

# THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH VIS-À-VIS THE KALAT CONFEDERACY AND THE PAKISTANI FEDERATION: AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL EVENTS <sup>1</sup>

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to critically investigate the role of the British in the state of Kalat (Kalat Confederacy) and the merger of the later into the Pakistani federation. The paper has three sections. Firstly, it examines the establishment of Kalat Confederacy. Secondly, it investigates the arrival of the British to Kalat and its relationship with it (Kalat) until 1947. Thirdly, it critically discusses the fall of Kalat and its integration into the Pakistani federation. The merger of Kalat to Pakistan is interpreted differently by several historians and researchers. However, none of them examine the role of the British and the Baloch tribal chiefs vis-à-vis the merger of Kalat into the state of Pakistan. Therefore, this research is an attempt to investigate the role of the British in Kalat's affairs and its final merger into the Pakistani federation. The paper argues that the clandestine role played by the Baloch sardars and the members of the ruling family is responsible for giving space to the British and its eventual fall and amalgamation into the Pakistani federation.

**Keywords**: Kalat Confederacy, the British arrival, and the Pakistani federation

#### INTRODUCTION

Presently, Balochistan is one of the largest provinces of Pakistan in area and smallest in population. Majority of the Baloch writers and researchers such as Ahmed and Khan (2017), Hassan (2015), Zeb (2015), Khan (2014), Dashti (2012), Naseer (2010), Breseeg (2004), Baluch (1987), Baluch (1975), Baluch (1974), Baluch (1958) and others are of the opinion that the history of Baloch is obscure and it is not possible to determine that when they emerged as a unified nation. However, they do argue that Baloch developed into a unified nation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper is based on Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom.

when Mir Ahmad Khan established Kalat Confederacy in 1966. Initially, it was a weak confederacy and was confined to the areas of *Sarawan* (high land parts of Kalat) and *Jhalawan* (low land - the present-day areas from Mastung to Khuzdar). By then, the Baloch were divided into various contending tribes and small dynasties. Many Baloch tribes including the most furious tribes such as Mari and Bugti were not part and parcel of the Kalat Confederacy until its merger into Pakistani federation.

It was during the life time of the 5<sup>th</sup> Khan, Mir Naseer Khan Noori I (1749-1817) the Kalat Confederacy progressed into a centralized institution of power and authority, and therefore, majority of the Baloch historians, nationalists and political activists accredited Noori I with uniting the dispersed Baloch tribes under the banner of Kalat Kingdom. Muhammad Ali Talpur, a human right activist said that the Baloch is a nation because they have their own territory, language, history, and culture and therefore, by any definition of nation the Baloch is a nation though, politically it assumes the status of a nation under Mir Naseer Khan Noori I (Khan, 2014). Qambar Baloch, President of the Baloch Students Youth Association based in the United Kingdom, held an opinion that the history of the Baloch is some 300 years old. They migrated to the present day Balochistan centuries ago and with the establishment of the state of Kalat, they preserved their national identity and emerged as a unified nation (Khan, 2014).

After studying the Baloch history and their glorious past as per Baloch historians and researchers, some significant questions arise that what happened to such a vast Baloch confederacy over time? How the British encountered the Baloch and what role did the British play? What causes the British not to declare Kalat as an independent sovereign state after the division of united India in 1947? Despite fighting the case of Kalat against the British by the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah to recognize Kalat as a sovereign state instead of treating it as an Indian princely state. Not only this, heals clarifies the position of AIML vis-a-vis the Indian princely states in his historical declaration of 17th June 1947. In his declaration, Jinnah clearly stated that all the princely states can freely decide that whether they want to join Pakistan or India, or they can keep their independence (cited in Khan, 2014). What compels Jinnah to ask the

Khan of Kalat to join the Pakistan? To answer such question the history of the Kalat Confederacy, its geographical location, and the role of the British need to be understand. So, for this purpose we can divided the history of Kalat into three eras: (i) the emergence of Baloch as a unified nation (1666 to 1839), (ii) the arrival of the British (1839 to 1947), and (iii) the era of the merger of the State of Kalat and its feudatories into the Pakistani federation (1947 to 1948).

#### THE EMERGENCE OF BALOCH AS A UNIFIED NATION (1666 TO 1839)

As mentioned in the introductory part, the first Baloch Confederacy was established by Mir Ahmad Khan in 1666 with Kalat as its centre. Initially, the Confederacy was weak, and many Baloch tribes were not part of it. They were divided into various contending tribes and small dynasties (Zeb, 2015 and Naseer, 2010). Nevertheless, when Naseer Khan Noori I (1749-1794) became the ruler of Kalat, he brought the scattered Baloch tribes under the domain of the Kalat Confederacy. Baloch historians opine that Noori I provided Kalat with a representative and constitutional structure and created an organized fighting force including individuals from each Baloch tribe (Dashti, 2012 and Baluch, 1975). Though, some researchers such as Zeb (2015: 61) maintains that during the reign of Noori I, many Baloch tribes such as Mari, Bugti, Mazari, Buledi, Khosa, Bijarani, Leghari, Dashti and so on never been part of Kalat Confederacy until its merger to Pakistan.

Though, the era of Noori - I last for 45 years and after his death, a period of crises erupted in Kalat. Internal disputes were at its peak and there was a kind of tug of war between the Khan and the Baloch sardars for greater influence over their respective tribes and for having more territory under their control. According to Swidler (1992) and Axman (2009) by 1830s, the agents of Khan had killed several important sardars and most parts of the Sarawan were in revolt. However, the confrontational sardars were not aware of the situation of the great game between Russia and England. Consequently, the lack of law and order situation around Kalat Confederacy compelled the British to intervene in Kalat for the purposes of securing the British Indian Empire from the Russians incursion via the land of Kalat.

Initially, the British interests were only geostrategic in nature and were trying to make the Khan able to control the sardars who were

disrupting the law and order situation in Kalat. It was a kind of closed border policy wherein the British decided not to interfere directly in Kalat affairs. However, when the Khan fails to control the attacks on British conveys then the colonial power decided to directly intervene in Kalat affairs. The British choose the time-tested policy called the forward policy towards Kalat and shun with the close border policy.

### THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH (1839 TO 1947)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British were anxious about the protection of the Indian Empire and tried to create buffer zones on the borderlands. It was against this background that the British decided to enter into Kalat due to Kalat's geostrategic location and proximity to the Russian Empire, combined with its delicate/fragile confederal setup and internal instability (Zeb, 2015 and Swindler, 1992). The Kalat was not in a position to counter or stop Russian expansionism on its own. The British, therefore, arrived at Kalat to stop Russian encroachment towards the Indian jewels (Siddiqi, 2012). The British involvement in the affairs of Kalat can be seen through the prism of the imperial rivalry, the British and the Russian Empires.

The British wanted strong and stable Afghanistan for the purpose to use it as a buffer state against Russian expansionism. They chose to support Shah Shuja, an exiled Afghan leader, for the seat of Kabul (Axman, 2009:27). But before doing so, it was necessary for the British to get support of the then Khan, Mehrab Khan (1721-1839) for a safe passage from Sindh to Kandahar (Khan, 2014). Hence, the British sent an envoy towards the ruler of Kalat who negotiated an agreement with the Khan. The envoy secured the safe passage of forces and got permission to buy supplies along the way. It was the first time that the British had come into direct contact with the Khan of Kalat and a treaty was signed in 1839 between the then Khan and the British Government (Khan, 2014, Naseer, 2010, and Baluch, 1987).

Article 3 of the treaty states that so far as the British army continues in Kalat territory, the British Government agrees to pay the Khan the sum of Rs.150,000/- out of the company's fund from the date of this engagement. Article 4 bound the Khan to procure supplies, carriage, and guards to protect the provisions and stores going and coming from Sindh to Quetta (for treaties see Baloch, 2007:856-57).

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As mentioned earlier, the British followed two different policies at different times towards Kalat. According to the closed border policy (1854-1872), "it was maintained that the British could best defend their Indian Empire through the support of the local rulers of Kalat and Afghanistan" (Axman, 2009:28). Following the closed border policy, the British signed two treaties with the Khan of Kalat i.e. the treaty of 1841 and 1854. The aims of these treaties were to maintain peace around the Kalat Confederacy and to gain the Khan's allegiance. Under the treaty of 1841, Mir Naseer Khan - II (1841-1857) offered his loyalty and submission both to the British Government and to His Majesty Shah Shujaaul Mulk of Afghanistan. He also acknowledged himself as the vassal of the King of Kabul (for treaty see Baloch, 2007).

According to the treaty of 1854, it was agreed that there would be continuous friendship between the British Government and the Khan. The treaty also bound the Khan to act as subordinate while cooperating with the British Government. The Khan also agreed to protect the safe passage of merchants between the British dominion and Afghanistan through the Kalat's land. By signing this treaty, the main aim of the British was to strengthen and allowed the Khan to maintain peace in his territory so that the British forces could freely move. Though, owing to the vast landscape and the scattered Bloch population from Makran to Dera Ghazi Khan, the Khan failed to sustain peace in his territory. The eastern Baloch tribes such as Marri and Bugti were often targeted the British conveys on their way to Afghanistan. These tribes were not under the Khan's control. Resultantly, the closed border policy failed to achieve its objectives. It is also said the tribal sardars were not happy with treaty of 1854 and therefore, they were instigating peoples to attack on the British conveys. The aim of the sardars was to create problems for the Khan and his relations with the British (Zeb, 2015).

Therefore, the British adopted the forward policy towards Kalat from 1872 onwards. This was because the British feared that the internal instability of the Kalat could encourage the Russian designs of expansion towards the British Empire. The forward policy meant to interfere directly in the affairs of Kalat. It allowed the British to resolve conflicts between the Khan and the tribal chiefs. Thus, another treaty was signed in 1876 between the British Government and the

then Khan of Kalat. After signing this treaty, the British become the sole arbitrators in all cases of conflicts within the Kalat Confederacy. This treaty disqualified the Khan from any type of relations with the outside world other than the British. In return, the British agreed to respect the independence of Kalat and to aid the Khan in case of any need (Zeb, 2015 and Baloch, 2007:868-870).

In short, Kalat was reduced to play the role of a buffer zone, and the forward policy of the imperialist succeeded in overcoming most of the issues related to the uncertainties caused by Russian expansionism. The founder of this policy was Major Robert Sandeman (1835-1892) who was a Scottish man familiar with the tribal setup. His policy produced a politically fragmented Balochistan with many centres of power. In real practice, the Khan lost his role as the Khan of Kalat. He was just a ceremonial head. After introducing the forward policy, the status of the Khan was lowered. The position of the Khan can best be explained by the 1886 Administrative Report of the Balochistan Agency. The Report (1886:9) states "[t]he Agent to the Governor General has practically taken the place of the Khan as head of the Baluch confederation.....the Agent of the Governor General is recognized all over Balochistan as having taken all the place of the Khan..."

Thus, the British not only restored their full authority over Kalat but also brought about major administrative changes in Kalat and Pashtun areas of Afghanistan. According to Indian office record, the British divided Kalat and parts of the Afghan areas into various administrative zones. (i) Dera Ghazi Khan was given to the Punjab, (ii) Jocoabad was given to Sindh, (iii) the Murri, Bugti, Khetran, and Chagi areas were declared as tribal areas. Some Baloch areas such as Nasirabad and Nushki plus Afghan areas such as Pishin, Chaman, Zhob, and Loralai were attached together and formed the province of British Balochistan, (iv) Lasbela and Kharan were declared special areas and were placed under the supervision of the Political Agent of Kalat, and (v) the remaining areas of Sarawan, Jhalawan, Kachi, and Makran were placed under the suzerainty of the Khan of Kalat (IOR/L/PS/12/3174, No.23/48).

The British during their stay (1839-1947) in Kalat and British Balochistan did not pay heed to any kind of development. The people of Kalat, its feudatories, and the people of British Balochistan were

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denied all types of reforms, whether it is education, health, and/or democratic norms (Ahmad, 1992 and Khan, 1950). They consciously did this because an educated and politically conscious people were not in their favour. This is evident from the fact that until 1947 there was no degree awarding institution in the entire Balochistan (Khan, 1950). The British apprehensions about Russian incursion vis-à-vis Kalat were true to a large extent because the total population of Balochistan at the time of division of Indian into two sovereign states was 8,52,000 (IOR/L/PJ/7/12616). And with such meager population it was next to impossible for the Khan to stop Russian incursion towards India. Thus, these were the circumstances of British Balochistan and Kalat when the British announced the division of India into two dominions, India, and Pakistan on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947.

## THE ERA OF THE MERGER OF KALAT AND ITS FEUDATORIES INTO THE PAKISTANI FEDERATION (1947 TO 1948)

Since 1839, the British had considered Kalat as a frontier state and had not been interested in enlisting it as an Indian princely state. The Khan of Kalat had also tried on many occasions to convince the British that Kalat is not a princely state as other princely state of India. It must be treated as an independent sovereign state (IOR/ L/PJ/7/12616). However, under the Government of India Act of 1935, India was declared to be a federation and Kalat was included in the list of Indian princely states. By the announcing this declaration, the Khan was shocked. The Khan was not happy over this development. He was of the opinion he (the Khan) "is not a 'Hindustani' and does not want to get mixed up with Hindustani affairs" (cited in Axman, 2009:104).

The Khan refused to accept the Government of India Act of 1935 on the grounds that he was not consulted and was not a party to it. He claimed that if the British Government planned to incorporate Kalat into the Indian princely state system then it must also integrate Iran and Afghanistan within the borders of India. However, the circumstances of India were changing rapidly and therefore, in October 1940, the Khan wrote a letter to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in which he requested to settle the issue of the future of Kalat state (Baluch, 1987:170). The Khan, Mir Ahemd Yar Khan believed the provisions of the Act of 1935 are in violation of the Treaty of 1876 wherein Kalat was recognized as an independent sovereign state. The Khan was assured by the Crown Representative through a letter that

the relation between the British Government and the Kalat state would be recognized as per the treaty of 1876 (Baluch, 1987:267). However, the British Government did not turn up to any decision regarding the future status of Kalat until 1946.

Thus, on arrival of the Cabinet Mission to India in 1946, the Khan hired the services of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was an eminent lawyer of India and a key leader of AIML, to present Kalat's case before the members of the mission. A memorandum was presented by Jinnah before the representatives of the Cabinet Mission. According to the memorandum "Kalat is an independent sovereign state whose relations with the British Government are governed by the Treaty of 1876. Kalat has never been part of India but rather its association with India is only because of Kalat association with the British government" (Baluch, 1987:204-224).

On 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947, the British Government announced the division of India into two sovereign states. All the princely sates were also given a choice to join either India or Pakistan; or remain as an independent unit(s). According to Indian Office Records, Jinnah also made the following declaration on 17th June 1947 to clarify the position of the AIML regarding the princely states (Mss Eur D971/2): "Constitutionally and legally the Indian States will be free and independent after the lapse of British paramountcy to follow any line of action of their choice and they will have the freedom to join either the Constituent Assembly of India or Pakistan or to remain independent. In the latter case they are free to enter arrangements or relations according to their convenience and choice with India or Pakistan. The policy of the All India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning. It is not our intention to interfere in the internal affairs of any princely state because it is a matter for settlement primarily between the ruler of a state and its inhabitants..." According to Indian Office Records, in order to judge the position of Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, a meeting was called on 4th August 1947 in Delhi, which was chaired by Lord Mountbatten who was the then Viceroy of India and his constitutional advisor Lord Ismay. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan represented Pakistan, while Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, Muhammad Aslam Khan (the then PM of Kalat), and a Nawabzada Sultan Ahmed (constitutional advisor of Khan) represented Kalat. In this meeting, an agreement was reached

which was issued in the form of communiqué from the Viceroy's House in Delhi on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947 (Mss Eur D971/2 and IOR/R/3/1/166). The communiqué states that:

- The Government of Pakistan recognizes Kalat State as an independent and sovereign state in treaty relations with the British Government with a status different from that of other Indian states.
- 2. Legal opinion will be sought whether or not agreement of leased areas between the British Government and the Khan of Kalat will be inherited by Pakistan Government.
- 3. When their legal opinion has been received further meetings will be held between the representatives of Khan of Kalat and Pakistan.
- 4. Meanwhile a standstill agreement has been made between Pakistan and Kalat.
- 5. Discussions will take place between Pakistan and Kalat in Karachi at an early date with a view to reaching a decision on defence, external affairs, and communication.

If one closely analyses the clauses of the above agreement, there are ambiguities and the future status of the Kalat State seems unclear, except in clause 1 wherein Kalat was accepted as an independent sovereign state but at the same time, clause 5 of the agreement is about the future federal or con-federal setup between the two. Therefore, owing to clause 5 of the above agreement, Kalat almost became part of the Pakistani federation [or confederation] even three days before its formal announcement on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947. On the other hand, majority of the Baloch historians, nationalist leaders, and political activists, while referring to clause 1 of the agreement, claims that Kalat became an independent sovereign state three days before the creation of Pakistan.

If we investigate the British role towards Kalat, it tells us that the British Government was not ready to see or recognize Kalat as an independent sovereign state. This fact is clear from the telegraph sent by the then Secretary of India to the last Viceroy of India, Mountbatten on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1947, which clearly discourages the acceptance of Kalat as an independent sovereign state. The telegraph states that, "[A] part from the risk to integrity of India and Pakistan, the emergence of new

weak international entities is undesirable" (Mss Eur C357, ff 26-36:2 Aug. 1947).

Despite the apprehensions of the British Government, the Government of Kalat declared its independence on 11<sup>th</sup> of August 1947. Here, it is important to mention that the destiny of British Balochistan was decided through a referendum on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1947 amongst the members of Shahi Jirga (for detail see Zeb, 2015 and Hassan, 2019) and the Quetta Municipality. The Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipality voted in bloc to join the new Constituent Assembly to be set up in Pakistan. According to Zeb (2015) and Naseer (2010), the Khan of Kalat played a very ambiguous role regarding the British Balochistan. On the one hand, he was demanding to take the leased areas to Kalat, while on the other; he was convincing the people and sardars of British Balochistan to vote in favour of Pakistan. Most Baloch Nawabs and sardars of British Balochistan (including Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti) voted in favour of Pakistan (Bugti, 1996:93-97).

When the Khan of Kalat sent his Prime Minster to Karachi to negotiate with the Government of Pakistan the terms of the agreement of 11th August 1947 (Mss Eur D971/2). The British Government advised the Government of Pakistan of the dangers of recognizing Kalat as an independent sovereign state (Baluch, 1987:173). The involvement of the British Government is obvious from the secret memorandum, prepared by the Minister of State for the Commonwealth Relations on 12th September 1947, which states that: Pakistan has entered into negotiations with Kalat based on recognizing the state's claim to independence.....The Khan of Kalat whose territory marches with Persia is of course in no position to undertake the international responsibility of an independent state.....The United Kingdom High Commissioner in Pakistan is being informed of the position and asked to do what he can to guide the Pakistani Government away from making any agreement with Kalat which would involve in recognition of the State as a separate international entity..." (cited in Baloch, 2007:345-346).

Thus, the Khan of Kalat was asked by Jinnah and by the British officials to accede to Pakistan unconditionally (Mss Eur D971/2; see also Naseer, 2010; Baluch, 1987; and Dashti, 2012). According to Indian Office Records, the Government of Pakistan made it clear upon

the Kalat of Kalat that the leased areas would only be returned to Kalat after the latter's unconditional accession to the federation of Pakistan (Mss Eur D971/2). All this was contrary to the agreement of 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947 as well as to the earlier announcements such as the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan of 1947 and the Jinnah's speech of June 1947.

With increasing pressure on the Khan, he referred the issue of Kalat's merger to the newly nominated houses of the Kalat State, the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The issue was debated in the House of Commons for various days and at the end a resolution was approved, which unanimously rejected Kalat's merger to Pakistan (Naseer, 2010:546-554). The resolution stated that relations with Pakistan federation should be established as between two equals through a treaty which must be based upon friendship and not by accession (Baluch, 1987:184). The House of Lords also seconded the resolution (Dashti, 2012 and Naseer, 2010). However, the Government of Pakistan was unhappy with this resolution and pressed the Khan for the accession to Pakistani federation.

The Baloch historians and researchers such as Dashti (2012), Breseeg (2004), Baluch (1987), and others claim that Pakistan chose to force and manipulate the local rulers of Lasbela, Kharan, and Makran; the feudatories and subordinate areas of the Kalat. However, according to Indian Office Records, a kind of historical enmity had already existed between the Kalat and its feudatories on issues such as revenue collection and subordination of the later to Kalat. During the British rule, Lasbela and Kharan had been almost independent in their domestic matters. For instance, when the Khan of Kalat, Sir Mir Mahmood Khan died, on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1931, a Jirga of all Baloch Sardars was called at Mastung on 12th December 1931 for the nomination of a new Khan. According to Indian Office Record, some 29 tribal chiefs/Sardars participated in the Jirga. Out of these Sardars, the Nawab of Kharan, Habibullah Khan signed the decision of the Jirga with a note saying that I am not a member of the Kalat Confederacy but since I was summoned and requested to attend the Jirga I express my view that I fully agree in the proposal made by the Jirga (IOR/ R/1/34/51: 113 & 117). Similarly, the Jam of Lasbela, Jam Mir Ghulam Mohammad Khan, neither attended the Jirga nor signed the decision of the Jirga. In a letter to the Political Agent of Kalat dated 1st December 1931, the Jam wrote that "my state is not under

Khan Sahib of Kalat nor have I any concern with the Kalat affairs......Therefore, I have no right to give an opinion in the affairs of the Kalat State" (for full text of the letter, see IOR/R/1/34/54).

Owing to such internal resentments and historical differences between the rulers of Kalat State and its confederated states, it was easy for the Government of Pakistan to manipulate these feudatories (Kharan, Makran, and Lasbela). It is said that the sardars of these feudatories had already applied for the accession of their states to the newly-born state of Pakistan but it (Pakistan) was waiting for the response of the Khan of Kalat on the issue of peaceful accession (Janmahmad, 1989: 185). However, when the Government of Pakistan realized that the Khan, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan is not ready to accede to Pakistanthus, Pakistan accepted the accession of Lasbela, Kharan, and Makran to Pakistan on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1948 (for detail draft agreement see British Library Ref. No. I.S.PA5/7). The Baloch writers such as Dashti (2012), Baluch (1987), Breseeg (2004) including the nationalist leadership around Balochistan opine that the Government of Pakistan bribed and intimidated the rulers of these feudatories to join Pakistan. The Khan of Kalat in one of his notes states that: "The armed forces at Quetta were ordered by the Government of Pakistan to be ready for an assault against the State of Kalat. The Agent to the Governor General (A.G.G) of Balochistan was also ready for police action against Kalat. Thus, I sense a very dangerous collusion and therefore, keeping in view the situation I decided to accede to Pakistan in my personal capacity without the will of my people" (cited in Bugti, 1996:105).

Soon after the merger of Kalat into Pakistan, the Government Pakistan announced that Kalat would be treated in the same manner as during the British rule. Consequently, a Political Agent was appointed and entrusted with the certain powers to look after the administration of Kalat and guide the Government in Kalat regarding all its internal matters (Siddiqi, 2012:60-61). The Kalat State National Party (KSNP) was banned and outlawed and most of its influential leaders such as Mir Ghus Bakhsh Bizenju, Mir Gul Khan Naseer and others were imprisoned. KNSP was established in 1931 to protect the rights of the Baloch masses within the State of Kalat and its leaders were also struggling against the British domination. It provided a political platform to the young and educated Baloch to raise their voices for constitutional and democratic dispensation. Initially, the Khan was in

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favour of KSNP but when he realized that it is struggling for constitutionalism and democratic values, he felt anxious because Khan's mission was for having absolute and autocratic powers in his hand. Therefore, before Pakistan it was the Government of Kalat who banned the party in 1939 and exiled its leadership (Hassan, 2015:108-109 and see also Kutty, 2009).

The event of the accession of Kalat and its feudatories to Pakistan is one of the most important developments in the history of the Baloch as a nation. Majority of the Baloch nationalists' and researchers have mourned about it. The 300 years old Baloch Confederacy came to an end after the agreement of an accession between Kalat and Pakistan. According to Khan (2014) "this event laid the foundation of mistrust and betrayal in the relations between the Baloch and the federation of Pakistan. In the years to come, the lasting and adverse effects of this event gave birth to dissent, conflict, and Baloch [etho]-nationalism within the Pakistani federation in contemporary times."

#### CONCLUSION

Keeping in view the above discussion, this paper clearly underlined brief history of the Baloch as a nation and the Kalat Confederacy and its rise and fall. After studying the historical records concerning the Kalat Confederacy, it is established that the first known and formal Confederacy of the Baloch was established by Mir Ahmed Khan in 1966 which later lifted by Mir Nasir Khan Noori - I. However, after Noori's death the Confederacy become fragile owing to the internal disputes between the Khan and the Sardars and the clandestine role played by the tribal chiefs and the members of the ruling family? Kalat being a peripheral state was proven to Russian influence and therefore, owing to the weak control of the Khan vis-à-vis the law and order situation in the territory of Kalat, the British decided to intervene directly in Kalat's affairs and this interference was aimed at securing the British Indian Empire from the Russians incursion.

Initially, the then Pakistani leadership and the British India were ready to accept Kalat as an independent state as it is obvious from the statements issued by the British Government and Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding the future of Indian princely states. Later, the British decided to avoid the creation of small and weak peripheral states

owing to the Russian threat and therefore, guided and instructed the Pakistani Government to merge Kalat into the newly born state of Pakistan. Even Jinnah, who was fighting the case of the Kalat against the British decision of declaring Kalat as a princely state. However, in this whole game it was the British Government who was determined to avoid weak peripheral state owing to the fear of possible Russian expansionist policy. The then Pakistani Government was clearly warned by the British of the dangers recognizing Kalat as an independent sovereign state. Thus, on 27th March 1948 Kalat was incorporated to the Pakistani federation after signing the treaty of accession between the Khan of Kalat and the Pakistani Government. Since then, a Baloch ethno-nationalist movement emerged which conflicts with the federation of Pakistan for reasons of underdevelopment and proper resource distribution.

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