

**THE ROLE OF PASHTOONS OF BALUCHISTAN IN
PAKISTAN MOVEMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF JOGEZAI TRIBE**

**By
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**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
ISLAMABAD**

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THESIS/DISSERTATION AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

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Abstract

Baluchistan is a province comprising of huge stretches, dry mountains, the land of contrasts, deserts and a few green basins. There are some characteristics of Baluchistan which are very prominent in the region: the scarcity of water, the cultivable land and the scattered population of human and the natural resources. These prominent features of Baluchistan always attracted the foreigners to occupy this huge land mass easily. This is because of the geostrategic location and importance of Baluchistan and it is bordering with Afghanistan and Iran. Baluchistan has been occupied many times by the foreign invaders in the past and the people residing in this region are very different in their habits, way of living and recognized by their environment.

The British occupied this region of the united India and therefore their advent in Baluchistan was not inimitable. The reason of the occupation of Baluchistan by the British imperialists and other powers to exercise their influence was to get control of the area. These imperialist powers met with immense resistance and especially in the Pashtoon residing areas of Baluchistan. The resource rich area of Baluchistan always attracted these powers. The British interest in Baluchistan was to counter the Russian advancements towards the South and the Russians wanted to have their entrance to warm waters through the route of Baluchistan. The British wanted to expand towards the South and used different tactics to strengthen their hold in this region.

The British government also paid a huge amount of money to the Khanate of Kalat at regular period of time and supported by the local levies forces. The British government of India signed different agreements with the Khanate of Kalat and Sir Robert Sandeman of the British government explicitly pursued the policy of divide and rule. The Sandeman was successful in his

mission and Baluchistan was divided into British Baluchistan and the states of Baluchistan. This 'divide and rule' formula of the British government was successful in the territory of Baloch tribe but extensive army actions had to be taken in Pashtoon territory of Baluchistan. The British occupation and the number of military operations and resistance faced by them were in the Pashtoon areas of Baluchistan. The resistance movements headed by the people of Zhob, Loralai, Pishin, Duki, Sanjawai and Sherani. The Pashtoons of this region considered the British occupation of Baluchistan as a threat and a big challenge for them in their indigenous land and against the interests of their cultural, social and religious sensibilities with the adjacent country Afghanistan.

The British were to face difficult situations in the Pashtoon inhabiting areas of Baluchistan and they started a war against British on religious grounds. The British government placed their troops at fort Sandeman (Zhob) in the supervision of Sir Robert Sandeman and they controlled the region from this station. The resistance movements and war against the British in this region were led by the Sardars, Malik's, and Nawabs of the eastern and northern parts of Baluchistan. Jomezai family is the family which resisted and fought against the British rulers in this area. Shah Jahan Jomezai and Nawab Bangul Khan Jomezai are leaders which were always on forefront of the confrontation against British in every corner of the Pashtoon areas.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AGG__ Agent to the Governor General

AIB__Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan

AIML__All Indian Muslim Leagues

ANP__Awami National Party

AWP__Anjuman-e-Watan Party

EC__Electoral College

NAP__National Awami Party

NWFP__North-West Frontier Providence

PKMAP__PashtunKhwa Milli Awami Party

QBA__Quetta bar Association

QMC__Quetta Municipal Committee

CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

(Declaration Form to be filled in by Candidate at the time of Submission of Thesis to the Supervisor for Internal and External Evaluation. Follow this pattern strictly, and also let the dotted lines appear on the page)

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Candidate of MPhil Pakistan Studies at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis (Title): THE ROLE OF PASHTOONS OF BALUCHISTAN IN PAKISTAN MOVEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF JOGEZAI TRIBE. Submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

The first government of Pakistan left no diplomatic endeavors and high-flown promises to integrate Baluchistan in the state of Pakistan. Territorial, Baluchistan covers 43 percent of the area of Pakistan and strategic consideration played a decisive role. Baluchistan covers an area of 327,000 sq. km., which, in 1961, had 1.25 million inhabitants; in spite of all the lofty promises is still the poorest and backward province of Pakistan.¹ Baluchistan became the fifth independent province along with Sind, Punjab, East Pakistan and North West Frontier Province in March 1948.² During the advent of British, Baluchistan was divided into two parts: the British Baluchistan and the princely states of Baluchistan. The British Baluchistan was comprised of district Quetta, Pishin, Loralai, Zhob, Sibi and Chaghi and the princely states of Baluchistan were Kalat, Kharan, Makran and Lasbela. The British Baluchistan was directly under the British government and Agent to the Governor General (AGG) and authority to maintain the discipline of this part of Baluchistan. Kalat was the largest state in Baluchistan and run by Khan Ahmad Yar Khan, and he was a famous Baloch tribal leader, having strong influence in the Baloch tribe.

The geostrategic importance of Baluchistan compelled the British to politically interfere in the region for a safe route to Afghanistan during the first Anglo-Afghan War of 1838-1841,³ bringing Baluchistan into the larger picture of South Asia under British colonialism. Strategically Baluchistan lies between the highland of Central Asia and low land of South Asia making it a

¹ Fred Scholz, *Nomadism and Colonialism*. p3.

² Ibid

³ Hassan Kakar, *A political and diplomatic history of Afghanistan (1863-1901)* (Boston: Brill Leiden, 2006) p.3.

perfect buffer zone for the British Empire in the sub-continent. Over the course of British occupation of Baluchistan for strategic purposes led to the resistance against invaders in late nineteenth century and the early twentieth.

British Baluchistan is very different from other parts of the British occupied areas in South Asia. Baluchistan comprises of many tribes i.e. Pashtoon, Brahvi and Baloch. From centuries these ethnic groups have been living in harmony and with mutual feelings of brotherhood which influence the traditions, practices, patterns, and way of living of one another to a large extent. Generally, the Pashtoons are an industrious and hardworking people, and they are the Sunni Muslims, they have an egalitarian and democratic society.

The environment of the Pashtoons have taught them to grow somewhat specific codes of life, some of which have come under severe criticism of both western and oriental historians. The Pashtoons are divided into tribes and clans and each tribe or clan is headed by a Khan or Malik. The conformity to such tribal chiefs is not often observed and the Pashtoons more often than not revolt against Khan or Malik without much excitement. The Pashtoon of Baluchistan predominantly living in the North western region of Baluchistan comprising mainly of Quetta, Pishin, Killa Saifullah, Zhob, Loralai, Hernai and sub-divisions of Sibi District.

In the freedom movement of Pakistan there were many Pashtoons and Baloch leaders who contributed for the sack of free home land like, Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani, Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai, Ahmad Yar khan, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Dr. Syed Fazal Shah, Malik Jan Mohammad Kansi, Nawab Meer Yousef and Aziz Magsi. The prominent Family like, the family of Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai (being a sub-tribe of Kakar tribe) in Baluchistan is one of those prominent people who confronted the aggression of British imperialism.

Similarly, the Jomezai family has an essential role in this tribal society of Baluchistan under the British imperialism and in the existing state of Pakistan. The Jomezai family belongs to the most important tribes of Sanzar Khel Kakars and the sub-section of the Jalalzai-Shadozai-Alizais. The Jomezais are endowed with the religious sacredness in the eyes of their fellow tribesmen, and Bekar Nika was one of the offspring of Jogi's which granted with the title of the Badshah or ruler of Zhob in the middle of the eighteenth century by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Bekar Nika was also awarded with a gold ornament usually worn in the turban as a token of royalty. The Jomezai family continued to exercise authority over the Kakars until the British were first brought into contact with them and the Jomezais also have huge contribution in making the history of the district Zhob. Bekar Nika is one of the prominent Sufi in Baluchistan. Bekar Nika is one of the founders of Jomezai family, and during his period, Jomezai family's rule on Zhob was at its peak. His Sufism was famous in the area and even once the king of Afghanistan Ahmad Shah Abdali endowed him with a certificate to be exempted from tax.⁴

The role of Baluchistan is significant in the freedom movement of Pakistan, and the people of Baluchistan on vanguard of struggle for the separate homeland. These were very tough days to achieve the freedom under the umbrella of British raj and the uncertain situations and relations with Hindus in the united India. The people of Baluchistan regarded Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as a national hero who was struggling to attain separate homeland for Muslims. Many leaders and the warriors of Islam in every corner of Baluchistan extended the message of Quaid-e-Azam and involved in the Muslim League were influenced by the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal and other stalwarts of Muslim League. In early

⁴ Inam ul Haq Kausar, *Tazkira-e- Sufiyan-e-Baluchistan* (Urdu) (Lahore, Urdu Science Board, 1976), pp.46-47.

1920, there was a kind of unrest in Baluchistan. Though it was not on a large scale, it was confined largely to the Pashtoon areas in the north-east of the province.⁵ It was not remained uninformed from the political developments in other parts of India. The people of Baluchistan were involved in changing the political situation and stood with the Muslim League.

The Pakistan movement was not regional and territorial; it was national movement of Muslims of sub-continent. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah kept Baluchistan close to his heart, and he also supported the cause of Baluchistan in his fourteen points. Muslim League volunteer corps of Baluchistan was in front position during the times of passing the Pakistan resolution on 23 March 1940 and later on the Quaid-e-Azam visit to Baluchistan was awarded with an historical sword belonging to Ahmad Shah Abdali; that had been used in former battles of Islam. On the eve of independence Britain designated the members of Shahi Jirga and Quetta municipal committee as Electoral College for the right of self-determination to join either Pakistan or India. The decision came in favor of Pakistan before the expiry of deadline. Generally, how the Pashtoon community contributed for the freedom struggle and the prominent leaders played a positive role in the Pakistan movement. Like Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani, Shahzada Rehmatullah Khan Durrani, Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai and Fazal Ahmad Ghazi.

⁵ Martin Axman, *Back to the Future: The Khanate of Kalat and the Genesis of Baloch Nationalism 1915-1955* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.72.

Scope and Significance

This study will help to understand the struggle of Jomezai tribe of Baluchistan in Pakistan movement. The aim of the present research is to analyze the role of tribal specifically, the Jomezai resistance against the British Raj. This study would explore the role played by important personalities. This research would also give us detail description of those aspects of history which were mainly ignored at academic levels. This research would help to bring that evidence to scholars of social sciences, and the current social structure of a particular area and to create opportunities to incorporate people into political system by bringing the tribal territory of Baluchistan as part of the settled areas of Pakistan.

Objective of the Study

The objective of the study is:

1. To trace the history of Jomezai tribe and their role in Pakistan Movement
2. To explore the struggle and contribution of Jomezai Tribe in the public awareness and mass resistance against British India.
3. To evaluate the benefits which the people of Baluchistan gained by the political struggle of Jomezai tribe.

Research Questions

The study is an attempt to find some answers to the following questions:

- What was the historical background of Baluchistan under the British Hegemony?
- What kind of role played by the Jomezai tribe in Pakistan movement?
- How Jomezai tribe contributed to the mass-awareness and political consciousness among the Tribes of Baluchistan.
- What kind of benefits have received by the people of Baluchistan on account of the politics of the Jomezai tribe?

Literature Review

There is an excess of literature available on the Baluchistan's history, culture, society and politics. To trace the historical, political, and socio-economic background of Baluchistan, there are many academic and scholarly comprehensive research materials on this topic which attract and evaluate many researchable questions yet. Many of the books have been written by the British bureaucrats, personnel, and officers in their diaries and official gazetteers during their occupied period of South Asia and as like in Baluchistan. However, due to much resistance including resistance in Baluchistan freedom movements and unrest in the society did not let the historians to properly record the gazetteers in their official records. After the withdrawal of British from sub-continent and their engagement in the world war's ascended them from super power to the second power in the world. Yet there are many researchers which talk about the freedom movements, certain influential personalities, particular events, influential tribes in Baluchistan, the annexation of Baluchistan with Pakistan and the role of Jomezai family in that

annexation and the removal of British raj from the area. The research data would only be included to the relevant research material for the present study.

Fred Scholz' book *Nomadism & Colonialism: A Hundred Years Of Baluchistan 1872-1972* was written in German language and published in 1974 and was translated from German into English by Hugh van Skyhawk and published in 2002 by Oxford University Press is a late than never addition to a genuine theoretical understanding supported by a vast archival data covering two centuries and a field research by the author and other sources and research conducted by anthropologists and social scientists on Baluchistan. The book tries to expose the popular myth that rural Baluchistan is a stagnant cultural pool and convincingly details the changes that were brought about by the British colonialism, the successor state to the British Raj Pakistan, and the larger international developments in terms of economy, communication and the resultant consumerism affected the nomadic living space. This change was a consequence of structural changes to the nomadic life of differing nomadic tribes including Baloch, Brahui and Pathan under colonial and later Pakistan experience. The author also meticulously traces the identity construction of the Baloch, Brahvi and Pathan nomadic tribes over time and notes the differences among them and how the colonial experience affected life differently. There are over generalization in a case study of Hasni tribe categorizing it as a Pathan tribe but still there is no consensus as to the origins of Hasnis. He also details differences between Baloch and Brahvi but considers Pathan tribes as a homogenous entity. The book also attempts to define terms 'mobility' and 'nomad' briefly in contrast to other works defining them with laden with ambiguous meanings. Although this work is not directly connected to the work under research but is a treasure trove to the geographical, physical and socio-anthropological understanding of

the region and the different tribes residing there and the changes in the social structure of the twentieth century, first under colonialism and then under Pakistan experience as a state.

One of the books on history of Baluchistan, demography, political and its socio-economic situations in the light of official and non-official documents by Inam ul Haq Kausar, he highlights in his book *Baluchistan-Azadi k Bad* in Urdu description. Historically Baluchistan was divided into princely independent states before the British invasion. Inam Ul Haq Kausar has written the history of Baluchistan in its chronological order through different views and research. About first historical reference of Baluchistan, he quoted Takht-e-Jamshed inscriptions that it is also the part of whole Iranian kingdom and also during the Greek historian with great Alexander also have described southern Baluchistan in three different areas which inhibited by three tribes. During the Muslim period 643 A.D, Makran was one of the biggest places of Muslim movements. However, Makran was the Babul awal (the first entrance) of Islam and considered the Islamic castle and Muslim Arab invaders and Sufis also gone through Baluchistan to reach to Sindh, Malaysia, Indonesia and Sub-Continent. After Muslim period, Baluchistan was under the kingdom of Brahvi till the fifteenth century. Before Arabian period Baluchistan was almost free on own fate and in post-Arabian era, it was occupied by Brahvis. In the north of this region, Pashtoons (Afghans) started to live in Baluchistan, N.W.F.P, Punjab, and along with the frontiers of Afghanistan.

Khan of Kalat was also residing in Brahvi state and accepted the state's ascendancy, but the invasion of the Russians and British in Afghanistan did not let the Khanate of Kalat to maintain this ascendancy of the Brahvi state, and the first Anglo-Afghan war (1837-1839) killed Khan of Kalat, Meer Mehrab Khan and his relatives. The second Anglo-Afghan war (1876-1878) let the British to make British raj which were strongly resisted by the people of Baluchistan.

Dr Inam ul HaqKausar also described the role of people of Baluchistan in the freedom struggle for Pakistan and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visit to Baluchistan to awaken the masses with the ideology of Pakistan, which consequently attracted the opponents of the ideology of Pakistan. The companion of Jinnah in this spreading ideology of Pakistan were Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, Nawabzada Taimoor shah Jomezai, Nawabzada Jahandar Shah Jomezai, Nawabzada Jahangir shah Jomezai, Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani, Qazi Muhammad Isa, Obaidullah Baloch, Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Tareen, Arbab Karam Khan, and so forth⁶

A.F.M. Burdett, in his book ‘Sturrey masheh’ revolves around his journey from India to Chaman along the Afghan borderlands over forty years in 1958 and fortunately met with Ahmad Yar Khan Jomezai of the Kakar tribe at the road-rail bridge over the Chenab river near Muzaffargarh. Here, he was introduced with the Jomezai extended family and many other tribes as a whole and met with some well versed the tribal customs, experiences and new traditions. A.F.M Burdett further explained that the Kakars of this region of Baluchistan may not rank so bravely as like the other tribes of Wazirs and Mehsuds in the tribal belt with the turbulent history but they also did not persecute their neighbors and the imprisoned or offended enemies. The tribalism in this region has gained unfortunate status in the past recent years with those political uplifting, aspirations or the clergy with thirst for power. The Kakar young bloods were advised by their elders that not to hurt old men, women, children, and Hindus when getting on an incursion. And this shows the softness and tribal hospitality and generosity of the Kakars of this region in Baluchistan.

⁶ Inam Ul Haq Kausar, *Baluchistan Azadi k Bad* (Urdu) (Quetta, Mushawra Taleemi Tehqeeq, 1997).

The Jogezai clan is a large one and many of this clan prosperous and wealthy, and the Afghan and the Pashtoon generosity is legendary in this region of Baluchistan. A.F.M Burdett also explained in his book that so far mentioned the late chief, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai, who trusted me and allowed me to wander off alone into his wild hills, and it is for granted with the confidence of youth. He also mentioned that his eldest son third name is 'Jogezai' is the symbol of deep regard and fondness with Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai and his extended family.⁷The late chief of Kakar tribe Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai was eight years old when they moved to Afghanistan on 11 October 1892 with Nawab Bangul Khan Jogezai because he was notorious rebellion to British and he was in the list of the wanted persons to the British government. They resided in Jabbar Killa (castle) and wrote a letter to king of Afghanistan Amir Abdur Rehman Khan. In response of that letter king of Afghanistan welcomed them in Afghanistan and offered them land for living but Nawab Bangul Khan Jogezai declined this offer and surrendered to the British and they in return rewarded Nawab Bangul Khan Jogezai with the title of 'Sardar Bahadur' (the brave chieftain). After the death of Nawab Bangul Khan Jogezai (the father of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai) and Sardar Zarif Khan Jogezai (the chieftain for a short period of time, 16 July 1907-08), Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai was selected as the new Nawab by Kakar tribal honoraria's in an inaugural ceremony, where commissioner of Baluchistan and Agent to the Governor General (AGG) of British India major Sir Henry McMahon was also present. Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai had a tremendous contribution in the annexation of Baluchistan with Pakistan because he was the vice president of Shahi Jirga of Baluchistan and honorable tribal chief of Kakars. In a referendum conducted by Shahi Jirga had

⁷ A.F.M Burdett, *Sturrey Masheh: Wandering Along the Afghan Borderlands Over Forty Years*, (Butliegh & Barton, 2011).

decided to join Pakistan instead to join India. Such a successful strategy of the Jirga and credit goes to the late Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and his colleagues.

In another relevant book to the present study , *Tehreek-e-Pakistan aur Baluchistan* written by Naseem Hijazi that the selection of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai for the constituent assembly was the first important step towards the annexation of Baluchistan with Pakistan. The Quetta municipal committee and the members of Shahi Jirga already demonstrated that they are struggling for the mutual interests of the people of Baluchistan. Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai was one of the elected members of constituent assembly and they were of the aim to defeat Congressmen. The number of Muslim voters of Quetta municipality was 12 and members of Shahi Jirga 53. Although the fate of Baluchistan was practically assigned to the court of Shahi Jirga of Baluchistan and a delegation of Sardars of Baluchistan visited the Agent to the Governor General (AGG) and presented the document, signed by forty Sardars and was decided to accept Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai as nominated member for the constituent assembly from the platform of Muslim League.⁸

Research Methodology

Methodologically, the study is mainly qualitative. During the research, use has been made of not only archival material but also both primary and secondary resources have been put to use. Since the material has either been written by Western, mainly British, writers, or are by non-western academics, which are deeply influenced by the “colonial” representation. However, to present a more objective, more critical, and least stereotypical approach, the available sources have been critically evaluated. Furthermore, to present a fuller picture of the topic, and to put things into

⁸ Nasim Hijazi, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan aur Baluchistan*, (Urdu) (Karachi, Mehran Publications, 1977) pp.7-15

proper local context, the study has drawn upon the folk-literature of the area. In short, the study is historical, anthropological, and analytical in nature.

CHAPTER 1

BALUCHISTAN UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

1.1 Historical Background:

Baluchistan is generally famous for its large land tracks with spread population and large reservoirs of natural resources. Another aspect of its importance is not highlighted to the common people and that is its long history of cultural development, which is hundreds of thousands of years and there are number of sites which have been center of attraction and interests for scholars around the world. The cultural development spread over a long period of time and there is much evidence that the people of Baluchistan have undergone different experiences and these cultural developments have its sketches in different cities. Baluchistan has seen the Jurassic period and the hunter-gatherer's society which lived in the caves of Baluchistan. Baluchistan, in history has remained the place of great civilizations, including the Persia, Greek and India and none of the conquerors could change the cultural and social infrastructure of the innovative people of Baluchistan. The territory of Baluchistan is adjacent with the vicinity of Persia and the Indian border. This placement of Baluchistan between Persia and Indian border made it a land, always attracting foreigners to this land and their occupation. But the severity of Baluchistan could not let the invaders for a permanent settlement and every invader of this land swept over leaving behind destruction and disappointment.⁹ Geographically, Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan and the province covers 1, 34000 sq miles which consists of almost 44% of the total land area of Pakistan. The population of Baluchistan,

⁹ Syed Abdul Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd (Pvt.), 1990) P.13.

according to the census of year 1998 is 6,511,000 and in the census of 1901, the population is showed to be round to be 811,000.¹⁰ In the census of 1931, it is showed 869,000 and its population was reduced to 858,000 by 1941. However, the population showed in 1951 census, registered an increase of 36.01 percent. The current population of Baluchistan stands at 74,45,000.¹¹

In terms of landscape and geography, Baluchistan consists of plains and desert, upper highlands, and lower highlands. The upper highlands constitute the central and northeastern parts of Baluchistan which are locally known as Khorasan. The distinction of lower highlands is known by the steps of the Sulaiman range in the east and in South, the Pub and Kirthar range. The distinction of the deserts of Baluchistan is known by the ranges of Makran, Kharan and Chaghi in the west and northwestern part of the province and these are distinguished by black Gravel sand and salt.¹² The diversity in the land area of Baluchistan is also reflected in typical weather, which can be hot, cold, temperate and humid, depending on time and place, and the greater part of the region has a sub-continental climate. The basins of Baluchistan have different temperature according to the soil structure, altitude, vegetation, proximity to lakes and direction of winds. The upper highlands of Baluchistan, the typical weather is very severe, the temperature often falling many degrees below freezing points, the summers are moderate and pleasant. The basins of Zhob, Quetta and Ziarat are usually cold and the chances of snowfall in winters, rain and fog. The people of Baluchistan and of the adjacent hot areas consider these valleys good for summer resorts and tourism. The valleys in lower highlands, Kalat and Khuzdar fall in the same

¹⁰ Provincial Census Report of Baluchistan, Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan (Islamabad, 2001). p.58.

¹¹ Ibid, In Large part, it was due to the increase in the area of the province after the creation of Pakistan and the merger of former princely states, including Kalat.

¹² A.W. Hughes, *the Country of Baluchistan* (Quetta, 1997), p. 25.

category along with Panjgur in the upper coastal region, which also provide good summer resort.¹³

Baluchistan has many rivers but due to low rainfall, these rivers do not flow round the year. The largest river of Baluchistan is Hingol and it flows southward and drains itself into Arabian Sea. The northeastern highlands have Zhob and Gomal River. Unlike rest of the country, Baluchistan is facing the shortage of rainfall and is not covered by Monsoon rains and a yearly average rainfall of Baluchistan is two to three inches which mostly rains during winter season. But many of the areas of lower highlands and coastal areas get rainfall in summer. One of the other traits of Baluchistan is that it faces the shortage of water resources, and which directly affects agriculture, industrial, socio-economic, human consumption and life of the people of Baluchistan.¹⁴

Its border touches with Iran to Afghanistan in South and with Punjab in east and spreading over with Iran in west and in north, the province also borders with Sindh and Arabian Sea. Tribally, Baluchistan is divided into two parts, if a line is drawn from Punjpai and Saryab to the areas of Hernai, Sibi, Bara Khan and the border of Punjab, Pashtoons are settled in South and in north Baloch, Brahvis and Jamots are settled. Before the British advent in Baluchistan, there were states of Kalat, Lasbela and Kharan and the name 'Baluchistan' came into existence after the British occupation and at present, these states are collectively called Baluchistan. In the history of Baluchistan, none of the big powers of the world established a permanent rule and government in this province.

¹³ Kazi Ahmad, *A Geography of Pakistan* (Karachi, 1976), p.54, Also Imperial Gazetteer of India; Baluchistan, pp.272-273

¹⁴ Buller, *The Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. vi, p.273

There are two tribes inhabiting in Baluchistan, the Pashtoons and the Baloch. Pashtoons are living in the south and is further divided into sub-tribes, but Kakar is one of the major tribes, covers most of the land area of south Baluchistan. There are two branches of Kakar tribe; Sanatiya and Sanzarkhel. The people of Sanatiya tribe are living in Quetta, Pishin, Sibi, Hindubagh, Ziyarath, and Hernai, while the people of Sanzarkhel tribe inhabited in Zhob, Loralai, Quetta and Pishin. Most of the Kakars are also living in the Kandahar and Herat province of Afghanistan. The Jomezais are also Sanzarkhel Kakars and they ruled over Zhob. A firm belief about the Jomezais is very popular and that is if they plan to fight against the British, they would be protected miraculously from the bullets of the opponent force.¹⁵ In the historical and geographic context of South Asia, the size of Baluchistan, thin population, and a long coastal area make its unique position in political, social and strategic terms. Throughout the whole colonial period, Baluchistan played a very crucial and important role in international politics while being a part of western most area of the British Empire in sub-continent. This form of this crucial role was shaped largely by the ethnic composition of its people, different states of the province, and the socio-economic and political conditions. A political study of Baluchistan is important theoretically as well as practically because it is an undeveloped and a harsh region, inhabited by people of different tribes, having nomadic background and feudal culture. The politics in this part of the world is a modern phenomenon, and this phenomenon has touched only suburbs of the Baloch and Pashtoon society in the province, and having long been taken over by the tribal chiefs of different tribes. The location and geography of Baluchistan depicts the tribalism and the nomadic way of life very clearly even in modern times. Now a wave of

¹⁵ Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jomezai, *Pakistan, Baluchistan aur Naib Sadar Shahi Jirga*, (Islamabad, 2007) p, 33.

awareness and change has begun to bring the people of Baluchistan out of fear slowly, and historically they are raising their eyes to the world they have been made to shun for centuries.

The Pashtoons residing in Baluchistan have their own ethnic, ancestral, and tribal system and the institution of 'Jirga' have made them democratic and relatively urbanized than the other tribes of Baluchistan. The Pashtoons of Baluchistan comprised the second largest group regarding population and this is according to the census of 1931. The Pashtoon inhabitants of this part of the country speak Pashto with different vernacular and twenty five percent of the inhabitants speak 'Kandahari' dialect of Pashto. The advent of Kandahari people from the adjacent areas of Afghanistan is regarded as the overflow of the people in Baluchistan.¹⁶ The mass migration of the people from Afghanistan to Baluchistan affected the region and these Kandahari people are considered to be more portable, more open to new ideas, mostly engaged in trade and business, transportation and commerce. Another characteristic of the Kandahari people or the migrants from adjacent Afghanistan is that; they are less aggressive and more prosperous than other tribes of Afghanistan and the North West frontier of Pakistan (Khyber Pashtoonkhwa).¹⁷

The province, Baluchistan has an exciting history dating back to the primitive and Stone Age period. Different civilizations in Baluchistan have been revealed in different times e.g., Mehrgarh civilization has revealed some 9000 years ago. In the civilization of Mehrgarh, the human settlement pattern was a unique and unparalleled, installing the prominent shift from hunting and gathering societies to a well-established life for the first time in human history. The

¹⁶ *1981 Census Report of Pakistan-Baluchistan*, p.10.

¹⁷ D.Y. Fell Papers, Euro D. 971/1, p.4

modern features of Mehrgarh civilization were the cultivation of plants, the export of perfumes and domestication of animal. The province, Baluchistan has also observed the number of occupiers and warriors of human history such as Arabs, Ghaznavid, Macedonians, Mongols, and Mughals. One of the conquerors and warriors Alexander the great also passed through this province in 325 B.C and after the death of great Alexander, this province has been ruled by the Seleucus I Nicator and his descendants lost power to the Greco-Bactrian. After all these prominent events, the Muslim rule began in 712 A.D and the parts of Baluchistan which were ruled by the Arab rulers were called 'Turan' (Jhallawan area) having capital at Khuzdar and Nudha or Buddha (Kachi).¹⁸ Afterwards Baluchistan came under the rule of Nasir-ud-Din Sabuktigin in the 11th century and this rule marked the beginning of Ghaznavid Dynasty.

The Mongols occupied the province in the year 1223 and this was seen the year of danger of the yellow peril in the south of Makran. Afterward this part came under the rule of Mughal Empire in 1595 and later on Nadir Shah of Persia occupied this region. In the year 1747, Ahmad Shah Durrani of Afghanistan was successful to establish the rule and occupied the region and Khanate of Kalat emerged in 1758, when Nasir Khan-I started mutiny against the Afghans. The Muslim rule was followed by the British rule in 1839 and the two Afghan Wars between the year 1839 and 1879 helped the British to merge their power in Baluchistan. Sir Robert Sandeman was the architect of British Empire and strategies in the region, and later he became the chief commissioner of Baluchistan and bargained a number of agreements with the Khan of Kalat during the year 1854 to 1901. Through such treaties the British government gained control over the leased territory of Chaghi, Bolan Pass, Quetta, and other areas of Baluchistan. The princely

¹⁸ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. pp14-17.

states of Baluchistan which included Makran, Kharan, Lasbela and Kalat state acceded to Pakistan after it came in to being in the year 1947. After the independence of Pakistan, Baluchistan was merged into One Unit of West Pakistan in 1955 and when the One Unit was dissolved, it emerged as one of the four new provinces of Pakistan.¹⁹

1.2 British occupation of Baluchistan and the Local Responses

The British occupation of Baluchistan has an historical account which begins with the great game in which big powers: Russia, France and England were involved. These world great powers were engaged to occupy and make their rule in the geostrategic area of Baluchistan and the Russians were desperately looking for access to warm waters and to South Asia. After many abortive attempts, the Russians also planned to concentrate on the Central Asian steppes in order to find a way to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Russian involvement in the region to secure their interests brought the British in fear and the British perceived the Russian advancement in Central Asia as a threat to their Indian empire because of the ancient historical and cultural linkages between central Asia and sub-continent. This historical and cultural linkage between Central Asia and South Asia goes back to the period of Indus Valley Civilization.²⁰

The British occupation in this region of united India came in direct contact with the Pashtoons inhabiting the North West Frontier (NWFP) and Baluchistan in 1849 and 1840 respectively. The Pashtoon areas in this part of sub-continent were previously considered as part of Sikh dominions alongside, and the Pashtoons directly came under British rule with the elimination of Sikh rule. The Sub-continent and Central Asia were particularly linked since the

¹⁹ Quddus.p.22.

²⁰ Javed Haider Syed, *The Political Development in Baluchistan in the Last Decade of British Raj*, Unpublished Thesis, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University (Islamabad, 2005) p.47.

sultanate period and apart from cultural, religious, commercial relations and linguistic links were the most important. The British raj did not want to lose the trade with central Asia and the Russian advancement in Central Asia was the cause of much concern in London and the Russian had occupied the central Asian steppes by the end of eighteenth century and they started sending diplomatic missions to Iran, Afghanistan and Punjab, whereas Punjab was an independent state under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.²¹The Pashtoon in this part of sub-continent, historically presented tough resistance to too many occupiers and rulers who wanted to rule them under a single authority, and the British raj was one of them which also tried a lot to rule over and subdue the Pashtoons in NWFP and Baloch in Baluchistan. The British raj employed troops during the year 1897-98 and these troops comprised 10,000 British and 20,000 native troops in different Pashtoon areas of NWFP.²²

The purpose of this installment of troops was to subdue the Pashtoons. The British raj, while occupying this part of sub-continent could not extend its sphere of influence in this area smoothly and there are many elements which contributed to the difficulties of the extension of British raj in NWFP. The most Important elements were; distinct tribal social structure, ethno-centricism, the temperament, the unique geography, the desire for independence and religious affection and the mix social culture, which is the main point of understanding the Pashtoon and Baloch resistance against the British occupation in this part of sub-continent and NWFP.

The Pashtoons living in the North-East of Baluchistan province were on forefront of resistance forces against the British occupation in Sub-continent. The Pashtoon residing areas

²¹ Javed Haider Syed,p.48

²² National Documentation Center Islamabad NDC Acc. No.3946, IOR L/MIL/7/15929, p.4.

comprise of Quetta, Pishin, Qila Abdullah, Chaman, Zhob, Loralai, Killa Saifullah, Musakhel, Sherani, Ziarat, Sinjawi and Thal Chotiali. The above-mentioned areas, geographically interlinked with the adjacent neighboring country Afghanistan have been the main route of British Government.²³ During the great game and the Anglo-Afghan wars in this part of the world, the British always faced huge resistance against their achievements in the region. The ethnic commonality of people in every walk of life on both sides of the Pak Afghan border was the main cause of Pashtoon resistance against the invaders in the region. The gravity of the resistance against the British occupiers increased in the regions of north-east areas of Baluchistan and particularly in Zhob. The severity of such resistance consequently rose during the establishment of Robert Sandeman's administration in the area in the last decade of nineteenth century. Similarly, such Pashtoon resistances continued in the other parts of North West Frontier Province (current Khyber Pashtoonkhwa) during the prevailing British expansion.²⁴ Till 1887 the Zhob valley was not captured but within few years it was built the head-quarter of new political agency. He built a fort called Fort Sandeman in Zhob for the administrative setup to control the occupied region of the valley and adjacent areas including Killa Saifullah, Loralai and other districts.²⁵

²³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial Series Baluchistan* (Lahore: 1991).

²⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial Series Baluchistan*. p. 4

²⁵ Thomas Henry Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on Our Indian Frontier*, (Quetta, Gosha-e-Adab, 1977) p.195.

1.3 The British Occupation and the Local Responses in the North-East

Areas

Zhob is having edges with the British administered agencies (FATA) and Khyber Pashtoonkhwa through a famous mountainous range called Koh-i-Suleman.²⁶ However the importance of Zhob was connected with history of Jomezai family and the other sub-clans residing in the area who always defended and contributed their bests in the resistance movements against all foreign invaders and that is how the king of Afghanistan Ahmad Shah Abdali gave the title of “Badshah-i-Zhob” to Shah Jahan Jomezai, the head of the Jomezai family of Kakar tribe.²⁷ The tribes were scattered due to huge land mass and the war instruments were given only to the Malik’s and heads of the Sub-clan of Zhob.²⁸ Zhob being a far-flung area always remained untouched with trade of guns and other war weapons to counter the foreign invaders in the valley due to poor condition of residents of Zhob to afford it.

In the early years of the British advent in Baluchistan, the Kakar tribe being the main group inhabiting most of the areas has not been loyal to the British government until they formally accepting the supremacy of the British government. Because they perceived the British as their common enemy and cohesively resisted against them, Kakar being the most influential tribe of Pashtoons in this area became the significant tribe for the British government to completely control the area and abolish the resistance against them. The Jomezais of the Kakar tribe were the main authoritative power in the tribal system of Zhob, and adjacent areas of Pashtoons and Shah Jahan Jomezai was the chief and prominent personality of the Pashtoons who

²⁶ Captain H. L. Nevill, D.S.O., *Campaigns of the North West Frontier*, (Lahore Sang-e-Meel publication Urdu Bazar, 1977) p.114.

²⁷ Syed Iqbal Ahmad, *Baluchistan its Strategic Importance*, (Karachi: 1992), p.48.

²⁸ Syed Iqbal Ahmad. p.54

had the influence over tribes.²⁹ British had faced many hurdles during second Anglo-Afghan war when Shah Jahan Jomezai had totally opposed their interests in Baluchistan. In the year 1879, he and his tribe showed the complete opposition to British returning routes to Thal Chotiali (Duki).

The escalation of resistance increased by Kakar tribe during the second Anglo-Afghan War, but following Amir Sher Ali Khan's death, Muhammad Yaqub Khan became Amir in Kabul who concluded Gandumak treaty with the British government in which the populous districts of Pishin, Sibi and Kuram was assigned to the British for administrative purposes.³⁰ In this way, these areas (Sibi and Pishin) of Baluchistan came under the direct rule of British. Similarly in the beginning of 1880 the member of Panezai clan of Sanatia Kakar had also killed the British Captain, superintendent of Tribal levies in Uzda pagha. In following year, another tribal group of Zhob, Panezais, and Sarangzais lead by Shah Jahan Jomezai made regular attacks on British Camp of Lieutenant Fuller and seized goods belonging to British Army.³¹

In 1884 British faced more difficulties in delivering rations and other food materials to their army due to harsh weather of the region, but on the same year British forces again got prepared in the battlefield in Thal Chotiali headed by Brigd. Gen. O.U Tanner K.C.B.³² Afterward Lakhi and Thal Chutiali were interlinked via telecommunication, so the troops walked to Anambar and the rations were delivered to troops by the people of adjoining villages of Sanatia Kakars.³³

²⁹ Syed Iqbal Ahmad.89-91

³⁰ Hassan Kakar, *A political and diplomatic history of Afghanistan (1863-1901)* (Boaton: Brill Leidon, 2006) p.28.

³¹ *Baluchistan Secretariat's Records, Basta.* 11, 5, 30-.1946: Agg Geoffrey Prior to Critichton, 23 April 1947.

³² S.A. Akhtar Kazmi, *Anglo-Afghan Tussles*, (Karachi: PIDG Printing Press, 1996), p.72.

³³ Aziz Luni, *British Baluchistan*, Vol. 3, p.153

Sir Robert Sandeman called and convinced all the prominent tribal chieftains for the reparation for the fatalities on October 10th, 1884, but some Kakar tribes from Zhob and Musakhels declined his orders to be presented. So, the British government established a Camp at Bori for the protection of Duki Cantonment and from here they got prepared to fight against the disobedient tribes while heading towards Zhob. Consequently, the Zhob and Bori chiefs executed a document formally accepting the supremacy of the British government, agreeing to stop all raids, pay a substantial fine, and to allow the British government to locate troops in their respective valleys: and a representative of the older branch of the family was recognized provisionally as chief of Zhob, so Shah Jahan Jomezai himself submitted to the British government, and, with the consent of the tribes his provisional representative was recognized as chief.³⁴ In this context, the British personals and political executives took a serious step and made a decision to grab the flocks and castles of those tribal heads that did not bow down in front of them. At last Sir Robert Sandeman met with the different tribal chiefs and assured them for the peaceful move towards Meena Bazar, a village near Zhob. The Bombay Lancers planned to move the other side of the river to start their military activities to collect the information about their rivals.³⁵

After the pleasing visit of Zhob, Sir Robert Sandeman made the withdrawal of British army according to his mission and the responsibility to move troops was assigned to Brig. Gen. Sir O.V. Tanner.³⁶ Due to harsh weather of Quetta in autumn the troops were not ready to the inappropriate settlement that's how he brought this issue of troops to the notice of British

³⁴ Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman*. p.195.

³⁵ Abdur Rahim Mandokhel, *Angrezi Istaemar au Afghanistan*, (Pashto) (Quetta: Roban Kakar Publication, 1989) p.118.

³⁶ Rao Bahadur Hoto Ram, *Tariekh-e-Baluchistan*, (Urdu) (Quetta: New Quetta book Stall, 1977) p.355

government. This condition specially affected the 45th Sikhs and the second north Staffordshire brigade, however these brigades of 50 soldiers directed to go to Quetta.³⁷ On the other side, in Thal Chutiali the fourth Punjab infantry also faced the same condition, and they were also sent back to Quetta. In this visit of Zhob another prominent figure Shahbaz Khan was selected as the chief of the valley in the year 1885.

Most of the influential tribal men assured their support to Sardar and his mission to attack the Thal Chutiali and captured all the area according to the given mission. In this process there was only Shah Jahan Jomezai, his family and other few respected tribesmen to not accept his recognition as a Sardar.³⁸ On this occasion Sardar Shabaz Khan availed the opportunity and presented a proposal to Shah Jahan. Shin Gul Khan offered his proposal to the enmity with Bangul Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan. Shin Gul Khan was the son of Shah Jahan Jomezai. In the following year when Dost Muhammad Khan looted the Mandokhail tribe and other tribes and they requested to the Chief of Abdullahzai Clan of Kakar, Umar Khan in this matter. Umar Khan and other tribal personals stood for this issue and ordered to exile Dost Muhammad Khan from the territory of lower Zhob. Thus, Dost Muhammad Khan went to mountain for expatriate but Bangul Khan (his son) stayed while fighting.³⁹

The tribal chieftains of Abdullahzais of Kakar tribe and Mandokhels met with Sir Robert Sandeman on the following of his visits to Zhob valley at Silyaza point. British government held a jirga of the tribes of Zhob and explained them their way of government and thing to be administered in this region. Then such Jirga's customarily for any tribal issues were held

³⁷ Rao Bahadur Hoto Ram. 365.

³⁸ Kazmi, *Anglo-Afghan Tussle*, p.86.

³⁹ Richard Issaq Bruce, *The Forward Policy and its results* (Lahore: Dost Associates Urdu Bazar, 2002) p.86.

routinely in the area. According to such Jirga's once the bargha area of Sherani tribe, Zalikhel, Dotani and Mehsuds were making settlements among different tribes and British government. In this way the above-mentioned tribes were allowed to pass through the Gomal pass with the guarantees of protection of this route.⁴⁰ The troops, which took part in the expedition, were all stationed at Quetta and they moved from Quetta on the 30th September, the troops were concentrated at Khanozai and Major General Sir George White assumed command of the force. The same day Sandeman joined the expedition at Khanozai.⁴¹

On 1st October the force-marched to Murgha and on the following day to Hindu Bagh (current Muslim Bagh in the Zhob Valley), the original plan was to cut off the retreat into Afghan territory of Dost Mohammad, who was near to the Kandahar. Keeping this plan in mind Sandeman was to move by the most masterly route from upper Zhob to Tirwah.⁴² At the same time force, which was in command of Gen. White, was to advance on Thanirhpra from the South. The government of India considering that any movement in the direction of Tirwah would be likely to raise suspicion in the mind of Ameer of Afghanistan directed that operations should be limited to the country south of the Kunder River. These orders necessitated an alternative in the plan of campaign, rendering impossible the proposed turning movement and making necessary a direct advance from Zhob. With a view to learning as much geography as possible and extending British political influence as widely as opportunities would admit, it was decided that the march from the Zhob valley across the hills which form its northern boundary should be

⁴⁰ Mohammad Akbar Azad, *Governance, Law and Customs in Baluchistan* (Quetta: Kalat Publishers, 2003) p.53.

⁴¹ Gul Khan Nasir, *Tarikh-e-Baluchistan*, Urdu (quetta) p.328.

⁴² Aziz Luni, *British Baluchistan 1879-1947*, Vol. 2 (Quetta, 2008), 13.

carried out in three columns under the personal command of Gen. White was to march by the Tuirmer Route.⁴³

These three columns started on 3rd October 1890 and reached Thanirhpa on the 10th. Dost Mohammad and his son Bengal Khan had fled that morning and notwithstanding a vigorous pursuit by a detachment of the 18th Bengal Lancers under Lieutenant K. Chesney made their escape. The force halted at Thanirhpa from 11th to 16th October to enable supplies to be brought up and advantage was taken to come to an understanding with the Shahizai and other Mardanzai Kakars of Khaisar. March to Thanirhpa presented great difficulties in the matter of supplies and the forage for horses and camels.⁴⁴ Throughout the March from Thanirhpa onward, the disposition of the people on both lines was friendly. On 30th October a parade of the troops of the Zhob Field Force and the local garrison was held at Apozai, which was attended by Sandeman. The political staff and many of the Malik's, followed by a darbar at which Sir Robert Sandeman distributed rewards to the Chief of Zhob headed by Sardar Shingul Khan who had heartily co-operated in the arrangements and took the opportunity of congratulating the Sardar on the general good behavior of the people of the valley since the establishment of the British protectorate. Overall it must be considered that the object of the march was attained. Although, Dost Mohammad and his son Bangul Khan were able to escape across the frontier, but their prestige was blown because of their escape across the border.

The phase of forward policy, which was started as early as 1876, the implications of this policy is seen here. This policy of Sandeman is called as 'Sandmanian System' by Thornton and

⁴³ Aziz Luni.88.

⁴⁴ H. T. Lambrick, *John Jacob of Jacobabad* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1975) p.408.

characterized British action until the end of colonial era in Baluchistan. Sandeman utilized intra-tribal conflicts to select other prominent personalities in the tribe, so he could use as tools to exert influence. It is therefore significant to remember that the interests of British did not play with the people of Baluchistan, but it was directed to secure the borders of British India. It is evident from these accounts that the influence of British extended to Baluchistan. Fred Scholz in his book, *Nomadism and Colonialism: A Hundred Years of Baluchistan* summarized these tactics of Sandeman in following impression in the ancestral scene of Baluchistan; three significant Kaholes were exceptionally famous because of their impact in the spaces they live in. These were Jam, Jamali, and Jomezais "3Js". Their impact and force started from holding enormous plots of flooded grounds and their essential closeness to pioneer and post-pilgrim chairmen.

In 1947, when Pakistan got autonomy from the British government, the destiny of Baluchistan generally continued as before. Rather than presenting current state establishments, post-frontier executives to a great extent empowered the nearby clan leaders to keep up with the exceptionally old ancestral framework unblemished. The notables assumed the part of middle people among state and the general public. To keep up with this construction, they depended on nearby foundations of compromise as to land debates, couple elopement, and murder cases, etc, rather than letting present day establishments of legal executive, and instruction Tehsil Killa Saif Ullah lies between Zhob in the North and Quetta in the South. Verifiably, it was important for Zhob locale until it's anything but a different status of area in 1988. Today, it comprises of two Tehsils: Muslim Bagh and Killa Saif Ullah. The Tehsil Killa Saif Ullah is basically occupied by perhaps the biggest part of Kakar clan "Sanzarkhel". Sanzar was the normal progenitor of living clans of the space, who had twelve children whose slipping kinfolk are the perpetual occupants of the Tehsil. Out of twelve, Jomezai branch is strategically and ancestrally more significant. It is

the case not in view of its position in the patrilineal line yet by uprightness of its driving job as the clan leaders of the space. Jomezai is additionally partitioned into two significant branches: Nawab Kahole and Sardar Kahole. The current head of the space is Nawab Muhammad Ayaz Khan Jomezai who has a place with the previous while Sardar Ali Ahmed Jomezai is the Sardar who is from last mentioned.

Toward the finish of nineteenth century, when the pioneer system officially entered Zhob, the connection among Nawab and Sardar Kahole's turned out to be straightforwardly hostile. Their alleged bone of dispute was political administration. In Between, the British government supported Nawab Kahole. In 1906, responding to British expectations an individual from Sardar family killed Bangul Khan Jomezai who had a place with Nawab family. In 1926, Muhammad Khan Jomezai, the oldest child of Bangul Khan was given the title of Khan Bahadur by the British Government. With the progression of time, the title 'Khan Bahadur' was supplanted by the term Nawab.

Jomezai family has likewise given a young lady in union with a Punjabi family from Loralai: Babu Mohammad Rafique's family. After the autonomy of Pakistan, Babu Rafique got comfortable Loralai. Indeed, he had a place with Punjab and was ethnically a Punjabi yet functioned as an administration official in Baluchistan. The greater part of the respondents to the topic of his abundance is of the view, when Pakistan got freedom; the Hindus escaped Loralai in huge numbers and furthermore left properties in the town. Babu Rafique was at that point working in an administration office and realized well how to authoritatively enroll properties on his name. A short time later, he stayed the individual from commonplace gathering of West Pakistan from Loralai. He was in the gathering between 1962 till 1969.

Quaid-e-Azam assigned Qazi Isa as President of Baluchistan Muslim League. He was given the assignment of getting sorted out Muslim League in Baluchistan. Leaving his legitimate practice in Bombay he came to Baluchistan and visited various urban communities and spaces of the region. On 4 May 1939 by a letter Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of AIML, on the Quaid's directions requested Qazi Isa to send his report from his visit through Baluchistan.

On 14 May 1939, Qazi Mohammad Isa answered to Liaquat from Pishin, his old neighborhood, wherein he detailed; Let me praise you that our call here to shape Muslim League party has been reacted most superbly. If it's not too much trouble, send me however much publicity writing in Urdu that you can save and only a couple in English would likewise do. He likewise revealed that any place he went in Baluchistan he was invited by hundreds and thousands of individuals. Indeed, even Ulema in the mosques supported arrangement of the Muslim League in Baluchistan. He additionally revealed that it is normal that in our impending Conference meeting at Quetta on 10 June 1939 large number of individuals is required to take part. In another letter of 22 May 1939, Qazi Isa brought up that Congress is utilizing Maulana Ataulah Shah Bokhari, a head of Ahrar Party, to spread its impact in Baluchistan to counter it, he recommended that Maulana Hasrat Mohani or different heads of Muslim League ought to be shipped off Baluchistan to counter the Congress publicity. For that reason first Muslim League Conference was held at Quetta

At McMahan Park on 10-11 June 1939 in which in excess of 3000 political specialists took part. Qazi Isa had welcomed Muslim League pioneers from different regions too. Syed Zakir Ali Shah from Agra and Ghulam Nabi for Sir Abdullah Haron of Sindh and Captain Muhammad Maqsood, Chief of Muslim National Guard Sindh likewise partook in this Conference. The main part of this Conference was various Sardars of Baluchistan including

Bugti Nawab, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, Sardar Bahadur Muhammad Khan Shahwani, Khan Bahadur Arbab Karam Khan, Khan Bahadur Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tarin, Khan Bahadur Haji Abdul Jabbar Khan Achakzai, Sardar Bahadur Imam Baksh Rind, Sabizada Abdul Karim Khan Kansi, Sardar Bahadur Zarghun Khan Jomezai, and Khan Bahadur Sh. BazGul Khan On the main day of the Conference Qazi Isa was chosen President, Baluchistan Muslim League with pouncing greater part. Various pioneers talked on this event. Qazi Isa additionally tended to as President of the meeting. In his location Qazi Isa hated the absence of instructive offices in the territory. He likewise pronounced that the Holy Quran was their solitary aide in political and public activity.

He requested individuals from Baluchistan to unite behind the banner of Muslim League. During his discourse yells of "Allah-o-Akbar" and Muslim League Zindabad" were regularly raised. On 2ndday of the Conference, for example 11 June, Sardar Bahadur Muhammad Khan Shahwani directed. Four goals were passed towards the finish of this Conference: first identified with articulation of sympathy at the new passing of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Second goal was moved by Qazi Isa lamenting the forswearing of common independence to Baluchistan which got consistent endorsement. The fourth goal identified with supporting the arrangement of All India Muslim League and communicating trust in the incredible administration of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Toward the beginning of meeting Qazi Muhammad Isa read messages from Sir Abdullah Haroon of Karachi, Mr. Jinnah and Nawab Zada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, regretting their powerlessness to join in, communicating their pleasure at the arrangement of a Muslim League in Baluchistan, and guaranteeing the neighborhood office of each conceivable help.

The message of Muslim League was before long fragment in Baluchistan. In the 3rd week of June 1939 Qazi Isa was accounted for to have said that in excess of 7000 individuals have joined the Muslim League. He widely visited different urban areas and regions of Baluchistan and before long made Muslim League a mainstream association. On 25 June 1939 he masterminded a gathering of the Muslim League in Pishin in which 400 people including 80 Ulema partook. In his discourse, Qazi Isa clarified that Muslim League's strategies won't be against Islam at the same time, rather, secure the reason for Islam. Towards the end, all were entrained to tea and supper at his house. In the period of July 1939 he visited Hindubagh, Zhob, Mastung, Quetta and other cities. The huge occasion was holding of a public gathering at Quetta on 28-29 July 1939 in which Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from the Punjab was the vital speaker and gone to by 15,000 people. Qazi Isa managed. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan conveyed his long discourse wherein he clarified the threats being looked by the Muslims from the coming "Hindu Raj". The reason for Muslim Nation was additionally clarified by him broadly. He argued presentation of changes in Baluchistan on the example of other progressed territories of British India. He additionally said that the Muslim League was a gathering of the "Mujahids" who were consistently prepared to forfeit for the reason for Islam and the fate of Muslims in British India. Maulana Zafar Ali was taken to different urban areas of Pishin, Fort Sandeman, Loralai where likewise he tended to various public gatherings. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, joined by Qazi Muhammad Isa, Arbab Karam Khan and Malik Jan Muhammad, shown up at Fort Sandeman on the 1st August. At a gathering held in the Juma Mosque a similar evening, which was gone to by around 1500 people including K.B. Baz Gul Khan, K.B. Gulistan Khan, K.B. Murad Khan and the two children of K.B. Sardar Zarghun Khan, the Maulana encouraged Muslims to join together. Alluding to Congress he said that it was a Hindu body which wished to overwhelm

Muslims. Hindus were notable for making inconveniences for Mohammadians' on fourth August 1939 he met Khan of Kalat. From there on he left for Lahore.

In January 1944 Qazi Mohammed Isa alongside individuals from AIML Working Committee arranged a report on Baluchistan named "Baluchistan: Case and Demand" in which the instance of Baluchistan was very much argued for data among individuals of different regions of British India. Clarifying the authoring of "Pakistan" in the presentation of this report, Qazi Isa stated: "It is a mix of letters taken from the names of existing regions, P from the Punjab, A from Afghans in Northwestern Frontier Province, K from Kashmir, S from Sind, and TAN from Baluchistan.

In less than seven years 1940-47 he journeys more than 300,000 miles distance to lobby for Pakistan. At the point when Quaid-e-Azam visited Baluchistan in September 1945 to lobby for Pakistan and he tended to a huge public gathering on 20 September wherein he reprimanded British Foreign Secretary's new explanation that Baluchistan was politically not cognizant enough to get changes like different areas and answered that the huge participation of individuals from varying backgrounds in the Quetta meeting shows that Baluchistan was adequately cognizant to get changes like the high level territories of British India

Qazi Isa particularly contributed to these developments and Baluchistan showed full fortitude with Jinnah on these issues. Jinnah's choice to blacklist the current Indian Constituent Assembly was invited by Baluchistan Muslim League allies. This effect of this in Baluchistan was with the end goal that a wave was made all through Baluchistan and surprisingly the rivals of Pakistan dread and a large portion of them chose to leave their parent associations and joined the Muslim League. The renunciation of Abdul Baqi Khan Kadezai, as Secretary of the

Anjuman-I-Watan, Loralai, and his joining the Muslim League alongside 25 others was additionally as a feature of this development. Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, the solitary Baluchistan agent in the Indian Constituent Assembly, met with Jinnah in Karachi in January 1947 and reported that he would likewise blacklist the Indian Constituent Assembly. Jomezai additionally pronounced that that Baluchistan was "hundred percent Muslim League region, it would go through each penance in the reason for Pakistan". In a gathering of the Quetta Muslim League held on 2 February 1947, it was pronounced that Muslim League individuals' blacklist the Indian Constituent Assembly has brought them "closer their objective of Pakistan".

On 25 June 1947, a joint explanation was given by Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali distributed on the *Tanzim*, Quetta, in which it was declared that the Sardars of Baluchistan had come the resolution that it was in light of a legitimate concern for Baluchistan to be remembered for Pakistan and that the Tribes of Baluchistan "believed in Mr. Jinnah's administration". On 29 June 1947 the individuals from the Shahi Jirga of Baluchistan and chose individuals from the Quetta Municipal Committee amassed in the Town Hall and consistently; casted a ballot for the region being remembered for Pakistan. Accordingly, Baluchistan joined Pakistan.

CHAPTER 2

FREEDOM FOR FREE BALUCHISTAN AGAINST BRITISH RULE

2.1 Freedom struggle in Balochistan

The political consciousness and freedom struggle in Baluchistan could be respectively traced back in the past records of Indian Sub-continent where different ethnic and religious nationalist demanding for independent states from. These freedom movements in different parts of sub-continent “emerged against the political policies of Colonial state and assumed the character of ethno-national movements espousing goals, bordering on autonomy secession continuum”.⁴⁵ Under the British Raj, Baluchistan was directly controlled by administrative system, an autocracy headed by Agent to the Governor General (AGG) and Political Agents where most Sardars and Khans were kept under-control and old tribal Jirga system was imposed powerless and ultimate power was with Agent to the Governor General (AGG) who could select Sardars according to their loyalty to colonial masters. All the administrative, executive and judiciary authorities were commanded by AGG.⁴⁶

Under this limited power of native tribes in the system, the British colonizers didn't allow any political, education and economic developments in the Baluchistan as like in other colonial areas of Indian Sub-continent and people were deprived from their basic needs and political rights. Even when they had offered reforms in British India after great struggles of both Muslim

⁴⁵ Tahir Amin, *Ethno National Movements of Pakistan, Domestic and International Factor*, (Islamabad Institute of Policy Studies), 1988, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Tahir Amin. p. 58

League and Congress but such “Democratic principles and reforms initiated by British rulers were not introduced in Baluchistan and totally denied. For instance, the Quetta Municipal Committee, the highest public representative body in the province was not elected properly.⁴⁷ Baluchistan was deliberately kept the most politically and economically backward area during British Raj in the subcontinent which still consider as the same after seventy years of partition of the sub-continent and its accession with Pakistan.

During that era, there was also no proactive political stage for the people to awake against the British colonial hostilities and convey their political demands as continued in the other areas of the colonial region.⁴⁸ But there was once movement called “*Majlis-i-Islamia Hanafia Ahle Hind-o-Punjab*” was also initiated in Baluchistan in 1879 which was later given new name as *Anjuman-i-Islamia* Baluchistan. The purpose of that movement was “to train the Muslims in politics and ethics” and the members had started political activism and launched education institutions, Madrassahs, to teach both religious and western knowledge.⁴⁹ It was primarily attached with social and educational wakefulness of a prominent Aligarh Movement in British India’s Muslim majority areas. In British Baluchistan, it was active to Quetta municipality’s areas, consisted almost by Pashtoon populated areas and other settlers.

In the beginning of 20th century, the other freedom movements were also coexisted in international and regional level after the end of First World War which eventually had awaken nationalist approach in Baluchistan to rise their political efforts to achieve independence from British Raj. These movements were categorized into two groups, one was pro-constitution and

⁴⁷ Qazi Muhammad Isa, Baluchistan, *Case Gazette Press* (1944) p.17.

⁴⁸ Lt. Col. Syed Iqbal Ahmad, *Baluchistan: It’s Strategic Importance*, p.103.

⁴⁹ Lt. Col. Syed Iqbal Ahmad. p.104

the other was revolutionary.⁵⁰ The first categorized group of unity was called United Young Baloch or *Anjuman-e-Ittehad-Balochan*. Later it became the first political party in Baluchistan, Kalat State National party, led by Yousef Ali Magsi, who died in 1935 disastrous earth quack in Quetta. This political party later reorganized as “National Party” in 1937 under the leaderships of Abdul Aziz Kurd, son of Kalat state servant, Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, the father of the currently political figure Hasil Bizenjo and other one was Gul Khan Nasir.

Similarly in Pashtoon belt of Baluchistan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was one of the prominent nationalist figures who kept his struggle against British occupation and was jailed for many years under British administration. His objectives were similar to that of Anjuman-i-Islamia to promote political awareness, modern education under the truly teachings of Islam. He had opened first educational institute in his native village Gulistan, Inayatullah Karez and also established his own political party called “Injuman-i-Watan which later became Pashtoonkhwa Mili Awami Party (PMAP) currently led by Pashtoon nationalist politician Mehmood Khan Achakzai after his killing in bomb blast Quetta.⁵¹ Currently the grandson of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and the present Nawab (Chief) of Pashtoon tribe in Baluchistan Nawab Ayaz Khan Jomezai is a central committee member of Pashtoonkhwa Mili Awami Party (PMAP) and elected twice as Senator for Upper House of the Parliament of Pakistan 2003 to 2009 and Minister of Provincial Assembly of Baluchistan in 2013 to 2018.⁵²

⁵⁰ Many Newspapers were published to awaken the consciousness among Baloch like Azad. For details see Inayatullah Baloch, *The Problem of Greater Baluchistan; A study of Baloch Nationalism* (Stuttgart stm erverlag Wiesbaden), (1987).

⁵¹ Abdul Ghani Ghano, *Baba-i-Pashtun Wa PahtunKhwa*, vol. 2, (Pashto) (Quetta, 1990), pp, 21 -22.

⁵² Dawn News, “Parties award tickets for NA, PA seats in Baluchistan”, (Mar 29, 2013).
<http://www.dawn.com/news/798665>

Besides these freedom struggle in Baluchistan, British Baluchistan, being Muslim majority province, was also very essential for the Muslim League's demand of separate state of all Muslim majority areas in sub-continent called Pakistan. That is why Muhammad Ali Jinnah had illustrated Baluchistan's democratic reforms in his 'Fourteen Points' and Dr Muhammad Iqbal also had remembered Baluchistan in his presidential speech of All India Muslim League gathering in Lahore. But at that time All India Muslim League did not exist in Baluchistan. After Baloch conference in 1932, Nawabzada Yousef Ali Khan Aziz Magsi and Qazi Isa established Muslim League in Baluchistan in 1939.⁵³ Along with them, another prominent personality from Kakar tribe was Allama Abdul Ali Akhundzada of Khanozai (Pishin) where once both were remained as ministers in Kalat state.

Allama in his booklet described Muslim League as "Muslim League is a symbol of unity and harmony. In this respect, this party is our religion and our faith".⁵⁴ Interestingly, National party and other nationalist groups were fully against the British Jirga system and other administrative and judiciary system and also opposed the idea of Pakistan and demanded independence of Baluchistan.⁵⁵ National Party was banned in 1939 but their political activities were continued secretly in the Baloch inhabitant areas including Kalat state.

In Zhob valley, Jomezai family was the pioneer of Pakistan Movement influenced by founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah after his first visit to Baluchistan and Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan Jomezai was declared the vice president of Muslim League committee in Baluchistan. According to Nawabzada Jahangir Khan Jomezai "Pakistan,

⁵³ Syed Abdul Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*, (Lahore, Feroz Sons, 1990), p.119.

⁵⁴ Inamul HaqKausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*, (The University of Chicago Library) pp. 11-15.

⁵⁵ Taj Mohammad Berjees, *Baloch Nationalism; Its Origin and Development*. p.226.

Baluchistan and Naib Sardar Shahi Jirga”⁵⁶ that Qazi Isa was not much influential personality in Baluchistan due to the strong hold of Sardari system in tribal setup that is what Muhammad Ali Jinnah was attempting to create good relations with Sardars and Nawabs of tribes. That is why Sardar Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali was turn into great admirer of Quaid-e-Azam and from central Zhob district of Baluchistan; it was Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai who made visit to Delhi to take part in constituent Assembly meeting. During that meeting he met with Jinnah in very relaxed atmosphere. In this meeting, another eye-catching figure of Baluchistan, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar was also present and Jinnah urged Abdul Rab Nishtar that “You were doubtful about the behavior of Nawab and I have asked you before that I didn’t know about Nawab Mohammad Khan, as much. I saw him for a few moments but I believed that he could not be disloyal to Muslim cause and you might also see it that he is with us in this struggle”.⁵⁷

In July 1940, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan headed the first annual session of Baluchistan Muslim League and passed its first reforms resolution and he also said to members of provincial committee that “Your province, on account of its geographical situation, holds a unique position. The people of the province are the Gate-Keepers of India and for that reason at least, if for nothing else, God has made them men of fine physique and martial temperament. but it is with great regard that I have to say that British government has treated this province most unjustly, so believe me, I consider this injustice not towards you alone, but towards the whole Muslim Nation of India as well”.⁵⁸ The British government did not pay any attentions toward their education and economic conditions properly but instead imposed harsh local laws. So under these harsh laws

⁵⁶ Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jomezai, *Pakistan, Baluchistan and Naib Sadar Shahi Jirga* (Urdu) (Islamabad,,2007).

⁵⁷ Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jomezai.

⁵⁸ Kausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*. pp. 11-15.

and unsatisfactory situations, the people strongly had demanded reforms in Baluchistan and Muslim League got this opening with reforms in Baluchistan and suitably established Muslim nationalism in Baluchistan. Quaid-e-Azam picked Qazi Isa to start crafted by the foundation of Muslim League in 1939, as in 1938 Malik Jan Mohammad (at his own) had held Rally at Anderson Road, Quetta to welcome individuals to All India Muslim League based on Muslims in Muslim League, the drive was taken by individuals at their own and the authority of the League followed it.

Individuals of Baluchistan are just about as much Pakistani as are of different spaces of Pakistan. Islam and Pakistan is in their entire being, nobody should speculate it, and ought to stay clear about their enthusiasm. Today their voice is for the rights and improvement, which each resident of Pakistan ought to have. The political issues of Baluchistan ought to be taken care of strategically. Discourse is the solitary way by which the issues can be dealt with calmly. The utilization of power might expand the issues as opposed to settling the issues.

In October 1947, Quaid Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah changed his mind about recognizing Qalat as an "independent and sovereign country" and hoped that Khan would sign the same accession documents as other countries that joined Pakistan. Khan did not want to give up his nominal independence but was prepared to compromise in the areas of defense, foreign policy, and communications; however, he was unwilling to sign contracts or documents until a satisfactory agreement was reached on the lease. There are also concerns that a Pakistani government official might meet the two feudal lords, Ras Bella and Haran, and accept their de-facto annexation.

In February 1948, the talks between Karat and the Pakistani government reached a critical point. Quaid wrote to Khan Karata: "I suggest you join Pakistan immediately. Let me get the final answer you promised after being with me in Karachi, when we discussed the whole topic in detail "Aspects". On February 15, 1948, Jinnah visited Sibi in Baluchistan and contacted the Royal Durbar, where she announced that she would complete Pakistan's constitution in about two years and that she would manage it through an advisory committee the province, however, was the main reason for Jinnah's visit to persuade Khan Karat to join Pakistan.

As everyone knows, Khan did not show up at the last meeting and said he was sick. Darul Umara and Darul Awam, both houses of parliament, listened to his views on the future relationship with the Dominion of Pakistan, and will share his views with him at the end of this month. On March 21, 1948, he decided not to join q, but to negotiate a treaty that would define the future relationship between Qalat and Pakistan. On March 9, 1948, Khan received a message from Jinnah that he decided not to personally participate in the future negotiations that will be conducted by the Pakistani government. So far, there have been no formal negotiations, only Jinnah made an informal request to the Khan in Sibi. On March 26, 1948, the Pakistani army was ordered to move towards the Baluchistan coastal areas of Pasni, Jivani and Turbat. This was the first attack by the Pakistani military detachment before its march towards Qalat on April 1, 1948. Karat surrendered. After the army entered the coastal areas and Karachi on March 27, it was known that Khan Karata agreed to unify his country with Pakistan. Jinnah accepted the adhesion under the gun.

The Baluchistan Parliament has rejected any proposal to lose Baluchistan independence under any pretext. Therefore, it is impossible for Khan Karat to sign at gunpoint because the Parliament refuses to be a member of the government and has never the government obtained

membership. The British Empire did the same thing. Before India, Baluchistan under Karat became independent. The sovereign state of Baluchistan only existed for 227 days after the British left India. At that time, Baluchistan had a flag.

Fly to his In March 1940, the League of Nations annual meeting was held in Lahore, at which the historic Pakistan resolution was passed. Qazi Isa supported this resolution on behalf of Baluchistan and said: "This resolution reflects our wishes and sincere feelings. We all support it. This is our voice." 28 Stay in Lahore During the period, Quaid met Faizal Ahmed Gazi, Malik Abdullah Jan Kasi and Fateh Mohammad Baloch and encouraged them to participate in the freedom movement. 29 During their stay in Quetta Ghulam, Mohammad Khan Tareen, Mohammad Usman Jomezai, Malik Shahje khan, Sardar Baz Mohammad Jomezai and others supported the resolution. After the Pakistan resolution, the Pakistani movement gained momentum throughout India and Baluchistan. In the following years, the political situation in Baluchistan was very different. The Muslim League and Pakistan talk about it among young and old people. This situation shocked the politicians, who supported the Congress, but perhaps they did not have many cards, and the political change would benefit the Muslim League and Pakistan.

In the last round, Baluchistan announced that it had decided for Pakistan and became an inseparable part of Pakistan's motherland. The state of political freedoms in Baluchistan was not extremely uplifting, the British organization had kept the land and individuals in complete obliviousness, totally without political freedoms, Congress had impact over the ancestral Chieftains of the land. In any case, the development for opportunity opened new entryways of legislative issues. The main proper association might be Anjuman-e-Ittehad-Balochan to start the development of rights and opportunity; it was trailed by different associations and meetings.

Baluchistan and All India Baloch Conference gave the gathering to the development to request the rights and opportunity. The Cry of Baluchistan by Yousaf Aziz Magsi and Shamas Gardi further raised the voices contrary to the overbearing guideline and the stage was set for the Movement for complete opportunity.

2.2 The Rise of Muslim Nationalism

The escalation of Muslim nationalism was triggered in Baluchistan during gaining momentum of All India Muslim League in the province. The people of Baluchistan had assembled under the Muslim affectionate and joining the Muslim League under the local leadership of Nawab Arbab Karam Khan Kansi, Abdul Samad Khan of former Khaksar Party, Qazi Isa, Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Tareen and other prominent leaders against harsh laws of British administration.⁵⁹ The demands of the local people of Baluchistan, tribal chief and also the Khan of Kalat were autonomy and political reforms of Baluchistan. So all India Muslim League was the only party to advocate that demands not only in Baluchistan but also in the whole Sub-continent.⁶⁰

After the returning of Jinnah in 1935 from his self-exile, he launched movement to reorganize Muslim majority areas in one political stage and started the campaign of Muslim nationalism in British India and other areas of Sub-continent including Baluchistan. The people of Baluchistan welcomed these interests and enthusiastically joined Jinnah led Muslim League. Despite many obstacles in the activism of Muslim nationalism under the only umbrella of Muslim League, Qazi Isa and his distinguished had joined him. Notably, Muslim League being pro-British party

⁵⁹ Extract from Weekly Intelligence Summaries on Baluchistan, OIOC, No.L/P and S9/12/3219, (July 14, 1939).

⁶⁰ Kausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*. P.25.

had assured the masses that Party will never go against the religious code of conducts and Sharia law. So in return all prominent religious leaders, tribal chiefs including Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai assured their full support to Muslim Unity.

The Muslim League in Baluchistan had openly opposed the other movements of ethnic nationalism aided by Congress. The basic problem of Baluchistan was that of weak political system because the province was only controlled by Sardari System and British administrators that much were dependent on British colonial powers including their capital assets. So in this case Muslim League was totally against this Sardari system which was appeased to British administrators and their agents.⁶¹

On March 23, 1941, the first “Pakistan Day” was observed zealously in Quetta under the organization of All India Muslim League’s leaderships from Baluchistan and from the very moment of this successful event of, the members of the Muslim League were regularly taking parts in the other sessions of the Muslim League in the sub-continent and in Madras, the members of Baluchistan led by Qazi Isa participated in April 1941 session of All India Muslim League.⁶² In May of the following year, another third session of the Muslim League held in Quetta where number of people participated which showed the remarkable growing strength of the party in Baluchistan. In that method, the leaders of the Muslim League belonged from the other areas of British India also on regular basis continued their visits Baluchistan to assist and guide their newly leaderships and workers of the Baluchistan province to forward their political and awakening struggle of Pakistan. The leader of the Punjab Muslim League Nawabzada

⁶¹ Kausar. p. 26

⁶² Nasim Hijazi, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan aur Baluchistan* (Urdu) (Mehran Publisher, Karachi, 1977).

Iftikhar Hussian made his visit to Baluchistan in July 1942 and headed the second session of the provincial party.

The above session passed a resolution and demand the immediate release of Nawabzada Abdul Ur Rehman Bugti and other political workers, reforms in Baluchistan, establish of Quetta elected municipality members and full confidence on the leadership of Jinnah to promote Muslim Nationalism for the support separate homeland for All Muslim in the subcontinent.⁶³

2.3 Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Visits of Baluchistan

The founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah clearly had affectionate attachments with Baluchistan and respectively, the people of Baluchistan also were eager for Quaid's sight that could be judge from the visits of great leader to Baluchistan for political awakening of the Muslims. In 1943 Jinnah made his first political visit to Baluchistan. A large crowd of people including influential chiefs of different tribes gathered and waited at Jhatpat near Jacobabad railway station for the welcome of Jinnah. In this visit Jinnah was accompanied by Mrs. Fatima Jinnah, Begum Haroon. At railway station people had presented bouquets of flowers and walked with Jinnah's protocol car.

At station Jinnah thanked the people for their warm welcome and hospitality offered and he also told them to get education and political consciousness to improve their both economic and social situations. In this first visit of Jinnah to Baluchistan, some prominent leaders of provincial

⁶³ Kausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*. P.31.

Muslim League were also present at railway station Quetta as Qazi Isa, Allama Abdul Ali Akhundzada and also a special representative of Khan of Kalat Abdul Rauf.⁶⁴

This visit of Jinnah was one of the historical events in Baluchistan attended by a large number of people. All the roads of Quetta city were decorated with flowers, guard of honor by boy scouts of school students, welcome signboards, posters and Jinnah's sculptures and one road named after Jinnah. Mohammad Jinnah had dressed in traditional Shalwar Sherwani and that event for Jinnah was not less than royal etiquette.⁶⁵

On July 3, 1943, Mohammad Ali Jinnah established the Muslim Students Federation wing in Baluchistan when he visited Islamia High School Quetta and Jinnah called this school "Mini Aligarh". He had hoisted Pakistani flag in this school. He told the students about the importance of education and the role of the youngsters in the building of a nation. At late afternoon presided annual session of provincial Muslim League and then a public meeting called where he told the oppressed Baloch and Pashtoon that "The Muslim League had a message to every Musalmans and everyone was expected to play his or her part justly and for the greater benefit of the whole.

The Baluchistan Muslim League had reached that stage that it was not only a source of pride to Muslims, but even the non-Muslims felt envious of this organization. As a proof I am reproducing here an article by Sarup Singh Kalha, M.A.J.D., who had witnessed the deliberations of the Third Annual Session of the Muslim League in July 1943. The article appeared in "Dawn" and other English paper of India".⁶⁶ This address was joined by a large number of both Pashtoon and Baloch Sardars and Nawabs including Nawab Muhammad Khan

⁶⁴ Kausar. p. 32

⁶⁵ Kausar. p. 33

⁶⁶ Kausar. p.

Jogezai and all the participants were overwhelmingly gratified with attitude and intellectual character and idea of Jinnah.

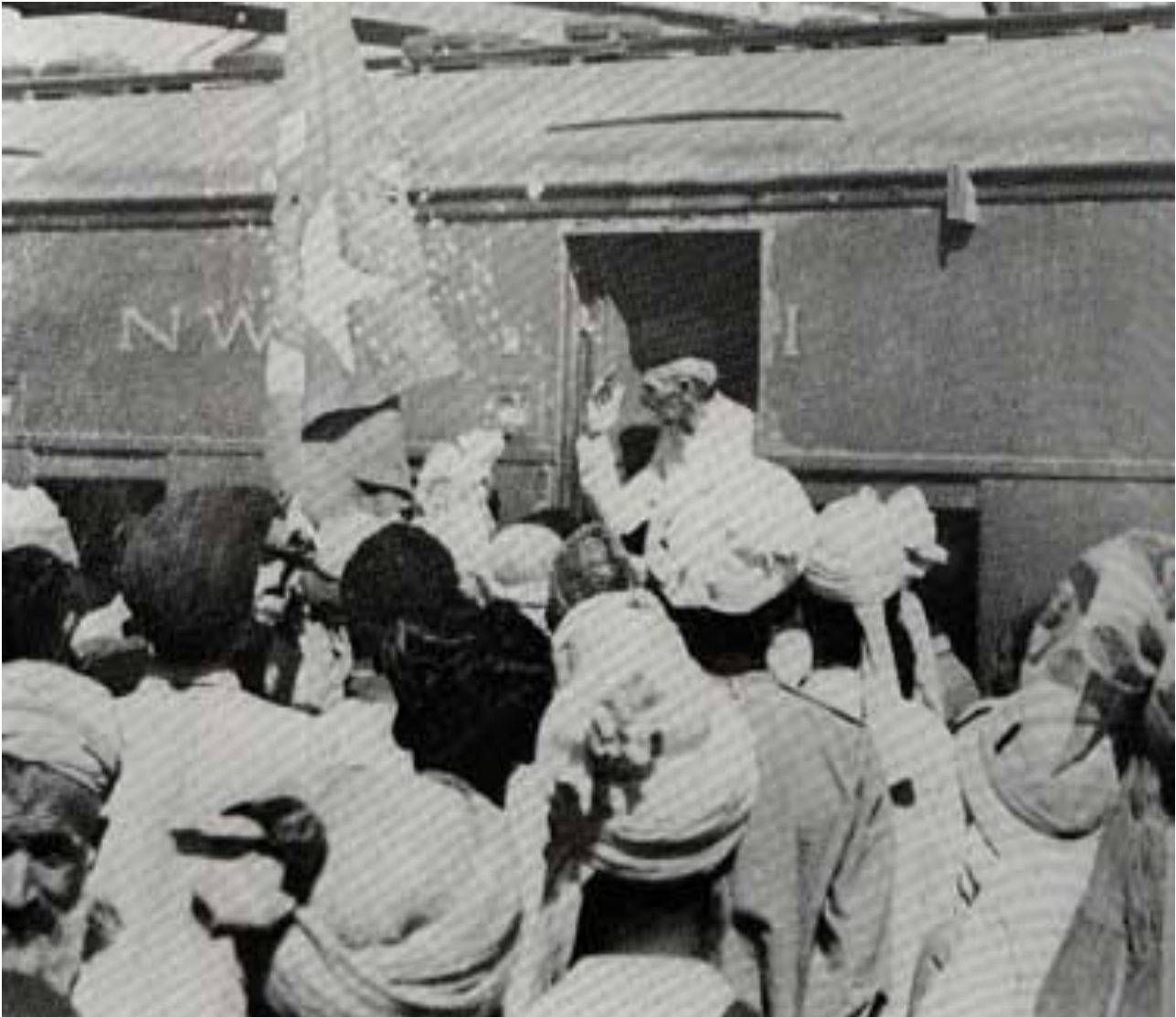


Figure 2.1 Quaid M. Ali Jinnah thanking supporters at Quetta Railway Station in 1945⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Retrieved from <https://hamarabalochistan.wordpress.com/category/history/>

Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai was one those personalities who had rejected every kinds of offers and privileges of both British and Congress leadership. It is very noticeable story that once a special delegation of Indian National Congress came to Nawab Jomezai and told them that “Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru is ready to give him thirty crores (Rs 3 Billions) rupees. Although Nawab Jomezai and his son Nawabzada Jahangir Shah had strongly rejected this offer and told the delegates that if you people again try to offer such proposal then you people would be the responsible of consequences”.⁶⁸

Next day, Quetta Bar Association arranged special tea-party for the honor of the founder of the Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on July 5 and he guided the lawyers about the judiciary in his speech. On July 7, Jinnah devoted whole day to meet with different political parties’ leaders, social activists and prominent tribal chiefs and listened their grievances and difficulties. In the evening of that day, Jinnah was invited to Pishin by provincial General Secretary of Muslim League Ghulam Mohammad Tareen and offered him special traditional dinner party. Jinnah stayed in residency of late Mohammad Isa on that night and next morning he was welcomed by Malak Shah Mohammad Kansi with great honors at his garden on Balleli point.⁶⁹ However he left for Kalat on 10 July on the request of Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmad Yar Khan and stayed there for two days and came back to Quetta and went to his favorite place Ziyarat, last days of life also there in this valley latter. After returning from Ziyarat valley he went to Karachi and this first

⁶⁸ A Special News Report on the death anniversary of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, (Daily Naya Zamana Quetta, 22 December 1978).

⁶⁹ Ibid

successful and historical visit of Jinnah stood as gracefulness for Pakistan Movement and later definitely accession of Baluchistan with Pakistan.⁷⁰

On 14th September 1945, the founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah made his second visit to Baluchistan and this was also not less honorable and historical visit than his previous one in 1943 lifting deep impression on the masses of province. Different delegations of Nawabs, Sardars, political parties and social activists came to see him from far-flung of those areas. Jinnah fully described an independence state of Muslim majority areas of Pakistan and persuaded them for the combined struggles of this dream of Pakistan in his speech. This slogan of Jinnah echoed in the whole province and the people including tribal chiefs absolutely supported Jinnah in that mission which ultimately strengthened Jinnah's hands for the achievements of that vision. Jinnah explained the Baloch and Pashtoon people the following four accomplishments for the province promised by British Indian government.⁷¹

- 1) One special representative would be recognized in the Central Government.
- 2) Municipal Committee in Quetta would be elected.
- 3) Nine Lacks rupees for the Education would be granted.
- 4) Reforms in the province would be introduced.⁷²

By announcing the above four steps for the province, which never had been in the dream of the people before, Jinnah and his Muslim League got huge attraction in the province and encouraged the political and social awakening in Baluchistan. Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezi

⁷⁰ Kausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*. P.31.

⁷¹ Kausar. p. 31

⁷² Kausar. p. 32

expressed his full support to Muslim League and Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also praised Nawab Jomezai in an exclusive letter to him because Nawab Jomezai, being vice president of Shahi Jirga, had tremendous role in the accession of Baluchistan. Jinnah remembered him that “I am very glad to hear that you are whole-heartedly supporting the Muslim League. Unity among the Musalmans is most essential at this critical moment and a man of your position and influence can help the Muslim”.⁷³

Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai and other prominent chiefs of Pashtoon expressed their opposition about the separation of Baluchistan and its merge with other province and they were keen supporters of the unity of Baluchistan. In this trip, Jinnah also went to Kalat and stayed at the resident of the Khan of Kalat.⁷⁴ In Mastung Jinnah remained for a week with attending different meetings and Jinnah assured the people about his support. Before departure, Jinnah motivated the students in his last address in Quetta about their hard work and contributions.

⁷³ Jomezai, *Pakistan, Baluchistan aur Naib Sadar Shahi Jirga* . p.332.

⁷⁴ Jomezai. p. 332



Figure 2.2 Quaid I Azam M. Ali Jinnah receiving a Jinnah Cap from the Baluchistan National Guards, in 1948⁷⁵

In the support of Baluchistan's position in Indian Legislative Assembly, Jinnah raised his slogan for many times. He demanded some legislative changes in Baluchistan including harsh policies of British administrators which divested the basics rights of Baloch and Pashtoon people.

At last demands for reforms in Baluchistan were accepted and Baluchistan got one special representative chair in Assembly. On provincial level elected Quetta Municipal Committee and Shahi Jirga were established. In the other words, Quetta Municipal Committee was considered as provincial assembly where different opinions were discussed regarding province. For the selection of representative to Central Assembly of India, election was held in Baluchistan. The

⁷⁵ Retrieved from <https://hamarabalochistan.wordpress.com/category/history/>

Indian Congress had nominated Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai as their member and the Muslim League had Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai for contest. Achakzai got thirty votes and Nawab Jomezai had sixty-one votes. Nawab Muhammad Jomezai Khan was declared the winner despite many tactics and plots made in that election by Congress and Nawab Jomezai was the elected member in Indian Legislative Assembly from Baluchistan. In election the members of Shahi Jirga had played excellent roles by supporting Muslim League member.

2.4 Political Awakening and the Role of Baluchistan in the Freedom Struggle

The political awakening in Baluchistan relates largest role in the freedom struggle of Pakistan. The arising consciousness in Baluchistan could be perceived in the prospect of British harsh laws and Muslim League's broaden sphere of influence in the unity of Muslim for separate homeland called Pakistan. On the other side the political dynamic of sub-continent also were going through transformation in the result of British removing campaigns in all over colonial region. Consequently, through the domino effects of those changing movements, the political affairs of Baluchistan were regaining position in two directions. One to nationalist approach patronized by Indian Congress which tried to get independence status for Baluchistan and the other was accession of Baluchistan with Pakistan which was led by All India Muslim League.

However in the independence of Pakistan the Baloch and Pashtoon tribes had distinctive and significant services and sacrifices. In the struggle of Pakistan both men, women, Sardars, Nawabs, religious leaders, social and political workers and individuals of the Baluchistan had played their contributions. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali acknowledged these sacrifices of the people that "As you know I have personal relation with Baluchistan since a long period. I draw

pleasure when I remember the days when the people of this province took part in our freedom struggle shoulder to shoulder with us. The part which you have played in the achievement of our objective is no less than that of the efforts made by our brethren of other provinces of Pakistan".⁷⁶ Thus it was the collective courage and determination of the people to help Jinnah and All India Muslim League.

In March 1946, British Government had directed Cabinet Mission under the command of Mr. Cripps to decide about the future of Sub-continent. Different delegations from Baluchistan reached to take over the confidence of the concern mission regarding the future of Baluchistan. Khan of Kalat Mohammad Yar Khan demanded the restoration of Baluchistan old status as independence state as before 1879. Similarly some Sardars from Bugti and Marri tribes also wished the accession of their territories or pervious princely with Kalat State and Congress also wanted and supported the same position of Baluchistan.

A special representative of Khan of Kalat urged the commission that "To begin with the question of a unified and freed Baloch race, the question of greater Baluchistan is inevitable".⁷⁷ Although the circumstances took U-turn and the decision of the province was given directly to the Quetta Municipal Committee either to join Pakistan or independence via referendum. Finally, all the tribal Sardars and Nawabs including Khan of Kalat were persuaded to join Pakistan when Mohammad Ali Jinnah assured them the protection of their rights after independence.⁷⁸ A joint statement was released by Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai that Sardars of Baluchistan had decided to join Pakistan in the favor of Baluchistan's progress,

⁷⁶ Kausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*. P.67.

⁷⁷ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. P.119

⁷⁸ Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy* (1971-1994), op.cit, p.95.

prosperity and extensive protection “under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah the people of Baluchistan were totally saved from the Hindu domination and exploitation.

It was his personality that they were soon going to win an independent Muslim country”.⁷⁹ On other hand, Congress waged propaganda through in that contest to misguide the general masses of Baluchistan and also giving bribes to their representatives but it was all in vain when the Nawab Jomezai, Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and other Muslim League provincial leaders had showed the courage and pro-activism in the tribal people of Baluchistan. In this hard time, Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai brought out a procession in Quetta city before the day of Referendum to express the consciousness and strengthens their position in creation of Pakistan. Muslim Students Federation also joined this procession and the participants of the procession appreciated Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai as their pride and trust “Fakhr-i-Baluchistan Nawab Jomezai Zindabad”.⁸⁰

This huge gathering of people had crushed falsehood of the foe and showed them that Pakistan will be created and Baluchistan will be the part of this newly born Muslim country. In this process, Nawab Jomezai and other provincial leaders of provincial Muslim League were in touch with Jinnah about the political development in the province and Quaid appreciated them.

So despite all obstacles, the people, the chiefs and renewed leaders of the Baluchistan had directly rejected special offers of the Indian Congress and heartily decided to cast their votes in the approval of Pakistan. On 30 June 1947, Shahi Jirga had legitimately and confidently decided

⁷⁹ Kausar, *Pakistan Movement in Baluchistan*. P.67.

⁸⁰ Hijazi, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan aur Baluchistan*.

the future of Baluchistan with Pakistan and Baluchistan became the integral part of Pakistan.⁸¹ In Pakistan Movement the struggle and contribution made by Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali, Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tareen, Abdul Ghafoor Durrani, Haji Jahangir Shah and Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan Jomezai for Baluchistan in joining Pakistan have become immortal in our national history. Moreover, the selfless service, sober sincerity and innumerable sacrifices of Qazi Muhammad Isa, Muslim League, Muslim Students Federation, Muslim National Guards and other numerous volunteers were appreciable and commendable. It is only because of their unflinching efforts that Baluchistan today is an integral part of Pakistan.

⁸¹ Hijazi.

CHAPTER 3

JOGEZAI FAMILY AND THEIR ROLE IN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

3.1 A Brief Historical Background of Jomezai Family

The Kakars, who are one of the Pashtoon tribes, ethnically and by tradition, they are closely related to their neighbors to the north and east, the Mandokhels and Musakhels.⁸² To emphasize the point, not that Sandeman's officers in their reports referred to Kakars as Afghans when they first moved to the area and pursuing Dost Muhammad Jomezai and his son Bangul Khan, the British felt obliged to let the pair escape across the south-west stretch of Kundar river into Kakar Khorasan because they regarded the country beyond the river as being in Afghanistan, the border not having been formally demarcated yet in spite of the Gandamak treaty.⁸³ The Kakars and other tribes of Pashtoons simply introduce and distinguish themselves as 'Pathans' from the Punjabis, Sindhis, Brahvis and others whom they will consider inferior. However, they would not regard the Baloch, as being inferior tribe.

According to A.F.M. Burdett in his book 'Sturrey Masheh' about the wanderings along the Afghan borderlands over forty years, that: "Continuing with Afghan and Pashtoon tradition, Ghurghusht, the first son of Qais, fathered Dani who in turn fathered Kakar and four other sons according to the genealogical tree of the Kakar tribe by Mir Shams Shah, a settlement Assistant Commissioner, published in 1901. Sir Olaf Caroe however apportions only three sons of Dani. We are now getting on to home ground as Kakar is said to have had six sons: Taraghara,

⁸² A.F.M. Burdett, *Sturrey Masheh: Wandering along the Afghan Borderlands over Forty Years*, (Butleigh & Barton, 2011) p.177

⁸³ A.F.M. Burdett. p. 178

Saraghara, Dumar, Sughruk, Jadram, and Seenr in the order drawn up by Mir Shams Shah, presumably in birth order and not in their order of importance based upon the number of their descendants today of these Sughruk posthumously had a son Sanzar or Sanzar by a Saeed wife named Lazgi. Bearing in mind how Spartan and uncertain life was in those distant days, Sanzar astonishingly fathered twelve surviving sons and these gave rise to all the clans of the dominant Sanzar Khel section of the Kakar tribe who, at the turn of the century, outnumbered the next section, the Sanatia, by eight to one. A tomb and shrine attributed to him is at Kot, about twenty seven miles from Fort Sandeman towards Murgha Kibzai and a mile off the dirt main road, so now we seem to have more concrete evidence”.⁸⁴

Divisions within a Pashtoon tribe are as complicated as those between overall tribes. The group with ‘Khel’ or ‘zai’ is generally regarded as a section or clan within a tribe but some sections and their sub-sections often have one or other of the two suffixes, and so it goes on. The only precise division appears to be the ‘Kahole’ which is a clear and closely related group within the Jomezai clan that shares some relatively recent ancestors.⁸⁵

Returning to the Kakars which are called the true Afghans and the dominant Sanzar Khel section which comprises twelve main sub-sections and each sub-section descended from one of the twelve sons of Sanzar Nika and which means Grandfather Sanzar and as a token of respect. The dozen surviving sons of Sanzar Nika in those days indicate a good set of genes and already implied and fathered by Sanzar. The twelve sections descended from Sanzar Nika are the Alizai, Abdullahzai, Kibzai, Huramzai, Utmankhel, Barat Khel, Nas Khel, Arabkhel, Paraizun, Taimani, Nisai, and Hindu Sanzar Khel. The Jomezais place in this tribal labyrinth comes down from the

⁸⁴ A.F.M. Burdett. p.178

⁸⁵ A.F.M. Burdett. p.179

first section of the Sanzar Khel, the Alizai, and on via Shado, Shmo, Jalal and six further generations before Joge or Jogi himself, hence come the Jogezaies.⁸⁶ It is also mentioned in Zhob gazetteer of 1907 that Ahmad Shah Abdali the king of Afghanistan rewarded one of the ancestor of the Jogezaie clan 'Baikar Nika' with the certificate of the king. Baikar Nika is the descendent of Jogi and the name Jogi of this clan affiliated with Jogi Nika.⁸⁷ Joge's great-grandson was Baikar Khan, clearly a recognized and accepted leader for Ahmad Shah Abdali in Kandahar, later Ahmad Shah Durrani, founder of Afghanistan and the dynasty of that name pronounced him 'Badshah' of Zhob and presented him with a gold ornament as a symbol of authority.

Legend has it that, being show in collecting taxes, Baikar was summoned to Kandahar and put into a cauldron of boiling water to encourage a bit more enthusiasm in collection of revenues, but he emerged unscathed.⁸⁸ Baikar Khan had five sons and his first born son, Mukam, fathered two sons, Ishak and Nawab. The two brothers gave rise to the Ishak Kahole and Nawab Kahole of today between whom there was not a little bloodshed in the past. Ishak was the first born, whence his descendants, the Ishak Kahole claim the leadership and provides the 'Sardars' or the leaders. The Jogezaie clan is the predominant one among the Kakars. The name Nawab Kahole can be rather confusing as it has nothing to do with the honorary title Nawab later conferred upon Muhammad Khan Jogezaie by the British in 1928.⁸⁹ Shah Jehan was one of the seven sons of Nawab and the most influential man in the tribe in his day being regarded by many as a saint and a miracle worker. Shah Jehan also resisted and harassed the British fairly persistently between 1879 and 1884.

⁸⁶ Mansoor Bokhari, *District Gazetteers of Baluchistan: Selection from Government Records, Vol.5.* (Quetta, Gosh-e-Adab, 1997) p.1098

⁸⁷ Mansoor Bokhari. p. 1099.

⁸⁸ Burdett, *Sturey Masheh.* p.183.

⁸⁹ Burdett, *Sturey Masheh.* p.184.

Dost Muhammad Khan described by the British report as being a violent and dissipated man, was contesting for power although his father, Murghai was the second born son of Ishak. In 1870 Dost Muhammad had shot Jallandar Khan one of the eight sons of Shah Jehan but it is not clear for what reason. In 1871, another son of Shah Jehan's sons, Fateh Khan shot Fazal Khan, one of Dost Muhammad's two brothers and in 1885 Bangul Khan killed Shamal Khan with a sword and in 1893 Dinak Khan killed Shingul Khan by the same means.

One of the members of Nawab Kahole, Baran Khan, fired three fatal shots into Bangul Khan from behind and at such close range that his clothes caught fire. This all happened due to the clash between these two Kaholes over the chieftainship and thus after killing Bangul Khan Son of Dost Muhammad Khan, the Nawab Kahole was banned from the area. The new chief of Ishak Kahole after the death of Nawab Bangul Khan was the Zarif Khan, son of Nawab Bangul Khan. Zarif Khan was chief for few months and died of natural causes and a year later as already mentioned, his half-brother, Muhammad Khan succeeded him in 1907 at age of twenty two. The newly chief with his full title Nawab Bahadur Muhammad Khan Jomezai died in 1978 at the age of ninety-three years.

Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai had a total of four wives, eleven sons and eight daughters. The first wife of Chief Muhammad Khan Jomezai was of the Arab Khel clan of Kakar tribe, the mother of Temur Shah, Jahangir Shah, and Jehandar Shah the eldest three of the brothers and in order of birth. The chief's second wife, Taj Bibi was from the Luni clan and the mother of Ahmad Yar Khan, Mohabat Khan, Mohammad Hassan, Ashraf Khan, Nur Ahmad Khan and the twins Salim Khan and Anwar Jan. The third wife of chief Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai was from the Jomezai clan but was childless. The fourth one was also from the Jomezai clan and bore Nurullah Khan, who happens to be older than Muhammad Hassan and

those that followed. Apart from the differences due to large age gaps, all the brothers seemed remarkably very well and an extra bond those from the same mother, as might well expected. The Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai's eldest son, Temur Shah Jomezai succeeded him and he had retired from the army in which he had been a major and is best described as being very 'pukka' almost an English gentlemen one could say. But when Nawab Temur shah died in 1988 his eldest son Asadullah Khan was not confirmed as new chief or Nawab, but the position going to his grandson Ayaz Khan, who at present serving as the chief and Nawab of Pashtoons and convener of Pashtoon Qaumi Jirga.⁹⁰

3.2 The Shahi Jirga and Baluchistan's accession to Pakistan

The making of Pakistan and Pakistan movement was not of less importance, it was not a regional and territorial movement but it was the total and national movement for the Muslims of sub-continent. It was like the heart of the Muslims in every corner of the vast land of the sub-continent and it was as much on peak in Baluchistan as in any other part of the sub-continent. It was in the larger context that the people of Baluchistan did not lag behind in the struggle for freedom and the movement for achieving Pakistan. The people of Baluchistan were, no doubt an indivisible in their historical efforts against the Hindu Congress and the British Government in this part of the sub-continent. It is an established and historical fact that in pre-partition period, the people of Baluchistan were at the forefront of the Pakistan movement and it is also a fact that they spear-headed the movement or the historical struggle for a separate Muslim state.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Burdett, *Sturey Masheh*. p.185.

⁹¹ Syed Abdul Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*, (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd (Pvt.), 1990), p.119.

In the early stages of 1927, the founder of the nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah for the first time highlighted upon the provincial status of Baluchistan as other provinces of India in his Fourteen Points devised by the all India Muslim League (AIML). In the year 1936, this issue of the status of Baluchistan as a province was also raised in the then Indian parliament by Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang as instructed by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. These efforts could not succeed because it was the time when Muslim League was not established in Baluchistan and on the contrary different sections of the political parties were representing the Congress.⁹²

The founder of the Pakistan movement in Baluchistan was Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Aziz Magsi and he was influenced by the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Dr, Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. It was the Nawabzada Yousaf Ali Khan Aziz Magsi, organizing first all India Baloch conference at Jacobabad from 27th to 29th December, 1932 and also introduced Islamic political ideas in Baluchistan.⁹³

⁹² Syed Abdul Quddus, *the Tribal Baluchistan*. p. 119.

⁹³ Syed Abdul Quddus, *the Tribal Baluchistan*. p. 120.



Figure 3.1 Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai meeting with Quaid I Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah at Quetta Residency 1947.⁹⁴

The people of Baluchistan were always on the forefront of the freedom struggle to achieve an independent and separate homeland for the Muslims of sub-continent. Muslims of this part of the united India were having prominent political leaders, leading the movement in such harsh situations. There were different rumors spreading over against Muslims by Hindus and the then rulers, the British. In accordance with the sessions of Muslim League in this part of United India, on 29th December Allama Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address declared at the annual session of the Muslim League at Allahabad and he said that Islam is the religion which gradually

⁹⁴ Retrieved from <http://www.bitlanders.com/blogs/balochistan-conflict-part-i/189678>.

unify the dispersed people and groups and transform them into a well-defined people, having moral consciousness of their own. In the same address, Allama Iqbal further argued about the religion Islam that it also furnishes the basic emotions and loyalties of the individuals and groups⁹⁵.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal in this address termed that with no exaggerations to say that sub-continent, in the world, was the only land where Islam as a religion and people building force had worked a lot at its best. He said in his speech that Muslims are 70 million and homogeneous than any other people in India. These are the Muslims of India who can fitly be depicted as a nation in the modern sense of the world. Iqbal described the Hindus, in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for nation and which Islam has given to Muslims as a free gift. Iqbal in his presidential address rejected the belief that India being a cultural, social, and political unit but to him sub-continent was a continent of human groups belonging to different races speaking different languages and acknowledge different religions.

As a result of this scrutiny, Iqbal elucidated the necessity of autonomous federal states.⁹⁶ In these years of colonial rule over India, Baluchistan was not included in the list of provinces. Baluchistan was an administrative unit headed by the Agent to the Governor General (AGG) and which implied that the recognized reforms introduced in other provinces were not part of the

⁹⁵ Martin Axman, *Back to the Future: The Khanate of Kalat and The Genesis of Baloch Nationalism 1915-1955*, (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2009) p.190

⁹⁶ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of The All India Muslim League on 29 December 1930,' as reprinted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, ed., *Speeches, writings and statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), 4, 23.

province Baluchistan.⁹⁷ The founder of this nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was conscious of the problems of Baluchistan and he also demanded reforms in Baluchistan and after a long tiring endeavor and political vision about the Muslims of India, Allah almighty gave Muslims a separate and an independent homeland on 14th August, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the real and sincere politician, worker and a founder of the independent and separate homeland for Muslims and he always loved the sincere workers and leaders of the Muslims and Muslim League. Muslim League was the political organization to support and sponsor the cause of Baluchistan for the creation and a separate status of province. The foundation of the Muslim League in Baluchistan was laid by Qazi Isa and he was a young and a well-known lawyer of Baluchistan. Qazi Isa met with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and invited him to visit Baluchistan in the year 1938. Quaid-e-Azam was so impressed and accepted the invitation. Baluchistan and the people of Baluchistan voluntarily favored the Pakistan movement and the accession of Baluchistan with Pakistan. The leaders of Baluchistan who made promises with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah were Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali. Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali announced the idea of accession to Pakistan. On 20 February, 1947, it is announced that the British government is going to give independence to the people of sub-continent in June 1948. With the reference of such announcement of the British government, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai released an invitation to the people of Baluchistan.

The affairs and problems of Baluchistan had always been there in the mind of Quaid-e-Azam. Quaid always raised his voice in favor of provincial status on many occasions in the

⁹⁷ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.190.

Indian legislative assembly and said to bring Baluchistan a part of the united India. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah always angrily opposed and criticized the British raj and their policies in Baluchistan and suppression of the Pashtoon and Baloch people of this region. He also demanded the representation of Baluchistan in the Indian legislative assembly.⁹⁸

A jirga formed to deal the affairs and problems of Baluchistan and also to decide to join either Pakistan or India. On the eve of independence and making of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state, the members of Shahi Jirga were nominated as Electoral College. With the formation and nomination of Shahi Jirga, the Muslim League nominated Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai as its candidate while the Congress nominated its president of the Baluchistan branch. After nomination of the candidates for the electoral college, the Congress used its foremost tactics, its imposing name and the huge amount of money it had at its disposal to win this prominent and high status seat, but all in vain.⁹⁹ Before the date of polling to be held, all members of Shahi Jirga illustrated up a joint document showing their support for the Muslim League candidate, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai. This tiring endeavor and electoral campaign led by the members of the Shahi Jirga Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali, Nawabzada Jahangir Shah and Nasim Hijazi.

This endeavor and suggestion of the nominated candidate for Shahi Jirga met with success and this document was signed and submitted by the forty (40) members of the Shahi Jirga who met in deputation with the Agent to the Governor General. As a result of all this

⁹⁸ Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Role in the London Round Table Conference 1930-31*, vol.1, No.1 (Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, , Spring 1995) P.20.

⁹⁹ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. p.124.

process of nomination of the members of Shahi Jirga, the Congress nominee could get hardly ten votes out of 65 (Shahi Jirga 53: Muncipal committee 12).¹⁰⁰

Names of members of Shahi Jirga of Baluchistan: Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan Jomezai, Malik Shehzada, Khan Bahadur Baz Gul, Malik Murad Khan, Khan Gulistan Khan, Malik Khudadad Khan, Fazal Khan, Sher Ali Khan, Malik Mirza Khan Jomezai, Arbab Muhammad Umar Khan Kansi, Sahibzada Muhammad Ayoub, Malik Bayak Khan Achakzai, Malik Ali Jan, Malik Mehmood Khan, Malik of Mili, Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tareen, Sayed Zainuddin, Khan Bahadur Malik of Bostan, Sardar Baz Muhammad Khan Jomezai, Malik Ghundak Khan, Malik Amir Hamza Khan, Malik Muhammad Usman Khan, Sardar Baz Khan Belkhel, Sardar Habibullah Khan, Sardar Fazal Khan, Sardar Allah Dad Jaffar, Sardar Meera Khan Esot, Sardar Haq Nawaz Khan, Sardar Gharmeen, Sardar Anwar Jan, Sardar Hashim Khan, Sardar of Dumar, Sardar Muhammad Khan Tareen, Sardar Jamal Khan Bugti, Syed Jalali Shah, Sardar Samandar Khan, Sardar Doda Khan, Sardar Rustam Khan Jamali, Sardar Noor Muhammad Gola, Wadera Mir Nabi Bakhsh Khosa, Sardar Murad Khan Karangzai, Sardar Wahab Khan Kakar, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Sanjrani, Sardar Dost Muhammad Mengal, Malik Asmatullah¹⁰¹.

Pakistan movement was the only force which played an important role in the division of the sub-continent on the basis of two nation theory and this theory had gained the strength at the end of 1946. The two nation theory and the division of united India, that neither the British nor the Congress could stop it for implementation and could not stand in the way of its emergence.

¹⁰⁰ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. p.124.

¹⁰¹ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. p.125.

After a long venture and discussion held in the parties conference, commission was formed for the solutions and it is witnessed that the emergence of Pakistan was the only solution. One point was left for finalization of the principle to be adopted to include certain areas either in Pakistan or in India. Thus a referendum was accepted by the concerned parties and therefore it was to be held in Assam, Sylhet, North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan in the western part of the sub-continent.¹⁰²

The Muslim League overlooked the strategic importance of the Khanate of Kalat for the future state of Pakistan and Baluchistan. The stance of the Muslim League was to regard British Baluchistan as a part of British India and to become part of Pakistan upon the termination of British rule due to the Muslim majority population.¹⁰³ The concerns of the future of the British Baluchistan, Muslim League and Congress both were struggling in the presence of the British. In the year 1946 and 1947, the political tussle was there between the Muslim League and Congress. During these years of politics in the sub-continent, the British could do no more than to play the role of negotiator between the two political entities. The Khan of Kalat ended to play any kind of role at all in the decision of the future of Pakistan.¹⁰⁴

The Congress party accepted the partition of India because of the rigid and unruly violence of the British in United India. According to the Cabinet Mission the date of British withdrawal was August 1947, it was precipitated from June 1948.¹⁰⁵ With the departure of British, the formal decision had to be made about British Baluchistan either to join Pakistan or

¹⁰² Nasim Hijazi, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan aur Baluchistan*, (Urdu) (Karachi, Mehran Publications, 1977) p.150.

¹⁰³ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. p.124.

¹⁰⁴ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.195

¹⁰⁵ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.196

the Indian constituent assembly. The British did not have much opposition and fight to the views of political entities of Muslims and Hindus of the sub-continent. The Muslim League stance was to form Shahi Jirga and it was the only institution that could be delegated with the decision of the future of Pakistan. The British also regarded the Shahi Jirga an ideal and fairly representative body and on 23 April, 1947, Agent to the Governor General (AGG) Geoffrey enlightened the secretary to the Government of India at the External Affairs Department in Delhi about the merits of the existing Shahi Jirga and Sardari systems.¹⁰⁶

Eventually, all concerned political parties agreed upon Shahi Jirga enlarged by twelve (12) representatives of the Quetta Municipal Committee (QMC) to decide the future of Baluchistan. The Khan of Kalat opposed the Shahi Jirga referendum and demanded that the Baloch Sardars of the tribal areas be taken out of the electorate those of Marri and Bugti tribal areas. The Khan of Kalat said that the Marri-Bugti tribal territories constituted a part of the Khanate and had nothing to do with the problems of British Baluchistan and the decision to join Pakistan or India. The Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmad Yar Khan was fully favored by the respective Sardars and Nawabs of Marri and Bugti tribes, Nawab Doda Khan Marri and Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti. But consequently the Marri-Bugti tribal areas were not attached to the Khanate of Kalat and the Sardars and Nawabs of the Baloch tribe were not excluded from the Shahi Jirga.¹⁰⁷

The referendum was to be held in June 1947 and the Sardars of Baluchistan were to decide the future of Baluchistan. These were tough days for the people and Sardars and after a long discussion and meetings, succeeded to join Pakistan instead of India. Congress leaders were

¹⁰⁶ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.196.

¹⁰⁷ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.197.

disappointed and they were planning to detract the Sardars not to decide to join Pakistan. The Sardars were threatened by the opponents that they would be kept deprived from the financial assistance provided by Delhi Federal Government. All the Sardari rights and the facilities provided to them would be cancelled and if remains with India then their rights would probably be protected as previously.¹⁰⁸ Muslim League leaders, Sardars and the workers of Baluchistan Muslim League worked hard to change the way of politics in Baluchistan. The Sardars decided that the protection of the people of Baluchistan is directly lying to join an independent state where the people would be free in the affairs of their province.¹⁰⁹

Congress was not lagging behind in its propaganda and the prominent Sardars of Baluchistan had rejected the attractive offers of the Congress party and as a result all the Sardars decided to cast their vote in the favor to join Pakistan. This struggle for freedom was led by Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali. It was decided that as soon as the Agent to the Governor General (AGG) would finish his speech then the Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai would stand up and declare that all the Sardars had decided to join Pakistan. When the time came to announce, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai stood up and with great confidence and with enthusiastic power addressed AGG Mr. Jaffery prior, that we have read this statement earlier and we do not want more time to make a final decision in this matter.

Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai further argued that the members of Shahi Jirga have decided to join Pakistan and the representative of our people will sit in the constituent assembly of Pakistan.¹¹⁰ Agent to the Governor General (AGG) Mr. Jeffery smiled and said, well, I will

¹⁰⁸ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.197.

¹⁰⁹ Nasim Hijazi, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan aur Baluchistan* (Karachi, Mehran Publications, 1977) P.147.

¹¹⁰ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.199.

send a telegram to the viceroy and will inform him that the members and Shahi Jirga vote have gone in the favor to join Pakistan. At this announcement of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, the town hall of Quetta was presenting the scene of emotional and thunderous clapping and throated slogans of 'Pakistan Zindabad' (long live Pakistan) raised by thousands of people sitting inside and outside the town hall of Quetta.¹¹¹ The people of Baluchistan had announced the historical and a tremendous decision of accession to Pakistan. On the other hand this accession of Baluchistan with Pakistan was the beginning of the freedom struggle. It was a continuous and a never-ending movement of thought which were flowing in the minds and hearts of millions of people who got the Muslim nation. The movement of Pakistan emerges as a symbol of national unity and veracity in Baluchistan.¹¹²

3.3 Socio-political Impacts of Jomezai Family

Pakistan is one of the very few countries in the world which constitute different ethnic groups having different cultures, traditions and tribal setup which still exists and seems to go from strength to strength. Pakistan western most province, Baluchistan is a fortress of tribalism. Baluchistan is sparsely populated as compare to the other region of the Pakistan, and the tribes of Baluchistan survived by and large on sheep herding and primitive crafts. The socio-political and tribal evolution of the society of Baluchistan in some ways exists in a temporal dividing line. The socio-cultural conditions span a wide spectrum one end of which sits in almost middle ages and in the 20th century. The political and social study of the Baluchistan is important from a practical and as well as theoretical stand point. Baluchistan is having huge land mass, an inhospitable,

¹¹¹ Axman, *Back to the Future*. p.199.

¹¹² Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. pp.125-27.

lightly populated by various people having diverse tribal-nomadic cultures. The politics in Baluchistan is relevantly a recent phenomenon. The tribal, socio-cultural and nomadic society of the Baluchistan long been assumed by the all-powerful tribal chiefs, Nawabs and Sardars as their special domain.

A stream of awareness and change has begun and slowly, historically, and fearfully the people of Baluchistan raising their eyes to the world they have been made to rejected for centuries. The political situation of Baluchistan reveals the dynamic grammar of the politics of the pre-historic level and it shows how disparate and contrary ideologies are being compelled to join the force for the betterment of human condition in the province. Strong things and events happen in the world and there are different bounds of possibility through which the primitive the people of Baluchistan might yet realize and in spite of all dissimilarities, a multi-cultural society can develop itself to a maturity.

The British entered into the extreme east of the sub-continent as traders and gradually increased their influence to the other parts of the sub-continent. The last fatality of the British was the Baluchistan in the extreme west and the British authorities of the united India were working on 'Forward Policy'. The forward policy of the British aimed at the extension, establishment of law and order and the British influence in the border regions. Those border regions affecting by the system of anarchism, robbery and murder of the people. They were trying to promote the British rule and supremacy over this region through established forward policy and to counter the danger of Russian advancement to reach warm waters. The British

decide to put a puppet government of Afghanistan and as well as in the sub-continent.¹¹³ The British divided the Baluchistan into two parts: British Baluchistan and the states of Baluchistan. The British Baluchistan comprised of Mostly the Pashtoon areas and the states of Baluchistan were Khanate of Kalat, Lasbela, Makran and Kharan. During the period of advent of British into Baluchistan faced a huge resistance because of the already established tribal systems of Pashtoons and Baloch.

The people of British Baluchistan delivered a staunch resistance against the British during the Anglo Afghan wars. The Pashtoon resistance strengthened more with the increase of British interests in the adjacent country Afghanistan and sub-continent. This resistance against the British was due to the commonality of language, religion, race and culture on both sides of the frontier. Kakar tribe of the Pashtoon occupying most of the area of this part of Baluchistan and they never loved and welcomed the British in these years of occupation. The Jogezai family of the Kakars of the British Baluchistan exercised the chief authority on the Bori Valley and adjoining other districts. The chief of Jogezai family was Shah Jahan Jogezai and the power was rested in his hands.¹¹⁴

Returning to the socio-political impacts of the Jogezai family in the Pashtoon areas of Baluchistan that these were the days when the people of Baluchistan raised their voices against the invaders under the supervision of Jogezai family. The brutality and the duplicity of the British and Hindus in the sub-continent brought the Muslims into a platform to work hard against the fanatics.

¹¹³ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. p. 29.

¹¹⁴ Inam-u-Haq Kausar, Trans, *The Forward Policy and its Results* (Urdu) (Quetta, Sales and Services, 1999)

The people of Baluchistan were always on forefront of the movement and struggle for the independence in united India. The Muslims needed a political organization to counter such harsh and fanatic situations of the opponents in sub-continent and far most areas of Baluchistan. The Sardars and Nawabs of Baluchistan struggled and conscious the people of Baluchistan to understand the situations and their right to free living and independence in their internal affairs returning to the social impacts of the Jogejai family in Pashtoon areas of Baluchistan is very much important to describe here. The most significant and prominent feature of the Baluchistan is the tribal system. Main tribes of Baluchistan are the Pashtoons, Baloch and Brahvis. Every tribal community is having sub-tribes, clans, sections and sub-sections. The tribal system has always been the challenge to the world and the tribal way of living and traditions never amended even with the passing of invaders and occupiers in this region.¹¹⁵

Another aspect of the tribal structure is that each tribe has a specified territory in its procession either by conquest or as a result of mutual agreement of the inter-tribal distribution of the territory. Each tribe has a chief and known as Sardar or Tumandar, with who are attached the tribal affairs and heads of the sub-sections or clans for collective acts. The tribal chieftain settles community affairs, business, both public and private through a jirga system.

Jirga is a sort of an assembly and typical of the age old society in Baluchistan. Jirga system is informal in its composition but it is capable of great seriousness when some circumstances required.¹¹⁶ The Jogejais of the Kakar tribe is the most important group amongst the tribes from the time of their ancestors. This family played very tremendous role in the political and as well as in socio-tribal affairs of the Pashtoons of Baluchistan. The Jogejais have

¹¹⁵ Aziz Luni , “*British Baluchistan 1879-1947*”, Vol. 2 (Quetta, 2008), 13.

¹¹⁶ Quddus, *The Tribal Baluchistan*. P.89.

the prestige of chieftainship and tilted as ‘Nawabs’ of the Kakar tribe. The feuds and many other tribal issues in different clans of Pashtoons which are difficult to solve in such harsh and rigid tribal structure, the Jogezai family played the role as mediator amongst those clans. Some prominent persons of the Jogezai family were the Nawab Bangul Khan Jogezai, Nawab Zarif Khan Jogezai, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai, and Nawab Temur Shah Jogezai. During this research, Mullah Mohammad Ibrahim was interviewed about the socio-political contributions of this family. Who was a close relative of the Jogezai family and he has been residing there for long time. According to this the current tribal system of Pashtoons in Baluchistan is headed by Nawab Muhammad Ayaz Khan Jogezai, the great-grandson of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai and the grandson of the previously late Nawab Temur Shah Jogezai.¹¹⁷

Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezai is playing a very important role in the current tribal structure of Pashtoons. Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezai became as a Chief in 1988 after the death of previously chief and his grandfather Nawab Temur Shah Jogezai. Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezai joined a nationalist political organization named as Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) in 1990. Afterward Nawab Ayaz Khan selected as the ‘convener’ of Pashtoon Qaumi Jirga in Quetta Baluchistan. This was the largest Pashtoon Qaumi jirga after the king of Afghanistan Ahmad Shah Baba’s jirga. The Qaumi jirga held for the first time to solve the political and social issues of Pashtoons in Baluchistan.¹¹⁸ Similarly in this research, another interviewee was Nawabzada Asfandyar Khan Jogezai who is the cousin of Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezai. Ayaz Khan Jogezai in broader aspects regulates life at all levels by mobilizing community and seek their attention within tribal society. Secondly, Nawab Ayaz Khan settles and undertakes disputes regarding

¹¹⁷ Mullah Muhammad Ibrahim, Interviewed by Anwar Ali, Killa Saifullah, march 10, 2020.

¹¹⁸ Maria Malik, *Baluchistan Conundrum: The Real Perspective*, (Islamabad: Poorab Academy, 2013) pp.70-71.

inter-tribal feuds and provides means by which the decisions or the opinions of the tribes are communicated to the government and government decisions are passed on to the tribes. Moreover, many of the tribal customs and traditions are also interpreted by the existing chief. Nawab Ayaz Khan Jomezai is playing an important and administrative role in the justice, abolishing the inter-tribal jealousies and war fares. He stalled the pace of educational progress, enlightenment and emancipation of the Pashtoon people.

The Jomezai family is the most important family which banned different harsh and rigid tribal traditions. Nawab Ayaz Khan banned one of the oldest tribal traditions “Swara”. Swara is an old tradition and is a child marriage custom and found in the tribal areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Swara is tied to blood feuds among different clans and in this tradition young girls are forcibly married to the members of the opponent clan to resolve the feuds. The Nawab Ayaz Khan Jomezai also provides shelter to the people in villages which have serious disputes in their areas. Nawab Ayaz Khan also banned the early marriages of girls without their consent and protected women rights and provided the open shelter to the victims.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Nawabzada Asfandyar Khan Jomezai Interviewed by Anwar Ali, Quetta, March 17, 2020.



Figure 3.2 Enthroning of Nawab Ayaz Khan Jomezai¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Retrieved from <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/91088748>

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF JOGEZAIS AND THERE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

4.1 General overview:

Patron client relationship within society is as old as the emergence of human society itself. Over the period of time its different dynamics have changed, however its nature remains the same. In historical analysis of patronage system what anthropologists have come across, there existed patron-client relations between big landowners and the peasants. The former would secure the latter's economic and social aspects of life; however, the peasants would fill the gap by serving their boss in renting his lands, providing tax. In modern nation state system, the aspects of patronage system have changed exponentially. There are certain gaps within states among different groups, regions, and peripheries. In order to fill these gaps, various tribal leaders in political parties have sallied forth for mediation among those have and have not.¹²¹

In traditional social structure, in villages, key notables would perform such activities by having influence, material resources, and playing decisive role. However, their crucial role has not remained as such and their traditional authority has shifted from village to state institutions. And still for commoners, it is not easy to access various key institutions of state easily and is

¹²¹ Kaufman R, Robert, *The Patron-Client Concept and Macro-Politics: Prospects and Problems*, Jstore, <https://www.jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=The+PatronClient+Concept+and+Macro-Politics%3A+Prospects+and+Problems&acc=on&wc=on&fc=off&group=none> .

extremely in need of mediators. Those mediators recently include lawyers, bureaucrats, political leaders, and partly traditional leaders.¹²²

Alex Weingrod has distinguished candidly between two types of patron-client relationship in academic circles, firstly from anthropological and secondly political scientist point of views. Under the umbrella of anthropological perspective, patronage system is closely a kind of reciprocal relationship on the basis of individual levels. For example in pre-modern societies, various landowners and landlords would reciprocate by providing food, social security to the clients and in return the clients would again serve the political allegiance to the boss. On the contrary in political science, while examining the role of patronage system, the seat of aforementioned players has been replaced by modern political parties. In which the political leaders most probably utilize public goods for political parties workers and in return gain their political allegiance in the guise of vote, money, and support.¹²³

In contemporary social structures of various tribal societies both work simultaneously. Traditional leaders have shifted their decisive importance from their cultural power to modern state institutions. In both cases as a key tribal leader and political party holders, he is one of the best options with the common people to communicate with state institutions. Furthermore, the leader himself serves the people by constructing roads, drains, and providing other facilities and regain the followers' service in the shape of votes, integration of his political party, and so on.

¹²² Javed, Hassan, *Class, Power, and Patronage: Landowners and Politics in Punjab*, Jstore, <https://www.jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=Class%2C+Power%2C+and+Patronage3A+Landowners+and+Politics+in+Punjab+&prq=The+Patron-Client+Concept+and+Macro-Politics%3A+Prospects+and+Problems&hp=25&wc=on&so=rel&acc=on&fc=off>.

¹²³ Weingrod, Alex, *Patrons, Patronage, and Political Parties*, Jstore, <https://www.jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=Patrons%2C+Patronage%2C+and+Political+Parties+&prq=Class%2C+Power%2C+and+Patronage%3A+Landowners+and+Politics+in+Punjab&so=rel&hp=25&fc=off&wc=on&acc=on>.

Under the course of these engagements and arrangements, more importance is given to those leaders who aptly provide the people with daily life facilities. Job opportunities on personal basis, taking benefits purely in material shapes, are key preferences available to the people at the lowest strata of society.¹²⁴ So in this study, both anthropological and political science perspectives play an important role in analyzing quid-pro-quo connections within society. Anthropologically, still in election campaigns tribal leaders' use their personal influence in convincing the people in tribal language. They are consented to comply by their determination to succeed their tribal leaders or their favorites. And additionally, the voters do not concede only tribal affiliation but consider what the leaders in post-election would facilitate in material conditions.

4.2 Patron-client relationship and the role of Jomezai family:

Under the course of patronage system, the role of Jomezai family both in pre and post-independence eras can aptly be understood with respect to tribal set-up. After the partition of British India in the larger context, Baluchistan remained in the domain of peripheral areas inheriting nothing what the other major provinces had. Pashtoon areas in Baluchistan province had no proper political parties; economy was based on nomadic pastoralism and, socially, the people were ruled indirectly via tribal leaders. The tribal leaders played their role with the help of patronage system. They were mediators between the people and state institutions in determining their daily social affairs. In connecting the last point more candidly with the larger

¹²⁴ Sorauf, J. Frank, *Patronage and Party*, Jstore, <https://www.jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=Patronage+and+Party+by+Sorauf+&prq=Patrons%2C+Patronage%2C+and+Political+Parties&hp=25&fc=off&wc=on&so=rel&acc=on> .

context, the researcher has gained data through participant observation in which non-structured interviews helped him in evaluating post-independence politics and the role of Jomezai family.

After 1947, the tribal leaders could have changed their respective areas more prominently if they had formed a political party. Therefore there was a huge gap between the people and infant state institutions in changing the former's fate. In order to fill this gap, Jomezais exploited this opportunity to maintain the centuries-old tribal arrangements at the expense of modern judicial mediation. Disputes among the people still directed towards the deciding role of Jomezais having no judiciary system at the outset. In this void patron-client relationship exposed its features more tellingly.

Within Pashtoon social structure, in case there were disputes among tribal sub-groups, the ultimate decision remained in the hands of tribal leaders. Consequently either the tribal leader would mediate among the parties or provide sanctuaries to those who were insecure in his social domain. In this situation, the dominance of tribal leaders strengthened its position further. These sanctuaries built mutual relationship between the mediator and those who were given sanctuaries. Even today, there are many people living besides Jomezais' mansions where the former are guaranteed their security and in return the latter are provided different services.

When partition occurred, the heads of Jomezais family provided their clients with basic amenities, social security, and access to state institutions. One of the informants was of the view that, in the decades following independence, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and Sardar Muhammad Usman Jomezai would have many go downs of wheat for food. The extremely needy people would go the above mentioned heads of the tribe and request for food. And they (clients) would be provided with wheat, money for household requirements and, if necessary, would

arrange different needs the clients required. It does not mean that clients were free to gain only from the heads; however, in return they would have to visit the heads on daily basis.

When the heads would go for mediation far beyond, they would be accompanied by their clients in order to show the people their social status and influence. This norm is still dominant in these areas. The people were so poor to pay for transport to visit the suburban areas. They could not pay a single Rupee for other social needs. To fulfill these wants of the people, the Jomezai heads would give chits to the clients and then they would not be compelled to pay the rent.

In post-independence Pakistan, the role of Jomezai family in politics has shifted from traditional authority to their nearness to state institutions. In Pakistan's history, there has been close relationship between Jomezai heads and authoritarian regimes. Although, there was the presence of Muslim League, it was completely based on individual meaning tribal basis. That is how tribal influence has strengthened itself over the period of time because of heads' relations with state institutions.

During field work one, of the informants told me a story which shows close relations between Sardar Muhammad Usman Jomezai and the authoritarian regime of General Zia ul Haq. He was of the view that when Zia ul Haq visited Sardar Sahib and at the end when the latter was seeing Zia off, he provided the general with a knife and a sword and stated further, "General Sahib with the help of sword protect Islam while with the help of this knife protect Pakistan.

Both Sardar Muhammad Usman Jomezai and Nawab Taimoor Shah Jomezai after their predecessors sustained the same strategy what their forefathers had initiated. They went to contest elections i.e. in 1970, but on the basis of their personal charismas not from wide political forums. Their political followings were completely on patronage system where they had large

amount of votes among their clients. These tribal leaders were given votes from their followers and the clients expected the leaders to provide them modicum of material resources in the guise of minor jobs, building schools, and other facilities. One of the informants stated that we could not have electricity in the village if Sardar Sahib had not made efforts.

The region (Killa Saifullah) influenced by two tribal leaders: Nawab Taimoor Shah Jomezai and Sardar Muhammad Usman Jomezai at that time provided the commoners with two different choices, either to join the former or make alliance with the latter. This situation depended upon the nature of access and capacity to build patron-client relationship with either of two.

4.3 Patron-client relations in political parties:

In the end of 1980s, when Nawab Taimoor Shah Jomezai passed away, he was succeeded by his grandchild Nawab Muhammad Ayaz Khan Jomezai. This succession occurred in the aftermath of a Jirga when the tribal Malik's participated, and after long consultation, Nawab Ayaz Jomezai was elected as the tribal head of Pashtoons in the Pashtoon areas of Baluchistan. Interestingly along with his succession, tribal dynamics changed extensively. Thereby a kind of tribal rigidity was going to end. Additionally, the intrusion of political parties emerged on the scene available for anyone who wanted to participate.

Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party, Awami National Party, and Jamiat-Ulama-Islam were key options for the people on lower strata of society. Before, there did not exist of any notion of the political party, without the patron of a tribal leader. Wazir Ahmed Jomezai under the flag of Pakistan People's Party had contested elections for National Assembly. Muslim League since independence prevailed in the region, however constricted to particular tribal heads.

With the intrusion of various political parties the features of patronage shifted from traditional authority to power relationship in the guise of political parties. Although common people participated largely and enthusiastically in those parties, the leverage of tribal leaders again could not be relegated. Currently, whether those are religious parties or nationalist ones, the role of Jomezai family is dominant.

During fieldwork, one of the informants stated that Jomezais had played prominent role in facilitating the people while having material resources, easy access to higher authorities and nowadays their role is still visible in political parties. Nawab Muhammad Ayaz Khan Jomezai from PMAP, Mammon Khan Jomezai from ANP, and Sardar Wazir Ahmad Khan Jomezai from PPP, have been contestants so many times for elections.

This opportunity for participating in elections has provided them with huge clients for vote casting. Before, the Jomezais would rule the clients directly by providing the clients with basic amenities, however nowadays they increase followings by mediating between people and state institutions. Under the guise of different political parties, Jomezais facilitate the people in connection with police department, judiciary, and other provincial cum national level institutions.

While engaging closely with the people during fieldwork, the researcher became familiar with many examples where the people would visit most frequently the house of the Chief in expecting various facilities. People show their presence in the Chief's house called in the fieldwork area (Pashtoon Kor) for want of jobs, contracts, and other facilities of daily life.

The above-mentioned examples of patronage provide an impressive example of tribal authority shifting towards modern way of power relationships. According to one informant, in

the past the people would visit the Chief for expecting foods and security, however recently even the parents come for demanding their children school fees.

The emergence of judicial system in the area has still not disappeared completely the deciding role of Joagezai family. There were many cases filed in *Thana* and judicial magistrate for litigation, despite that, the litigators still opt to direct their cases to Nawab Muhammad Ayaz Khan Jomezais. Simultaneously if murder cases are filed in *Thana*, the role of Chiefs cannot be relegated. If the Chief decides among the people, consequently cases are withdrawn from judiciaries.

Linking prevalent traditional authority in the shape of various political parties with national politics provides us various features. The politics of Muslim League has declined partly because it has remained available for particular elite groups of people in society. On the other hand, both religious and secular parties are dominated by former tribal leaders leaving people with no choice but to change their political allegiance at different levels.

Sometimes when representatives of the people are elected in local bodies' elections, they themselves become the patrons. And it further makes a kind of linear line of patronage. People become the clients of local level representatives and the latter make themselves clients of provincial level representatives.

In this situation, politics on ideological basis has opened the way for replacing it with superficial changes sustaining centuries' old exploitative material conditions stable. Changing social structure based on exploitation, patron-client relationships, and the provision of basic daily life necessities irrespective of any greed have disappeared almost from political parties' manifestos. Though before elections and in various gatherings these slogans are used to motivate

the common people emotionally however the nature of exploitation remains the same once objectives are achieved by the leaders whether tribal or in the guise of political parties.

CONCLUSION

The geo Strategic location of Baluchistan always attracted the foreigners to occupy this huge land mass easily. This is because of the geostrategic location and importance of Baluchistan and it is bordering with Afghanistan and Iran. Baluchistan has been occupied many times by the foreign invaders in the past and the people residing in this region are very different in their habits, way of living and recognized by their environment. The British occupied this region of the united India and therefore their advent in Baluchistan was not unique. The reason of the occupation of Baluchistan by the British imperialists and other powers to exercise their influence was to get control of the area.

The imperialist powers met with immense resistance particularly in Pashtoon majority areas of Balochistan. These areas are rich in resources, thus they become an important motive of attraction for outsiders. Jomezai family is the family which resisted and fought against the British rulers in this area. Shah Jahan Jomezai and Nawab Bangul Khan Jomezai are leaders which were always on forefront of the confrontation against British in every corner of the Pashtoon areas. Jomezai family has an essential role in this tribal society of Baluchistan since the British imperialism and to the existing state of Pakistan. The Jomezai family belongs to the most important clan of Sanzar Khel Kakars. The Jomezais are endowed with the religious sacredness in the eyes of their fellow tribes' men.

During this struggle and freedom movement the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Baluchistan twice, met with Qazi Isa for the making of AIML in Balochistan in 1939 and also met with the Sardars, Nawabs, and chiefs of tribes of Baluchistan. The Muslim masses began to feel what self-reliance meant and what self-respect was and

Muslim League was getting stronger and stronger and it had made every Muslim feel the inner pride of his nation and considers it a privilege and honor to belong to this great organization. The first trial of strength between the Congress and the Muslim League was won by the latter when Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai, standing on behalf of the Muslim League, won a thundering victory over the Congress nominee in July 1946. Shahi Jirga made in Baluchistan on behalf of accession of Baluchistan to Pakistan and after all the Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipal Committee decided in favor of Pakistan.

This was not the end but the beginning of a very prestigious and the victory for the Baluchistan Muslim League. The referendum was fixed for determining the future of British Baluchistan and a different procedure was laid down for the Baluchistan states. Two names must be mentioned here who were on forefront of the freedom struggle and they are included Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali. Thus a victory had announced by Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai through Shahi Jirga to favor the independent state and the accession of Baluchistan with Pakistan.

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