

**RESEARCH PAPER****Struggle for Power and Politics of Baloch Nationalism, 1929-1947****Zaheer Ahmed**

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ABSTRACT

This research paper investigates the politics of the power struggle and emergence of Baloch nationalism during 1929-1947. The aim of this research article is to highlight the political struggle of educated Baloch elites (tribal elites and salaried class) during the last phase of British colonialism in Balochistan which was based on Baloch nationalism. They gradually emerged as a new political force in the Balochistan influencing the old power dynamics between the Khan, the ruler of Kalat state, Sardars and the British government. During this time nationalism was emerging as a strong political force in India as well as in Balochistan against the British colonialism. The existing studies on Baloch nationalism while studying this period misses this important point of power struggle between different political actors in Balochistan. This paper using empirical and analytical method explore the politics nationalism and its impacts on power structure of Balochistan which would help us understand the current dilemmas of Baloch politics.

Keywords: Balochistan, Baloch, Nationalism, Power Struggle, Political Elite**Introduction**

Since the last phase of British colonialism in India (1930s and 1940s) nationalism has been a dominant driver of politics in Balochistan. Today it is gaining even more attention with different nationalist political parties and rebel groups fighting for fundamental political and economic rights of the Baloch people. Geographically largest province of Pakistan, Balochistan is facing political instability for decades. The bulk of the masses are deprived of basic necessities of health, education, food, and security. This situation has given rise to the politics of Baloch nationalism in the province. In recent election (Feb, 2024) in order counter the nationalist political groups of Balochistan the mainstream political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) and Pakistan People Party (PPP) with the help of establishment and collaboration of electable made an entry in politics of Balochistan and won the election defeating the nationalist parties such as National Party (NP), Balochistan National Party Mengal (BNP), Pakhtunkhwa Map (PKMAP). This has created a hue and cry among nationalist parties who are organizing political rallies and seminar blaming the Pakistan's establishment for their defeat and for overall problems of Balochistan (Muzaffar, Khan, & Yaseen, 2021). Thus, in this situation it becomes an important task to investigate the genesis of nationalism in Balochistan.

Nationalism seems to be increasingly becoming one of the most intriguing realities of our today's political life. The ideology of nationalism may have received a bad name due to the rise of Nazism and Fascism in the mid 20th century leading to devastating consequences for human civilization. Yet after less than a century nationalism is receiving extensive acceptance around the globe even more than ever. In this era of globalization and interconnectedness, nationalist sentiments have experienced a resurgence in response to perceived threats to national identity and sovereignty. Benedict Anderson, one of the widely read scholars on the study of nationalism, rightly observed that "the 'end of the era of nationalism,' so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight. Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time." (Anderson, 2006) The reasons for the existence and thriving of the ideology maybe it has more authentic linkage with

human society and the 'large cultural systems that preceded it' as noted by Anderson, but for me the other reason is that it has a complex relationship with the dynamics of power. The political elite capitalize on the fears of terrorism, climate change, resource exploitation, immigration or identity loss to mobilize support and consolidate power. This paper would explore the origin of Baloch nationalism a brain child of Baloch elites during the last phase of British colonialism in Balochistan (1930s-4s).

Literature Review

Baloch nationalism has been studied by different foreign and local scholars over the period of past few decades. These studies include Martin Amann's work, *Back to the Future: The Khanate of Kalat and the Genesis of Baloch Nationalism 1915-1955* (2009), Inayatullah Baloch's work, *The Problems of Greater Baluchistan: A study of Baluch Nationalism* (1987), and Taj Mohammad Breseeg's book on *Baloch Nationalism: Its Origin and Development* (2004). These studies provide a thorough understanding of emergence of Baloch Nationalism in Balochistan during colonial and post-colonial period. However, this paper while benefiting from the information given by these scholars present a nuanced analysis of politics of Baloch nationalism and power struggle by using the concepts of 'royal authority' of Ibn Khaldun and power by other scholars

The politics of gaining power and authority over a land and its people has been a major debate among the thinkers and philosophers of social sciences and history as well. (Muzaffar, Khan & Karamat, 2017). Once power and authority over a land and its people have acquired then the question of sustaining the power arises. Ibn Khaldun is considered to be one of the prominent scholars who dealt with the question of gaining and sustaining royal authority. He explains that the royal authority can only be achieved through group feeling/*asabiyah*. He is of the view that the stronger group feeling leads to absolute royal authority and the weaker group feeling causes the decay in royal authority.

According to Ibn Khaldun, the problem with royal authority is that once it is established the "rulers take the country as his personal property". (Ibn Khaldun, 2005, p. 132) Now instead of group feeling, he rules through power and tactics. (Ibn Khaldun, 2005, p. 142) In this situation, people rebel against the ruler, and chaos and uncertainty begin. This chaotic condition continues until the group feeling is revived and royal authority is established through *asabiyah*. In the case of Balochistan, Naseer Khan I (1749-1795) for the first time used Baloch *asabiyah* and consolidated disintegrated areas of Balochistan under Kalat rule. However, after Naseer Khan, the successive rulers were incompetent and preferred luxurious life due to which the state started disintegrating as Makran refused to pay taxes, and Sardars of some tribes also became independent of Khan's tutelage. (Marri, 1974, p. 241) In this situation, the British took over the control of Balochistan but kept the traditional power structure intact. British with the help of Khan wanted to control the matters of Balochistan to serve its particular interests and Khan with the help of the British wanted to sustain his power and authority. This embarked on a new phase of power struggle and politics of Baloch nationalism during 1929-1947 to revive the Baloch glory over its land through group feeling. Thus, this concept of Ibn Khaldun is very much helpful to understand the politics of Balochistan particularly the period under study.

The definition of power and its various forms will clear the structure and dynamics of power that prevailed in Balochistan. The cause-effect perspective of power has been explained by Dennis. He is of the view that power is "the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others". (Wrong, 1995) The various definitions and explanations of power suggest that it is something that people want to exercise. The more compact and cohesive explanation of power can be that it is "production of intended effects". (Russell, 2004, p. 23) The present study deals with power in a way that it was used to gain personal motives and was mismanaged by the political elite in Balochistan. The ways of exercising power were worrisome in Balochistan. The political elites of Balochistan Khan,

Sardars, and Nawabs wanted to hold the power and authority in their hand by any means. They, therefore, collaborated with the British and suppressed any struggle that threatened their power and position. Ilhan Niaz explains, "The basic problem with power is that its character does not change unless a conscious effort is made by the state and society to alter it". (Niaz, 2004, p. 2) The notable point in the history of Balochistan is that the culture of power has not been changed. Any attempt to change the dynamics of power in Balochistan was brutally crushed by its holders in the colonial and post-colonial eras. Thus, the political power in Balochistan always remained at the hands of Sardars, Nawabs, Chiefs, and political-authoritarians. The present study offers the case of the politics of Baloch nationalism during 1929-1947 that how it was dealt with by peoples in power.

Material and Methods

The present study on the 'power struggle and politics of Baloch nationalism employs a descriptive and analytical methods within the discipline of history. Descriptive method would be used to describe the political events occurring in Balochistan during 1929-1947. The actual facts would be given from primary and secondary sources to support researcher argument on politics of power struggle and emergence of Baloch nationalism. The researcher also uses analytical method using the scholarly work on royal authority and power to analyze the given facts and draw conclusions.

Results and Discussion

Politics of Baloch Nationalism in Balochistan 1929-1947

The political awakening in the people of Balochistan came after the First World War. (Marri, 2009, p. 124) This was the time when nationalists and socialists from all over India were involved in active politics of agitation to demand institutional and political reforms for India. (Awan, 1985, p. 163) Nationalists from Balochistan also understood that they should start a political movement for the constitutional rights of Balochistan. Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, son of a civil servant from Kalat started a political movement "Young Baloch" in Balochistan in the 1920s. (Yaqubi, 2013, p. 87) They started to bring issues of Balochistan to a larger population's attention. For this purpose, in 1927, Abdul Aziz Kurd and his friend Nasim Talwi started a newspaper called "Balochistan" in Delhi. (Yaqubi, 2013, p. 128) British authorities did not allow any political activities in Balochistan against its policies which could harm the interest of Raj. British wanted complete control in Balochistan due to its strategic interest. Martin Axmann, argues that "weak khans needful of British support were preferred to over-active and powerful ones". (Martin, 2012) They did not want the political assertion of Khan or a political group in against their strategic policies. Thus "Young Baloch" remained underground until 1929. (Marri, 2009, p. 124)

Until Abdul Aziz Kurd met Yousuf Aziz Magsi, he was involved in politics secretly to escape the wrath of British authorities who had sweeping power to suppress any kind of political disturbance. (Syed, 2005, p. 71) Yousuf Aziz Magsi was a young and daring personality who grew anti-British sentiments during his education in Lahore and Multan under the influence of Indian nationalists. In November 1929, he wrote an article "Faryad-e-Balochistan or cry of Balochistan" in a Lahore-based newspaper "*Musawat*" (Naseer, 2007, p. 448) to demand constitutional reforms in Balochistan. He also vehemently criticized the policies of the British and tyrant prime minister of Kalat state Sir Shams Shah. Yousuf Aziz Magsi had to face the fury of British authorities after criticizing the policies of the British so openly and invoking the sentiments of the people of Balochistan against the Raj. In June 1930, he was put behind the bars in Mastung and fined 20,000 Rupees on charges of inciting the sentiments of masses against British rule. (Naseer, 2007, p. 449)

Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd who was covertly running his political movement made secret contacts with Yousuf Aziz Magsi during his imprisonment and announced the formation of

Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochistan. (Baloch, 1987, p. 151) After his release in July 1931, Magsi formally joined the party and they started working for the constitutional reforms in Balochistan jointly. By now Anjuman became an open political movement against any repressive policy of the British towards the people of Balochistan.

Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochistan and Politics of Balochistan 1929-1937

Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochistan was the first Baloch nationalist movement that openly stood against any repressive policy of the British in Balochistan and wanted to replace the hereditary Khanate system with a constitutional government. Anjuman started a campaign against the dictatorial behavior of the Prime Minister of Kalat, Sir Shams Shah. Shams Shah misusing his power wanted to replace Khan Mir Mahmud Khan with his incapable son Mohammad Anwar to rule independently. However, the Anjuman made contact with house arrest Prince Mohammad Azam Jan and negotiate to support him to the power to establish a constitutional government. (Baloch, 1987, p. 152) To unearth the dictatorial conduct of Shams Shah, on November 20, 1932, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd wrote a pamphlet entitled "Shams Gardi" from Lahore and disseminated it in Balochistan. The pamphlet about the misconduct of prime minister Shams Shah caught the attention of the educated people of Balochistan and serious efforts started to remove him from Premiership. (Marri, 2009, p. 84)

The main demands of Anjuman were the removal of Shams Shah and the formation of a representative government. Through "Shams gardi" Anjuman sought to draw the attention of the British that the people of Balochistan wanted Khan to be elected democratically. (Soderwi, 2001, p. 259) Though Khan was to be elected by a council of Sardar, but Shams Shah being in power would terrorize them to elect a Khan of his choice. Moreover, any decision of a Sardar without consulting his tribe men would also go against the ancient tradition and invalid. Anjuman made it clear that any ruler of Kalat submissive to the Prime Minister and careless of the welfare of its people would not be acceptable. (Naseer, 2014, p. 54) The acceptance of the ruler was upon the condition that after his appointment he had to form a constitutional government with a democratically elected assembly. (Baloch, 1987, pp. 152-153)

The prime minister of Kalat again issued a warrant to arrest Yousuf Aziz Magsi the then president of Anjuman. However, receiving timely information of the Prime Minister's intention Magsi made a safe escape to Jacobabad. (Kausar, 2007, p. 67) He also called his tribe men to migrate to other parts of India to record an agitation against the misconduct of prime minister Shams Shah. As a result, thousands of people from the Magsi tribe migrated to Punjab, and Sindh and a delegation of more than one hundred notable made it to the viceroy and complained about the despotic rule of Shams Shah in Balochistan. Resultantly, Viceroy took strong notice of it ordering an enquiry against Shams Shah whose action had created an undesirable situation in this sensitive frontier of the empire. (Dehwar, 1994) This movement became known as "Magsi Agitation". (Naseer, 2007, p. 466)

Magsi agitation left a great impact on the Anjuman movement for the introduction of constitutional reforms. Surely Anjuman became a popular organization and an effective political movement. It was the first time that political unrest was created in Balochistan through peaceful political agitation. British held Prime Minister Shams Shah and his supporter tribal chiefs accountable for this political turmoil. The British authorities denied the proposal of Shams Shah to install Prince Mohammad Anwar Jan as Khan of Kalat who was incapable to rule the country. British authorities had to surrender to the demand of Anjuman since they have the support of some tribal chiefs as well as educated youths. And British did not want any disturbance in this strategically important region. (Syed, 2005, p. 108).

Finally, on December 10, 1931, Mohammad Azam Jan was made as Khan of Kalat by the Council of Sardars with the Support of the Anjuman. Inayatullah Baloch expresses that 'this was the first triumph of modern democratic politics in Balochistan and first political loss of British in Balochistan'. Prince Mohammad Azam Jan soon after his appointment as the Khan of Kalat removed Sir Shams Shah and made Khan Bahadur Gul Mohammad Khan the new prime minister of the Kalat state. The removal of Shams Shah was the only thing did by Khan negotiated with Anjuman. All other demands of constitutional reforms were rejected by Khan when he came to power. (Syed, 2005, pp. 108-109)

Yousuf Aziz Magsi met with the new Khan to discuss the constitutional and democratic reforms in the government system but could not succeed to convince the Khan to surrender his power to the people. This was because of the Sardari mindset of Khan. As mentioned above, according to Ibn Khaldun, once rise to the power and position the royal authority would do anything to hold it tight even conspires with others against his own people. British made the Sardari system more rigid and Sardars more powerful to control the people of Balochistan. Khan had the support of the British to preserve this system. Thus, Khan not only rejected the proposal of constitutional and democratic reforms but also warned Anjuman for their intolerable activities. (Baloch, 1987, p. 152)

Yousuf Aziz Magsi considered Sardari system curse for Balochistan. He knew that Sardars were the biggest deterrent in bringing constitutional and democratic reforms in Balochistan. But the leaders of the Anjuman were committed to this cause and continued their struggle. "On September 18, 1932, in a magazine "Zamindar" the General Secretary of Anjuman Abdul Aziz Kurd presented an ideology to separate Balochistan from India and formation of an independent Muslim state." (Baloch, 1987, p. 153) He claimed that he had this idea back in 1920, and presented it to the world in a newspaper "Hamdam" in 1922. He expressed that "I want to see a constitutional government in Balochistan which is purely Islamic and independent in all aspects." (Baloch, 1987, p. 153) He neither wanted to see Balochistan under the slavery of Hindu nor European colonizers.

In 1932, Yousuf Aziz Magsi and his colleague started a campaign to call an all-India Conference of Baloch. Finally, in December 1932, Anjuman successfully convened the conference in Jacobabad attended by Baloch leaders from across Balochistan, Punjab, Sindh, Afghanistan, and Iran. "Anjuman-e- Ittehad-e-Balochistan also united Baloch and Pathans both over the demand for constitutional reforms and an autonomous united Balochistan". (Khan, Jatoi, & Faiz, 2017, p. 69) Pashtun nationalist leader Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai also participated in the conference continued on three consecutive days (27, 28, and 29 December 1932). (Marri, 2009, p. 85) Several resolutions were adopted at this conference. The most significant demands of the conference are as followed.

1. "The establishment of a constitutional government in Balochistan,
2. The abolition of Frontier Crime Regulation,
3. The establishment of industries in Balochistan,
4. The establishment of colleges of advanced education in Balochistan, and to grant educational scholarships to the sons of poor and not the sons of Sardars only,
5. And unification of different parts of Balochistan." (Baloch, p. 154)

In November 1933, due to the endless struggles of Yousuf Aziz Magsi to introduce constitutional reforms in Balochistan, another all-India Conference was called in Hyderabad. British was alarmed by the activities of Anjuman and tried to stop the happening of this conference. British authorities intimidated Yousuf Aziz Magsi not to attend the conference. However, despite all threats, he actively participated in the conference. The

second conference again passed the resolution to establish a constitutional government in Balochistan. After this conference, he was summoned in Quetta by AGG, Sir Norman Carter, and was sent for one year of exile in 1934. In February 1934, Yousuf Aziz Magsi on his way to England met with Mohammad Ali Jinnah at his resident in Bombay and discussed political issues in Balochistan. (Khan, Jatoi, & Faiz, 2017, p. 71)

In the meantime, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd was busy in politics of nationalism against British rule and its collaborators. Abdul Aziz Kurd started writing political essays on a Lahore-based newspaper "Daily Azadi". (Naseer, 2007, p. 482) Through these writings, he called the people of Balochistan for a political struggle against the illegal British occupation of Balochistan. British were alarmed by these writings and arrested Abdul Aziz Kurd in January 1934. He was sent to Machh Jail for three years of rigorous imprisonment. Such circumstances were creating political consciousness in Balochistan and more people started associating with Anjuman's political movement against the British Raj based on nationalism.

Before Magsi's exile in England, Khan Mir Azam Jan died and his son Mir Ahmed Yar Khan became the Khan of Kalat on September 20, 1933. (Yar Khan, 2004, p. 82) Ahmed Yar Khan was a colleague of Yousuf Aziz Magsi and a supporter of Anjuman. It is claimed that before sending him on exile Mir Ahmed Yar Khan plotted with Nawab Magsi to go to England and present the case of the sovereignty of Balochistan and return of leased land before the British government as a personal representative of Khan. (Naseer, 2007, p. 484) However British responses to the demand for constitutional reforms in Balochistan were disappointing. On January 31, 1935, he came back to Karachi. On his way back to Balochistan he again met with Mohammad Ali Jinnah and sought political advice. (Kausar, 2007, p. 70) After arriving in Balochistan he met Khan in Dhadar and informed him about the failure of talks with the British. Disappointment of talk led to the radicalization of Magsi. He chose to struggle for an independent Balochistan with foreign help. Hence, he also wanted to reorganize Anjuman on radical lines. (Baloch, 1987, p. 155) On May 31, 1935, Quetta was hit by a severe earthquake that caused the death of Yousuf Aziz Magsi at his early age. (Naseer, 2007, p. 488)

After the death of Yousuf Aziz Magsi, the Anjuman could not survive and split into left and right wings and led to the formation of the Kalat State National Party. No doubt the political movement carried out by Anjuman played a great role in creating a sense of nationalism in Balochistan. It involved political agitation, migration, writing political essays in different newspapers outside Balochistan, and organization of conferences. Mohammad Hussain Anqa and Nasim Talvi started two weekly newspapers *Al-Baloch* and *Jadeed Balochistan* from Karachi. (Naseer, 2007, p. 484) The role of these two newspapers is also unforgettable in bringing political consciousness to Balochistan. The first-time people of Balochistan were demanding constitutional reforms through political struggle. Despite threats of arrest from British authorities educated Baloch took part in the movement and laid the foundation of modern politics in Balochistan based on Baloch nationalism.

Kalat State National Party

Interestingly, due to the soft corner of Mir Ahmed Yar Khan with Anjuman and after the death of Yousuf Aziz Magsi, Abdul Aziz Kurd was released after one and half years of imprisonment. By now Anjuman was already spilled into left and right wings. Right wing was led by Mir Bunde Ali Talpur and Mushtaq Gurmani. Abdul Aziz Kurd following the footsteps of his late leader proposed to reorganize the Anjuman on radical lines in 1936. (Baloch, 1987, p. 155) The right-wing of Anjuman out-rightly rejected the proposal. They wanted to collaborate with the British and Sardars. The left-wing nonetheless believed that Sardars would never support them introducing radical socio-economic and political reforms. Thus, on February 5, 1937, the left-wing of Anjuman called a meeting at Sibi where they replaced Anjuman with Kalat State National Party. (Marri, 20069 p. 137) (The party is commonly known as National Party). Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd became the first President, Mir

Gul Khan Naseer Deputy President, and Malik Faiz Mohammad Khan Yousufzai General Secretary of the party. (Marri, 2009, p. 137)

National Party and Politics of Balochistan 1937-1947

National Party though victimized by British authorities and Sardars due to its progressive ideology remained an active party in the last decade of British rule in Balochistan. (Dashti, 2012, p. 306) "From 1937 till 1947 the party was allowed to operate independently for less than two years, but it left a remarkable impact on politics of Balochistan. Initially, the party strived to introduce socio-economic reforms in the society. The reforms for which the National Party struggled include equalizing the status of all subjects, banning "*bigar*" system, and the abolition of all illegal taxes. (Breseeg, 2004; Muzaffar, Karamat, & Saeed, 2018).

There was an extreme difference in the blood compensation of different classes in the tribal society of Balochistan. The difference was also protected and implemented by state laws. The blood compensation of a Sardar, common Baloch and so-called lesser privilege class (Ghulam, Lorhis, Jamot, etc.) fluctuated from one lakh to two thousand and four hundred respectively. National Party was against the basic idea of blood compensation. However, at the first stage, it wanted to give equal status to all subjects of the state. Party organized public rallies from all big cities of Balochistan such as Bhag, Lehri, Dhadar, Mastung, Khuzdar, Panjgoor, and Turbat and demanded the implementation of equal blood compensation for all subjects. (Naseer, 2007, pp. 503-504) In 1938, on the demand of the National party State Council issued an order to equalize the amount of blood compensation for all individuals. In the same year, National Party also started a similar movement against *bigar* system and illegal taxes like *Mali*, *Bijjar*, and *Pursi*. The state authorities also surrendered to these demands of the National Party. Thus, *bigar* system and illegal taxes were also abolished by a *Farman* issued by Khan in 1938. (Breseeg, 2004, pp. 223-224)

It is worth mentioning fact that Mir Ahmed Yar Khan was an educated Khan and a supporter of the National Party. All the above-mentioned reforms to remove social injustice in Balochistan became possible due to his support. Besides he also worked for the education and social uplift of his subjects. Due to his services to the people of Balochistan, National Party gave him the title of "Khan-e-Mouazzim". (Khan, 2017, p. 89)

National Party after gaining some success continued to work for its ideology. They wanted to take back all leased land and tribal territory from the British with the support of Khan. For this purpose, to start an effective movement across Balochistan they sought to create a united front. British on the other hand wanted to take Jiwani port on lease from Khan. (Naseer, 2007, p. 511) National Party vehemently opposed the British proposal. The worker and leaders of the party were educated and known to popular movements of India. They knew that by political agitation British were defeated many times in India. Having mass support, they took out rallies from different cities of Balochistan and agitated to pressurize Khan to reject the British proposal. Consequently, the British failed to contract Jiwani port. (Baloch, 1987, p. 156)

The party was gaining popularity among the masses due to its strong organization and successes. It was due to the opposition of the party British couldn't obtain the port and Sardars were deprived of the taxes. As a result, Sardars and the British allied against the party. The political agent of the Kalat and Sardars by the help of the tribal army carried an assault on the annual meeting of the party at Mastung on July 6, 1939. (Awan, 1985, p. 165) After this attack Sardars met with Khan and demanded to ban activities of the National Party in Kalat. Sardars were very strong and part of the government. Thus, they became successful in banning National Party within the boundaries of Kalat through a decree issued by Khan on July 20, 1939. The active members of the party Mir Gul Khan Naseer, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Abdul Karim Shorish, and many others were exiled from Kalat. (Dashti, 2014, p.

306) "Most of the KSNP members and sympathizers working in government departments either resigned in protest or were forced to quit. The entry of newspapers into Kalat was prohibited. Dar-ul-Uloom Mastung, the only educational institution run by nationalists, was ordered to be closed." (Dashti, 2014, p. 306) Thus the party shifted its center to Quetta to start its activities with a new spirit. However, at this time World War II broke out and political activities were banned by the British across India. (Dashti, 2014, p. 306)

During this time the political activities were banned all over India and most of the leaders of Nationalist parties were in prisons. In this narrow political landscape, it was even harder to work in frontier regions due to their strategic importance for the British. National Party secretly carried its mission, but with little success. At the same party split into two ideological groups. The leaders like Mohammad Hussain Anqa and Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo 'who studied in Aligarh University and came under the influence of Congress' favored the idea of inclusion of Balochistan in united India. They favored to affiliate National Party with Congress. The founding leaders of the party like Abdul Aziz Kurd and Shahbaz Khan remained stick to the old policy of the party. They struggled for an independent Balochistan with the support of Khan through a constitutional and democratic process. (Awan, 1985, p. 166)

Meanwhile, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo's party allied with the "All India States People Conference, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru" in 1945. In a meeting of the Standing committee of All India States People Conference held in Srinagar from 6th to 8th August the question of an alliance of the National Party and the political situation of Balochistan also came under discussion. (Breseeg, 2004, p. 225) Later on, during the time of partition in 1947 Nehru did not help National Party to address the question of Balochistan. The party realized that it made a mistake in joining Indian politics. Therefore, they adopted the original policy of the party and struggled for an independent Balochistan. (Baloch, 1987, p. 157)

When the British announced its withdrawal plan from India National Party joined hands with Khan and struggled for the independence of Balochistan. (Awan, 1985, p. 169) On April 11, 1947, National Party issued a pamphlet as "Declaration of Independence" which outlined the future constitution and foreign policy of free Balochistan. On 4 August 1947, leaders of the Muslim League, Congress, and Kalat State discussed the question of Balochistan in a round table conference with Mountbatten. As a result on August 11, 1947, the independent and sovereign status of Balochistan was formally accepted through a "Standstill Agreement". (Breseeg, 2004, pp. 231-233)

Conclusion

However, ultimately Balochistan became a part of Pakistan and the traditional political elite occupied the echelon of power and resistance continued by nationalists. Pakistan continued the same policy of seeking the collaboration of political elites while suppressing any voice asking for the resolution of genuine issues like improving the living standards of the common masses. No doubt this political elite only wants to remain in power and have no concern about bringing political and economic stability to the province. It is due to this reason that more than seventy years after the formation of Pakistan, the politics of Balochistan is based on their ethnic nationalism. Moreover, even Sardars and Nawabs who remained in power many times when they are out of power to take shelter in the politics of nationalism.

The internal divisions for power among Baloch that were apparent from 1929 to 1947 were the result of the strategies of Mir Nasir Khan I. He was the pioneer who divided political power among the nominated people of Balochistan to centralize his own power. Naseer Khan I wanted power for himself, not for the state that he united. The sovereignty of power was in the hands of Nasir Khan in Balochistan, but his power was bound only in external issues. The internal issues were in the hands of tribal Sardars. The tribal system of

Baloch was hereditary. Tribal chiefs ruled in a way that they considered their people as personal property. On the other hand, Khan considered the whole state as his personal property. This mentality of a ruler is explained by Ibn Khaldun that the hereditary successors of ruler think that they are somehow special than other people and all this is established for him. They want to remain in power by any means even going against his people. It is this attitude of royal authority that Prince Mohammad Azam Jan negotiated with Anjuman to support him to the power and he would establish a constitutional government. However, when he became Khan with the support of Anjuman he denied surrendering his power in favor of the constitutional government. He threatened Yousuf Aziz Magsi with harsh consequences against his political activities. Similarly, when Sardar felt a threat to their power due to the political activities of the National Party, they physically assaulted the members of the party and got it to ban in Kalat. The mentality of heredity power is still a major cause of the political backwardness of Balochistan. The power struggle is continuing among those who are by birth well-established even from old times. The political platform reflects an area where a common man cannot go. Thus, the political scenario of Balochistan from 1929 to 1947 provides a case study for Ibn Khaldun's concept of "royal authority". It also helps us understand the continued power struggle and politics of Baloch nationalism in Balochistan.

Recommendations

- The politics of Baloch nationalism needs to be analyze in nuanced lenses to make effective policies regarding Balochistan
- New studies on the historical causes of Balochistan problems should be conducted
- Tried and tested political elites of Balochistan who are failing to solve the longstanding issues of Balochistan must not be given space in power structure of Balochistan.
- Make polices regarding the social and economic uplift of common people which can be more effective to resolve the political problems of Balochistan.
- Open the ways for real political leaders chosen by people to rise in power and make differences in political structure of Balochistan

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