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Baluchistan: British Rule, an Era of Political Awakeng and Merger

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Baluchistan: British Rule, an Era of Political Awakeng and Merger

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Abstract- The British administration developed an immense interest in Baluchistan because of its geo-strategic significance. It had a desire to establish buffer states in extreme north-western regions to block the perceived Russian's intervention. The British authorities wanted to safeguard a line of communication with Afghanistan via Baluchistan. Their administration's efforts to make the Khanate as its vassal state under the treaty of 1841 met a stiff Baloch resistance. After the defeat of the British in the first Anglo-Afghan (War 1842), Kalat's independent status was recognized in the treaty of 1854. Afterwards, Closed Border Strategy (1854-72) was worked out towards Baluchistan, which was replaced by forward border policy.

The 20th century marked the on-set of the awakening of political consciousness in Baluchistan. Two Baloch icons, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and Yusuf Ali Khan Magsi brought an awareness of political issues in the Baloch society. Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Baluchistan was founded primarily for struggle to get the administrative unification and constitutional reforms introduced in Baluchistan. The convening of the All-India Baloch conferences was the high-water mark of the Anjuman's career. These conferences were Balochistani in character. Though, it was short lived but brought Pashtun and Baloch together to raise united voice for their common home land. The British administration brushed away the reform packages suggested on these occasions. The end of Anjuman-e-Ittehad Balochan wa Baluchistan led to the termination of Balochistani politics. Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai laid the foundation of his own political party (Anjuman-e-Watan) in 1938 and affiliated it with All-India National Congress. Kalat State National Party's tilt was also towards Indian nationalists and it backed the ideology of undivided India. Its leadership, Mir Anqa, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizinjo and Gul Khan Nasir endeavoured to form representative government in Balochistan. Indeed, the constitutional status of Baluchistan and its merger into Pakistan is a topic of great interest. The Khan of Kalat submitted two memoranda's to the Cabinet Mission Plan in March 1946. He argued that Kalat enjoyed the legal status like that of Nepal and presented a strong case for its independence. He also claimed Kalat's supremacy over Las Bela, Kharan, Murri Bugti tribal areas and return of the leased areas. (Quetta, Nauhki, Nasirabad) The British administration appointed Shahi Jirga to decide the future of the British Baluchistan. It formally gave its verdict in favour of Pakistan. The validity of the verdict has been the matter of controversy. Given the precarious situation in and around the Khanate, the Khan signed an instrument of accession. The Baloch nationalists declined to accept the authenticity of the instrument of accession. The paper deals with the British rule in Baluchistan and political awareness during controversial

merger of Baluchistan into Pakistan. It also highlights political and constitutional developments during this period.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the pre-partition British rule in Baluchistan in a historical perspective. Many political developments have been highlighted that ushered in an age of political awakening in Baluchistan. The paper has also discussed the controversial accession of Baluchistan in to Pakistan. The study focuses on some important issues.

- The British policies and strategies towards Baluchistan to achieve their geo-strategic and geo-political targets and the Khanate responses to these challenges.
- The role of different political organizations and personalities creating an environment of political, national and social awakening and informed public opinion.
- The stances of concerned quarters regarding the future of Baluchistan and its controversial merger in to Pakistan.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY OF BALUCHISTAN DURING BRITISH RULE

a) Demographic structure of Baluchistan

During British rule, Khanate of Kalat Comprised of four principalities of Las Bela, Kharan, Mekran and Kalat. (Foreign policy centre, 2006) The British Balochistan consisting of those areas that Afghan government had ceded to the British under the treaty of Gandamak in 1880. (Singhal, 1982). That is regarded as the most degrading one (Singhal, 1982). and the leased areas consisting the territories of Khan of Kalat which were leased to the British administration (Keltie, 1917).

b) Creation and Consolidation of the Khanate of Kalat

The Brahui Ahmadzai tribe founded the Khanate of Kalat in mid-seventeenth century. Its founder was Miro-Kambrani (Baloch, 1987). The Khanate asserted its independence during the period of Ahmad Khan (1666-95) (Baloch, 1987). Ahmadzai's regime also ushered in an era of territorial expansionism (Harrison, 1981). The 18th century witnessed the consolidation of the Baloch country. It also created a feeling of nationalism among the Baloch (Dashti, 2012). Abdullah Khan, the fourth khan (1714-1734) expanded it "from Kandahar what is

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now south eastern Afghanistan, across the Mekran area all the way to Bandar Abbas in what is now a Southern Iranian post and extended to his domain to embrace Dera Ghazi Khan district on the edge of Punjab (Axmann, 2008). Nasir Khan's rule is considered as the glorious age of Khanate. (1749-95) Military and economic gains of his period were equally remarkable. He captured Mekran, Las Bela and Kharan and many Indian Ocean ports (Harrison, 1981). He created unified Baloch army and brought the major Baloch tribes under unified military organization and recruitment (Axmann, 2008). Thus, he becomes the supreme commander of the well-organized and permanent army. He introduced internal hierarchy into a Sardari system. He established Sarawan and Jhalawan division under the supra-Sardar (Axmann, 2008).

c) A Period of Chaos and Anarchy in the Khanate

The death of Nasir Khan set in a period of crisis. It was said that there were different reasons that caused chaos and anarchy in the Khanate. The khans backed feudal system. The Sardars were adamant to replace it with decentralized confederation (Baloch, 1985). Luxurious life style had been cited as another cause for the lawlessness (Awan, 1985).

d) Geo-Political and Geo-Economic Importance of Baluchistan

The British administration was waiting for ripe circumstances to intervene in the north-west extreme of the sub-continent due to its geo-political and geo-economic importance. It was believed that buffer states in these areas would help the British India from Russian's onslaught. Russian's invasion of India via Afghanistan and either the Khyber Pass or the Bolan Pass, was perceived as potential threat to the British India. Indian government dispatched Captain Grant, (1809) Colonel Henry Pottinger (1810) and finally, Mounstuart Elphinstone (1812) to collect information on the geographical and political existing situation in the vast north-western regions (Awan, 1985). Geo-political significance of Balochistan had played the most key factor in shaping British Indian government's policies towards it (Gulzad, 1991). The British Indian administration wanted to safeguard a line of communication with Afghanistan via Balochistan.

e) An Agreement Between Mehrab Khana and the British

In order to fulfil its strategic designs, it finally decided to install Shah Shuja's government in Afghanistan. He was living a life of exile. Mehrab Khan (1817-39) agreed to provide and facilitate safe passage and to purchase requirements for the British troops on their move to Afghanistan via Balochistan during first Anglo-Afghan war (1939-42). British troops, after withdrawal from Kandahar, invaded Kalat. The Khan was blamed of betrayal for not enforcing the treaty signed

with the British administration. Mehrab Khan I declined to give in to the British authorities and was killed in the battle field along with the hundreds of his men. Shah Nawaz, a fourteen year old distant relative of the deceased Khan, was appointed Khan of Kalat. Mustang and Kacchi were incorporated into the Afghanistan and Sindh respectively (Awan, 1985).

f) Treaties of 1841 & 1854 Between the British and the Khanate

The British authorities had to bow down to the stiff resistance from the Baloch tribes and appointed Nasir Khan II as the New Khan. The Khan, in turn, submitted to the British administration. The treaty of 1841 was inked between the two parties under it (Dashti, 2012). Kalat was regarded as a vassal state of Afghanistan and British troops could be stationed in any part of Kalat (Awan, 1985). The crushing defeat of the British in the first Anglo-Afghan war forced them to review their Fortier policy regarding Khanate (Awan, 1985). The treaty of 1854 recognized Kalat's independent status (Baloch, 1987).

g) The closed border strategy

Afterwards, two schools of thought emerged with regard to India's imperial strategy in dealing with the extreme north and the western regions of Indian sub-continent (Chopra, 2003). The closed border strategy school opined that British Indian Empire could be defended by establishing friendly states in its north-western regions. The designs of the foreign invaders could be foiled by establishing infrastructure and trade in these regions. The forwarded policy strategists had different views. They favoured the cultivation of friendly north-western states which would depend upon the British defence. They supported indirect British control over these states. The British Indian government followed closed border policy during 1854-72. .

h) The forwarded border policy

The conservatives in Britain supported the forwarded border policy (Chopra, 2003). The government appointed Sandeman as the agent to the Governor General in Balochistan. It ushered in a new era regarding Baloch-British relationship (Axmann, 2008). Major Roberts Sandeman was assigned the task of consolidating indirect British influence in Balochistan. His administration made tireless efforts to pacify the territory and to protect roads and passes. He gained immense success in achieving targets of forwarded policy. Sandeman kept direct links with the Sardars and the tribal chiefs and the Khan was bypassed. They were given financial assistance and political patronage in their respective areas. Jirgas and Shahi Jirga were created to settle inter-tribal feuds and subdued "anti-government's activities" Levy system, comprising of tribal forces, was introduced. The tribal chiefs were responsible for maintaining law and order. The levies were at their

disposal. The sandaman system has been criticized by the scholars. It tried to change the purely tribal system and used the institution as a weapon against rebellions (Axmann,2008). Balochistan, in practice, came under the influence of the British administration. The Khan's status was weakened. The sardars began to act as feudal instead of elected chief.

The decentralized political structure emerged in the Khanate after the treaty of 1876. The so-called Sandaman system shifted the traditional position of the sardars and the Khan. The sardars's dependence on its own tribes reduced. Tribal chiefs enjoyed the strong backing of the British that raised their position and status (Baloch,1987).

j) The treaty of Gandamak

After the second Anglo-Afghan war, Quetta came under direct control of the British administration. The British leased Quetta, Bolan pass, chagai and Murri-Bugti areas. The district of chaman, Peshin, Sibi were ceded to the British Empire as a result of the treaty of Gandamak signed between the Afghan government and Indian British government. British Balochistan was brought into existence by the combination of the leased areas and the Pashtun areas. The keystone of the British indirect rule was the Sardari system. The British administration was not ignorant of the centrifugal tendencies of the tribal Sardars. It crushed such kind of tendencies to keep integrity of the Khanate intact.

III. BEGINNING OF AN ERA OF POLITICAL AWAKENING IN BALUCHISTAN

The 20th century marked the beginning of political awareness in Balochistan. The long swing of events in and around Balochistan brought its people to face with the political issues. It was no longer possible to avoid politics. The march of new development had already pushed them to political and constitutional arena.

a) Establishment of Young Baloch and Publication of A Newspapers

In 1920, a political organization was founded by Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd (1904-79), son of civil servant of Kalat, in Balochistan by the name of 'Young Baloch'. It vehemently advocated institutional and political reforms in Balochistan. This organization was composed of constitutionalists, western-educated and people having middle class background. They toed the line of Indian nationalists (Awan, 1985). In 1927, Abdul Aziz Kurd and Nasiralwi together started a newspaper called "Balochistan" in Delhi. Its existence was short-lived.

At this time, a very remarkable and unusual man appeared on the Balochistan's scene. He was Yusuf Ali Khan, the son of Nawab Qaisar Khan, Sardar of Magsi tribe, who, in his boyhood, wrote an article for a Lahore newspaper in 1929. Which he entitled "Faryad-e-

Balochistan", the wail from Balochistan. He was detained for writing this piece of complaint. He sponsored a newspaper called "Azad" in Lahore. He appointed Abdul Aziz Kurd as its editor (Axmann,2008).

b) Formation of Anjuman-E-Ittehad-E-Balochanwa Wa Balochistan

Upon his release, Yusuf Ali Khan and Abdul Aziz Kurd decided to form the political organization by the name of Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochanwa wa Balochistan. The organization launched a struggle for the administrative unification and introduction of constitutional reforms in Balochistan, Baloch Nationalists had differing views. They were of the opinion that it had been established to demand for an independent and united Balochistan under the elected government. It was in favour of 'Greater Balochistan' (Amin, 1988). Abdul Aziz Kurd put forward an idea of a separate and an independent Balochistan (Baloch, 1987). It was secular, non-tribal and nationalistic movement (Baloch, 2004). Its manifesto was very progressive and modern. It proposed representative parliament and responsible cabinet under the Khan. It also wanted the abrogation of British indirect rule in Balochistan. The nationalists also attacked the "Sardari system" The sardars were not in their good books due to their alliance with the colonial administration (Janmahmad, 1988). The British used them as their weapon to silence the voice of opposition (Baloch, 1987).

Upon ascending the throne, Azan Jan promised to introduce constitutional government in Kalat. Given this commitment of Khan, an agreement was signed with Yusuf Ali Magsi. The Anjuman supported his claim on the throne against Muhammad Anwar Khan who had the support of Sir Shamas shah, the prime-minister (Baloch,1987).At last, due to support of the tribal chiefs and the Anjuman, Azan Jan became the Khan of the Khanate on 10th December, 1931.

It was, indeed, first great success of the Anjuman, However, it met a failure in persuading the Khan to act upon his promise. The khan seemed to be reluctant to reduce his powers. The sardars also opposed the reforms and wanted to maintain statuesque.

c) First all India Baloch and Balochistan Conference

The landmark gain of the Anjuman was the convening of the all India Baloch and Balochistan conference on 27 December, 1932 at Jacobabad. It is also important to observe that the conference was not only supported by the Baloch nationalists, but was also sponsored by the tribal chiefs. Another feature of the conference was the representation of Iranian Baloch led by Saeedi Baloch (Kausar,1999).The Jacobabad conference was, indeed, Balochistani in character. It brought Pashtuns and Baloch close together to fight for their common interest of their home land comprising

majority Pashtun British Balochistan and predominately Baloch Khanate (Axmann,2008). Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, along with the Baloch delegates attended the conference. He chaired the first conference (Axmann, 2008). It was an unusual opportunity for both the Baloch and Pashtun nationalists to face the challenges posed to the Balochistani people in a broad perspective. The conference demanded the formation of the constitutional government in Balochistan and its unification. It also put forward the package of political, economic and educational reforms for Balochistan's progress and development (Dashti, 2012). The colonial administration opposed the proposed reforms of the conference on flimsy excuses. The Colonial administration did not consider Balochistan fit or mature for representative government due to its political backwardness and the disunited nature of the khanate, etc. The British administration reacted to the Anjuman's struggle for reforms and arrested Baloch nationalists including Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai and Abdul Aziz Kurd (Axmann,2008).

d) Second all India Baloch and Balochistan Conference

It was organized at Hyderabad in December, 1933. It stressed upon the un-met demands of the first conference Yusuf Ali was now upto his neck in politics. He sponsored a number of newspapers in Karachi which were all banned. In May, 1933 he produced a pamphlet called "Balochistan Ki Awaz". His struggle inspired self-respect and honour among Baloch against the British authorities. He also infused a spirit of nationalism and communism (Syed, 2008). He met Jinnah in February, 1934 during his visit to England. He passed away at the youthful age of 27 as result of the Quetta earthquake which occurred in May, 1935 (Axmann, 2008). Thereby, the nationalist struggle was deprived one of its great heroes. The unfortunate death of Yusuf Ali Magsi also led to the demise of Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan.

e) Launching of Anjuman-E-Watan and Parting of Ways

The Balochistani character, which was seen during All India Baloch and Balochistan conferences, came to an end at the demise of the Anjuman. Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, who worked with the Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan, formed his political organization by the name of Anjuman-e-Watan in 1938. The focus of its politics was predominately Pushtun British Balochistan. He affiliated Watan with All Indian National Congress. Indeed, Abdus Samad Khan was the sole distinguished pioneer of Pushtun Nationalism in Balochistan. He was also considered as the prominent spokesman of Congress's politics in Balochistan. He was arrested and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment time and again due to his "objectionable anti-state activities" Perhaps, Achakzai did not see eye

to eye with the radical wings of Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan which was working for independence. Anjuman-e-Watan demanded constitutional and administrative reforms in British Balochistan. Anjuman-e-Ittehad clearly faced split in 1937 between the two forces of constitutional reformers versus supporters of Independence. It was an unfortunate split along ethno-nationalistic fronts (Axmann,2008). The honeymoon period between the Pashtun nationalists and the Baloch nationalists was over and now began to look at their respective areas with their divergent interests. Achakzai established the Wrore Pak htoon in 1954. It demanded a Pashto-speaking province (Rehman,2006). That is considered as a wrecking factor for Baloch nationalist movement (Rehman,2006).

As a matter of fact, Pashtun British Balochistan was not part of the Khanate. It became the part of British Balochistan after the second Anglo-Afghan War. Its cultural and historical links were with Afghanistan rather than Balochistan. Pushtun had developed a lot of reservation about independent Balochistan. The Pashtun nationalists were not unaware of the Baloch-dominated Balochistan. The Anjuman-e-Watan looked towards their racial brothers living in Afghanistan and the North-west frontier Province. The Anjuman-e-Watan candidly followed Congress's politics in British Balochistan. Achakzai was also as supporter of the philosophy of non-violence. He is also known as Balochistan Gandhi (Axmann,2008). It is necessary to pinpoint that the idea of independent Balochistan was not born in Jacobabad Conference. If it had been so Achakzai would not chaired or supported it. Achakzai distanced himself from Anjuman-i-ltehad as reaction to the demand of separate and independent Balochistan by some radical elements. The Pashtun did not appreciate the idea of a separate Balochistan.

f) British Policy Towards the Demands of Constitutional Reforms In Baluchistan

The British administration declined to meet the demands of constitutional reforms in the areas on flimsy grounds. They argued that "small population" and "insufficient resources" were the major obstacles on this account. The British look down upon the "anti-administrative activities" of Anjuman-e-Watan. Achakzai was put behind the bars during 2nd World War. British regarded his political ideology as "Obnoxious" (Axmann,2008). Naturally, the British could not ignore the popular position of the Anjuman-e-Watan. It was of course, one among the popular organization functioning in Balochistan. The British administration looked upon the Anjuman-e-Watan as a qualified organization for representing the advisory council. That was proposed to help the AGG on constitutional reforms. It was given membership in the north-west frontier tribal committee established by the advisory committee of the constitutional Assembly (Axmann,2008).

IV. KAIAT STATE NATIONAL PARTY AND ITS POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The Anjuman-e-Ittehad replaced by Kalat State National Party. Its chairman was Abdul Aziz Kurd. It attracted most of the young and middle class educated people, outstanding among them were Mir Gahus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Muhammad Hussain Anqa and Gul Khan Nasir. The KSNP was inclined towards the political thinking of the Muslim Nationalists. It even backed the idea of un-divided India. It struggled for getting political, social and economic reforms as reflected in the rivaj or custom of the area. It got fame among the masses and caused scepticism among the rulers (Awan, 1985).

a) *Divergence of Interest Pushed the Nationalists and the Khan Apart*

The Baloch Nationalists supported Ahmad Yar's succession in 1933. Ahmad Yar also seemed to extend support to the KSNP. It was a marriage of convenience between the Khan and the Baloch nationalists. The Khan wanted to re-establish the writ of the Khanate over leased and tribal areas which were under the control of the British. The Khan was also desirous to reduce influence the tribal elites. The KSNP could be very supportive in this connection. It was convergence of interests that brought the two forces together. The KSNP needed the backing of the Khan so as to form representative government in Balochistan and to get rid of Sardari System. However, coincidence of interests between the constitutionalists and the autocratic Khan did not last long. Divergence of interest pushed them apart. The Khan was not reconciled to the position of figurehead with its wings clipped by the representative government. The Khan was also unhappy over the blunt criticism of the Sardari system and British administration by KSNP. The axis of the Khan, tribal Sardaris and British administration surfaced due to commonality of interests. The Khan, at last, banned it on 22 July 1939. It was declared an unlawful body. Its top leadership was exiled. The banning of KSNP proved to be counter productive and the graph of its popularity was raised. The party shifted its headquarter to Quetta,

b) *KSNP Affiliation with Congress*

Disillusioned by the Khan's behaviour, KSNP affiliated itself with congress. The ban, imposed by the Khan, was lifted after 2nd world war. It joined all India States People Conference, a sister organization of Congress in 1945 (Axmann, 2008). Despite the difference of views within ranks of Baloch Nationalists regarding merger with the Indian Union or demand for independence, yet they were united in their opposition to the Pakistan movement. Baloch Nationalists of today regard KSNP's brief affiliation with congress as a mistake. Their stance that Balochistan having separate identity and independent position in the subcontinent

was greatly damaged by KSNP's association with Indian National congress. (Axmann, 2008).

V. ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE SURFACEED ON THE CHANGED POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF BALUCHISTAN

A Pashtoon lawyer, Qazi 1sa of Pishin laid the foundation of the league in a Mosque without any proper organizational set-up (Pirzada, 1970). Qazi Isa visited Jinnah at Bombay in 1938. He was greatly impressed and inspired by Jinnah. Who had been demanding the constitutional and administrative reforms for Balochistan in his Delhi proposals (1927) (Aziz, 1967). These demands were repeated in 14 points (1929) (Sayeed, 1967). At its annual session held at Lahore in 1937, league demanded provincial autonomy for Balochistan and decided to organize the league (Talbot, 1990). Formal formation of the league happened in 1939 and its head quarter was opened in Quetta (Afzal, 2002).

Jinnah paid visit to Balochistan in late June 1943 and spent two-months there Jinnah tried to stir the party in to action (Ahmad, 2006). He also met the Khan of Kalat on his personal invitation. He spared no efforts in infusing new life into Muslim political movement in Balochistan. During his second visit to Balochistan in 1945, the people were greatly impressed and inspired by him (Awan, 1985). His message was the same that Muslim League, being a representative party of Muslim of India, demanding Pakistan (Wolpert, 1998). It was difficult task to assess the popularity graph of the league because of partisan literature. The most prominent Sardars, such as, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali gave real backing and support to the Muslim League. They were the active supporter and sympathizers to the Pakistan movement in Balochistan. These two Muslims stalwarts were unhappy over Qazi's attitude towards the tribal Sardars. Qazi Isa, being a president of the league, was an obvious candidate for the Balochistan's representative to the Indian constituent Assembly. Jaffar Khan Jamali and most Sardars opposed his candidature due to his criticism of the Sardari system. According Awan, Muhammad Khan Jomezai was convinced by Jaffar Khan Jamali to contest the election for Balochistan's seat in the constituent Assembly. Jomezai took part in the election and defeated Abdus Samad Achakzai. (Awan, 1985). It was a great victory for the Muslim League in British Balochistan.

VI. CONTRVERSIAL CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF BALUCHISTAN

a) *Khan's stand on its constitutional status*

Indeed, the constitutional status of Balochistan is a topic of great interest. The Khanate of Kalat was given a sovereign status according to the first treaty signed between Mehrab Khan and the British government in 1839. The second treaty made the Khanate a vassal state of Afghanistan. The treaty of 1954 between Nasir Khan and the British restored the independent status of Balochistan. The final treaty (1876) looked forward to mutual friendship and reaffirmed the treaty of 1854. The status of the Khanate was unilaterally changed under the government of India Act, 1935. It led to the controversy. Ahmad Yar Khan strongly opposed the unilateral decision of the British administration. According to Khan, the treaty of 1876 had given independent status to the Khanate. The Khanate would be free to follow its own course in future in case of withdrawal of the British from India (Baloch, 1975). The Khan formally submitted two – memoranda to the Cabinet Mission plan in March 1946. The Khan presented a strong case for independence of the Khanate. He argued that Kalat enjoy the legal status like that of Nepal had been gained through the direct treaty. It could not be regarded as native state (Axmann, 2008). The Khan also claimed Kalat's supremacy over Las Bela, Kharan and Marri-Bugti-Tribal areas in the memorandum.

The second memorandum was related to the return of the leased areas (Quetta, Nushki and Nasir Abad). It was crystal clear that the Khan and the Baloch Nationalists wanted to get Kalat as an independent entity declared by the British before their departure. The Khan might have foreseen the increasing interest of the new-born states of Pakistan and India about the geo-strategic and geo-economic importance of the Balochistan. The Khan could not oversee the political penetration of the Congress and league in Balochistan.

b) *The government of India's point of view*

The government of India rebutted the Khan's arguments. According to the Article 3 of the treaty of 1854, the British government would respect the independence of Balochistan subject to its subordinate position. (Baloch, 1887). Undoubtedly the British regarded the Khanate as an independent state deprived of complete sovereignty. The British intervention increased in the internal affairs of the state with the passage of time. In theory, it claimed to be independent but practically it had become an ordinary state of the British India.

c) *Stance of Regional and National Leadership of the League*

Pakistan government considered itself the political, legal and constitutional successor of the British

under Article 4 of the agreement and seemed determined to maintain status quo to buy more time and wait for an opportune time to make it Balochistan a part of Pakistan. Perhaps, regional and national leadership of the league had already decided to leave no stone unturned in gaining access to the British Balochistan and the Khanate as the later events proved. Pakistani leadership being conscious of the geo-strategic and geo-economic significance of Balochistan seemed ambitious to make it a part of Pakistan upon the termination of The British rule.

VII. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS LEADING TO THE MERGER INTO PAKISTAN

The British administration appointed Shahjirga as an electoral college to decide the future of The British Balochistan. The Khan wanted to drive leased, tribal areas including Baloch Sardars of these regions out of the Shahjirga. His demand was not met. Eventually, in late June 1947, The Shahi Jirga formally gave its verdict in favour of Pakistan. The validity of the verdict has been a matter of controversy between Pakistani authors and Baloch Nationalists. They argued that a conspiracy was hatched between the British and the leaguers against the Baloch nation. They contested that decision of the Shahi Jirga come one day before the fixed date announced publicly. They further said that jurisdiction of the Shahi Jirga did not extend to legal parts of the Khanate (Axmann, 2008). Contrary to their perception, Pakistani authors like A, B Awan, Inam Ul Haq Kausar and S. Abdul Quddus viewed 29 June a date set for referendum. According to them, The British and The Congress manipulated events in Balochistan against Pakistan movement. At last, British Balochistan joined the new state on 15 August, 1947. Upon the termination of the British rule, the Khan had three options to exercise either to join India or Pakistan or declare independence. There is no denying the fact that cordial relations existed between the Khan and Mir Jinnah. Awkwardly, it was Jinnah who put forward Kalat's memoranda to the Cabinet Mission plan in 1946. Thereby, its claim of being a non-Indian state and Khanate's independence was supported upon the British's withdrawal from India (Baloch, 1975).

Mountbatten, Mir Jinnah, Liaquat Ali, Ahmad Yar Khan and Sir Sultan Ahmad, as legal advisor of Kalat state agreed upon the independence of Kalat state during a meeting held at Delhi on 4 August 1947. According to it, Kalat would be restored to its original position his standstill agreement led to contradictory and confusing interpretation. The Khan and the Nationalists were gratified over its article-1st which stipulated the Khanate as an independent state as recognized in the earlier treaties signed between the Khans and the British government.

On the other hand, Ahmad Yar Khan was taking different measures to strengthen his position with in independent state of Kalat. He established bicameral legislature consisting of lower house (Dar-ul-Awam) and upper house (Dar-ul-Umra). The lower house would represent the interest of the masses where as the upper house was to be composed of hereditary tribal sardars. As a result of elections for the lower house, KNP won majority seats under the leadership of Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo.

Mir Jinnah and government of Pakistan made it clear to the Khan about their intention of unconditional accession of the Kalat state to Pakistan. The Khan referred the matter to the parliament to finally decide the issue of accession. Both The houses of the parliament voted against accession and expressed their determination to maintain the independence status of the state (Awan, 1985). Jinnah and government of Pakistan urged and tried to persuade the Khan on the occasion matter. The Khan was also using delaying tactics. The government of Pakistan took a different course. It exploited the long drawn hostility between the Khan and the states of Las Bela and Kharan. In practice, these states had gained semi-independent positions during last days of The British rule (Axmann, 2008). They wanted to keep their position and powers. Eventually, all the three states were formally given accession by the state of Pakistan. As a matter of reality, the states were approached by government of Khan and they expressed their willingness for accession. Pakistani administration succeeded in its policy of isolating Khan and depriving him of the most strategic territories of the Khanate. The Khan finally inked the instrument of accession to Pakistan on 30th March, 1948 after failure of its hope of receiving help from India and Afghanistan. He also did not stand up pressure from Pakistani forces (Amin, 1988). It is amazing to note that the Khan signed the documents of accession without taking the parliament into confidence which he always referred to as final authority in this regard. Accordingly, the Baloch nationalists regarded "The accession Matter" as illegal and unconstitutional (Axmann, 2008).

VIII. CONCLUSION

The British administration as colonial power pursued its own geo-strategic interests in Baluchistan. It had a desire to establish it as a buffer state in extreme north-western regions to block the perceived Russian's intervention. They tried to make the Khanate as its vassal state. The Baloch under the Khanate did their level best to protect their national interests and put up a stiff resistance. They succeeded to get some what independent status under the treaty of 1854. The 20th century marked the on-set of the awakening of political consciousness in Baluchistan. Different political parties under the dynamic leadership were founded primarily struggled to get the administrative unification and

constitutional reforms introduced in Baluchistan. They played a significant role in developing political, national and social awakening among the people of Baluchistan against the hegemonist designs of imperialist forces.

When the Khan of Kalat visualized British withdrawal, he decided to plead the case of his state independence on legal grounds. The Khan also asserted again over the leased areas and the states of Lasbela, Kharan and Mekran. Surprisingly, it was Jinnah who supported Khan's stance before the Cabinet Mission (1946). Top Pakistani leadership seemed ambitious to make the Kalat state as its part due to its geo-strategic and geo-economic significance. It changed its mindset and expressed the intention of unconditional accession of the Kalat state to Pakistan. In order to exert pressure and isolate the Khanate, the government of Pakistan decided the accession of the states of Kharan, Mekran and Lasbela. The Khan succumbed to the pressure tactics and finally signed an instrument of accession. Afterwards it became a controversial issue. Given the track record of the Baloch stiff resistance to the British authorities and controversial nature of the Khanate's accession, the ruling class in Pakistan should have been cautious to deal with the Baluchistan crisis. Ironically, setting aside the ground realities, the civil-military establishment and political leaders made solo flight in shaping the political and constitutional making history of Pakistan.

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