powerful emperors of India. With Aurangzeb, as a military ally against Shia Iran, and had full authority to deal with Barozai, Mir Abdullah Khan was the first Khan who united Balochistan under one flag. The border of the Khanate was extended in the southwest to Bandar Abbas, in the east to Derajat and the northwest at a short distance to Kandahar to Kachhi and Lasbela. He fought with Afghan ruler Ashraf Shah Ghilzai, later on invaded Afghan territories and murdered the Afghan ruler. He invaded Sindh and defeated Kalhorase but died himself in this war.

Naseer Khan (I) who was the powerful of all the rulers of the Khanate laid the foundation of military and civil institutions of the Khanate. First of all he formulated the foreign policy with Iran, Afghanistan and Sultanate of Oman as well as with Ottoman Turkey. Naseer Khan (I) also introduced currency which was known as Naseer Khan Shahi or Karam Shahi with the name of Naseer Khan printed on it. He introduced national language and national flag of the Khanate too. He was an elected chief and a tribal monarch who ruled over Balochistan. He accepted the rule of Afghan ruler, Ahmed Shah until 1757, but when he declared his independence in 1758 which caused the Baloch, Afghan war, the main cause of this war was that Ahmed Shah opposed Naseer Khan's expedition to Makran. Khan considered this as interference

by Shah, he advised Shah not to interfere in this affair. To conquer Makran was the dream of Khan Naseer (1) and to establish a Khanate for a long time and to save its economic, commercial and military interests in the Persian Gulf. In 1758, the Afghan army attacked Balochistan but was defeated by the Baloch army, but soon Ahmed Shah sent a grand army and Kalat was invaded. The Afghan ruler failed to subjugate Khan. Finally the Kalat treaty or the treaty of non-interference was signed by both parties. It was a peace agreement. According to this treaty the sovereignty and independence of Balochistan was accepted and recognized by the Afghan ruler. This is the treaty which shows the Baloch, Afghan relations and the international and constitutional status of Balochistan.

## **Provisions of the treaty:**

Khan-i-Baloch, Mir Naseer Khan will not pay any tribute to the Shah (King) of the Afghan in future.

Khan-i-Baloch will not supply san (Military assistance) to Ahmed Shah. But provided that, he is at war against external enemies, the Khan will supply a military contingent as a token of help, on the condition that the Afghan King will provide annually Rs.10, 0000 and military weapons, and bear the expenditure of the army as reward.

Khan-i-Baloch will not provide any help or asylum to rebel Princes of the Sadozai or Afghan Chiefs. On the other hand, the Afghan King will not give any help or refugee to Princes of the royal family of Kalat, Ahmedzai.

Shah-i-Afghanistan in future will never interfere in the internal affairs, disputes and other matters of Balochistan.

All those areas of Khan-i-Baloch which are in the possession of the Shah-i-Afghanistan will be handed over to the Khan-i-Baloch.

It was signed between Khan Naseer Khan-(1) and Ahmed Shah Durani (Baloch, 1987)

Including the treaty of 1758, some other treaties were also signed between the Afghan rulers and Khan of Kalat. In 1841, Naseer Khan-II and James Outram signed an agreement on behalf of the British government, according to this agreement Naseer Khan-II was recognized as the Khan of Balochistan. When Khan Naseer

Khan -II agreed to be a vassal of Shuja, the British government restored Kachi, and Mastung to the Khanate. After short time, (Shall), Quetta was also restored to Naseer Khan-II. After the murder of Shah Shuja of Afghanistan, the treaty of 1841 was abrogated but the policy of friendship and non-interference towards Balochistan had been adopted.

In 1854 another treaty was concluded by the British government with Naseer Khan-II against the Russian threats and Iranian expansionist policy towards Balochistan. This treaty not only accepted Khan as an independent ruler, but also financed the Khan for the purpose of military and civil institutions to maintain his authority over the tribes. So that they check over the anti-British excursion of the Baloch tribes into British-India and to develop British trade into Central Asia (Baloch, 1987).

On 8th December, 1876, a treaty was signed between Khan and Viceroy, Lord Lytton in Jacobabad, in which Khan was accepted as an independent ruler but subordinate in external affairs to Britain. Both governments agreed to exchange representatives. Actually it was an agreement which opened the door for the Britishers to occupy Balochistan (Baloch, 1987).

In 1877, Sandeman was appointed as British resident and the agent to the Governor General in Balochistan. He played an ugly role in Balochistan. In 1879, the Afghan territory of Pashin, Zhob, Loralai, Chaman, Shorawak, Duki, Shahrag were occupied and consolidated by British. These district of Afghanistan were occupied through treaty of Gandamak; the area occupied by this treaty was called British Balochistan. Sandeman always played negative role for instance introducing bribery and force just to crush the sentiments of independence and created wide Gulf between Khan and his Sardars. To achieve his ends, he introduced some reforms: most important was Jirga system (Council of Elders). The members of Jirga were nominated by the British authority. Sardar was the head of the Jirga, that was Sardari Jirga, but their decision needed the approval of the Deputy Commissioner or Political Agent. Another Jirga was Shahi Jirga (Grand Council) it was a time when Sardars became more powerful, got money and properties, as well as the authority of life and death, to establish their own Jails including judicial power. Prior to Sandeman, Baloch society was based on equality and federal principles, the Sardars were part of the

tribes, they just led and guided their people but Sardars were empowered by this system. Due to these inflicted changes in Baloch society, the Sardars became despotic and authoritarian rulers of their tribes. It is said that Sandeman shattered the whole Baloch set up. Jirga totally came under the control of Sandeman. In the end, Khan was deposed by the Jirga of Sardars in 1893 that was totally against the agreement of 1854 and 1876. The unwritten constitution of Baloch tribes was replaced by a new system (The Sandeman or Sardari System). Baloch Sardar was recognized as a feudal head instead of elected chief. All these acts changed the political system of Balochistan. Ultimately Balochistan was subjected to British control rather than Khan's (Marri, 2016).

It was the result of the treaty of Gandamic which was signed between British and Yaqoob Khan, the ruler of Afghanistan, in the same year Shallkot (Quetta) and its surroundings by the treaties of 1876 and 1879 with Khan of Kalat were handed over to the British control. In 1891, British extended their authority to Zhob valley. In 1899, Noshki and in 1903 Naseerabad and portion of Naibat Lehry, Bhag and Gandawah were handed over to British on loan by Khan of Kalat.) Now British started a plan to resettle the geographical boundaries of the traditional Balochistan, so that to make Baloch very weak by dividing their territory into different neighbouring states. Due to this policy one forth area of west Balochistan was given to Persia according to the boundary commission of 1871 and 1895 which altered the boundary between Kalat and Iran. In 1893, Under Durand Line Agreement, a small part of Balochistan was handed over to Afghanistan. Jacobabad (Khangarh) was handed over to the Indian province of Sindh and Dera Gazi Khan to Punjab. And 134000 square miles of Balochistan were occupied by British. Following are the details.

- 11,403 square miles were occupied through Gandamic treaty.
- 36401 square miles taken by settlement through Durand Line.
- 1685 square miles were declared leased area.
- 69382 square miles were made native states.
  - 7129 square miles of Tribal Areas

Then the British Government granted an amount of one lac seventy four thousand as rent of the leased areas. The part of the amount was 25,000 for Quetta and surrounding areas. 9,000 for Noshki Naibat, 115000 for Naseerabad and the portion of Lehri Bhag and Gandawah Rs.25, 000 were fixed (Shah, 2008).

These all were tactics to control and occupy the land of Balochistan. But the political status of area varied from each other. The official classification by the British Government notification of the areas is as follows.

The rest of areas which came under the classification of the territories run by the agent to the Governor General, but the division of this area were not stopped by the British rulers. Three categories were made for this area.

- 1. Directly administered areas
- 2. Native states
- 3. Tribal areas
- (1) The districts which were either leased from Khan of Kalat or the tribal areas taken from Afghanistan under the boundary agreement were included in directly administered areas. All these areas had been given the status of agencies such as, Zhob, Chaghi, and eastern parts of Quetta, Sanjavi, Kohlu, Barkan and the parts of land along the railway line. These areas were directly administered by the British Balochistan.
- (2) The second category of area was made up by the native states; these were Kalat, Lasbela, Makran and Kharan.
- (3) The Maree and Bugti tribal areas were in third category that was total a confused mixture to run the government in the administrative set up (Shah, 2008). This plan initiated with the appointment of an agent to Governor General in 1877: with a staff of three political agents and medical officers. The political agents were appointed at Quetta, Jacobabad and Kalat and the head quarter was Kalat. But slowly this system was expanded to control the law and order situation in the area. That was a time for the agent to the Governor General in Balochistan who became a real ruler of the whole Balochistan so he did not miss this opportunity and made Khan merely a rubber stamp. All those responsibilities and authorities were in the hand of Political Agent of Kalat, who was also performing the duties as Prime Minister of Khan Political agent run this system through chiefs of states like Kalat, Kharan, Lasbela

and Makran, but in the real sense the agent to the Governor General was all in all. This system, which was introduced in native states of Balochistan to hold power and run British hegemony, was called Sandeman System. No doubt that the Baloch Psyche was not ignored in this system and tribal individuals, Sardars and elders were given respect. Disputes among them were decided through Jirga (Council of Elders). Customs were respected. But all these things had one aim, to have complete control over Balochistan. All these actions and steps were for the time being. When British established their firm roots in Balochistan then started drastic changes in customary Jirga System of Baloch tribe. Decisions were taken through Jirga but finally by the Political Agent. Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) was exercised. A new change occurred in the selection of Jirga members in which members were elected by the Jirga on the basis of their abilities and qualities. That system was replaced by Sandeman System. Thus the choice fell in the hands of the Political Agent for the nomination of Sardars for the Jirga. Moreover, Sardars were brought under his disposal (Shah, 2008).

Mir Khudadad Khan brought some changes in the system of Khanate when he became in power again as a Khan of his Khanate in 1858. He replaced the British troops in his state with three Baloch regiments; an effective audit system was also introduced in offices handling finances and a number of other socio- economic and administrative reforms were made (Khan, 1975). When General Browne came in Quetta after the death of Sandeman he expected the Khan to visit him. The Khan considered himself as an independent ruler was expecting Browne to pay him a visit like his predecessor Sandeman both did not visit to each other (Naseer, 1986). while the conflict between two authorities was going on. Mir Khudadad Khan gave orders for the execution of his Prime Minister and the members of his family on charges of attempting to kill the Khan. Browne regarded this act as "inhuman", ignoring the fact that the Khan was entitled to give capital punishment, as a ruler of the country. The Khan was invited to Quetta for a discussion, where he was arrested. The Jirga of the Sardars, the enemies of the Khan, assembled at Quetta and deposed the Khan on the advice of Browne; they elected the crown prince, Mir Mahmud II as a ruler of Kalat by the Sardars. During this period the political status of the Khanate was changed. The Khan lost the control of the Khanate and the Britisher became its rulers. The nomination of the Prime Minister even needed the approval of the British government. Regular army of the Kalat was abolished and a new levy system was introduced under the British army officers. Each and every authority fell in the hands of the Political Agent in Kalat, Prime Minister of Kalat and the agent to Governor General at Quetta. Khan was only the nominal head of the government (Baloch, 1987).

When the Kalat state appeared on the map of the world it was the second half of the seventeenth century, it was formed as a tribal confederacy with a bi-cameral system as well as functioned and decentralized pattern of power that was the policy of state. It was better than Sandeman system, but Baloch could not continue this for future times because of some reasons: Khan Naseer Khan could not maintain a balanced political system. Second, the most important and attractive location and position of Balochistan from defense point of view has been concerned for the world super powers. Geo-political location and situation of Balochistan compelled the superpowers to focus on this region for their own interest, to keep their hegemony on the weak territory and sovereignty of the world. When Balochistan was captured by the British, the customs and traditions were destroyed by them and they adopted the policy of divide and rule (Shah, 2008) Because of this policy the influence of British corrupted the institutions, finished the role of institutions and increased the role of personalities over the majority. During the British period the interest of the people was not taken seriously, that's why the education, health, and welfare of the people were not the subject of ruler (Gichki, 2015).

After a long period, nearly hundred years ago the last Khan of Khanate Mir Ahmed Yar Khan met Quaid-e-Azam during the freedom movement of subcontinent (Indo Pak) in 1936. The purpose of this meeting was the issue of Kalat state (Shah, 2008).

Quaid was seeking the support of Balochistan for Muslim league; he visited Balochistan and met several leaders, for example: Jahandar Shah Jogezai who was the Duke (Nawab) of Kakar tribe and has much influence on Pushtoon community. Another prominent leader of Pashtun tribe was Qazi Mohammad Isa he was very close to Quaid Azam. Quaid-e-Azam was well aware of him because he met him in park lane hotel London in 1934, Quaid Azam visited Balochistan again from September 14-1945 to 7th October

1945.Quaid mostly stayed in Quetta with Qazi Mohammad Isa, Qazi was chief organizer of Balochistan Muslim league. Then he went to Mastung for one week on the invitation of Khan of Kalat. In this way Quaid e Azam established very close relations with Khan and his people (Shah, 2008). Khan Mir Ahmad Yar Khan made his personal contact with other law experts especially with Jinnah to fight his case in the court of Britain for the independence of Balochistan. He also made his contacts with tribal chiefs and nationalists. He was supported by both (Gichki, 2015). Then Khan put his demands before the government of British which are as follows.

- 1. The right to appoint the Prime Minister at Kalat with the consultation of the British government.
- 2. To control the tribal areas of Jahalawan and Sarawan without the help of the British political agent at Kalat.
- 3. Returning of the leased and tribal areas such as Noshki, Bolan, Naseerabad and Marri Bugti areas.

The restoration of his power in the state of Khan and the consultation of the AGG was accepted but his demand which concerned the leased and the tribal areas of Marri, Bugti was rejected for defence and security purpose. Then Khan of Kalat appointed Mr. Jinnah as his legal advisor in order to fight a constitutional war against the British. Because Khan was well aware about the importance of the said areas of Balochistan and those areas were most important for getting an international status of the Khanate (Gichki, 2015). During the cabinet mission in March 1946, Mr. Jinnah presented the case of Khanate. He explained the constitutional position of Kalat state.

- 1. The Khanate of Balochistan is an independent sovereign state whose relations with the British government are based on various mutual treaties.
- 2. The people of the Khanate, its government, and the ruler can never agree to Kalat being included in any form of Indian union.
- 3. The associations of Balochistan with India are merely due to its connections with the British government.
- 4. The Khanate will revert to its status of the Pre-British era as an independent sovereign state (Marri, 2016).

The Prime Minister of Kalat, Nawabzada Mohammad Aslam, presented the historical background of the independent state

of Kalat in a report to Mr. Griffin, secretary, political department of the government of India, on December 26, 1946. This report discussed relation between the British government and Kalat, the future of the leased areas, and its international status as sovereign state (Marri, 2016).

Khan met with viceroy, Lord Wavell, on January 1947, he discussed his case with him. Mr. Wavell wrote: "I then saw the Khan of Kalat, a stout, middle-aged, old fashioned gentleman, who impressed me by his loyalty to the British, and his thoughts that Balochistan had no real connection with India.

On April 11, 1947, a proclamation was issued in the form of a pamphlet in which the constitution of the independent state of Kalat, and issues such as minority rights and the welfare state, were elaborated. The future foreign policy of the attitude of Jinnah was defined.

"In future the government of Kalat will exercise the complete rights of an independent government in internal and external matters. It will establish relations through treaties of friendship with its neighbouring Muslim governments, Afghanistan, Iran, the Arab countries and, in particular, with Pakistan. At the same time, it will also establish friendly relations and treaties with India and the outside world. The people of Balochistan should also be clear about the fact that the Khan of Kalat and Jinnah's policies are the same and that the Khan of Kalat has consulted Jinnah and sought his advice on all these issues. Jinnah is in total agreement with the independence of Kalat, the return of the leased areas, and the merger of Baloch areas with the state of Kalat, Jinnah assured all kinds of aid." (Brahui, 2014)

The plan of June

In June 1947 the British government declared the plan of partition of British India into two sovereign states.

- 1. India
- 2. Pakistan

The areas included in the scheme of Pakistan as below

- 1. East Bengal (Muslim majority)
- 2. The district Sylhat
- 3. West Punjab (Muslim majority)
- 4. North West Frontier area (Present Khaber Pakhtoon Khuwa)

- 5. British Afghanistan (the future was subjected the result of referendum.)
- 6. The Baloch tribal areas (Marri, Bugti, Khetaran, and the Deraghazi Khan) subjected to referendum.

Different views were stated on holding referendum in Baloch tribal area and the British Afghanistan.

Mr. Jinnah, the leader of all India Muslim League rejected this plan of the British government in which Shahi Jirga was given the right to vote on the basis of hereditary members. Jinnah proposed one of the following three alternatives for the electorate:

- 1. Ration card holders (2000)
- 2. All tribal chiefs (Malik and Mutabars: about 500)
- 3. All the members of district Jirga : (about 400)

Regarding the policy of all India congress, Nehru wrote to the government of India:

"A commission might be appointed consisting of suitably chosen senior judicial officers and possibly representatives of external affairs department. The commission should arrange full meetings of Jirga and attend them explaining the point at issue. They may or may not take votes. They should really find out the general sense of each meeting and report accordingly. If necessary, the commission should split up into smaller sections to meet some of the Jirga."

They should consult as large a number of people as possible and not confine themselves to the selected few of the Shahi Jirga. As regards the people of the Quetta Municipality; it should be possible to take a referendum of them. The views of Nehru and Jinnah were not completely accepted by the government of the British. The agent to the governor general in Balochistan said that 'Shahi Jirga' was hereditary and not a representative institution. An elected Jirga from each tribe for considering the case of the referendum was suggested. On the other hand Khan opposed the proposal of Nehru to include Quetta in the referendum. According to Khan Quetta was not part of the British Afghanistan rather it was the part of the Khanate. An elected Jirga was also favoured by lord Mountbatten to represent the people of Baloch tribal areas as well as the British Afghanistan as for as the representation of Quetta was concerned, Nehru was informed by Lord Mountbatten "the only considering town in Balochistan is Quetta which is inhabited almost entirely by non Baloch. It would therefore be undesirable that it should have any kind of deciding voice in the future of Balochistan" The British government was not in this position to bring such type of arrangement for a representative Jirga, this weakness was due to the shortage of time which the British administration could not pay a possible attention this important matter. All proposals and suggestions could not be given a real shape. At last all those which were concerned in this regard agreed with Shahi Jirga to decide the fate and future of Baloch tribal areas and the British Afghanistan. On 29th Jun, 1947, a referendum was held and the majority of members of the Pashtun Jirga favoured the merger of British Afghanistan into Pakistan.

The Pashtun tribal areas of North West Frontier (Present Khaber Pashtun Khawa Province) were given the right to elect their representatives for deciding their future but as far as the case of Baloch tribal areas was concerned, the British did not adopt the same pattern, here the hereditary chiefs of the Baloch tribal areas got the rights for deciding the future of the areas. however, several Baloch chiefs of Derajat were willing to join the Khanate even the Baloch chiefs of the Marri and Bugti areas, Sardar Doda Khan Marri and Sardar Mohammad Akber Khan Bugti, made a written representation to the British government in order to join the Khanate; The British government did not care the desires of the Balochs and ignored these legal and valid rights of a nation (Brahui, 2014).

It was a violation of constitution of the Kalat State which the Khan had promulgated it and that came into force from 1st August, 1947 as well as the violation of the legislature of the State called the Darul Umara and the Darul Awam. First one represents the Sardari Inami tribal areas of the State with thirty six hereditary Sardars as representatives of their Sardari and Tribes, including others ten, and Ministers nominated by the Khan. All the remaining areas of the State were represented by the Darul Awam composed of fifty five members, five of them shall be nominated by the Khan and fifty shall be elected under this act in 1947 (Marri, 2016). Election was held peacefully and in Kalat State National Party members won thirty nine out of fifty two of them. Though elections were held on nonparty basis due to the Khan's policy; people not only supported but voted in favour of Kalat State National Party. The turnout was

considerably fearful for Khan. But the results compelled Khan to come in negotiation with Kalat State National Party. Because Khan wanted to block KSNP that's why nonparty basis election was held but due to this election's results Khan came to KSNP without fundamental differences in the respective approaches to the issues, an agreement was done between Khan and the leadership of KSNP. KSNP agreed to cooperate with the government and some members were allowed as secretaries of the State, then Gul Khan Naseer, Malik Faiz Mohammad Khan Yousafzai and Malik Abdur Rahim Khwajakhel became the part of government. But according to Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo "Khan Saheb did not trust the KSNP and wanted to keep its leadership worry.

Subsequently Balochistan was the edge of critical scenario due to the polarized intentions and decisions of their leadership.

The matter of independence of Balochistan including other matters, Khan did not consider it necessary to take the leadership of KSNP into confidence about the future relations and discussion with the British government and the government of Pakistan. The awareness of Baloch leadership regarding independence of Balochistan was not hidden, Baloch leaders were very sincere about it and Khan knew very well but he did not take real steps towards independence of Kalat. Despite knowing the wishes of Baloch leaders and also knew that Baloch leaders could not compromise on their independence. However, Khan wanted to go into a bargaining process and compromise. According to Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, "Khan was a broken man" He could not sustain his confidence and belief to protect the independence of Kalat State. Therefore, he deceived the Baloch, deceived those who were seeing Independent State, in fact he deceived himself when he met Mr. Jinnah in Karachi in Oct, 1947, he got the proposal of accession of Kalat to Pakistan by Jinnah. Khan could not take a solid and bold step and decision but wanted more time from Jinnah to consult the Sardars and Motabars. When he returned from Karachi he convened both the Houses of Parliament to discuss and find a solution on the proposal of Jinnah to merge Balochistan into Pakistan.

From 12th to 15th December, 1947, several sessions were held by Darul Awam and discussed a lot on the proposal(Khan, 2007). A remarkable speech was delivered by Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo on 14th December, 1947 as a leader of the House. He said

"The British government, by force of arms, enslaved most parts of Asia. British government was tyrannical, oppressive. It robbed our independence. We had never been a part of Hindustan. Pakistan's demand that Kalat, which had earlier been known as Balochistan and had been the National homeland of the Baloch, should merge with Pakistan is unacceptable.

Our Khan helped in the formation of Muslim League in Baloch territory. Our homes and vehicles were donated for its propagation. And a large majority of people of Kalat under Khan's leadership did everything to help the Muslim League succeed. But what is Pakistan giving us in return? How is Pakistan reciprocating? Pakistan does not want to return to us the leased tribal areas which belong to us. We do not want to keep them in the bond of slavery. They are our brothers. In this capacity they have all along been integral part of Kalat. Pakistan has refused to talk about them. Pakistan's condition is that until and unless the government of the Baloch with bowed heads and humility go for discussion, Pakistan would not hold talks. We are ready for friendship with honour not in indignity. We are not ready to merge within the frontiers of Pakistan.

We have a distinct culture like Afghanistan and Iran, and if the mere fact that we are Muslims requires us to amalgamate with Pakistan, then Afghanistan and Iran should also be amalgamated with Pakistan. They say that we, Baloch, cannot defend ourselves in the atomic age. Well, are Afghanistan, Iran and even Pakistan capable of defending themselves against the Superpowers? If we cannot defend ourselves, a lot of others cannot do so either.

We are asked to sign the death warrant of one and half cror Baloch of Asia. We cannot be guilty of such major crime.

We have no money but we have abundant mineral resources; we have vibrant sea ports; we have unlimited sources of income. Don't try to force us into slavery in the name of our economic compulsions. If Pakistan, as an independent nation wants to have an agreement with us, we shall extend the hand of friendship."

Other members of the house of common rejected the proposal and delivered their speeches following the suit.

Mollavi Mohammad Umar while delivering his speech said "Honorable members whatever Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo said

really he represented each and every Baloch and that was the voice as a whole of House but voice of all the Baloch. We pray for the government of Pakistan. Pakistan was made in the name of Islam. Muslims are always equal. A Muslim neither hit the others nor snatches the bread of others, so no one has right to enter the house of others say to them that accept us or quit your house. Our pray are with Pakistan, whenever they needed our help, we will stand by them. When British government declared our independence we celebrated it but now we are told that we are going to lose our independence".

Then Mollavi Arz Mohammad recorded his speech, he said "respectable audience, I am a Mollavi I am not well aware about the laws, thanks God that the government of Pakistan emerged. Baloch are living in Sind, five lac and fifty thousand in Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, we are very happy that an Islamic state emerged with nine crore and fifty lac. Our status is like a younger brother. We should be loved by big brother. Pakistan should have given our leased areas in spite that we are forced to accession, we are poor people, dying because of no bread to eat, and we are weak and simple people. Pakistan is a big government, wants to snatch our freedom but we are not ready for it at any cost. We want a friendly and respectable agreement, whatever Pakistan wants from us we are ready to give her."

After Mollavi Arz Mohammad's speech, Mollavi Noor Mohammad said "There is no further need to express another speech after their speeches but I just want to express a little that Baloch shocked by the demand of annexation of Balochistan into Pakistan. Pakistan is an Islamic country, no need a pressure on Baloch for giving a legal and justified help. We have objection with Pakistan that being a friend Pakistan did not amalgamate those areas, Lasbela and Kharan, which are our parts, nor replied about leased areas. The Baloch Nation wants a life but life is never meaningful without all of its parts. We want to maintain a friendly relation with every government, especially with Pakistan. It is useful for both. Until Pakistan does not behave equally us and does not return leased areas, our friendship is difficult. We are ready for friendship and for this we can take each and every problem on us but cannot give accession to our country to Pakistan."

Next Malik Faiz Mohammad Khan showed the same desires. Said "each and every thing have been presented in front of you by the honorable members, I want to say only realities which you people could understand easily that Kalat was a free state before English ruler .Khan Mehrab Khan sacrificed his life for liberty. Khan Mir Khuda dad Khan remained in jail many years for the freedom of Kalat. Kalat will remain free Insha'Allah, a friendly agreement between Pakistan and Kalat be done so will be better but such a thing is demanded in this way we will become a slave and loss our separate status then we the Baloch are not ready to bear it."

Next, Mirza Khuda Bukhsh Khan, came with the same words, said "I appreciate Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo who presented this matter on the floor of the house. It is a single matter due to its importance now the question is to save the nation of Baloch, let's see that Baloch could protect themselves at this time of worry. We are ready for a friendly agreement."

In the last Mir Kunar Khan said "till now what speeches have been delivered I ratify that no one of the Baloch nation will accept it at any cost that this question be end at wrongly we are ready for a friendly agreement."

President of the house asked the other members that whether any honorable member wants to express his views?

In one voice, we all are agreeing that we would not accept the accession at any cost and want respectable agreement (B.M.Kutty, 2009).

The proposal of annexation of Kalat to Pakistan was rejected unanimously by the Darul Awam then the session of Darul Umarah was held on January 2, 3 and 4, 1948 for deciding this matter and Darul Umarah followed the decision of the Darul Awam unanimously. Members of the upper house raised some points in their speeches that were against the Kalat's accession to Pakistan.

They said;

- 1. Baloch had been living as an independent and sovereign nation with their own national territory for several hundred years, preserving and promoting their culture, traditions and customs;
- 2. In 1839, the British began to intrude into the affairs of Kalat state on different pretexts. Soon followed it up with armed intervention, which was raised by the Baloch;

- 3. From 1839 till 1947, relation between British and Kalat were governed by various treaties and agreements concluded between their governments. Even at the British-Kalat-Pakistan Round Table Conference held in Delhi on 4th August 1947, the independence and sovereignty of Kalat state was reaffirmed and accordingly an announcement was made in this regard on behalf of the government of Pakistan on 11th August 1947 from all India radio, Delhi.
- 4. Kalat Balochistan had been a Muslim state like Afghanistan and Iran. Its relations with these neighbouring states were governed by treaties similar to the ones it had with Britain;
- 5. There is absolutely no justification for Kalat-Balochistan to efface its national and geographical entity, renounce its independence, sovereignty and specific national identity and join Pakistan:
- 6. Kalat Balochistan while maintaining its independent and sovereign status is willing to establish with Pakistan the same brotherly and friendly relations as it will have with neighbouring Muslim countries, Afghanistan and Iran.
- 7. The Baloch are not prepared to part with their independence and sovereignty at any cost.

Balochistan was treated as a princely state even Balochistan had never been the part of the British Indian princely states, the status of Balochistan was totally different than those states which were princely states of British India. Despite all these realities no way was left for Balochistan except to decide in the favour of Pakistan or India.

Khan was forced by the government of Pakistan to decide the matter of accession of Kalat to Pakistan as soon as possible. The Khan once again referred this sensitive issue to both the houses of the parliament but this proposal was rejected once again by the Darul Awam in its session held on 25th February 1948 and Darul Umarah also refused to accept it in its session held two days later (B.M.Kutty, 2009).

Despite this decision of Kalat state, that should have accepted by Khan and the government of Pakistan because that was a democratic and political will of the representatives of the Kalat state. But Khan became under pressure by government of Pakistan and immediately informed the government of Pakistan to finalize

and solve this matter of merger with Pakistan within three months. Before taking any decision by Khan according to his promise, and instead of accepting this offer, on the other hand the government of Pakistan taking a step to annex Kharan and Lasbela, both were part of Kalat and forced them to merge with Pakistan directly. Makran which was also part of Kalat Balochistan was made independent and given a separate status from Kalat state on March 17, 1948 and Bay Khan Gichki was made its ruler;

Now pressure was being increased on Khan and the Khanate by the government of Pakistan. At last Khan signed the agreement of accession on 27th March 1948. But that was not a unanimous decision of Kalat state because both houses of the Kalat's state denied becoming the part of newly born Pakistan. Whatever Khan did that was totally against with the will of Kalat state parliament and people of Balochistan .But on the other hand the people of Balochistan did not challenge the decision of Khan on broad basis. The majority of Balochistan did not take this issue seriously except to Kalat State National Party. Khan just ruled over the country as a traditional ruler, did not care the development of the people and country not motivated, educated, nor treated the masses as a ruler of a free and sovereign independent state, that's why during the pressure which built by the government of Pakistan, .the people of Balochistan were sleeping except Kalat State National Party. The reason of this behaviour was the weak role of the Khanate. The rulers of the states of Kalat, Kharan, Lasbela, and Makran did not find the care and attention from Khan's Side, There was lack of political awareness and vision. They were not aware of the national solidarity and the benefits of independent nationhood. They were living in a tribal-oriented society, with many factions and divisions. The lack of maturity caused deprivation of their independence. 27 It is absolutely right that Baloch, till today are not ready to unite on a single platform; they cannot accept any one among themselves as a single leader to fight for their rights, before sixty nine years it was imaginary. Due to such circumstances independence of Baloch became under threats. Members of the parliament, Darul Awam and Darul Umara, (House of Common and House of Lord) just put up some resistance by rejecting the proposal of the merger in the houses. Parliament could not do anything except passing a resolution against the annexation. The then Baloch

regime could not show an armed resistance to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Baloch State. As for as general public is concerned, they were totally unaware, in such a situation the Baloch could not sustain their independence nor were able for an armed resistance; except those hot and emotional speeches which were delivered in both houses of the parliament by the members of the Kalat state. When they were asked to join India or Pakistan they could not impose their decision on the British government and as well as the government of Pakistan. So they joined Pakistan due to their weak position.

British did not think for the development of Balochistan, they ignored each and every aspect of society, continued their rule till 1947 without progress of education, health and infra-structure. The same policy of British was followed with Balochistan by the Khanate periods and after the disintegration of the sub-continent from 1947 to date by Pakistan.

The confederacy of Balochistan has its own history of ups and downs. Sometimes captured the territory of others and sometimes lost its own independence.

Before the emergence of Pakistan (1947) many a times Balochistan enjoyed its independence, in this regard concluded some treaties with others nations, for instance, with Afghanistan and British rulers.

#### References

B.M.Kutty. (2009). *In Search of Solutions: An Autobiography of Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo*. Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi.

Baloch, I. (1987). *The Problem of Greater Balochistan*. Stuttgart: Steiner Wiesbaden BMBH.

Brahui, D. A. (2014, November 10). Balochistan States Union. (M. Ali, Interviewer)

Gichki, D. M. (2015, December 15). Anglo-Baloch Relations. (M. Ali, Interviewer)

Khan, A. Y. (1975). *Inside Balochistan*. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Khan, A. Y. (2007). Tareekh e Baloch Qaum wa Khwaneen e Baloch. Lahore: Al Asr Publication.

## Mumtaz, Ali

Khan, A. Y. (2007). Tareekh e Baloch Qaum wa Khwaneen e baloch. Lahore: Al Asr Publication.

Marri, S. K. (2016, January 15). History of Balochistan. (M. Ali, Interviewer)

Naseer, M. G. (1986). *Tarikh i Balochistan (History of Balochistan)*. Quetta: Kalat Press.

Shah, P. D. (2008). Essays on Balochistan: Spciety, Polity and Tribal Administration. Lahore: Classic.