

*Muhammad Shafique**

Discourse of Baloch Identity under the British*

Abstract:

The diversified definitions of traditional 'Baloch Self' have radically shifted the focus of their contours to modern symbols of identity introduced by the British in the region. The purpose of this paper is to explore and understand the discourse working behind this shift. As modern symbols of identity as well as modern concepts and techniques of definition of 'self' were introduced by the British in the region, therefore, the paper shall focus on the period of British suzerainty on the Baloches for the understanding of the discourse of Baloch identity. For, it focuses on three paradigms of discourse of identity, notwithstanding the traditional tribalism: mutual internal assimilation, administrative adaptability and plurality of the sense of nationality. The paper shall, in this context, define the problems with now contemporary discourse of identity.

Key Words: Baloch Identity; British Empire; Ethnic Identity; Balochistan; Baloch Self.

Introduction

In the Postmodern philosophical and theoretical discourse on the nature of human understanding, the concept of identity is conceived as a very fundamental idea, directing all human activities and converting those activities into the hierarchical blocks of beliefs or in other words blocks of knowledge. The idea is essential and logical 'other' or counterpart of the concept of 'thinking', either represented by the popular phrase 'I think therefore I am' or reflecting 'I am, therefore, I Think'. That is what Adorno terms as 'Identity Thinking'.¹ In this context, the concept of identity is one of the most researched phenomena, socially, politically, culturally, religiously, and even symbolically. Geoffery L. Cohn and Julio Garcia integrate the concept

* Dr. Muhammad Shafique is Professor of History/ Chair Department of History and Department of Philosophy at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan.
muhammadshafiq@bzu.edu.pk

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¹ See T. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, Trans. E.B. Ashton, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973)

with the sense of belonging and achievements,² along with Foucaultian discourse of power, sovereignty and loyalty. It is believed to be a lucid concept contesting with the changing sense of belonging and changing pattern of achievements.

The question of Baloch Identity, sense of belonging and achievements along with the contest of loyalties has been discussed widely. However, the changing pattern of Baloch identity is one neglected aspect, which is taken up in this paper. The paper evolves around the theme that the traditional individual and collective Baloch 'self' enters into a new phase of redefinition and identification under the British. Redefinition of Baloch self under the British expanded the scope of Baloch identity, yet minimized its geographical scope that developed a cultural and political alienation of the frontier Baloches from the mainstream Baloch culture and identity.

Traditional Baloch 'Self'

The traditional and fundamental identical idea of 'Baloch Self' comes from a psychologically informed racial sense of individual self, developing a hierarchical system of tribal pride, prejudices and preferred distinctions. The Baloch *Dastan* and *Daftir* represent love for liberty, bravery, heroics and personal individuality as the inherently constituent characteristics of the main body of Baloches for 'Individual Self-Assertion'. This strong 'behavioural self-assertion', on the one hand, reflects the demographic and spatial expansion of Baloches and, on the other hand, reflects an attitude and trend of identity-extraction, in differentiation to main body, dividing Baloch tribes into sub-tribes and even sub-tribes into *Paris*, *Phallis* and *Kheils*.

The culture of individuality, pride, prejudices, distinction and differentiation undermines the idea of racial, religious or territorial homogeneity and creates customs of wars and feuds, augmented by a chivalrous heroism emerging out of territorial and social claims of honour and property. Simultaneously, it potentially denies or resist what one generally considers as central authority and uniform loyalty. This culture creates an 'other' or 'others' necessary for the assertion of Baloch 'self' in a hierarchically established structure of social relations and tribal harmony.³

² Geoffery L. Cohen and Julio Garcia, 'identity, Belonging and Achievement: A model, Intervention and Implication', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, Vol. 17, No. 6 (Dec., 2008), pp. 365-369

³ See for details Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, *Inside Balochistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1975) pp. 5-18 and Iraj Afshar Seistani, *Seistan o Balochistan* (Iran, 1363 H.), pp.210-220.,

The resolution of mutual conflicts and contradictory claims in Baloch structure has been subject to institutions seeking collective authority and power from arbitration, accepting the idea of individuality and independence of conflicting tribes such as *Jirga*, representing different tribes rather than on any armed or legal institution. However, a hierarchical structure of authority to form and summon *Jirga* as per levels of conflicts, culminating in a confederating head of regional tribes, could be found functional to resolve the conflicts among within tribal structure. This was a tribal-dynastic authority, functional at par excellence politically in the form of *Shahi Jirga* (Royal Assembly) of the Kalat State. However, this confederacy of tribes still needed a stronger patronage of a more powerful imperial sovereign to survive in an age of international conflicts and expanding colonization such as Persian, Afghan or Mughals before the British.

At the time of early British contacts with the Baloches, the Baloch confederacy under the Headship of Khan of Kalat was representing a hierarchy of identities from Individual self to Pari, Phalli, Kheil, Qabil, Khanate and Kingdom of Kabul, with a corresponding devolution of authority spatially to the Khans and Sardars representing the political hierarchy. However, this hierarchy was not racially homogenous and heterogeneous claims of origin and identity were suffice accepted. Politically, the King of Kabul was considered the Imperial Sovereign which was later replaced with the British and Khan of Kalat was considered the head of the confederacy of the tribes that constituted the Khanate of Kalat. The major hierarchical compositions of political and individual self identities were based on five major tribes: **Brahui, Rind, Lashari, Nahru, Afghan and Indian Tribes.**⁴

⁴ The table is drawn from my paper "Baloch Tribalism and British Imperialism: The Conflict of Identity authority and Sovereignty", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Villanova University, Pennsylvania, Vol.XXXII, No. 4 (Summer 2009), pp.41-63. The Information given in Henery Pottinger's ; Henery Pottinger, *Travels in Balochistan and Sind* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985 Reprint), pp. 56-76; Ahmad Yar Khan's *Inside Baluchistan* pp. 91-92; Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Search Lights on Baloches and Balochistan* (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977 pp.338-365 and Rai Bahadur Hato Ram, *Tarikh-e-Balochistan* with Introduction by Salem Akhtar, Urdu (Lahore: Sang-e-Meal Publications, 1907) passim; Muhammad Akbar Azad, *Governance, Law and Customs in Balochistan* (Quetta: Kalat Publisher: 2003); Fred Scholz, *Nomadism and colonialism: A Hundred Years of Baluchistan 1872-1972* Tran. by Hugh van Skyhawk (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). passim and M. K. Paculine, *Baloch*, Urdu Tran. by Shah Muhammad Marri, (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1995) pp. 40-47 is used to compile this chart. The chart indicate an approximation in relation to different sources. In the same way, the claims of being major tribe and belonging to a major tribe differ not only from tribe to tribe, but within the tribe. The complexity of genealogical claims needs an

1. **Brahui's** central regions of inhabitation were Jalak, Dezak, Zahri, Noshki, Nal-Kohistan, Makran, Quetta and Sulaiman Range and their **Central Ladders of Hierarchy** were consist of Ahmadzai, Zahri, Mengal, Bazenja, Raesani and Qaisari tribes. However these tribes were divided into so many clans and sub-tribes. Popular among them were *Kambrani, Sasoli, Mosani, Jatak, Pindrani, Daruzi, Isani, Lehri, Shadmanzai, Imrani, Hasani* and *Qaisarni*.
2. **Rind's** region of concentration of population was consist of Makran/Sibi, Lus, Kaich, Makran, Sibi, Kahan, Kohlu, Kohistan-Dera Bugti, Dera Bugti, Thar/Parkar, D. G. Khan, Panjgore, Kalwah, Jampur/Kala, Rojahan, Mazari, R.Pur , Makran, Choti, Shadan Lund, Jacobabad and D. G. Khan. The tribes of Rind, Lasi, Buledi, Dombki, Marri, Bugti, Imrani, Khosa, Changiyas, Nausherwani, Gorchani, Muzaree, Dareshak, Leghari, Lund and Hote formed the **Central Ladders of Hierarchy** of Rind tribes. The influential sub-tribes and clans of the Central ladder of Hierarchy were Buzdar, Bungalzai, Lasi, Kolachi, Pitafi, Wazirani, Gishkori, Bajarani, Mazarani, Kalyani, Loharani, Masuri, Kalper, Leghari, Imrani, , Lashari, Umrani, Chingwani, Naushervani, Gorchani, Masorani, Balachani, Rustamani, Karmani, Saragani, Jistakani, Isnani, Talpur, Ramdani, Ahmdani, Suri, Gorchani and Hote
3. **Lashari** tribes had occupied the lands of Jhal, D. G. Khan, M. Garh, Nasser Abad and Sindh. They had maintained the centrality of their racial lineage in Lashari, Magsi, Ubruh, Qalandranee and Musani.
4. **Nahrui's** major Tribes were Rakhshani, Sajadee, Kurd, Urbabee, Meeng, and Mulikah and were settled in the regions of Noshki, Hilmand, Kirman, Dasht, Dhader and Merve. Being a smaller tribe, they maintained their collective ethnic identity and discouraged the disintegration of major tribes into more smaller sub-tribes.

5. **Afghans** Tribes coming under the suzerainty of the Baloch Confederacy were the Afghan Tribes of Zarakzai, Jafar, Kakar, Kasi, Tarin, Durrani, Khitran and Achakzai, mostly occupying the land of Mastoong, Pasheen, Sibi, Loralai, Shal, D.G. Khan and Zhob.
6. **Other Non-Baloch** tribes of Gopang, Dashti, Chandia, Jat, Rajputs, Gabol, Jamot, Dehwar, Lori, Syed and Langah, mostly settled in Fazilpur, Alipur, Muzafar-gargh, Rajanpur and scattered all over the land of Baloch Confederacy, had also joined hands with the Confederacy.

The boundaries of this confederacy of tribes were stretching from River Indus in the East and South to Hilmand River and Arabian Sea to Sestan in Persia, including states such as KhairPur, Mirpur, Hyderabad, Las and Bella.

Baloch-British Interaction and the Changing Patterns of Baloch Identity

The British contacts with the Baloch Confederacy under the Khan of Kalat were the outcome of British struggle to save their imperial and commercial interests against the growing power of France under Napoleon (1799-1815) and, later Russia under Alexander I (1801-1825) and Nicholas I (1825-1855), popularly known as 'Great Game'.⁵ Baloch Confederacy was the integral part of 'Great Game' in the British policy along with Afghanistan, Iran and Sindh.⁶

In this context Marquis of Wellesley had taken the initiative to establish good relations with the new dynasty of Talpur Baloches in Sind by sending an envoy to the court of Mir Fateh Ali Khan at Hyderabad in 1799.⁷ Another mission to Sindh was sent in 1800 under

⁵ David Gillard, *The Struggle for Asia 1828-1914* (New York: Halves and Meier Publishers, 1977), p. 1; Also see Edward Ingram, *Britain's Persian Connection, 1798-1828: Prelude to the Great Game in Asia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁶ David Thompson, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe* (Oxford: Allan J. P. Taylor, 1954), pp. xxxiv-xxi.

The French were struggling to block the expansion of British imperial power in America, Asia and Europe, and were the key factors in encouraging resistance among the Indian states against the British imperialism.⁶ The success of Napoleon, resulting in the formation of a Franco-Turkish-Prussian-Austrian alliance in 1806, created a significant threat to the orthodox political and social structure of Europe and Asia, alarming Russia and Britain alike.

⁷ Robert A. Huttenback, *British Relations with Sind 1799-1843 An Anatomy of Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 3.

Nathan Crow to strengthen the ties.⁸ Lord Minto (1807-1813) resumed the process of establishing relations with this region and a number of secret missions were sent to the neighbouring territories lying between Russia and British India, in the form of travellers, preachers, traders and diplomatic officials, to collect information and conclude treaties. Among them, John Malcolm (1769-1833) was sent to Persia, who had already visited Persia and Punjab⁹ and Mountstuart Elphinstone (1799-1859) to Afghanistan.¹⁰ However, the main focus remained on the region circled by Persia, Afghanistan, India and the Punjab, which was recognized as Balochistan. To explore this region, three major campaigns were launched. Captain Grant was despatched to Makran, Henry Pottinger (1789-1856)¹¹ under Captain Christy to Kalat¹² and N.H. Smith and later James Burns (1805-1841) to Sind. This policy took the form of a constant attitude in the British decision making until 1947. The British contacts with the region, initiated a two way discourse on the nature of Baloch identity: On the one way British attempted to understand and define the Baloch identity under the dynamics of imperial interests and western thoughts; On the other way, The Baloches began to redefine Baloch identity under British contacts and administration and western thoughts.

British Discourse of Baloch Identity.

The British launched a three dimension discourse of Baloch identity as per the growing level of interest and contacts with the region: understanding the indigenous claims of identity; expansion of British empire and Identical administration of the Baloch region and understanding the region under the western thoughts.

⁸ C. U. Aitchison, *Treatises, Engagements and Sanads: Aden, Persian Gulf, Muscat (Oman), Balochistan and North West Frontier Province*, Vol. XI (Calcutta: Government Printing, 1933), VIII, pp. 311-317

⁹ Malcolm very carefully observed these areas. See for his observations John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs: A singular Nation who Inhabit the Provinces of the Punjab Situated between the River Jumna and Indus*, (London: James Mayes, 1812); *The History of Persia: From the Most Early Period to the Present Times: Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages, and Character of Inhabitants of that Kingdom* (London: John Murrey and Longman, 1815).

¹⁰ See for his remarks Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1972).

¹¹ See Henry Pottinger. See *Cap. Christy's Journal* in the Appendix of Pottinger's *Travels*.

¹² The Journal of Captain Christy is affixed in the appendix of Pottinger's travel. Other information needs to be explored.

British understanding of Indigenous Claims of Baloch Identity

British perception of Balochistan was based on the reports, observations, views and memoirs produced by British travellers, missionaries or military officers of the British East India Company. The British used the information collected in this way for the expansion of British power as well as for the formation of British Baloch policy. It reflected a conflicted view of the racial, cultural, regional and ethnic identity of the Baloches. At the initial stages, it was analysed within a racial structure, however by the time, it took the form of political analysis.

The British evolved the discourse of Baloch Identity on a number of theories of Baloch origins from Iranian origin of Baloches¹³ to Saka,¹⁴ Indian,¹⁵ Tajik,¹⁶ Turkman¹⁷ Makrani and Semitic,¹⁸ partly due to dialectic and cultural diversity and partly due to the geographical expansion of the Baloches.¹⁹ Rival Baloch tribes' consistent challenge to the genealogies of each other²⁰ supported the British understanding of a diversified Baloch identity and evidences of Baloch-Afghan and Jat-Baloch racial assimilation strengthened the idea of a mixed-folk Baloch identity²¹

The ideas opened a new dimension of Baloch identity in connection with the claim of origin and that was the use of the word 'Baloch' as a cultural representation of 'Bedouin Tribes' irrespective of their geographical or racial origins.²² In this context, the British conceived that centuries' long process of migration, settlement and

¹³ M. L. Dames, *The Baloch Race: Historical and Ethnological Sketches* (London: 1904), p. 21.

¹⁴ Menedy, quoted by Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Search Lights*, pp.12.13.

¹⁵ Bellow, *From Indus to Tigris* (London, 1874), chapter II

¹⁶ Keen quoted by Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Search Lights*, pp.12.13.

¹⁷ Ernest A. Flayer, *Unexplored Balochistan A Survey with Observations, Astronomical, geographical, Botanical etc .of a Rout Through Mekran, Bashkurd, Persia, Kurdistan and Turkey* (original 1882, Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977, reprint), pp. 465-475; Henry Pottinger, *Travels in Balochistan and Sind* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985, reprint), p. 250

¹⁸ J. P. Farrier, *Caravan Journey and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Balochistan, with Historical Notes of the Countries lying between Russia and India* (original 1857, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976, reprint), p. 431.

¹⁹ Ghulam Hyder Sindhi, *Pakistan Ka Lisani Gughrafia*, (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, 2005), pp.31-62

²⁰ Maulana Abdullah Dirmani, , 'Baloch and Balochistan', *Balochi Dunya* (Nov. 1959), p. 41.

²¹ Umar Kamal Khan, *Baloch Afghan Ta'aluqat Tarikh Kay Aienay Mein*, (Multan: Bazm-e-Adab, 1989), pp. 9-11; Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Search Lights*, pp.12.13.

²² Rai Bahadur Hato Ram, p.14.

assimilation has generated a geo-political identity of Baloches and 'Balochistan', situated in between the regions that claim the status of the early cradle of civilizations: Central Asia, Persia, Arabia and India. In this context, the region between the Persian province of Kerman to the Indus River and from the Hilmand River in north to the Arabian Sea,²³ a 'junction' for the regions around,²⁴ Herat, Kerman, Makran, Karachi and Sibi as its 'out posts',²⁵ was marked as Balochistan, since the end of the eighteenth century.

In this context, the concept of a uniform Baloch identity in British understanding, emerged more as a regional-political identity than racial cultural associated with ruling elites.

Imperial Administration and Baloch Identity

Expansionist motives of British empire and identical British administration of the Baloch region developed a new outlook for Baloch identity. The Dera Jat had been taken over by the Sikhs of Punjab from the Kalat state by 1919²⁶ and in this context British had begun to sign treaties with Sind and other states. British policy was designed to 'disarm for ever hostility' against the British and extend the 'political influence',²⁷ and an independent and powerful Kalat state could be a hurdle in this policy. For the British began to redefine the Baloch political identity in three ways: **First**, they refused to accept the independent status of the Baloch confederacy of Kalat and Sindh.²⁸ **Second**, they tried to establish their relations with the Baloches as a part of 'Great Game'.²⁹ **Third**, they tried to assume the role of Persians and Afghans as sovereigns of Baloch confederacy, as they had assumed the role of sovereigns in the Mughal Empire.

For, in 1839, the British interfered in the internal affairs of the Kalat State and replaced Mir Meharb Khan with Mir Shahnawaz. The fear emerging out of Baloch resistance led an aggressive policy on the part of British. They began to reshape British confederacy with the Annexation policy and Annexed Baloch Emarat-e-Sind in 1843 and

²³ Muhammad Sardar Khan Baloch, 'Balochi Adab', in Abdul Shakoor Ahsan, *Pakistani Adab* (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1992), pp.69-111, 69.

²⁴ G. P. Tate, *Balochistan Aur Seistan Key Khad-o-Khal*, tran. M. Anwar Roman (Quetta: Al-Nisa Publishers, 1984), chapter 12.

²⁵ Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Azmanah Baloch Tarikh o Riwayat*, tran. by Zakaullah Lodhi, (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1964), p.6.

²⁶ J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, (London:Murray,1853), pp.158-161

²⁷ Malcolm E. Yapp, *Strategies of the British India: Britain, Iran and Afghanistan 1798-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 234

²⁸ Henry Pottinger, pp. 275, 337

²⁹ The envoys to the Baloches were sent by John Malcolm while on his diplomatic mission to Persia.

limited the authority of the Khanate of Kalat. East India Company extended its influence through bribery to the Baloch chiefs and persuaded the Khan to grant permission to establish a cantonment in Khangarh, now Jacobabad, in 1854. In 1863, the British got permission to build telegraph stations through Balochistan with Khanate's responsibility of protection of establishments. Sandeman's Missions³⁰ in the 1860s and 1870s elevated the British influence paramount.³¹ Although, the Baloches refused to be the part of 'British India', the role of Persia and Afghanistan as sovereigns of Balochistan had been assumed by the British and had been rectified through a treaty between Persia, Kalat and the British in 1871-2.³² By the Sandeman's treaty of 1876 with the Khan of Kalat, the British almost assumed the authority of the head of Baloch confederacy and critically injured the concept of Baloch liberty and identity. The authority of Khan of Kalat was reduced to a nominal headship. Sandeman continued to win over the Baloch territories for direct British rule, and in 1877 with the establishment of an administrative agency for the affairs of Balochistan, the *Sardars* with internal tribal liberties and Pushtoon regions of Quetta, Zhob, Pasheen, Loralai and Thal, Chotiali came under direct control of the British. This was an identical division of Baloch political identity and authority of the Baloches was minimized.³³ In 1887, the establishment of the Province of British Balochistan if on the one hand minimized the Baloch sovereignty, on the other hand created a Baloch uniform identity other than racial-dynastic.³⁴ However, the division of Balochistan between Persia, Afghanistan and the British through agreements between Afghanistan, Khan of Kalat, Iran and British India in 1876, 1893 and 1896 almost crushed the idea of Baloch imperial

³⁰ Robert Sandeman was the founder of Balochistan province and he had served the regions of Baloch ethnic settlement from the beginning of second quarter of nineteenth century to the end of century.

³¹ Rai Bahadur Hato Ram has given a detail of tribal conflicts which were brought to Sandeman for a mediatory role especially among the tribes on the frontiers of Punjab and Sindh. See Rai Bahadur Hato Ram, pp. 130f.

³² See the treaty of 1876 in Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, pp. 230-234. Also see Department of State, United States of America, *International Boundary Study No.167—* March 28, 1979 Iran—Pakistan, pp.1-7, [<http://www.law.fsu.edu/library/collection/limitsinseas/ibs167.pdf>, accessed 3 June. 2002].

³³ See for details C. V. Aitchison, C. V. Aitchison, *Treatises, Engagements and Sanads: Aden, Persian Gulf, Muscat (Oman), Balochistan and North West Frontier Province*, Vol. VIII (Calcutta: Government Printing, 1933), PP.350-374.

³⁴ See for details A.L.P. Tucker, *Sir Robert G. Sandeman Peaceful Conqueror of Balochistan* (Lahore, Nigarshat, 1979).

identity.³⁵ Durand Line of 1893, further marginalized the Baloch influence and established the authority of Afghanistan to the delta of Hilmand and Shorawak Rivers. The demarcation of political boundary in between the territories of British India, Khan of Kalat and Iran in 1895-6 drew a 'political barrier between the Baloches' and a uniform Baloch identity.³⁶ These developments and resultant warfare turned the Baloches again to nomadic Identity.³⁷

The Modern Western Thoughts and Formation of Baloch Identity

The Baloch British interaction introduces western ideas in Baloch society and administration. The Concept of Nationalism and the idea of Nation State instead of dynastic rule created a new sense of identity. The idea of a broader sense of nationalism on the Bases of Geography, culture, religion, interest, language or race or the combination of all created a new sense of unity among the Baloches. This idea was strengthened by the establishment of 'British Balochistan' in 1887. These ideas were further accelerated by the ideas of democracy and rule of law. This context established the sense of Baloch National identity beyond racial and elitist model to develop a multi-dimensional discourse of National Self identity among the Baloches:

Discourse of National-Self Identity.

The western concept of nationalism initiated a discourse within the Baloch elites' intellectual and historical space on the nature and definition of Baloch National Self identity. It developed four major streams of National self Identity.³⁸

The First Stream focused on 'geo-politics' as a unit of Baloch national self assertion and identity. In this stream geo-political unit of 'Khanate of Kalat' at the end of eighteenth century, became central to the Baloch claims to political power and historical identity.³⁹

The Second Stream believing in the 'Racial-Tribal' structure of Baloch society, finds the origin of Baloch national identity in Baloch racial identity. This stream dealt with Baloch state and society in terms

³⁵ See the text of the treaties in Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, pp. 237-1896; Also see Pirouz Mojtahid-Zadeh, *Small Players of Great Game: the Settlement of Iran's Eastern Borderlands and the Creation of Afghanistan* (London: Rutledge, 2004).

³⁶ Umar Kamal Khan, pp. 187

³⁷ Fred Scholz's work reflects this state of Baloch society.

³⁸ Muhammad Shafique, 'Pakistani Baloch Historiography: An Elitist Self Assertive Discourse' in Syed Jaffar Ahmed, *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, 2013, pp.187-192

³⁹ See for details Gul Khan Nasir, *Tarikh I Balochistan*, Urdu (Quetta: Kalat Publishers, 1979)

of racial construct and focused on the tribal-racial attributes of Baloches as a political unit of power and identity

The Third Stream of 'Baloch integrationists' harmonised the concept of Baloch race within that of a geo-political 'Balochistan'. In this way it was the adoption of the modern concept of Nationalism⁴⁰

It rejected the idea of a single racial-hierarchy of Baloch tribes, highlighting the idea of heterogeneous 'pluralistic structure' of Baloch society which 'does not exclude heterogeneity' rather helps 'form potential building blocks of a positive future', in the form of 'Greater Balochistan'.⁴¹

The Fourth Stream, without referring to Baloch geo-nationalist or racial-nationalist discourse focused on the religious ideological foundation of Baloch national identity on the model of the Muslims of British India. In this context Islam appeared to be only motivating force to the Khanate of Kalat as well as to Baloch National Identity.

Conclusion

The traditional Baloch self seems to be expanding its criteria of self identification under the British from a tribally divided identity to a more widely defined political community. Simultaneously, the British redefinition of Baloch geography and political authority through the treaties with Iran, Afghanistan and Kalat states, minimized the political power and geographical boundaries of Baloch claims. The creation of the British Balochistan practically divided the emerging imperial identity of the Khanate of Kalat as Baloch confederacy and as Pashtun-Baloch alliance. A process of declension in the form of annexation of Sind and Punjab created another category of Baloches belonging to Baloch race but alien with Baloch culture in the form of Sindhi Baloches, Punjabi Baloch and Saraiki Baloches more assimilated Sindhi, Punjabi and Saraiki cultures and claimants of respective nationalisms. However, failing to change the tribal structure of the Baloches of British defined Balochistan, the introduction of western concepts of identity in the form of nationalism added to the existing claims of identity making the problem of Baloch identity more complex. This legacy was transferred to Pakistan after the liquidation of British Empire in 1947 and in the words of Rashid Rahman 'laid the foundations of subsequent conflict between the Baloch[es] and central authority in Pakistan'.⁴²

⁴⁰ Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Searchlights*, pp.12-13

⁴¹ See for details Taj Mohammed Breseeg, 'Heterogeneity and The Baloch Identity' in *Hanken*, Department of Balochi, University of Balochistan, Vol. 1(2009), p. 51

⁴² Rashed Rahman, 'The Crisis in Balochistan', in *South Asia Journal*, 8 (April-June 2005), [http://www.southasiamedia.net/magazine/Journals/8_Balochistan.htm], accessed 18 May, 2007], p.4.