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## *Tumandari System and Electoral Politics; A Case of D. G. Khan District*

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### **Abstract**

*This study deals with electoral politics and its relationship with Tumandarana System (a local landlordism) in Dera Ghazi Khan, a historic base camp of such a unique feudal system. This study is an exploration of Tumandars involvement in politics and elections of National Assembly and Provincial Assembly from 1988 to 2013. So, there is a scarcity of scholarly literature on this issue and this study is an attempt to fill this gap. The concept of Tumandar derived from Mangol history which means of ten thousand armed men. It has been modified time-to-time. Now, these Tumandars of Dera Ghazi Khan called as Tribal leader. Why Tumandarana System is dominating electoral politics of this region? This is a primary research question which have been explored. by applying qualitative and quantitative approaches and concludes that the patterns of tribal society are related to reliance upon horticultural system farming, having a strong grip over social economic resources. Tribal leaders have used this system to remain in power politics as well. Tribal leaders not only lead the tribe but, they are also political and administrative head of their tribe. Moreover, Tumandars or Tribal leaders create hurdle for vote casting and in the way of democratic system in district politics.*

**Keywords:** Tumandari, System, Tribe, Baloch, Dera Ghazi Khan, Politics, elections etc.

### **Introduction**

In the history of district Dera Ghazi Khan the word *Tumandari* and *Tumandarana* System derived from the Mangol language (Leghari, 1987). The word *Tuman* means ten thousand armed men (Leghari, 1987). But in Baloch tribes *Tumandarana* System is different one. Baloch *Tumandarana* System did not follow the ten thousand armed men condition. It consists of the small groups of Baloch which belong to the same culture and same tribe which is called *Tuman*. In ancient era, the word *Tuman* was used for a political party (Qurai, 1871). In *Tumandarana* System many tribes and people make a *Tuman* than they follow a one person which is called a Tribal leader or *Tumandar* and that person is a much powerful in his *Tumans*. The organized *Tumandarana* System started in the district from the colonial period when Sir Robert Groves Sandeman was appointed as Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan. He divided the entire district in nine *Tumans*. The Tribal chiefs were appointed as *Tumandars*.

### **Literature Review**

The research work on the politics of D. G. Khan district is not very sound. Some work has been done by the authors. But as a whole district D.G. Khan was ignored by the matured writers. It

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was a common practice to write the history of the rulers and countries. That is why, the local political history was neglected by the historians. Usually it is thought as a backward district and it was far away from the capital. Hence, the famous political and history writers did not take interest to write on it. That is why there is no analytical investigation about D. G. Khan. From the British period till 2006, some work was done on the history and politics of D. G. Khan. Some documentary sources and story type work is available only. Minchin, Edward and Sir Thomas wrote a book, *Memorandum on the Baloch Tribes in Dera Ghazi Khan*. It was published in 1868. It is an informative book on the history of Baloch tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan district. Later on, *Tawarikh-e-Zila Dera Ghazi Khan Riwayat-e-Aam* book was written by Lala Hakam Chand. It was the second book on the history of D. G. Khan in Urdu. In 1876, Lala Hakam Chand was an extra Incharge of Revenue, he wrote this book with the consent of the government. The book is very inclusive and consist of two volumes. It covers the social, cultural, geographical, historical and economical features of the people of D. G. Khan district. In this book he also discussed the social condition, customs and traditions of the people of D. G. Khan. When the book was published for the people it is only called *Tawarikh-e-Zila Dera Ghazi Khan*.

During the British regime, some work was done by some writers. First book on the history of D. G. Khan was written by Richard Isaac Bruce in 1869. This book was written in English afterward, Hutto Ram translated it into Urdu. In this book, he wrote about the economic and socio-political conditions of the people of D. G. Khan. Actually, Bruce was the Government officer (A. C) Sub- Division Rajanpur, according to the direction of Deputy Commissioner, he wrote the dairy and was sent it to Hutto Ram and later on, he compiled a book through this personal dairy. He wrote in this diary about the people of Dera Ghazi Khan and information about the society of Dera Ghazi Khan District. The *Gazetteer of Dera Ghazi Khan District* was also written by A. H. Diack in 1893. The district Gazetteer contains the socio-cultural, historical, geographical and economic conditions of the district. Baloch tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan was also discussed in the district Gazetteers. Hutto Ram translated the notes of Richard Isaac Bruce into Urdu with some changes and gave the name of his book *Gul-Bahar*. Hutto Ram was also a civil servant, he got permission of Bruce for writing this book. Hutto Ram was the *Misil - Writer* of Bruce and was better aware of the conditions of the district D. G. Khan. In this book, he gave the historical and geographic picture of Baloches in D. G. Khan. In the history of D.G. Khan, *Gul-Bahar* was a first suitable book in Urdu and it was published in 1872. Another book *Customary Law of the Dera Ghazi Khan District* was written by A. H. Diack in 1898. He was the settlement officer of the Punjab. This book was published by civil and military gazette press. He discussed in his book customs, traditions and relationship of the Baloch leaders of D. G. Khan district.

Afterwards, in 1986 an Urdu book *Muraqa-e- Dera Ghazi Khan* was written by Ghulam Ali Nutkani. In this book, the author discussed different aspects of the history of Dera Ghazi Khan. History of Baloch tribes, history of *Tuman* and history of D.G. Khan are included in this book. Another Urdu book was written by Abdul Qadir Khan Leghari *Tareekh-e-Dera Ghazi Khan* in 1987. This book comprises of two volumes. It is a very informative book. It covers the history of Baloch tribes and *Tumandarana* System of D.G. Khan. This book is proved very valuable for the students if the recent electoral politics, socio-political and economic events were included. Similarly, Ihsan Changwani wrote an Urdu book *Tareekh-e-Dera Ghazi Khan* in

2006. He discussed the history of D.G. Khan and also discussed the politics and politicians of the district.

On the political history of D. G. Khan, almost for a century no work was done by any historian. Only few editorials and essays were written in newspapers on the political history of Dera Ghazi Khan. After a century later, some work was again written by local authors. There is a vast gap to work on the latest political situation of D. G. Khan district.

### **Research Methodology**

This research is based on historic method. Focus has been given to the deductive method in which it has been tried to use empirical approach. Data has been collected and then it has been empirically evaluated for the purpose to find out the targeted result. Similarly, for the purpose to analyze facts through a process of description, descriptive method along with empirical method is used. Along with it, as the present research required, throughout the process of conducting the research, both Qualitative and Quantitative approaches, has been applied according to the need. The data varied according to the needs and requirements to reach to the logical conclusion. In this regard, sometime help has been taken from qualitative approach while sometime quantitative approach has been applied where the need arises. During the process, the researcher found both approaches suitable for the purpose to reach the facts and feasible conclusion. However, so far as the sources to collect information and data about the topic, the following sources have been used.

### **Concept of *Tumandarana* System**

The organized *Tumandarana* System started in the district from the colonial period when Sir Robert Sandeman was appointed as Deputy Commissioner of the D. G. Khan district. He divided the entire district in nine *Tumans* and the tribal chiefs were appointed as *Tumandars*. The British Government granted administrative and judicial powers with financial benefits and granted vast lands to these *Tumandars* and legalized their position. Actually, this step was the first major attempt to form feudal system in the Sub-Continent. After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the Government abolished *Tumandarana* System through an ordinance but their strong political influence existed in the district. In elections, these candidates are winning horse in politics of Dera Ghazi Khan. In the politics of Dera Ghazi Khan, Tribal Leaders are most dominant and they are the keystone of the district politics because, without their manifestation and participation party politics have no role in the district politics.

### **Difference between Tribal Leader and *Tumandar***

Tribal leader and *Tumandar* are two different posts for the Baloch tribes or the Baloch people of Dera Ghazi Khan. The Tribal leader or chief is post which designated the tribe's men to a person on his qualities or a Tribal leader may be an inheritor of the chief as a crown prince. Before the involvement of the British Government in tribal area like D. G. Khan the Baloch lived jointly and appointed leader with the free consent and sacrifices their rights before him and gave him full power to solve the problems between the tribes. And that person had power to invest money and take steps for the welfare of his tribe that person called a Tribal leader. A Tribal leader is only the chief of his tribe he has not any power which granted him by the

state. The *Tumandar* was also a post designated by the colonial government at the time of forward policy during the British invasion in Balochistan. When the British Government occupied the Tribal area of D.G. Khan, *Tumandarana* system was hosted to abolish the unit of Baloch tribes and adopted the divide and rule policy. The government maintain *Tumandarana* System but they introduced many amendments for the Baloch tribes of D. G. Khan. The *Tumandars* were appointed by Deputy Commissioner with the judicial powers in the whole district of Dera Ghazi Khan. According to government rule *Tumandar* might be removed and a new candidate of *Tumandar* was also existing for check as parallel to create a pressure on the *Tumandar*. *Tumandar* was like a British feudal and he was supporter and sponsor of the government. The system was introduced by Robert Sandeman and later it continued till 1951 in Dera Ghazi Khan.

### **Tribal Division**

In the year 1838 A.D, Henry Pottinger toured the area of Balochistan and penned down the main three branches of the Baloch tribes, namely the Rind, Mughsi and Barohi. He also provided the catalogue of the Rind tribes and indicated the tribes who were living in this region at that time. He mentioned that the Mazaris and Drishaks now became the permanent inhabitants of this flatlands, before that they were living in the hilly area of that region. Many of them, however with the passage of time, made their secured settlement in the plains. Being the rebels of each other, all the tribes took up arms against their enemy tribe and remained involved at war for a long time (District Gazetteer, 1883).

### **Baloch Tribal System**

It is sometime said that the Baloch tribe is 'class of restricted monarchy (District Gazetteer, 1883). "The tribe is basically headed by a *Tumandar*, who is hereditary referee and who provides resolution regarding all issues of dispute particularly in time of peace. He is considered a leader in time of war. There is a strict division of tribe into various sections (*phalli*). Each tribe is represented by its own elders, who is called *Mukaddam*. The office and position of the leader is basically hereditary. The *Tumandar* has no power to initiate any sort of business of importance without the prior consultation and agreement of the *Mukaddam*. A structure of accountability is maintained in the whole tribe which ensures the pleasant working across the board. Practically the authority of the *Tumandar*, if he is a man of common ability and energy, is unlimited, for the Baloch is docile, and from long custom has acquired the habit of implicit obedience to his chief. Still, when the common interest of the tribe are at stake, he cannot with impunity act contrary to the wishes of the tribe as expressed by its *Mukaddam*. In fact, there are so many instances in this district when the *Tumandars* were replaced by their tribes because of their misconduct. Long before the occupation of British over these tribes, the *Tumandar* used to be exercising authority like small monarch. No doubt, he was exercising no power to declare peace and war without the approval and agreement of the committee of *Mukaddams*. He was, however, entrusted with the conduction of war after it was declared. It was necessary for every individual of the tribe to render armed service to the chief; the chief also received a one-fifth share in all plunder of the tribe, and in the produce of its fields. Now that the tribes are under British rule plunder has ceased to form an item of the chief's income, and it is only as an assignee of Government revenue that he is allowed to

have a share of the agricultural produce from land” (District Gazetteer, 1883).

“The people of these tribes are basically ferocious with some instincts of good qualities but they still represent uncultured traits. They do not have anything important for which they approach to Government or other civilian institutions. They are illiterate; therefore, they are worse than any other creatures on the surface of the earth. They believe in the policy of blood for blood. They believe in supra-natural things and priests. However, on the other hand, the priest (*Mullah*) represent the most ignorant segment of the social order. They are involved in spreading hatred against the unbelievers. They are spreading the message of bloodshed against the unbelievers. The people living on top of the hills, on the other hand, are comparatively social and polite towards their women but their traditions related to marriage are very detrimental to social progress. They do, no doubt, love towards wars and their parents want them to be good robbers and plunders. They can be seen with weapons in their daily activities whether they are at homes or at fields. They can also be seen in perpetual war with each other. Hands of all people are stained in blood. Every individual boasts up his murders. They give immense importance and priority to revenge. They are the owners of bravery and heroism and like these qualities to be possessed by others. Members of the same party support one another in time of threat. To them hospitality is virtue of the first category. They can be seen involved in charity in their own tribe, they boast up the superiority of birth and value and respect inherited relations” (Sir Richard, 1850). It was, however, imperative at that time to take some special measures for the defense of the British Indian people. It was also essential to take some certain steps for the safeguard of the concerned local governments. As a result, near about 400 miles between Kashmir and Southern part along with the Indus River was given to the Sindh Government. The part from Khagan Glen and Kashmir including Derajat Districts, approximately eight hundred miles was handed over to the Punjab Government.

### ***Tumandarana System***

Basically, the area of D.G.Khan is lying upon the plains of mountains of the Suleman range in the Western and Eastern sides. The whole tribal area is inhabited by various Baloch people. However, due to widespread illiteracy among the people, the history of their infusion in the area has not been properly recorded. It was after the occupation of the area in 1880 when the British Government in India announced and included the zone of mountains of D. G. Khan in the tribal structure. After this declaration, the area came under the direct command of the Governor General of India, who used to administer the area through *Tumandars* under the Patron-Client relationship system. Major tribes which were living here were Qaisrani, Buzdar, Loand, Khosa, Leghari, Gurchani, Drishak and Mazari. The Government of Britain started the *Tumandarana* mechanism in the region. Every tribe formed a *Tuman* represented by a head who was called *Tumandar*. The *Tumandar* used to have first class magisterial authority. It was his power to hear and decide civil and criminal suits under the Frontier Crime Regulations.

However, the *Tumandars* were deprived of their authority after independence. Resultantly, for the purpose to ensure justice, one political Tehsildars and three political Naib Tehsildars were placed. However, the ground reality showed that this new mechanism could not bring any positive change so far administration of the area was concerned. This arrangement was

followed by 1950s Special Area step in which D. G. Khan was declared D-Excluded Area but again this change also did not bring any positive development in the administration. Moreover, structural changes were brought in the Jirga system which was now presided over by Naib Tehsildars in place of *Tumandars*. In fact, this step was taken for the purpose to eliminate the power and personal influence of *Tumandars* over tribes which they had during British rule for the purpose of bringing facilitation regarding the mutual benefits of the British Government and *Tumandars*. The step was also focused upon the freedom of Baloch people who had been under the bondage of this well-established dictatorial arrangement. It is, however, very unpleasant that the status of people remained the same and their misery could not be transformed into happiness even after 1950. It is important to mention here that under the Basic Democratic system of General Ayub Khan common masses of this area was given an opportunity to elect their representatives. But under the introduced system, the people had no choice but to vote for the same *Tumandars* who had neither the will nor the capabilities of improving the miserable condition of the common people.

After the independence the Government of Pakistan dissolved the old *Tumandarana* System which enforced by the British Government. The Government of Pakistan replaced the *Tumandar* and introduced the chief Sardar of the *Tuman* which is chosen on the base of family of *Tuman*, having influence on economy, social, political links and powers over other tribes of the area. That chief Sardar represents as the symbolic leader of the tribe. The chiefs have all powers about the decision making for the tribe and he also enjoy judicial, administrative and political powers of the tribe. The chief Sardar can also be elected as member or representative of National and Provincial Assemblies by the vote of the tribal people. These tribal Sardars can either elect themselves for the membership of the parliament or can nominate other person on behalf of these tribal leaders, so that to gain success in the elections and remain influential in the tribal areas.

However, the gradual introduction and application of local government system brought about some changes in the administrative structure of the area. But looking to the present scenario, it can be argued that new governmental system has not yet been successful in challenging and changing the hold strong and domination of the tribal chiefs. Previous to the current structure of local government, the tribal area of D. G. Khan was under the management of Union Councils. Similarly, the biggest Union Council of the tribal area was Fort Munro. Now, Tehsil Council has been constructed under the new system in this area. Presently the Tribal areas under Tehsil D. G. Khan and Tehsil Taunsa are jointly forming Tehsil Council which consists of five Union Councils namely *Tuman* Leghari, Mubarki, Barthi, Kach and Tibbi Qaisrani spreading over an area of 4000 Sq. km with a population of about 0.126 million" (Zia, 2018).

#### ***Tumandarana* Division in D. G. Khan District**

The famous *Tumandars* in D. G. Khan District are as:

- 1- Leghari
- 2- Khosa
- 3- Lund
- 4- Buzdar
- 5- Qaisrani

### **Leghari**

To the South of Khosa, the area of Leghari tribe begins in D.G.Khan district. Leghari tribe is occupying the area from the Sakhi Sarwar pass up to the Kurch pass (Frayer, 1876) which is the Gurchanis Northern boundary and in South, it is the boundary of Khosas and Legharis tribes. The famous Fort Munro mountain station is located in *Tuman* Leghari. This tribe is settled in the different places of D. G. Khan district Choti Zareen, Fort Munro, Sakhi Sarwar and Darkhawast Jamal Khan. Some Legharis were settled in district Barkhan of Balochistan. In the reign of Sikh, the Leghari Sardars were paid three thousand rupees annually to Lahore Darbar. (District Gazetteer, 1883). The Leghari tribe is dominant in electoral constituencies NA-172, NA-173 and PP-245, PP-246 of D. G. Khan district. Presently, Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari is the Tribal leader of the Leghari tribe.

### **Khosa**

The Khosa tribe live in South of Suri Lund. The Khosas occupy the Lund boundary to the Sakhi Sarwar pass. On the border they are one of most power full tribe (Frayer, 1876). They have same strength as Legharis. This tribe is divided into six branches in district D. G. Khan. The chief was from the Batail village. Ghulam Hyder Khan was the first *Tumandar* of the Khosa tribe. It is said that the tribe habilitated the villages of Yaro and Batail. The Khosa clan is dominant in electoral constituencies National Assembly seat NA-171 and Provincial Assembly of PP-242, PP-243 and PP-244 of D. G. Khan District. Presently, Sardar Zulficar Ali Khan Khosa is Tribal leader of the Khosa tribe.

### **Loand**

It was the tribe of Loand which, after migration from Balochistan, started living in two diverse areas of D. G. Khan, Suri Loand and Tibbi Loand founded by this tribe. The region of Suri Loand extends from the mountains in the west. The Khosa lives in South and Nutkani lives in North. The Shadan Loand village was habilitated by the Loand tribe. The secondly subdivision, however, has settled down along Harrand in district Rajanpur. This town was established by the tribe of Nahar family and they were previously services provider to Afghans. At this time they established the city of Tibbi Loand. Currently this tribe inhabits in the East of hills of the Tehsil Jampur. The Leghari tribe lives in the West of Tibbi Loand and the tribe Gurchani settled in the South of Tibbi Loand. This tribe is dominant in PP-242 electoral constituency of Dera Ghazi Khan. Presently, Sardar Javed Akhtar Khan Loand is the tribal leader of Loand tribe.

### **Buzdar**

The Buzdar tribe is basically a small tribe of district Dera Ghazi Khan. This tribe lives in Kharar Buzdar and Barthi (a mountainous village) upper border of Tehsil Taunsa. This tribe is scattered in various places in D. G. Khan district. The Buzdar tribe is dominant on electoral constituency PP-241 of Tehsil Taunsa. Presently, Sardar Usman Ahmad Khan Buzdar is the head of this tribe.

### **Qaisrani**

This tribe lives in Tibbi Qaisrani and Kot Qaisrani of Tehsil Taunsa. This tribe is divided in six branches. This tribe has huge vote bank in his electoral constituency. Sardar Qaisar Khan was the first *Tumandar* of Qaisrani tribe (Leghari, 1987). The Qaisrani Tribe is most power full in Tehsil Taunsa constituency PP-240. In this time, Sardar Mir Bad shah Khan Qaisrani is the tribal leader of Qaisrani tribe.

### **The British engagement with the Baloch Tribes of D. G. Khan**

There was a different situation in the region of Punjab because it needed much protection from the frontier side which was expanded into hundred miles North-Western side. On the other hand, the border along with the Sikhs was technical based. At some places, pillars were created, while the crest were there. Neither, it followed the possession of the tribal boundaries nor with the effect of their influential powers. Specially, in the South ward, a number of tribes were living. With their land properties and interests of occupation. The tribes living in Northern part, were ruthless and cruel. They were different from those tribes who were living in Sindh. This domain which needed necessary protection was backward and needed much attention. But, here the martial services cannot be placed due to its complex administration and territorial difficulties. There were no signs of desert on the border of Punjab as compared to Sindh because, there were hilly areas also and the cultivation in British territories (Thomas, 1989).

Dera Ghazi Khan was rich in harvest and it was near to the mountain. This area was always remained as profitable asset for the men of Baloch tribes. Thus, the British Government became more conscious. To adopt such a great strategy that should be beneficial for them. The British Government was very alert in dealt with the tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan, residing close to the Koh-e-Sulaiman. The British policy changed with the passage of time in different juncture.

### **Tumandarana System before the British Rule**

Early Britisher's views about the Balochs were different, they reflected them a total different outage. They depicted their image not as agrarian but warriors. The Balochs were not judicious for their living needs interlinked with agri business. They had nothing to do with the agriculture and or cultivation in old times. The observation of Fredrick Frayer in 1876 shows that they are healthy in fighting and possess resolute determinism. The Balochs understand the war as their sole and favorable trade and they were strong and mainly in the warfare matters. However, the records of earliest times and accounts of the different travelers expose that the Baloch tribes living near to the frontier were closely related to the agriculture, but it mainly depends on environment. If it suited them, they adopted it for their choice. The structure of their polity was also closely associated with the pastoralism and farming. The main economy of the Balochs acquired by different means, among them livestock, agriculture and business are discussed. Raiding or looting the travelling people or pilgrimage was their adorable profession. Pehrson noted that pastoral herds, pastoral farming and nomadic movement, in search of fresh water, with their cattles all became their own identity and it became central condition and work frame which provided them clearest expression of their cultural features and outlook. In spite of all that notable expression of Bloch's migration



towards their survival-ism and pastoralism provided an obvious evidence of their interaction with the prairies.

Longworth Dames stated that, the migration of the Baloch towards the Indus plains and Sulaiman Ranges was also related to that great migration which the Baloch tribes ascendency as national migration in their Ballad (Dames, 1904). Due to the stability of the rainfall pattern, there were less arable condition or less agricultural farms. Basically, for the agricultural purposes different sources of water on Sulaiman Ranges or the plains adjacent to these mountain range was preserved. The water used for cultivation or irrigation is derived from several tributaries or stream flowing out in the mountains of Suleiman Ranges. Although, the water fluid in these tributaries was not unlimited and the condition of the cultivation from mountains side was crucial to the local inhabitant tribes in that areas. Since *Kala Pani* or the irrigation water suitably useful for stable relatively in arable lands because a persuasion source of agricultural communities (Gilmartin, 2004).

Though, this emergence of strange but hopeful, agricultural pace brought a captivating establishment and this happened to start living into small towns near by the mountain ranges, *Karez* system of irrigation, which is an ancient method of irrigation in some parts of the country in which water runs through tunnels or underground ways, is another kind of irrigation. *Karez* system of irrigation into Baloch hills though different channels constructed by priorities, sometimes by an influential and powerful persons or some times by the head of the tribes and sometimes built up by differing communities based on their shares or interest upon these water. The most enormous source of water gained through dames which are known as bands. These are small constructed dams. Through these dams (*bands*), the water is used for cultivation which was most common. *Daman*, the plain land between hill torrents or hilly areas, is most common place for cultivation. But, such kind of uncertain irrigation water sources cannot be dependable due to less, low rain-fall pattern. Thus, the protecting and stability of Baloch tribal life mostly depends upon the shoulders of Tribal leaders. And these tribal chiefs are also expected to give the high returns when the harvest gives ample production. But, it is also the responsibility of the Tribal leader to arrange the raids for looting. With the tribe men out there was utmost scarcity situation for their survival. Primarily, the Baloch chief authority lies with the three main tasks. Firstly, it is the duty of *Tumandar* or Tribal chief to afford such grazing plains for their herding which should be maximum beneficial for their pastoral life. Secondly, it is also an uphill task for the Baloch tribal chief to maintain his dominance over the irrigation waters which are mentioned above. And lastly, he is the *Tumandar* who has to convene the raiding parties in the times of starvation. Soon after the capturing, the British comprehended the reality of this valuable irrigation water. Their realization to control over this water for their political means became major priority and they also wished to hold on these boundary tribe men for specific purposes. For this, the British set up a strategy that these savage and wild tribe men forced on to live nearby the plains of Indus River basin (Gilmartin, 2004).

So, the Britishers adopted the transparent trickery pace of divide which made the eyes of the Britishers glistened to capture the land area, rich in cultivation and production, between irrigated land and frontier mountains. They first established their rule over the frontier of upper Sindh. They had drawn such a division which was not only the separation of a civilization and brutal lawless people, but it worked very well (Gilmartin, 2004). Brigadier-

General John Jacob, an officer of the British East India Company was the first person, who made a strong demarcation of the civilization and nomadic tribal people. He fully conceived that the moral frontier, the separation of the boundaries, the divide policy and formulating strong emerging ideals empowered the unlimited magnitude of the British improvement (Lambrick, 1974). The situation of D. G. Khan district was totally different. The rulers of the Merani tribes (1540 A. D to 1700 A. D) of D. G. Khan had built many canals and different Baloch tribes migrated into this area. The policy of the British rulers in D. G. Khan was dependent not only on irrigated land plains but also on capturing the attention of the Baloch leaders directly onto their investments on flatlands. This was the policy of the British to encircle the Baloch tribes and directly influence their authority upon these tribes to weaken their gust (Gilmartin, 2004). However, the British remained successful while gaining the result of their policies, which they implemented in the region of Punjab, but the situation was different in Sindh region because they got less success there using such policies. Though the British officials fully convinced that the relation between effort and financial funding on agricultural areas and on British territory for further expansion would amicable experience both for the governing officials and for the chiefs of D. G. Khan (Gilmartin, 2004). But, the appointed Deputy Commissioner has been precaution, not to the travel across to the border along with frontier side. And the deputed District Commissioner had never been granted some permission to cross the border and put their lives in some serious danger. They had also never given such order to expand their territorial interest for the sake of their lives. They were given limited powers in this regard. On the other hand, the officers were also ordered to interlink with the tribe men while saying that “your visit in a conducive manner is a source of happiness for us, but we cannot interject and maintain harmony exterior of our border however, to a great extent you may wish for it; and if you are compelled upon drawing a subjective boundary line we are unable in helping you for obtaining a readjustment, it does not matter that how much it is advantageous for both of us (Thomas, 1989).

They imposed such suitable restrictions which may be enough for them but not fruitful for the Britishers. The British itself was not interested and they made the district officers so powerful that he could effect on the politics and could influence the matters related to *Tumandars*. With the same authority, he had to perform the state business. Bruce also notes the condition of the Baloch Sardars and suggested that the Baloch commonly armed when they went on raiding or herding but they keep arms very less time when they are on pastoral family or agricultural or harvest situation. Baloch Sardar like liberal mindedness, show their power ability and strength aid who were familiar with the guerilla war (Bruce Notes, 1871).

### **British Tumandarana System**

When Lt. Robert Groves Sandeman assumed his charge as Deputy Commissioner (D.C) of D.G. Khan in 1866, he was not well versed with the local law but he possessed patience, good sense and well awareness about the frontier and his aptitude became more careful when he made judicious efforts and investigation regarding the Jirga’s or village community. He dealt carefully while telling the truth about the local tribal leaders and got success while doing so. In 1862 before, his appointment to Dera Ghazi Khan, he performed his duty in Peshawar. At that time D. G. Khan remarked as a frontier district. Here on his appointment, he got extraordinary power. He held the supreme powers of all the departments including judicial,

criminal or civil suits, police chief, and revenue, administrative of all decisions and instructional. He holds the influence upon local superiors, controlling all committees. The opinion of the deputy commissioner must have needed on any bill before discussion in the counsel of the legislative. Besides dealing with all of the above duties, the district officer of the frontier region had also been given very important task to inter-communicate with the tribes residing along with the borders of all sides. Sandeman, being the district officer of the frontier, performed his ordinary duties with remarkable way.

But here in Dera Ghazi Khan, he got a different experience in dealing with the Baloches because there was great difference between the Baloches and the Pathans. His earlier experience was related with the Pathans of Peshawar region. Both of the Baloches and Pathans having some similarities as both are revengeful, same war tensions in their minds and both are savages. But there is also existed slight difference relating the respect of the chief in their clans. The Baloches have in their mind to respect and obey his chief but in Pathans, they respect less than the Baloches. As here, the Pathans are presented as republican. Sandeman's experience shows that to deal with the Baloches is much easier than that of the Pathans as having their own norms of the respect and opinion, in this way, policy of good will and peace suited here. Initial experience got successful victory and having to perform multi duties. Sandeman remained peaceful on his side while prevailing peace through conciliation. He experienced that the organizational structure of the Baloches tribes in D. G. Khan becoming more worsen. Baloch tribal faction into sub-section and the power of *Tumandar* and *Mukaddam*, had much influential but decreasing. These *Mukaddams* and *Tumandar* with their own tribes becoming bitter enemy of each other beyond the boundary of their borders. The war between Khan of Qalat and chiefs over confederation was at top. Lt. Sandeman fully analyzed the intensive situation between the tribes. He first understood the influential and assimilative position of their chiefs which was such an alarming and strengthened element if it was maintained then it could easily shake the potential and power of imperial setback. So realizing all that Sandeman put all his energies and strength to pacify them and play the role of settlement between them. He slowly but steadily tried to settle the existing war between them and done his best to re-establish the previous position and respect of the chiefs or *Tumandars*. He first got all the favor of the Baloches tribes towards the British sides and then acquired the control over them in favor of British legacy. Lt. Sandeman also had realized the unsatisfactory situation of the existing borders which was versatile that it had divided the border tribes into two vast partitions. Between these two divisions, one was living under the British dominion while on the other hand other were out of control of the British administration. And according to Sandeman, this drastic situation of uncontrolling these tribes was really unjustifiable to them. So, without wasting further time, he tried to get fulfil his demand of affectionating the boundary vision so that to raise the influence of the British rule but, his demand was rejected by the British Government due to the whelming over situation in the administration mind. Sandeman opted another way to get solution of the intention through the great assistance of the Commissioner of Rajanpur Richard Isaac Bruce. He performed his duties to assemble and gather these scattered Baloch tribes under the proficient headmen and compassionate chiefs, compile their communal and collective differences and empowered though giving them the work of irrigation or canal works. Sandeman adopted John Jacob and Charles Minchin's suppositions relevant to the

transformational shape of the presence of the British role over the Indus. But, soon Sandeman understood that the investment of Jamal Khan Leghari (Baloch tribal Chief) in the irrigation had made the great disturbance in the longing of the British thought about the boundary, adjacent to frontier. Jamal Khan Leghari got much influential political and considerable autonomy as his character played the pivotal role as an arbitrator between the Baloches resided on the hilly areas and the British supremacy and in this regard, Jamal Khan Leghari, got his influence maintained on the plains of the Indus basin, directly through his financial investment on irrigation side. Meanwhile, Jamal Khan also made himself powerful playing the role of a mediator between the Baloches and the British. Then, to check over the increasing influential and potential of Jamal Khan, Sandeman realized that the brave personality of Mazari tribe, Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari, is suitable to diminish the power of Jamal Khan. Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari also played very well because his role as an intermediary for the purpose of expansion of the British supremacy over this region. Sandeman soon got the real satisfaction because his relations to Imam Bakhsh Mazari was of two reasons, First as a supporter of the British rule and secondly as an arbitrator between the Mazari tribes and the British.

Often, in the hot dry season or in the drought, the cattles of the Marzari's tribe grazed in the Bugatti's land and if the same situation occurred on the Bugatti's land, then Bugatti's cattle grazed in the land of the Mazaris. So, these two tribes had great relation with the other tribes and the selection of Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari was more apt for the breaking of the setback and strength of Jamal Khan. Sandeman established friendly relations with Imam Bakhsh Mazari so that to get maximum advantages through him because he could be played both as a representative of the British Government and chief of his tribe to deal with other tribes of the region. But, the main purpose behind the scene was to decrease the influence of the Leghari chief over others tribes of the region (Bruce, 1977).

### **Conclusion**

As for the conclusion of this study is very important to find out and produce something new in this research paper. I found through this research that the phenomenon of politics is going to change gradually in different constituencies. Although the powerful Tribal leader is losing its strength due to the increase in literacy and the concept of modernity. Large number of population of different tribes migrated to the urban areas and they have been settled there to access the basic facilities of life as education, health and employment. Tribal leaders have consciously set their region backward so that their political influence remain intact and powerful. It is noted in the electoral politics of the region that in the elections 1970 to 2018 the Tribal leader or their nominee for electoral candidates remained powerful and victorious due to their tribal strength in the concerned constituency. In the politics of Dera Ghazi Khan district, Tribal system is prevailed strongly and that Tribal System is divided in five Tumans. Tribal leaders ruled on the people of Dera Ghazi Khan district because, they are poor, unaware of their basic rights. Due to unawareness of political rights, basic democratic system of Ayub Khan and devolution plan of General Musharraf could not effect on the people of Dera Ghazi Khan district. Before emergence of the independence of Pakistan, Tribal leaders of D.G. Khan also remained dominant in the district politics. If grip of elites over economic resources finish that is the only way, people will be free in their thoughts and actions. To establish

democracy, government must take steps to increase resources for the ordinary man in the Dera Ghazi Khan district. By creating opportunities and awareness regarding basic and political rights, the economic prosperity would be increased among the ordinary men and they would express their voting choice in the elections.

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