

BALUCHISTAN: FACTS AND FICTION

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CONTENTS

Preface	v
1. Balochistan Unrest: Causes and Response	1
2. Better Balochistan, Not Greater Balochistan	15
3. Political Alienation and Marginalisation: Provincial Perceptions and Perspectives	18
4. Gwadar as Future Economic Hub	22
5. A Roundtable on Conflict in Balochistan	35
6. Strong Balochistan, Strong Pakistan	39
7. Balochistan's Uplift Top Priority: PM	41
8. Proof of Foreign Hand in Balochistan	43
9. The Baloch Youth	43
10. Balochistan Quagmire	45
11. A Hearing on Balochistan	47
12. Special Balochistan Report	48
13. No Military Operation Under Way in Balochistan: COAS	59
14. The Armed Forces and Balochis' Uplift	59
15. National Assembly Resolution	61
16. Balochistan Unrest: Panel Urges Government to Clip Agencies' Wings	62
17. Our Traitors, Their Heroes	63
18. US Bill on Balochistan Driven by Arrogance and Ignorance	66
19. A Troubled Land	67
20. Text of US Congress Resolution on Balochistan	68
21. People of Balochistan want Freedom from Sardars: Senior Baloch Leader Muhabbat Khan Mari	70
22. Kao Plan Unleashed in Balochistan	71
23. US Interests and Activities of Baloch Diaspora	80
24. Magsi Tasked to Lure Baloch Sardars	82
25. Balochistan is Not Beyond Hope	83
26. Balochistan: Terrorism, Policing and Media	85
27. Whither Balochistan?	89
28. Blaming Others for Balochistan	91

29. Rohrabacher and Balochistan	94
30. Opening Our Eyes on Balochistan	96
31. <u>Pakistan Media Ganged Up</u>	96
32. A Tale of Deception and Treachery	99
33. Pakistan Energy Crisis and Balochistan	101
34. Understanding Balochistan Part – I	102
35. Understanding Balochistan Part –II	104
36. Pakistan and Baloch Irredentism: Dialogue Needed to Stem the Slide	107
37. Grand Jirga is a Way Out	109
38. Foreign-backed Human Rights Violations in Balochistan	109
39. Balochistan Missing Parts	112
40. How to Resolve Balochistan Issue	113
41. Balochistan can be Saved	116
42. Balochistan: Imran Khan and Lawyers	118
IPRI Publications	120

PREFACE

Balochistan's Status

The resolution of US Congressman Rohrabacher referred to the Committee of US Foreign Affairs in February last is misleading as it is based on incorrect facts. It says that “the Baloch Khanate of Kalat was founded which functioned as an independent, sovereign country.” The history of the rulers of Kalat begins with Mir Ahmad whose approximate date of accession was around 1666-7 and whose dynasty's rule continued till the independence of the subcontinent in 1947 when his descendent Ahmed Yar Khan was the ruler. However, Kalat or Balochistan was never a sovereign country. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India:

The rulers of Kalat were never fully independent. There was always, as there is still, a paramount power to whom they were subject. In the earliest times they were merely petty chiefs; later they bowed to the orders of the Mughal emperors of Delhi and to the rulers of Kandahar, and supplied men-at-arms on demand. Most peremptory orders from the Afghan rulers to their vassals of Kalat are still extant, and the pre-dominance of the Sadozais and Barakzais was acknowledged so late as 1838. It was not until the time of Nasir Khan I [1750-1] that the titles of *Beglar Begi* (Chief of Chiefs) and *Wali-i-Kalat* (Governor of Kalat) were conferred on the Kalat ruler by the Afghan kings.¹

From historical records, it appears that not only Kalat but the whole region of Balochistan was always under the paramountcy of either Persia, Afghanistan or India. For almost eleven centuries (5th century BC – 6th century AD), with some breaks, it was the outpost of

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series: Balochistan* (Calcutta, 1908, reprint Lahore: Oriental Publishers, 1976), 14.

Persia. Initially it was under the control of the Persian King Darius I (522-486 B.C.). Alexander also marched through Mekran on his way back from India (now Pakistan) and this region came under the political influence of Emperor Seleucus Nicator and thereafter under Chandragupta Mauriya (305 B.C.), followed by Indo-Greeks (3rd century B.C.), Parthians (2nd century B.C.), Scythians (100 B.C. to 200 A.D.), and Sassanids (3rd to 7th century A.D.).² Subsequently, Arabs and Persians (7th to 16th centuries), Mughals of Delhi (16th to 18th centuries), Afghanistan (18th to 19th centuries), and British (19th to 20th centuries) exercised their supremacy in the region.

Accession to Pakistan

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, while addressing Sibi Darbar (i.e., Sibi Court) in Balochistan on February 14, 1948, expressed the desire “of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other provinces”.³ Earlier, on June 3, 1947, the British Government held a referendum in Balochistan. They convened “Shahi Jirga, excluding the Sardars nominated by the Kalat State, and the non-official members of Quetta Municipality” to decide the future of Balochistan. “Fifty four members of the Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipality voted en bloc to join Pakistan. The eight non-Muslim members of the Quetta Municipality and the Shahi Jirga (seven Hindus and one Parsi) did not attend the meeting.” The then member of the Indian Central Assembly from British Balochistan, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogazai, therefore, joined the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and not of India.⁴

The British rulers of the subcontinent had divided the Indian subcontinent into British India which was under their direct rule and Princely India consisting of about 565 states with which the British had treaty relations. The largest state in terms of population and GNP was that of Hyderabad Deccan which had its own currency, army, official language, judiciary with a High Court, Railways, Airline, postal service,

² Syed Iqbal Ahmad, *Balochistan: Its strategic importance* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), 15-16.

³ Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-1948* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), 54.

⁴ Iqbal, *Balochistan*, 112.

Radio Broadcasting Network and had been given the title “Faithful Ally of the King Emperor”. But all these states were subordinated to the British government, their foreign policy was with the British and they could not enter into a treaty relation with any other power on their own. After independence of the subcontinent, the treaties entered into with the British were terminated, and they were asked to accede to either India or Pakistan, keeping in view their geographical location and the wishes of their people.

Out of a total of 565 Indian princely states, a few such as Hyderabad, Junagadh, Mysore, Bahawalpur, Jammu and Kashmir, Bhopal, Kalat and Travancore desired to become independent but none of them was allowed to do so. Kalat had also declared independence on August 15, 1947. This was not acceptable and led to employment of security forces. The state had become landlocked surrounded by Pakistan’s administered Balochistan, and the three peripheral Baloch states, Kharan, Makran and Las Bela which had acceded to Pakistan. Finally, the Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmed Yar Khan decided to accede unconditionally and the Instrument of Accession was signed on 27th March 1948.⁵ A decade later, in 1958, Pakistan purchased Gwadar from the Emirate of Oman. It is now being developed into a state of the art deep sea port.

Why Underdeveloped?

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of area, but lowest in population and the poorest in per capita income. The underlying reason for its backwardness seems to be the feudal system and illiteracy of its human resource. According to the first census in the country held in 1951, the literacy rate in Balochistan was 3.9 per cent, which had later increased to 24.8 per cent as per the last census held 1998 and 37 per cent in 2004.⁶ Economically, Balochistan has always remained an underdeveloped region.

The reasons are: (1) It is a rain deficit area; (2) the region was away from centres of power and thus attracted lesser attention; (3) British

⁵ Iqbal, *Balochistan*, 119-120.

⁶ Noor ul Haq, “Education in Pakistan: Historical Perspective,” Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema et. al., eds., *Pakistan and Changing Scenario: Regional and Global* (Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2008), 12-13.

were only interested in peace and own safety; (4) the mineral wealth could not be exploited due to lack of interest and absence of modern technology; (5) whenever and whatever mineral wealth was exploited, such as the discovery of gas in Sui, the people of Balochistan were generally neglected, except for the sardar (chief) of the area who received certain benefits; (6) Pakistan's policy to continue with the British colonial system has been in the interest of sardars, but not of the masses; (7) The resultant poor representation of the province in the civil and military bureaucracy further increased their economic deprivation; (8) the lack of infrastructure of roads, water, electricity, education, healthcare, etc., added to their miseries; (9) Pakistan's economy has remained dependent on assistance from international agencies, and there have always been complaints for paucity of funds; (11) there is no middle class. Certain tribal sardars, instead of demanding development work, jobs, schools, hospitals, roads, water, etc., exploited the illiteracy, poverty and loyalty of their followers; and (12) last but not the least reason "for slow pace of development in Balochistan is non-proper utilization of government funds besides inability of [government] departments"⁷ to deliver. Balochistan has, thus, remained the poorest province, with lowest literacy and per capita income, as compared to other provinces in Pakistan. This accounts largely for the feeling of resentment of the people.

Demographics

Balochistan, like the rest of Pakistan, is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural. It is a geographical expression given to a region, inhabited by Balochis, Brahuys, Pushtuns, and others. Towards the end of the first Anglo-Afghan War (1838-42) the demographic state of this region was 300,000 Brahuys, 200,000 Pushtuns and only 80,000 Baluchis.⁸ As per the last census of 1998, the province has a population of about 6.566 million.⁹ According to an earlier 1981 Census Report, linguistically, there were 38.28 percent Balochis, 25.15 percent Pushtuns and 22.02 percent Brahuys and the remainder 14.55 percent spoke other

⁷ Editor's note, *Balochistan Today* (Quetta), February 2006.

⁸ *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India: Baluchistan & the First Afghan War* (Reprinted Lahore: Book Traders, n.d.), 1.

⁹ According to 1998 Census Report the population of Balochistan is 6,565,885 as against Pakistan's population of 145.5 million.

languages.¹⁰ The latest Census Report of Balochistan Province of 1998, has grouped together Balochis and Brahuis, making a total of 54.76 percent besides 45.24 per cent Pushtuns and others, who speak Sindhi, Punjabi, Saraiki, Urdu, etc.¹¹ The recent population movement from Afghanistan into Pakistan due to war on terror has somewhat affected the demography, which will be exactly ascertained in the next census.

British Administration

Administratively, the British did not grant the status of a province to Balochistan but divided it into British Balochistan and Agencies as follows:

- 1) British Balochistan included districts obtained by treaty or conquered or obtained on lease from the Khan of Kalat.¹²
- 2) Balochistan Agency included the native states of Kalat, Las Bela, Kharan and the Tribal Areas of Marris, Bugtis, Mengals and others. The British Political Agent dealt with these states and tribes.¹³

Since centuries, the sardars and rulers of princely states were autonomous in self-rule. Their authority was substantially strengthened under the British. The sardars provided security to the British and, in return, became more powerful and authoritarian in their respective jurisdiction, for they also received the protection of the British government. British rulers mainly required Balochistan as a buffer zone to stave off incursions from across the border. They were thus not

¹⁰ *1981 Census Report of Balochistan Province* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan), 10.

¹¹ *1998 Census Report of Balochistan* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan).

¹² These comprised Sibi, Duki, Pishin, and Chaman obtained under the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879 and formally declared part of British India in 1887. The "administered areas" of British Balochistan also included Chagai, Loralai (except Duki) and the territories leased from the Khan of Kalat, including Quetta, Bolan, Nushki and Nasirabad.

¹³ British Political Agent controlled Kalat. A native official, who resided at Khuzdar, was appointed to assist in respect of Jhalawan. Makran was under the control of a Kalat official known as the Nazim. The rest of Kalat was divided into *niabats* who were Kalat officials. Las Bela and Kharan had become practically independent of the Khan and were administered by the Political Agent of Kalat. *IPRI Journal*, Summer 2006, vol. XI, no. 2, 56-73.

interested in the social or economic uplift of the region and were satisfied to maintain the status quo.¹⁴ Thus “The founder of the Baluchistan Province as it now exists was Sir Robert Sandeman” and the system of administration introduced by him is known as Sandamen system.¹⁵

A Full-fledged Province

Balochistan, for the first time, became a full-fledged province after the breakup of One Unit on 1 July 1970. But no effort was made to bring the internal administration of the province in line with those of other provinces. Most of the province continued to be administered through sardars. Whenever their authority was challenged, the most powerful amongst them, i.e., the tribal chiefs of Marris, Bugtis and Mengals, often resorted to militancy to perpetuate their hold and promote their interests. Except for them and the sectarian conflicts in some areas, including the capital city Quetta, Balochistan has remained peaceful.

Feudalism for Status Quo

In April 1974, while addressing the convention of his Party at Quetta, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared: “today, with great courage, I announce that legally the Sardari System is being brought to an end. This is the end of the Sardari System. From today, there will be no Sardar in Pakistan. In the whole of Pakistan, the Sardari System is finished; the most tyrannical, the most cruel, the most dishonest System which has been prevalent for centuries, has been brought to an end through this Law.”¹⁶

Although no follow up action was taken to abolish the system, Bhutto, had initiated military action against insurgent sardars in 1973 that continued till 1977. These sardars had left Balochistan and lived ‘luxuriously’ outside the country.¹⁷ During the government of General

¹⁴ Noor ul Haq, “Balochistan Disturbances: Causes and Response,” *IPRI Journal*, Summer 2006, vol. XI, no. 2, 56-73.

¹⁵ *Imperial Gazetteer*, 12.

¹⁶ A.B. Awan, *Baluchistan: Historical and Political Processes* (London: New Century Publishers, 1985), 292-3.

¹⁷ Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgri, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, The Falcon of Pakistan* (Karachi: Szabist 2002), p.8.

Ziaul Haq (1977-88), which followed Bhutto's removal, there was a reversion to the old policy, the armed forces were withdrawn, and peace was restored. Consequently the recalcitrant sardars became more powerful and confident.

Under the alternative governments of Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, lasting from 1988 till 1999, Balochistan experienced more or less the same political evolution as the rest of the country except that under Benazir, the Balochistan Assembly was dissolved in 1988 but was revived under orders of the High Court. The dissolution of provincial assembly, further added to the resentment against the federal government.

Balochis are a proud people and have good traditions and traits such as honesty, brotherhood and belief in the purity of their system, inherited from their forefathers. They have 'big egos' and would not accept new systems easily.¹⁸ Any attempt to change it, will be resisted. At the same time, the emerging educated class, the return of expatriates, the influence of electronic and print media and increased trade activity and development in the province is bound to change the feudal culture. Already, there have cropped up political parties¹⁹ representing the emerging middle class.

The demands of most of the political parties represented in the Provincial Assembly and forming coalition government in the province²⁰ are generally in favour of maintaining the status quo and retention of 'B' areas²¹ and Levies,²² so that the traditional rule of

¹⁸ Jan Mohammad Jamali, Deputy Chairman Senate and former Chief Minister of Balochistan, international seminar on 'Economic Development for Balochistan: National, Provincial and Regional Dimensions' organized by Balochistan University of Information Technology & Management Sciences (BUIITMS) and Hanns Seidel Foundation Islamabad, held at Quetta on 10 May 2006, *Times of Oman* (Muscat), May 15, 2006.

¹⁹ Baloch National Party, Pakistan Muslim League, and Baloch National Party Awami Group, etc.

²⁰ Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal 18 members, National Alliance 7 members, Balochistan National (Party (Mengal) 2 members, Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party 5 members, independents 7 members (Milli Awami Party and six independents joined Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam) making a total of 11 members and they along with Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal have formed coalition government in the province. *Jang* (Rawalpindi), Sunday Magazine, January 8-14, 2006.

²¹ Since British rule and till recently, except for Quetta, the rest of Balochistan was governed according to their established *rimaj* (customs) under the overall control of the respective sardars.

²² It is a militia maintained by the sardars, whose salary is paid by the government through sardars.

sardars is not disturbed. They are against the employment of outsiders in the province, especially in the mega projects launched by the government. They want that all finances, natural wealth and projects should be controlled and managed by the province. Nationalist parties²³ are opposing the establishment of cantonments, and want the Frontier Corps to be withdrawn. Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party demands that Pushtoon majority area be separated from Balochistan and merged with the North Western Frontier Province.²⁴

Sardari system, entrenched since centuries and strengthened by Sandeman, could not be terminated overnight but it could not be allowed to perpetuate indefinitely. It is not in the interest of the masses. Unfortunately, the system is persisting owing to illiteracy, economic backwardness and feudal dominated governance. Various governments in Pakistan thought it convenient to maintain the status quo. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced its abolition but could not implement it.²⁵

If Pakistan has to progress in the competitive world of twenty-first century and follow internationally accepted norms, the human development index has to be raised from its present low level and the masses have to be given basic necessities of life, i.e. education, healthcare, jobs, etc. Balochistan cannot be kept marginalised from the national and international influences in a world that has become a global village; with expatriates returning from abroad with an international outlook; and an explosion of knowledge through media. Social and economic development in the province will hopefully create and strengthen a middle class, which will offset feudal hold on the population. There should, therefore, be a conscious effort to eliminate feudalism and sardari system through sustained reforms, education and solid economic development. In course of time, the archaic feudal order might be replaced by a modern egalitarian society.

²³ Such as Jamhoori Watan Party of Sardar Akbar Bugti, Baloch National Movement of Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement of Sardar Attaullah Mengal.

²⁴ *Nation* (Lahore) February 14, 2006.

²⁵ Awan, *Baluchistan*, 292-3.

Unrest

Though the ongoing violence and sabotage activities may have political and economic undertones, it raises several pertinent questions. How these bombs, rockets and other military hardware used by the militants are acquired and who are the people in possession of these illegal weapons? Who directs them to fire these and kill innocent people, security personnel, and damage and destroy national and public assets? In short, who are these saboteurs and miscreants? Who supports the so-called Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), which claims responsibility for perpetrating these violent means?

In fact, some interested foreign powers are embroiled in the region. Throughout history, the Makran coast, approximately 800 km long, had significance for commercial and political links between Europe, West Asia and East Africa, on one side and Central Asia, South and East Asia on the other. In the past, the merchandise was mostly ivory, spices and other commodities. Currently, the trade is focused mainly on oil and gas and other agricultural and industrial goods. Makran coast and its ports are of great importance, as they are located at the mouth of the strategic Strait of Hormuz, the bottleneck to the sea-lane from the Gulf, from where bulk of oil is transported worldwide.

Great powers, such as US, Russia and China, have become increasingly interested in South Asia, which further enhances the strategic importance of the Makran coast and the region. There are growing strategic interests of neighbours and international players in the region with a view to achieving their own political, strategic or economic objectives.²⁶ Unsurprisingly, the “Great Game”²⁷ of the 19th century may be re-played in this region.

²⁶ Tariq Saeedi and others, ‘Pakistan: Unveiling the Mystery of Balochistan Insurgency’ Parts I& II).

<http://www.newscentralasia.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1188> and

<http://www.newscentralasia.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1189> retrieved on March 18, 2005.

²⁷ During 19th century, the “Great Game” was played between Tsarist Russia and Victorian England for supremacy in Central Asia. Russia was in pursuit of reaching warm water port in the south and Britain was determined to deny it and Afghanistan was the “chessboard” for the opposing empires. The game ended with the fall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, but may reemerge in the region.

Historically, interested external forces have always tended to exploit the internal dissensions. That weakens the social fabric of a multi-ethnic populace that is scattered over a vast territory in far flung clusters of mostly tribal or at best quasi-urban habitations. These forces can only be countered by establishment of peace and security and through development of the province and promoting welfare of the people. The representatives of the people, law-abiding sardars, particularly elder statesmen and the intelligentsia need to be taken on board. The educated Marris, Mengals and Bugtis can have countervailing influence as against their feudal tribal chiefs. The government can also talk to insurgent sardars to get their loyalty, if they are prepared to live as peaceful citizens. Any foreign help to militants could be preempted through meaningful engagement with neighbouring countries.

Government's Policy

Pakistan government has correctly adopted a two-pronged approach to deal with the present situation in the province, i.e., seriously address the political, economic and social concerns of the people, and to use security forces in areas where there are armed insurgent elements. During the last decade or so, a number of positive steps have been taken by the government which will go a long way in meeting the demand for an autonomous status and improving the lot of Balochistan province. These are:

- 1) **Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan.** This landmark amendment has made provinces fully autonomous. For further details see *IPRI Factfile on Eighteenth Amendment to the 1973 Constitution* (May 2011).
- 2) **NFC Award.** It is for the first time in Pakistan that, instead of the sole criterion of population, multiple criteria for resource distribution has been adopted which includes population, human development index, inverse population density and revenue generation. This has resulted in nearly doubling the share of Balochistan from the federal divisible pool, i.e., from 5.11 to 9.09 per cent.
- 3) **Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan.** Is a process of socio-economic package to give what is due to Balochistan. For

details see *IPRI Factfile on Aghaz-e-Huqooq-i-Balochistan* (January 2010).

- 4) **Gwadar.** Construction of deep-sea port, which will serve as an alternative to Karachi port.
- 5) **Coastal Highway.** Construction of a coastal highway (750 km) linking Gwadar to Karachi.
- 6) **Dams.** Construction of two new dams, Mirani and Subakzai.
- 7) **Canal.** Construction of Kachi Canal (500 km long).
- 8) **Miscellaneous.** A number of other works such as several dozens small delayed-action dams, Gwadar-Turbat-Mand Road on the Iranian border, several educational institutions and increased quota for employment, etc. etc.

It is hoped that given the sustainability of these policies, Balochistan may be put on the path of harmony and development.

The *IPRI Factfile* supplements other works of IPRI on Balochistan, i.e., *Factfile on Balochistan: Changing Politico-Economic Paradigm* (April 2005) and seminar book on *Balochistan: Rationalisation of Centre-Province Relations* (2010). In this volume there is compilation of selected articles mostly published during January 2010 and April 2012.

April 30, 2012

Dr Noor ul Haq

BALUCHISTAN UNREST: CAUSES AND RESPONSE

Introduction

Balochistan, the strategically important and the largest province of Pakistan, with 43.5 percent landmass of the country, is passing through a crucial phase of its history. Although there seems an unprecedented thrust for economic development of the province, the status quo is being disturbed and there is a clash of interest between the stakeholders. The centuries old feudal culture will be threatened. There is a conflict between certain *sardars* (feudal lords) and the government, the province and the federation, and the ethnic and sectarian entities in the province. Besides, there are grievances of the political parties and the people, related to the economic underdevelopment and quantum of autonomy for the province.

In fact, since independence in 1947, there have been intermittent disturbances in Balochistan. These are being variously referred to as deteriorating law and order situation, 'militancy', 'insurgency', and 'uprising' or 'resurgent nationalism'. Whatever the nature of the trouble, Pakistan Government is confronted with a challenge how to deal with the prevalent situation. There is a need to improve law and order situation and to be sensitive to the underlying and immediate causes, so as to find suitable responses to satisfy the people. The causes for the disturbance and violence by certain elements and by certain groups of people, in certain areas, especially in Dera Bugti and Kohlu districts, as well as by the 'nationalist' political parties and upcoming intelligentsia of Balochistan, can be traced into history as well as in political, social, economic and external factors.

Historical Factor

Present-day Balochistan is reminiscent of a colonial legacy and to comprehend the prevalent situation, it is necessary to know the background history of Balochis. They generally claim to be of Semitic stock, sharing common traditions and culture. They embraced Islam during the 7th century AD, when Muslims conquered Iran and Sassanids were defeated.¹ They are settled in different countries - Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. The total population of Balochis is estimated to be over sixteen million.² In Pakistan, they are spread in Balochistan, Punjab and Sind.³ There are more ethnic Balochis in Sind and the Punjab, than they are in Balochistan.

The province of Balochistan is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural. It has a population of about 6.566 million, which comes to about 4.5 percent of the population of Pakistan.⁴ According to 1981 Census Report, linguistically, there are

¹ Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijrani, *Searchlights on Baloches and Balochistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company), 1974, pp. 89-98. He argues on the basis of 'oldest historical ballad of genealogies' that the Baloch were the followers of Caliph Ali. After martyrdom of Hussain in 680 AD, they migrated eastward to Seistan, Balochistan, Sind and the Punjab.

² Bijrani, p. viii.

³ Bijrani, p. 1. Also refer to Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch, *History of Baluch Race and Balochistan* (Quetta: Nisa Traders). 1958.

⁴ According to 1998 Census Report the population of Balochistan is 6,565,885 as against Pakistan's population of 145.5 million.

38.28 percent Balochis, 25.15 percent Pushtoons and 22.02 percent Brahvis and the remainder 14.55 percent speak other languages.⁵ The latest Census Report of Balochistan Province of 1998, has grouped together Balochis and Brahvis, making a total of 54.76 percent besides Pushtoons as 29.64 percent and the remaining 15.6 per cent, who are mostly settlers, speak other languages, i.e., Sindhi, Punjabi, Saraiki, Urdu, etc.⁶ The province is rain deficit area and receives about four per cent rain annually. Since most of the land is arid, there is low density in population, i.e., 19 persons per sq. km. Most of the people lead nomadic life raising camels, sheep and goats. Fruit farming is undertaken wherever water is available. There is, however, considerable natural energy (gas, oil, coal) and mineral wealth, i.e., copper, chromite, lead, sulphur and marble, etc.

Balochis lead an autonomous tribal life and have a long history of internecine warfare between a number of their sub-tribes and sub-sub-tribes. Generally, they never had a centralized government or kingdom of their own, but remained mostly subject to one or the other neighbouring empires of India, Iran or Afghanistan.⁷ It was during mid-17th century that Balochistan was formed into a loosely knit state of Kalat. During mid-18th century, Ahmad Shah Durrani occupied its northwestern part, which, thereafter, remained under the suzerainty of Afghanistan, till the arrival of the British.⁸ The British occupied Sind in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849 and were confronted with the Baloch and Pathan tribes, who lived in the hills to the west.

In 1854, an agreement was concluded between the British and the Khan of Kalat, who promised not to have relations with any foreign power without the approval of the English; to receive British troops when necessary; to protect merchants passing through his territory; and to prevent his followers from raiding British territory. In return for all this, he was to receive an annual subsidy of Rs. 150,000. Thus, a system of subsidy was introduced to purchase the loyalty of the Khan, who continued to enjoy a semi-independent status. With a view to further consolidating their hold on Balochistan, negotiations were conducted with the Khan of Kalat and a fresh treaty was signed at Jacobabad in 1876, which subsequently governed the relations between Kalat and the British Indian Government. Accordingly, the British occupied Quetta and surrounding area, together with Bolan Pass on lease. The lease agreement required the area to remain under the nominal sovereignty of Kalat but to be administered by the British. Next year, in 1877, a British

⁵ *1981 Census Report of Balochistan Province* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan), p. 10.

⁶ *1998 Census Report of Balochistan* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan)

⁷ In the *Shahnama* of Firdosi, the conquest of Makran by Kai Khusru (Cyrus) of Persia is mentioned. Graeco-Persian kings who were the rulers of Afghanistan and the Punjab ruled Balochistan. Between 140-130 BC, the Sakas from Central Asia occupied this land. It acknowledged the suzerainty of Ghaznavids and Ghorids of Afghanistan. In 1398, Pir Muhammad, the grandson of Timur, subdued parts of Balochistan (Lahore: *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Balochistan*, reprint, 1984), pp. 11-13. In 1520, it submitted to Babur and Mughal rulers of Delhi. About mid-17th century it remained under the Safavid rulers of Persia. Later, Ahmad Shah Durrani occupied the northeaster part of Balochistan. It remained under the suzerainty of Afghanistan till the arrival of the British Ibid.,

⁸ Ibid.

Indian force was stationed at Quetta and Sir Robert Sandeman⁹ was appointed the first Agent to the Governor-General. As the control of the Khan over his sardars was of a loose type, these arrangements did not fully meet the security requirement of the British. Sandeman tactfully established contacts with other tribal chiefs of Balochistan and succeeded in maintaining peace in the area. Sandeman's system of governance rested on the occupation of central points in Kalat and tribal territory in considerable force, linking them together by fair-weather roads, and *leaving the tribes to manage their own affairs according to their own customs and working through their chiefs and maliks* (Italics by the author). The maliks were required to enlist levies paid by [British] government but regarded as tribal servants.¹⁰

The British achieved the objective of their own protection, keeping roads open, maintaining law and order in the tribal territory, and in case of trouble, finding out the troublemakers. For this cooperation, the Maliks (i.e., Sardars) received large subsidies.

The British had planned to build a strategic line of defence against Russian advance in Central Asia. On 20th November 1878, the British invaded Afghanistan and, on 26th May 1879, concluded the Treaty of Gandamak with the ruler of Afghanistan, who agreed to British terms, including ceding the district of Sibi to the British. In 1889, Sandeman occupied Zhob valley, a strategic area that opened the Gomal Pass to caravan traffic, and there he established Fort Sandeman (Zhob).¹¹ In 1893, Sir Mortimer Durand concluded an agreement with Amir Abdul Rehman of Afghanistan fixing the boundary line "from Chitral and Baroghil Pass up to Peshawar, and thence up to Koh-i-Malik Siyah [the junction of Persia, Afghanistan and Pakistan's Balochistan]."¹² The Amir also promised not to interfere with the tribes on the British side of the line. In 1899, Nushki was permanently leased and, in 1903, Nasirabad was acquired from Kalat. In the same year, Las Bela was placed under the Political Agent of Kalat.¹³ Thus, the British control over Balochistan was firmly established.

Administratively, Balochistan was not granted the status of a province but was divided into British Balochistan and Agencies as follows:

- 1) British Balochistan included districts obtained by treaty or conquered or obtained on lease from the Khan of Kalat.¹⁴

⁹ Sir Robert Groves Sandeman (1835-92) was "a pioneer, a pacificator and a successful administrator, who converted that country [Balochistan] from a state of complete anarchy into a province as orderly as any in British India."
<http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/SAC_SAR_/SANDEMAN_SIR_ROBERT_GROVES_1835.html>

¹⁰ Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd), 1958, p. 376.

¹¹ Its original name was Appozai. Robert Sandeman made it his headquarters and named it Fort Sandeman. On 30 July 1976, Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto changed its name to Zhob.

<<http://www.bdd.sdnpk.org/districts/Zhob/Zhob%20background.html>>

¹² Accordingly, Wakhan Kafirstan, Asmar, Mohmand of Lalpura, and one portion of Waziristan {Birmal) came under British rule (Caroe, p.381).

¹³ Gazetteer, op. cit. p. 21.

¹⁴ These comprised Sibi, Duki, Pishin, and Chaman obtained under the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879 and formally declared part of British India in 1887. The "administered areas" of British Balochistan also included Chagai, Loralai (except Duki) and the territories leased from the Khan of Kalat, including Quetta, Bolan, Nushki and Nasirabad.

- 2) Balochistan Agency included the native states of Kalat, Las Bela, Kharan and the Tribal Areas of Marris, Bugtis, Mengals and others. The British Political Agent dealt with these states and tribes.¹⁵
- 3) In 1887, the Baloch territories of Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan were taken away from Balochistan and given to NWFP and the Punjab respectively.

Since centuries, the sardars and rulers of native states have been enjoying autonomy and self-rule. Their authority was further strengthened under the Sandeman system. The sardars provided security to the British and, in return, became more powerful and authoritarian in their respective jurisdiction, for they also received the protection of the British government. British rulers mainly required Balochistan as a buffer zone to stave off incursions from across the border. They were thus not interested in the social or economic uplift of the region and were satisfied to maintain the status quo.

Balochistan did not lag behind any other province in the struggle for Pakistan. The Khan of Kalat, as the head of Balochistan States, extended moral and material support to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The tribal elders, as members of *Shahi Jirga*¹⁶ and the members of Quetta Municipality, voted for joining Pakistan in 1947. Later, the princely states of Lasbela, Makran and Kharan acceded to Pakistan. Khan of Kalat, however, aspired for a sovereign status and declared independence. This was not acceptable.¹⁷ This led to the use of security forces in 1948 and Kalat acceded to Pakistan.

Between 1947-1955, the region enjoyed almost the same status as during the colonial period. In 1955, Balochistan, along with all other states and provinces, was merged as One Unit in the integrated province of West Pakistan. The provinces including Balochistan did not like this merger. On 8 September 1958, the Government of Pakistan purchased Gwadar from the Emirate of Oman, which is now being developed into a first-class port.

When the Martial Law of General Muhammad Ayub Khan of October 1958 was declared in Pakistan, it prescribed harsh punishments, and Land Reforms Regulations were issued, laying down ceiling of land holdings in the country. These were resented by sardars, as it would limit their land holding, and curb their freedom and authority. There were intermittent disturbances, lasting from 1959 to 1967. These were initiated by one Mir Nauroz Khan, Nawab of Jallawan, a staunch supporter of Khan of Kalat, who was arrested, followed by Mengals and then by Marris and Bugtis. These disturbances spread over about one-sixth area of Balochistan. Other ethnic groups such as the Pathans did not participate. Generally, demands of the activated

¹⁵ British Political Agent controlled Kalat. A native official, who resided at Khuzdar, was appointed to assist in respect of Jhalawan. Makran was under the control of a Kalat official known as the Nazim. The rest of Kalat was divided into *niabats* who were Kalat officials. Las Bela and Kharan had become practically independent of the Khan and were administered by the Political Agent of Kalat.

¹⁶ Assembly of Royal elders.

¹⁷ There were 565 princely states in the Indian Subcontinent and they were given the choice to accede either to India or Pakistan taking into account their geographical location and wishes of their people. Accordingly, Kalat joined Pakistan.

Baloch sardars were the release of prisoners, retention of fire arms, restoration of *rivaj*, i.e., their customary law, withdrawal of police and revenue staff and stoppage of work on construction of certain roads, restoration of old privileges of sardars, who should themselves enlist the levies and *jirga* members and above all the non-interference by the government in the areas of their jurisdiction.¹⁸

Balochistan, for the first time, became a full-fledged province after the breakup of One Unit on 1 July 1970. But no effort was made to bring the internal administration of the province in line with those of other provinces. Most of the province continued to be administered through sardars. Whenever their authority was challenged, the most powerful amongst them, i.e., the tribal chiefs of Marris, Bugtis and Mengals, often resorted to militancy to perpetuate their hold and promote their interests. Except for them and the occasional sectarian conflicts in some areas, including the capital city Quetta, Balochistan has remained peaceful.

Political Factor

Balochistan's pre-independence status of a Chief Commissioner's province persisted for a quarter of a century after independence. It was in 1970, that Balochistan acquired the status of a full-fledged province, like any other province of Pakistan, with its own Provincial Assembly and representation in the Federation. Its first provincial assembly was elected as a consequence of 1970 General Elections, conducted during the Martial Law government of General Yahya Khan.

During the government of Pakistan Peoples Party, under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, it was alleged that some Balochi sardars were incited and activated by foreign powers, mainly the Soviet Russia, for insurgency, and arms coming for them from Iraq were captured at Islamabad airport. Soon, a situation of confrontation between the Provincial Government of Balochistan and the Federal Government of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was developed. Bhutto decided to abolish the sardari system and introduce social and political reforms in the province. The situation had become tense and the government of Balochistan was sacked, resulting in Baloch militancy. In April 1974, while addressing the convention of his Party at Quetta, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Bhutto declared, today, with great courage, I announce that legally the Sardari System is being brought to an end. This is the end of the Sardari System. From today, there will be no Sardar in Pakistan. In the whole of Pakistan, the Sardari System is finished; the most tyrannical, the most cruel, the most dishonest System which has been prevalent for centuries, has been brought to an end through this Law.¹⁹

Although no follow up action was taken to abolish the system, Bhutto, had initiated military action against insurgent sardars in 1973 that continued till 1977. These sardars had left Balochistan and their people and lived 'luxuriously' outside the country.²⁰ During the government of General Ziaul Haq (1977-88), which followed Bhutto's removal, there was a reversion to the old policy, the armed forces were withdrawn, and peace was restored. Consequently the recalcitrant sardars became more powerful and confident.

¹⁸ A. B. Awan, *Balochistan: Historical and Political Processes* (London: New Century Publishers 1985), pp. 227-33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-3.

²⁰ Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgri, *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, The Falcon of Pakistan* (Karachi: Szabist 2002), p.8.

Under the alternative governments of Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, lasting from 1988 till 1999, Balochistan experienced more or less the same political evolution as the rest of the country except that under Benazir, the Balochistan Assembly was dissolved in 1988 but was revived under orders of the High Court. The dissolution of provincial assembly, further added to the resentment against the federal government.

Social Factor

The current conflict in Balochistan is as much social as it is political. The traditional sardars, in order to keep their tribesmen under their control, are generally not interested in their educational, social and political uplift. Likewise, the government did not pay the required attention to socio-economic development of the province. Ever since country's independence, Balochistan continued to enjoy the culture prevalent during colonial era. Except for the settled areas described as 'A' areas, such as Quetta, Zhob, etc., Sardari System has persisted. Briefly, the system operates as follows.

The elected Chief holds the power of life and death over the whole of the tribe. There is no appeal against his decisions. He decides all the disputes of the tribe himself; inter-tribal disputes he settles with the help of other tribal Chiefs. He provides his flock with collective security and pursues their grievances with the government or with other tribes. When the aggrieved party approaches him, he provides them with accommodation, food and shelter. His justice is speedy and there is no beating about the bush. His decisions have only one orientation; to provide satisfaction to the aggrieved party. The punishment of the guilty is only secondary. It is the system which the tribesman understands and appreciates. The Sardar has the power to levy taxes, up to any amount. He can send his tribe hurtling into war or retire it in peace, back to their hearths, homes and families. He shares the tribe's sorrows and happiness alike and remains a part of it and at no stage alien. And every year he sends out his men to collect his share of goods and services, cash or kind; livestock, sheep, goats, camels; his share in the crop. In addition, for the trouble he carries in his Sardari, he is entitled to get percentage in the fines imposed in cases, civil or criminal. It is a two way traffic.²¹

Balochis are a proud people and have good traditions and traits such as honesty, brotherhood and belief in the purity of their system, inherited from their forefathers. They have 'big egos' and would not accept new systems easily.²² Any attempt to change it, will be resisted. At the same time, the emerging educated class, the return of expatriates, the influence of electronic and print media and increased trade activity and development in the province is bound to change the feudal culture.

²¹ Awan, p. 232.

²² Jan Mohammad Jamali, Deputy Chairman Senate and former Chief Minister of Balochistan, international seminar on 'Economic Development for Balochistan: National, Provincial and Regional Dimensions' organized by Balochistan University of Information Technology & Management Sciences (BUIITMS) and Hanns Seidel Foundation Islamabad, held at Quetta on 10 May 2006, *Times of Oman* (Muscat), 15 May 2006.

Already, there have cropped up political parties²³ representing the emerging middle class.

Economic Factor

Economically, Balochistan has always remained an underdeveloped region. The reasons are: (1) It is a rain deficit area, the land is arid and most people lead nomadic life, except wherever water is available, there is fruit farming; (2) throughout its history, the region was away from centres of power and thus attracted lesser attention; (3) British, during the period of their supremacy in the subcontinent, were not interested in the economic development of the province. Their interest in Balochistan was restricted to the building of certain roads and railways, which were required for movement of troops to ensure security of the region against possible advance of Russian Empire for reaching the warm waters via Afghanistan and Balochistan; (4) the mineral wealth could not be exploited in the past due to lack of interest and absence of modern technology in the country; (5) whenever and whatever mineral wealth was exploited, such as the discovery of gas in Sui, the people of Balochistan were generally neglected, except for the sardar of the area who received certain benefits; (6) Pakistan's policy to continue with the British colonial system has been in the interest of sardars, but not of the masses. Tribal sardars were receiving subsidies from the government but spending little to improve the quality of life of the people. In fact, it is in their interest to keep their followers illiterate, so that they continue to remain subservient to them and are not in a position to question their authority. (7) The resultant poor representation of the province in the civil and military bureaucracy further increased the economic deprivation resulting in complaints of the upcoming generation of young and educated persons against injustices, meted out to the province; (8) the lack of infrastructure of roads, water, electricity, education, healthcare, etc., adds to their miseries; (9) the distribution of national finances on the basis of population (i.e., 5.4 percent) whereas Balochistan happened to be the largest in area (i.e. 43.5 percent); (10) since Pakistan is a developing country and its economy has mostly remained dependent on assistance from international agencies, e.g., World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc., there have always been complaints for paucity of funds from several quarters including Balochistan; (11) there are well-to-do sardars and their poor followers living under their patronage, but there is no middle class in existence. Certain tribal sardars, instead of demanding development work, jobs, schools, hospitals, roads, water, etc., exploit the illiteracy, poverty and loyalty of their followers and use them against the security forces of the Government which are considered by them as a threat to the continuation of their authority; and (12) yet another reason 'for slow pace of development in Balochistan is non-proper utilization of government funds besides inability of [government] departments.'²⁴

Balochistan has, thus, remained the poorest province, with lowest per capita income, as compared to other provinces in Pakistan and this is the main factor for the resentment of the people.

²³ Baloch National Party, Pakistan Muslim League, and Baloch National Party Awami Group, etc.

²⁴ Editor's note, *Balochistan Today* (Quetta), February 2006.

External Factor

The province is strategically sensitive and has a history of turbulence except for a short interregnum of British rule (1876-1947). Invaders from the west used its strategic mountain passes adjoining Iran and Afghanistan. Both Afghanistan and Iran have historical claims on the region.

It is also an important area being in close proximity to the concentration of oil and gas resources in the Gulf, and mineral resources in the province itself. The liberated Central Asian states, the presence of NATO troops in the landlocked Afghanistan, the US-India bilateral defence and nuclear agreements, the development of events in Iran especially relating to its nuclear technology and consequent concerns of the West, and finally the development of Gwadar Port with Chinese assistance, has enhanced the geo-political and economic importance of Balochistan and for that matter of Pakistan. Gwadar will provide an alternative port to Iran's Chabahar and Bandar Abbas. Gwadar is closer distance-wise to landlocked Afghanistan, certain Central Asian states and southwestern China. It can become the hub of commercial activity for the region. Balochistan's strategic importance is also highlighted because of the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline project, worth over US\$ 7 billion, which would pass through this region.

In fact, the entire Makran coast provides warm waters to the newly independent but landlocked Central Asian countries. Throughout history, the Makran coast, approximately 800 km long, had significance for commercial and political links between Europe, West Asia and East Africa, on one side and Central Asia, South and East Asia on the other. In the past the merchandise was ivory, spices and other commodities. Currently, the trade is mostly in oil and gas and other agricultural and industrial goods. Makran coast and its ports are of great strategic importance, as they are located at the mouth of the strategic Strait of Hormuz, the bottleneck to the sea-lane from the Gulf, from where bulk of the oil is transported worldwide.

Great powers, such as US, Russia and China, have become increasingly interested in South Asia, which further enhances the strategic importance of the Makran coast and the region. There are strategic interests of neighbours and international players in the region with a view to achieving their own political, strategic or economic objectives.²⁵ There may, therefore, be no surprise if the "Great Game"²⁶ of the 19th century is again played in this region.

²⁵ Tariq Saeedi and others, 'Pakistan: Unveiling the Mystery of Balochistan Insurgency' Parts I & II). <http://www.newscentralasia.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1188> and <http://www.newscentralasia.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1189> retrieved on 18 March 2005.

²⁶ During 19th century, the "Great Game" was played between Tsarist Russia and Victorian England for supremacy in Central Asia. Russia was in pursuit of reaching warm water port in the south and Britain was determined to deny it and Afghanistan was the "chessboard" for the opposing empires. The game ended with the fall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, but may reemerge in the region.

Response to Current Situation

In general, the demands of the people relate to the economic underdevelopment, 'empowerment of local population'²⁷ and greater autonomy of the province. These are aggravated due to a number of contributing factors. For instance, (1) the negligence and indifference of the past federal governments; (2) sardars' apprehensions that the plans to transform all 'B' areas into 'A' areas and the introduction of centralized system of policing and administration would destroy their autonomy long enjoyed by them; (3) non-fulfilment of the desire of sardars and political leaders to have full administrative and financial control of the current development being carried out in the province; (4) Balochi upcoming generation and expatriates, who are educated and enlightened, are resentful of the people from other provinces seeking employment in Balochistan; (5) increasing consciousness about the importance of mineral wealth; (6) the general desire of both the *sardars* and of the people to have exclusive control of the mineral wealth; (7) realization of the geo-political and strategic importance of the province; and (8) lastly, the apprehension that the development in the province would result in the influx of people from other provinces and turn the indigenous population into a minority which is not acceptable to both a commoner or a sardar.

The demands of most of the political parties represented in the Provincial Assembly and forming coalition government in the province²⁸ are generally in favour of maintaining the status quo and retention of 'B' areas²⁹ and Levies,³⁰ so that the traditional rule of sardars is not disturbed. They are against the employment of outsiders in the province, especially in the mega projects launched by the government. They want that all finances, natural wealth and projects should be controlled and managed by the province. They demand that the criteria for allocation of National Finance Award (NFC) by the Federal Government should also include the area and the need for the development of the province and not only population. Nationalist parties³¹ are opposing the establishment of cantonments, and are demanding that 'military' action be stopped and Frontier Corps withdrawn. Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party demands that Pushtoon majority area be separated from Balochistan and merged with the North Western Frontier Province.³²

²⁷ Senator Raza Mohammad Raza of Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party, cited by Shahzada Raza, 'Seminar Offers Guidelines for Prosperity', *Times of Oman*, (Muscat), 12 May 2006.

²⁸ Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal 18 members, National Alliance 7 members, Balochistan National (Party (Mengal) 2 members, Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party 5 members, independents 7 members (Milli Awami Party and six independents joined Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam) making a total of 11 members and they along with Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal have formed coalition government in the province. *Jang* (Rawalpindi), Sunday Magazine, 8-14 January 2006.

²⁹ Since British rule and till recently, except for Quetta, the rest of Balochistan was governed according to their established *rivaj* (customs) under the overall control of the respective sardars.

³⁰ It is a militia maintained by the sardars, whose salary is paid by the government through sardars.

³¹ Such as Jamhoori Watan Party of Sardar Akbar Bugti, Baloch National Movement of Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri and Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement of Sardar Attaullah Mengal.

³² *The Nation* (Lahore) 14 February 2006.

Political Response

The government had appointed a parliamentary committee on 23 September 2004 ‘to deal with Balochistan and inter-provincial harmony’. The committee was subdivided into two subcommittees – one headed by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed to make appropriate recommendations on the situation in Balochistan and another subcommittee was led by Senator Wasim Sajjad to make recommendations ‘to promote inter-provincial harmony and protect rights of provinces, with a view to strengthen the federation.’ Since the latter committee has to work on federal-province relations, a very sensitive subject of far reaching importance, it has to take a longer period to finalize its recommendations. The former subcommittee appointed ‘to examine the current situation in Balochistan and make recommendations thereon’; heard the views of the relevant ministries, departments, authorities and main political parties³³ of the province during October 2004 – January 2005 and has submitted its report.³⁴ Its main recommendations relate to (1) the approval of a formula regarding Royalty, Gas and Development Surcharge; (2) the job quota of 5.4 percent in the Federal Government under the Constitution for Balochistan to be strictly implemented; (3) Head Office of Gwadar Port Authority should be shifted from Karachi to Gwadar and preference for employment is to be given to local youths; (4) construction of highways linking Balochistan with other provinces of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran be expedited; (5) an effective anti-drought strategy should be developed to alleviate water shortage; and (6) distribution of Funds between Federation and Federating Units (National Finance Commission Award) should be announced giving due consideration to the just viewpoint of the people of Balochistan. The recommendations should be given serious consideration and appropriate actions taken as soon as possible. President Musharraf has already asked the Prime Minister to expedite work on the recommendations.³⁵ Mushahid Hussain has expressed reservations about the non-implementation of the report and said that even if 15 percent of the recommendations had been implemented, the situation in Balochistan would have been different.³⁶ There should, therefore, be no undue delay in implementation.

Similarly, the subcommittee, led by Senator Waseem Sajjad should arrive at some conclusion in the best interest of Pakistan. It needs to be pointed out that, unlike United States of America, powers to the federating units were transferred by the central government and not vice versa. The Constitution of Pakistan, like Indian Constitution, provides for a quasi-federal structure where, although there are two sets of governments, federal government enjoys overriding authority. There is however a need that the provincial government should be excessively involved in provincial affairs. It is also necessary to increase the stake of the province of Balochistan in the Federation through various economic measures and their increased participation in the Federal Administration.

³³ For example, Pukhtun Khaw Milli Awami Party, Mutahidda Majlis-e-Amal, National Party, Jamhoori Watan Party, and Four Party Baloch Alliance, *The Nation* (Lahore), 14 February 2006.

³⁴ *The Nation* (Lahore), 14 February 2006.

³⁵ *Dawn* (Islamabad), 3 March 2006.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Social Response

Sardari system, entrenched since centuries and strengthened by Sandeman, could not be terminated overnight but it could not be allowed to perpetuate indefinitely. It is not in the interest of the masses. Unfortunately, the system is persisting owing to illiteracy, economic backwardness and feudal dominated governance. Various governments in Pakistan thought it convenient to maintain the status quo. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced its abolition but could not implement it.³⁷

If Pakistan has to progress in the competitive world of twenty-first century and follow the internationally accepted norms, the human development index has to be raised and the masses are to be given basic necessities of life, i.e. education, healthcare, jobs, etc. Balochistan cannot be kept away from the national and international influences in a world that has become a global village; expatriates are returning from abroad with an international outlook; and there is explosion of knowledge through media. It seems that the social and economic development in the province will create and strengthen a middle class, which will be the rivals of feudal leaders. There should, therefore, be a conscious effort to eliminate feudalism and sardari system through sustained efforts and solid economic development and reforms. In course of time, the archaic feudal order will be replaced by a modern egalitarian society. If the citizens have basic necessities of life and are provided with equal opportunities for education, health care and employment, the status quo will be changed. The sooner it is done, the better for the people of Balochistan.

Economic Response

The Federal Government seems interested to develop Balochistan and about 140 billion rupees have been allocated to the province during the current financial year. Dozens of major and minor projects relating to preservation of water resources, water supply schemes, health, education, and energy and communication sectors have been sanctioned. Saindak project, Mirani and a number of other small dams, extension of Kirthar and Kachchi canal, etc., are being undertaken. Besides, the mineral wealth of the province is being developed.³⁸

The development of rail, road and sea communication originating from Gwadar in all directions is expected to generate tremendous economic activities in the areas, so far neglected. For instance, the Makran Coastal Highway (653 km long) along the Makran Coast starting from Sheikh Raj, approximately 105 km north of Karachi on RCD Highway is ending at Gwad near Pak-Iran border. This highway links the ports at Ormara, Pasni, Gwadar and Jiwani with Karachi. It facilitates trade between Pakistan and Iran. The fishermen along the coast benefit because fish is sent to Karachi by road for marketing. In the past, about 30% fish was spoiled, at a loss of Rs.300 million per year as the journey by road to Karachi took two to three days from Jiwani and Gwadar. The new highway reduces the time considerably from the coastal towns to the bigger markets, hence better return to fishermen and a saving of millions of rupees

³⁷ Awan, pp, 292-3.

³⁸ Recently, it is discovered that Rekodig mining area has estimated reserves of two billion tons of copper and 20 million ounces of gold by an Australian firm. *Dawn* (Islamabad), 14 April 2006.

every year. Another regional linkage is the Gwadar-Ratto Dero motorway (M-8) joining it with Indus Highway through Turbat, Awaran and Khuzdar. Apart from highways, a rail link is planned to connect Gwadar to Quetta and onwards. The existing length of runway at Gwadar airport is being upgraded and a modern international airport will be constructed. This network will usher in new avenues of livelihood for the people of the province in the form of jobs, communication, transportation and market access, etc.

In any case, the most prestigious project is the ongoing construction of Gwadar Port. Gwadar Port, located at the entrance of the Gulf, provides the shortest and cost-effective access to the landlocked Afghanistan, Central Asian states and southwestern China. This is likely to result in enormous economic benefits to Pakistan in general and the people of Balochistan in particular. Besides Gwadar, there are a number of other ports on the Makran coast of Balochistan, such as Ormara, Pasni, Gwadar and Jiwani ports, which need to be developed.

In addition, industries like shrimp farming, tuna farming, and desalination plants, etc. can be built. Foreign investors and companies can be encouraged to invest. In short, development activities must continue and be enhanced for the betterment of the common man. As far as possible, local population should be involved, accommodated and empowered, as they would be the main beneficiaries. This would also ensure sustained development of the province.

Response to Internal Unrest and External Interference

According to Owais Ghani, Governor of Balochistan, the total area affected by the current conflict is 1.5 percent and the population affected is 1.3 percent and it is mostly restricted to Dera Bugti.³⁹ Nevertheless, there is a security problem in the province, both internal and external. Internally, the militants are targeting gas pipelines, railway lines, electric transmitters, oil and gas exploration activities and other development projects. These militants also call themselves Balochistan National Army (BLA) and it is not clear who is heading this organization.⁴⁰ Perhaps the BLA is now concentrated in the hands of recalcitrant sardars. Their main objective seems to be the Balochis' right of independence and use of sabotage activities as a tool to achieve their political ends. Their claim to represent the people of Balochistan is largely a hoax as they have little representation in the Provincial Assembly and that there were no worthwhile demonstrations or protests in their favour by the general public. The government has declared BLA as a terrorist organization.

Though the violence and sabotage activities may have political and economic undertones, it raises several questions. From where these bombs, rockets and other military hardware, used by the militants, are acquired and who are keeping these illegal weapons? Who gives them permission to fire these and kill innocent people, security personnel and destroy national and public assets? In short, who are the saboteurs and

³⁹ Shahzad Raza, 'we want Balochistan to be new economic frontier: Governor', *Times of Oman*, 15 May 2006.

⁴⁰ According to one report, Russian KGB had created the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) to exploit the sentiments of member Baloch Students Organization against the federal government. See Shahzad Shah, 'Backtracking on banning BLA', *Weekly Pulse* (Islamabad), 21-22 April 2006, p.6.

miscreants? Who are at the back of the so-called BLA, which claims the responsibility for using the violent means? In any case, the proper course for the aggrieved individuals and groups should be to refer their grievances to the appropriate authorities, their elected representatives and the Provincial Government instead of resorting to sabotage and illegal use of force, which is likely to be counter-productive.

President Pervez Musharraf had already offered for talks with militant tribal leaders, provided they surrender and disarm their local militias, lay down their arms, and stop hampering oil and gas exploration activities and development projects in the province.⁴¹ No state can allow a state within a state. The interest of Pakistan and the people of Balochistan take precedence over the interest of a few militant sardars.

Externally, during the period of Cold War, the Soviet Union was interested in Balochistan and its intelligence agency, KGB (Committee for State Security) was active there. It was arming the tribes for insurgency against the state. It is not without reason that India is progressively investing in Afghanistan and is said to have increased 'discretionary grant' several hundred times of Indian consulates established close to the borders of Pakistan. India is the only country in the world, which has officially expressed its concern over the situation in Pakistan's Balochistan. It has termed Pakistan's security forces action against saboteurs of public and private life and property as "heavy military action". Pakistan immediately dismissed Indian concern as "unwarranted and baseless".⁴² It is understood that during Afghan President's visit to Pakistan in February 2005, President Musharraf provided him with evidence of Indian Intelligence Agency Research and Analysis Wing's (RAW's) involvement in militant and terrorist activities in Balochistan.⁴³ The foreign interests that are either against the progress of Pakistan or are desirous of establishing their supremacy in the region are directly or indirectly connected with the terrorist's acts. This is indicated by the fact that on the eve of the visit of the President of Pakistan to China, three Chinese Engineers working for the development of the province were killed.⁴⁴ Similarly, a day before the visit of US President George W. Bush to Pakistan, a US diplomat was killed on 2 March 2006 in Karachi.⁴⁵ These terrorist acts are obviously undertaken to harm the interest of Pakistan.

Since there cannot be development without peace, violence and militancy must stop. The criminals should be dealt with and punished according to law. Already, to maintain law and order, the Frontier Corps and the Police are dealing with the

⁴¹ 'Disarming of militias needed for peace: President denies army action', *Dawn* (Islamabad), 4 February 2006.

⁴² *Dawn* (Islamabad), 28 December 2005.

⁴³ *The News* (Islamabad), 22 February 2005.

⁴⁴ During last two years seven Chinese Engineers were killed. A bomb blast killed three individuals in Gwadar in May 2004. In October the same year, two Chinese were abducted and in a rescue operation one of them was killed. On 15 February 2006, three Chinese working in a cement factory in Hub (a town in Balochistan) were shot dead. Balochistan Home Minister Mir Shoab Ahmed Nausherwani said that 'all evidence so far collected by investigators leads towards Afghanistan' (*Dawn* (Islamabad), 27 April 2006). General Mirza Aslam Beg, former Chief of the Army Staff, has categorically accused India of establishing training camps in Jalalabad and Kandhar which were being run under its consulates and trained "terrorists were responsible for acts of terrorism in Balochistan" (*Dawn* (Islamabad), 30 April 2006).

⁴⁵ *The News International* (Islamabad), 3 March 2006.

saboteurs and militants. The government seems to be trying to squeeze the sources of militant militias, in terms of both finances and weapons, internal as well as external. Earlier, the government had got the coalmines vacated, which were forcibly occupied by some militant sardars, and returned to their rightful owners. The government is bringing back thousands of Kalpar and Masuri tribesmen who were persecuted by the sardars and were compelled to abandon their ancestral homes. Thus, the changed demography in Dera Bugti may weaken militant elements and bring peace to the area.

The government may consider to do away with the existing system of payment to the tribesmen employed in installations or as levies through their sardars, and pay them directly. Thus, the tribal areas would be brought at par with the settled areas of the province and the armed men will develop loyalty to the state instead of sardars. This will require that all 28 districts of the Province be converted into ‘A’ areas and civil police stationed. In strategic areas, besides civil police, military cantonments need to be built, as is the case in other provinces. It seems that some districts are being converted into ‘A’ areas and a cantonment is being built in Sui and other cantonments may come up in Gwadar and Kohlu.

In short, while security and law and order is ensured, simultaneous economic development and political approach and dialogue must continue, as it is the best option. The support of elected representatives and moderate elements, which may include law-abiding sardars of major tribes, leaders of political parties and members of intelligentsia, should be enlisted. In any case, the administrative reforms for good governance are needed for the benefit of the people. To eliminate the external factor, the best alternative is to put own house in order. Internal harmony and strength is to be achieved by a constitutional government established through a democratic process, rule of law and dispensation of justice, economic development and prosperity, abolition of feudalism and empowerment of the people, adequate military strength and proactive foreign policy. This will deter external powers from exploiting internal grievances and interfering in the internal affairs.

Conclusion

Whenever there is a change in the status quo, there is an opposition from those vested interests, who are likely to be adversely affected. Interested external forces normally tend to exploit the internal dissensions. In any case, peace and security is vital for the development of the province and welfare of the people. The representatives of the people, law-abiding sardars, elder statesmen and the intelligentsia need to be taken on board and a wide range of common people should be involved. The educated Marris, Mengals and Bugtis can match the influence of their traditional tribal chiefs. The government can also talk to the insurgent sardars and acquire their loyalty, if they are prepared to live as peaceful citizens. Any foreign help to militants can be denied through a meaningful engagement with the neighbouring countries.

The government seems to have correctly adopted a two-pronged approach to deal with the present situation in the province, i.e., to seriously address the political, economic and social concerns of the people, and to use security forces in areas where there are armed insurgent elements. The Constitution of Pakistan does not allow the prevalent sardari system, maintenance of private armies or militias. These need to be disarmed and abolished. Similarly, the acts of sabotage or damage to public or private

life and property cannot be permitted. No person can be allowed to take law into his own hands. The disturbed areas should be given 'A' status on priority. The unlawful activities should be effectively dealt with primarily by the civil armed forces, which need to be strengthened. However, if, in an emergency, the local or provincial authorities are unable to control violent disturbances with the help of civil armed forces, and request for help from the federal government, the armed forces can act in aid of civil power, as stipulated under article 245 of the Constitution of Pakistan.

Sustained and solid economic development on a very large scale, should be expedited. The allocation of vast development funds, if used judiciously and effectively, will gradually improve the quality of life of the masses, though this may take some time. People should have basic necessities of life and be provided with equal opportunities for education, health care and employment. In addition, the local issues cannot be separated from the larger issues of centre-province relations and the system of government and institutions in the country. Similarly, the economic, social, political and administrative issues are interlinked and should not be looked at in isolation from each other. What is required and should be ensured is that actions taken to meet the changing dynamics in Balochistan should be well considered and within the parameters of the law of the land. Although Balochistan has not been given the attention that it deserved in the past, there seems no doubt that under the new thrust and orientation of national policies, Balochistan is set for a change for the better.

Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow IPRI, "Balochistan Disturbances: Causes and Response," *IPRI Journal*, vol. VI, no. 2, Summer 2006: 56-73, <http://ipripak.org/journal/summer2006/articles.pdf>

BETTER BALOCHISTAN, NOT GREATER BALOCHISTAN

Baloch leaders were not in favour of merger with Pakistan without first thrashing out crucial issues like constitutional status, provincial autonomy and allocation of resources and such other vital issues of governance. Soon after the merger, conflicts arose between the government of Pakistan and Balochistan province.

Balochistan is the largest province in terms of area, lowest in population and the poorest in per capita income. Today there is a feeling in Balochistan that this province is part of federation on paper only, and at the mercy of the Centre that continues to exploit its natural wealth and quells any signs of dissent with force.

I believe our resources have more value than the few promised development projects. No one can deny Balochistan's importance economically and strategically. The first deposits were discovered in Sui in 1953. Gas was supplied to Rawalpindi and other areas of Punjab in 1964 but Quetta, the capital of Balochistan had to wait until 1986 for its share of the gas which it received only when the central government decided to station a military garrison in the provincial capital. In the Dera Bugti district, home to the gas fields of Sui and Pir Koh where there have been disturbances recently, only the town of Dera Bugti is supplied with gas. It receives its supplies only because a para military camp was opened there in mid 1990's. Overall, only four of the 28 districts of Balochistan are supplied with gas.

In fact, although it accounts for 36 per cent of Pakistan's total gas production, the province consumes only 17 per cent of its own production. The remaining 83 per

cent is supplied to the rest of the country. In addition, the central government charges a much lower price for Baloch gas than it does for gas produced in other provinces, particularly Sind and Punjab. Moreover, Balochistan receives no more than 12.4 per cent of the due royalties for supplying gas. This is a grave exploitation of the province's natural resources.

The feeling of alienation became stronger when General Musharraf- led military government started military operations in Balochistan. General Musharraf ousted an elected Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, through a military coup and seized the power as chief executive of the country. He announced general elections, but before the elections he made a political party, PML-Q, with the help of agencies. After the elections, when the Q League failed to get the majority, Musharraf, with the help of establishment, succeeded in installing his Prime Minister with a one vote majority.

In Balochistan, the military establishment totally manipulated the elections and it helped the candidates of Q League to win. Once again, unrest in Balochistan started. People had strong reservations on the rigged elections but the military ruler had full grip on the government. So nothing could be done. Subversive activities in the province increased in the shape of blowing up gas pipelines, electric pylons, railway tracks and government buildings. The military government claimed that India was behind all these activities and the miscreants were being funded by Kabul and Delhi.

It became a crisis situation in Balochistan when government announced the Gwadar project and attempted to develop this backward area by undertaking a series of large projects. The Baloch in Gwadar feared that they would become a minority in their own land if the central government plan succeeded. The population of Gwadar and its surrounding areas will rise from 70 thousand to almost two million. The Baloch are convinced the majority will be Punjabis and Sindhis. The Baloch are afraid that they would be dispossessed of their land and resources and lose their distinct identity. In addition, three fundamental issues are fuelling this crisis: expropriation, marginalisation and dispossession.

Musharraf issued a threatening statement which was reported by the media that "we will hit them from a place that they will not know where it came from." Again the military operation started in Balochistan in which Akbat Bugti was killed which infuriated the whole of Balochistan. Akbar Bugti's death may provide satisfaction to some vengeful souls. The Nawab may have been guilty of many crimes but he died a brave man fighting and has left an indelible mark on the psyche of the people of Balochistan as a leader who fought for their rights against the establishment.

Finally, elections were announced by the Musharraf government. The exiled leaders of the political parties came back to the country to lead the campaign for elections. During the campaign, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed got marvelous response from the people which upset the establishment. On 27th December 2007 a tragic incident took place. Benazir Bhutto was martyred in that firing incident.

In the February 2008 election, Pakistan People's Party got the majority and made the government. After forming the government, President Asif Ali Zardari offered apology to the people of Balochistan who were wronged in the past by the military rulers, and promised to announce the reforms package. It was announced recently as the *Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan* package. On 24th November 2009, at a joint session of Parliament, Government announced the Balochistan package which promises initiating of judicial inquiry into the killings of Baloch leaders, establishing no

more cantonments, replacement of the army by the FC, tracing missing persons, payment of Rs 120 billion in gas royalty, an end to all operations except anti terror actions, and some other features contained in the five- tier package.

The title of the package itself speaks that it is just a beginning of the process of redressing grievances of the people of Balochistan who have been wronged in the past, more by military regimes than civil governments.

It would be unfair to question the sincerity of the government in advancing these recommendations; but it certainly reflects the ineptness of the government and insensitivity to the urgency of the burning question (of representation). The fundamental weakness that the package suffers from is that it has been presented without involving Baloch leaders. The package is an honest effort but people's lack of trust in Islamabad has grown so much that its implementation is being doubted. In the package many things are not clear. The package says nothing about the role of the paramilitary troops stationed in Balochistan because the FC and MI have been acting very strongly in the province till today.

We need to look at the broader picture and make a realistic appreciation of the crisis that we are faced with. The easiest solution would be to take guidance from the constitution.

Suggestions

- 1) Curtail the role of intelligence agencies in Balochistan because in the election process they supported fictitious leadership and managed them to win the elections. In 2008 elections agencies' role was regrettable. It was a grave high handedness with the people that they voted for the Peoples Party candidates and winners were the PML Q league candidates;
- 2) Exploitation of natural resources should be stopped;
- 3) Development work should be specific and it should be started on district level, especially in Baloch areas stressing on education, health and clean drinking water. Balochistan literacy percentage is 26.6 per cent as against the national average of 47 per cent. Only 20 per cent have access to drinking water; 47 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line;
- 4) The government should constitute a committee to check embezzlement of development funds because in Balochistan the bureaucracy embezzles funds for development projects with help of ministers; and there is a set rate of amount according to which the funds are distributed among the government officers and ministers;
- 5) In Balochistan there is no individual ownership of land. Therefore the provincial government should take all the stakeholders into confidence;
- 6) In Balochistan lands are not settled as the poor people of Balochistan do not own it. The land is in the ownership of feudal lords, which is lying barren. Hence, it needs to be settled by the government;
- 7) In the package it was mentioned that the youth of Balochistan will get jobs in federal departments. But they are still waiting for the jobs;
- 8) Saindak copper field revenue should go to Balochistan. Federal government policy on this matter is vague;

- 9) In exploration of natural resources, the companies should be bound to give the jobs to the locals and spend specific amount on development of that area;
- 10) Government should make public all the agreements of drilling and exploration with the international firms;
- 11) Government should immediately start working on alleviation of poverty in the province.

(The paper was read in a seminar on “Balochistan: Rationalisation of Centre-Province Relations,” organized by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute and Hanns Seidel Foundation at Islamabad on April 13-14, 2010)

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POLITICAL ALIENATION AND MARGINALISATION: PROVINCIAL PERCEPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

To understand the issue of the Baloch people and of Balochistan, it is necessary to revisit some historical facts and consider the exploitative manipulation of the ruling elite since independence. The story of the Baloch and Balochistan is the classical example of rulers creating marginalisation, conflict and civil war.

Ladies and Gentlemen! let me analyse the Baloch issue historically, politically, economically, socially and culturally.

Historically, Balochistan was never part of India. It was located at the tri-junction of Iran, Afghanistan and India and the Baloch were neither culturally nor historically its part. But I am not going into those historical details. The upshot is that the Baloch are different, they do not match with the subcontinent. Now, of course, we are part of the subcontinent, no doubt, but historically we are not.

Political analysis would reveal that the Baloch people had demanded of the British not to make Balochistan a part of Pakistan. But when the forceful annexation took place, the reaction was strong leading to the first insurgency in 1948 headed by Agha Abdul Kareem. Now the present one is the fifth insurgency from the first in 1948, second in 1958, third in 1960, fourth in 1973 and this one we are dealing with that represents the nationalist school of thought. I am not talking about the religious parties or the PPP or PML because I am from a nationalist party which is a dissident faction of the National Awami Party of Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo and Wali Khan. There are two distinct schools of thought among the nationalists: one thinks that the Baloch are secure within this federation and they should make a democratic struggle with other oppressed nations and oppressed people like a national party. Then there is the other, militant school like the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) or (Baloch Liberation Front) BLF which some say do not exist. But in my personal opinion BLA, BLF and BRA do exist and they are militant organisations. If you do not accept the reality how can you go for solutions? This is not a problem of today. It has been there since 1948. Yousaf Aziz Magsi, who was the founder of Baloch nationalism, said: “*Faqat Danayion Say Muradain Bar Nabi Aatin, Zararot Hai Ke Danaon Main Ik Devana Ho Jai.*” In Balochistan we are going to achieve our national rights through *Danai* i.e., through peaceful ways, through the democratic way.

The other school of thought says that this is a futile exercise and you should fight for your rights. They have chosen *Demangi*. These are the realities; the situation in Balochistan is very grave and one school of thought believes that we are not safe, so we go for our independence. This is a political situation. This situation aggravated after the killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti, Balach Mari and Ghulam Muhammad Baloch. So now people are being killed every day and there are many missing people; several political workers have been arrested and thousands of people are IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) over there. Yet, many intellectuals and political researchers claim that the Indians are involved in Balochistan. Actually, this is an excuse. It is a genuine Baloch struggle. I give my own example. I was arrested during Zia-ul-Haq period. All the intelligence reports said that Dr Malik was sitting in Kabul. I can swear upon God that I have never visited Kabul, except now. But reports insisted I was in Kabul. So, I say, and this is my humble request to all the intellectuals sitting here to face the reality and admit the facts.

The Baloch people are really thinking that their demography is at risk, their geography is at risk. We have no problem with the construction of ports. You should build several ports. But what worries me is the issue of my identity. What happens when you say that we are Pakistanis. Ofcourse, that we are; but what about our identity? We are only 6.5 million people living over there. If Gwadar port can be the reason for change in our demography, then we do not accept that. I am ready to live with you on equal basis and with equal rights but not as a slave. This is the colonial mindset that Islamabad should change. This is the real problem in Balochistan. At this stage there are still people who are ready to work with democratic forces. There are nationalist parties in Balochistan that believe in a multinational Pakistan -- Baloch, Pashtun , Sindhi, Punjabi and Siraiki, all have equal rights. And we are comfortable with such a country. It is the opinion of my party. But if you follow policies of alienation and marginalisation of the Baloch, make them Red Indians, then I would be the first man to resist that and defend my identity on which I will never compromise. Who would? It is not enough that we are Muslims or we are the same or we are brothers. I am still a member of the constitutional committee where we had a great deal of discussion. We were all there. I mean people from ANP, National Awami Party, Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami Party and the Centrist parties. We discussed the *Qarardad-e-Maqasid*; What is the Objective Resolution? Whether all the Muslims are a nation? What is the two nation theory? This is not the place to discuss such issues but these are the problems that Islamabad has to think about and bring a change in its mindset not only for Balochistan but for all federating units.

Now I would like to talk about the economic problems. Looking at the social indicators of Balochistan, we find that there is less than 20 per cent literacy, less than 40 per cent have drinking water, less than 45 per cent have electricity and a new research has revealed that out of 30 districts 29 have severe poverty, except Quetta. Now on education we are spending only 20 Rs per person per year. How can you imagine that in 20 Rs per year you can improve the education scene? The situation is worse in health sector. There we are spending 10 Rs per head per year. So these are the social indicators which we are facing with our resources. The Balochistan economy is based on agriculture, minerals, gas and fisheries. You know the history of the gas. It was discovered in 1952 and supply to the country began in 1955. It reached Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan and every corner of Punjab but never reached Balochistan. And I

again mention Saindak, which is one of the biggest cooper projects and copper deposits. In that project, 50 per cent share is going to the Chinese, 45 per cent to the federal government while we are getting only 2 per cent. As for agriculture, we are 46 per cent of the land of Pakistan but we are not getting our due share of the Indus water. All we have is the scanty rainfall that goes waste. Millions of acres of our cultivable land are lying untilled. I am frankly telling what I have been telling at discussions, that let the resources of Balochistan be spent on Balochistan and we would not demand a penny from the central government. We have a small population and big land and large resources. I cite here the example of Reko Diq; It's a new copper - gold project which is around 60 year plus project with 100 plus billion dollars. Reko Diq can give food to the Baloch people. But if our resources are taken away from us and we are told that Balochistan has nothing then what would I do? Would I say OK or would I fight? Definitely, I would fight.

Now I come to the social problems of Balochistan. It is a semi tribal and semi-feudal society which is under the complete control of pro-establishment feudals and pro-establishment *sardars*. Practically, Balochistan has been leased out to these pro-establishment *sardars* and *Jageerdars*. They are 100 per cent anti-people and they have no affiliation with the people. This was the Sandeman policy which is still going on in Balochistan. Sandeman said that let's strengthen the *Sardar* and the *Sardar* will control the society for us. This is what is happening in Balochistan.

Culturally Balochistan is a rich society. I disagree with those who say that the Baloch and Brahvi were not aware of history. The Baloch speak three languages: Balochi, Barahvi and Saraiki. We made a proposal recently in the constitutional committee which was not accepted. Our demand was that Balochi, Pashto, Punjabi, Saraiki and Sindhi should be protected constitutionally. But I again say that there is a mindset which says that if you say Pakhtunkhwa you are betraying the country and if you say I am Baloch and I want my mother tongue to be promoted this mindset counters: *No, no. Urdu Qaumi zuban hai!!* But bhai *Urdu theek hai Qaumi zuban hai, rabtey ki zuban hai but meri qaumi zuban tu Balochi hai*. And I am proud of that.

Teen assemblyon ne kaha ke gee Pukhtunkhwa ka nam rakho, kiyon ke aik mindset hai gee ke Pukhtunkhwa Bacha Khan, Wali Khan aur Meer Ghos Bakhsb Bazinjo jo hai na woh Muslim League kay khilaf thay, lebara ham iss ko kaise tarha withdraw kar letey hain. Look at that psyche *aur iss psyche ke sath chalna bara mushkil ho jata hai, uss waqt log chaltey hain jab kamzor hon, jab takatwar hoon phir nahin chlaen gey, main apni baat nahin karta hoon, main sab ki baat karta hoon, ager main kehata hoon ke I should be constitutionally protected tu duniya jahan ke aa'in ke reference, India ke aur South Africa main ye ho raha hai, falan jaga ye ho raha hai, kehtey hain ke nahin nahin iss ko door sey salam, ye zubanoon ki baat nahin karoo, to main samajhta hoon ke every nation has the right to protect its culture. Ager aap cultures ko eliminate karo gey then again people will resist*.

The other problem in Balochistan is as to who will rule there? This is a very sensitive issue and very sensitive question. Who will rule in Balochistan and who will rule in Pakistan? Whether the people of Pakistan or the people of Balochistan or the agencies? This is the question!

*Badalna hai to rindon sey kabo apna chalan badlein,
Faqat saqi badalney say maykhanay na badlein gay.*

Ager agencyan Balochistan main election Karaen gi to Balochistan aur zjada azaab main ho ga. Let the people decide whether they would like the *mullah* or the *sardar* or the common people to rule them. This is the prerogative of the people but not the prerogative of the agencies. If you persist in this old policy I assure you there will be serious problems.

I have some suggestions to deal with the issue which is very sensitive and the suggestions are conflicting too. Some say that all is fine, but that is not true. We are facing a lot of problems: there is war and there is serious conflict. So you go for a dialogue with the militants. The problem of the missing persons needs attention. People want to see improvement there. Everybody is worried about the missing persons. It is every citizen's constitutional right and the states obligation that if anybody has done wrong he must be presented before the courts. The case of missing persons is a very critical question in Balochistan. So this is my humble request that for improving the situation in Balochistan opt for a dialogue and free all political workers. Also rehabilitate all the IDPs, specially the Maris and Bugtis who are now scattered all over the country. The important thing is to change the mindset. Every citizen of Pakistan has equal rights in all spheres of life. The Baloch should not be told that they are agents of India or Russia. Previously there was Russia, now they say it's India. The Baloch are nobody's agent. They are agents of their soil and its integrity. And this I am saying categorically. They just want their just rights.

These two, *Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan* and the constitutional package of which I am a member and which I did not oppose and signed it because I thought it was one step forward in the spirit of federalism. I know the ABC of federalism and my colleagues may know its XYZ, but it is not true federalism. The presence of the *Qarardad-e-Maqasid* is not the right thing for a federal set-up which should be secular and liberal. Anyhow it is one step forward and it is the need of the government and the establishment to implement these constitutional amendments as well as the *Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan*.

What is happening in *Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan*? What is this talk about 500 to 5000 jobs; my colleague Provincial Minister for Industries, Mir Ehsan Shah, is in a better position to explain than myself. They say that they are giving 20,000 jobs to Balochistan and then they say: "no, no, 5000, only 5000". What they are saying in effect is that they will pay the salaries for some years and then it would be the responsibility of the Balochistan government. What a joke? Look at the attitude of the establishment. They announced and signed the NFC but they changed the minutes of the NFC. There was a 10 per cent allowance on poverty and backwardness but in the notification there were no poverty and no backwardness funds. You are celebrating what you have done with the National Finance Award and one wonders if this is the trend, what is going to be the fate of the constitutional amendment.

I am very doubtful that the elites or the establishment will allow this country to become a federal state, but this is also clear, this is the 21st century; now everybody is aware as the media is very popular and civil society is very much popular and powerful. So it will be a disaster if the implementation of the 18th amendment is

stopped. It would be hard to imagine the kind of problems that would be created. Thank you very much.

Senator Dr Abdul Malik Baloch, President National Party (Balochistan), “Political Alienation & Marginalisation: Provincial Perceptions and Perspectives,” in *Balochistan: Rationalisation of Centre-Province Relations*, ed. Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri et al. (Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2010), 20-25.

GWADAR AS FUTURE ECONOMIC HUB

Gwadar is a Balochi word which means “Door of Wind”. However, considering its future potential, it can be referred to as the “Door of the Prosperity Wind”. Gwadar has a geo-strategic significance due to many reasons. It is on the conduit of three most commercially important regions of the world: the oil rich Middle East, Central Asia bestowed with natural resources and South Asia with potential for immense growth in this century.

Gwadar, known as a fishing village not so long ago, has become known the world over due to its geo strategic importance in the emerging trade horizon. It has all the characteristics of a natural port that can make it a preferred hub of international trade for the entire region if due attention is given to the fast development of its economic, commercial and trade potential.

It is my firm belief that via Gwadar we can take Pakistan to far greater heights, provided we exploit its potential, build it in a planned way and attract potential Pakistani and foreign investors. We shall need to evolve a strategy that would essentially entail hiring, harmonising and fruitfully utilising the services and expertise of both national and international experts and concerned people within the country.

Potential

Gwadar has enormous potential from all angles and dimensions, whether it is business, trade, manufacturing, storage or any kind of business activity, whether known today or emerging with the help of new technologies. Merely the construction of the Deep Sea Port will not serve the purpose till we explore all the potential of Gwadar, which we know but are not encashing. In short, any type of business activity is possible here due to many obvious reasons:

Deep Sea Port

The definition of a deep sea port is that the mother ship comes directly at the port and is unloaded. Presently, the depth is 14.5 m but ultimately it will be increased. It is visualised that 88 mother ships will anchor at a time by 2050. The port is equipped with essential port handling equipment and has the required infrastructure for smooth port operation. In phase-I (completed), 3 berths of the port are handling up to 25,000 to 30,000 DWT container vessels and bulk carriers respectively. In phase-II, it will have 9 additional berths.

- (i) Four container berths.
- (ii) One bulk cargo terminal (to handle 100,000 DWT ships).

- (iii) One Grain terminal.
- (iv) One Ro-Ro Terminal.
- (v) Two oil terminals (to handle 200,000 DWT ships).

Geographical Location

In comparison to Gulf ports, especially Dubai, it gives more facilities and will handle more cargo and trade because Gwadar is a deep sea port, is located at the mouth of the Gulf and is a gateway to Central Asian Republics (CARs) and Western China. For Dubai, ships have to wait for days for the route clearance due to the narrow Strait of Hormuz, where only a few ships can cross at a time. As far as the Iranian Ports (Chah Bahar and Bandar Abbas) are concerned, they will not be able to attract and generate business while the Iranian state remains hostile to major western powers. Moreover, these ports are in creeks and require colossal maintenance cost, which from a business point of view, is not so attractive.

Transit Trade

The land-locked Central Asian States are dependent on Gwadar. Similarly, Western China and North-Western India shall have a short route to the world market through Gwadar. Presently, transit trade facilities are provided to Afghanistan (from Karachi) and the same can be extended to CARs from Gwadar. The location of Gwadar Deep Sea Port is such that the whole world business converges and diverges at this place. In comparison, Dubai lacks all this.

Trans-shipment

The whole region, indeed the whole world can take advantage of trans-shipment facility that Gwadar offers. The transit cargo (liquid and dry both) can easily be hauled from Gwadar and transported to any part of the world in a short span of time, in comparison to other ports. Imagine a ship carrying 5,000 – 8,000 containers and the enormous warehousing, transportation and manpower that would be required to handle this massive cargo. For trans-shipment we have to give facilities as provided by the Dubai government to the investors. In the list of the world's busiest trans-shipment ports, Dubai is at number 8 and handling 322,050 TEU annually. It is 700 km ahead of us and has to pass through the Strait of Hormuz. It is high time to realise the importance of Gwadar in this respect as it does not require road infrastructure and other extra expenditure.

Warehousing/ Container Yards

For trans-shipment, warehousing and container yards will be needed. All cargo has to be unloaded and kept in warehouses before shipment. Similarly, all cargo unloaded from ships has to be stored in warehouses/container yards and then transported to their final destination. Being a deep sea port on the main shipping route, it will facilitate the movement of cargo. There will be a major requirement of warehouses, both open as well as bounded.

Transport

The movement of containers/cargo to and from the up countries will either be done through railway or heavy transport. The rail network should be laid by the government. There is a dire need for a modern railway network as the existing rail network is old and will not be able to sustain new load volume. For heavy road transport the private sector will be involved. The transport industry will have to import all kinds of vehicles and especially heavy vehicles for fast delivering of goods to the far destinations as well as within the city. Transportation of goods through air also stands a chance due to long distances, and for urgent deliveries, thus an international airport is required.

Trade and Business/Import and Export

The trade and business of all kinds and quantity will flourish. Import and export of all items and magnitude is possible, because the means of transportation like sea/road/rail (being developed) are available and linked with all important countries and trade routes. Gwadar shall be the “Meeting Point” for sellers and buyers of all kinds of merchandise.

Manufacturing Industries

Being a deep sea port and with facilities for transportation available, any industry can be set up here. The mineral resources of Central Asia have no shorter route to get transported and to reach world markets, than Gwadar. The developed world cannot reap these benefits except through Gwadar. It is a natural phenomenon that industry develops at all ports due to availability of all kinds of facilities.

Gas/Oil Refinery and Petro Chemicals

Gwadar Port should be termed as an energy port. The gas and oil deposits of CARs will find their new storage destination at Gwadar, because of its natural flow direction. Even Iran can benefit from Gwadar by securing an opening to the world market for gas and oil. The Pacific countries, India and other countries short of energy can easily be supplied Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) from Gwadar. There will be the need for an oil refinery rather an “Oil City” to cater for all these. China will be pumping Iranian gas through the proposed National Trade Corridor (NTC). Similarly the Middle Eastern oil will also be pumped to China, being cheap in terms of distance and time, through NTC.

Fisberies

Presently, fishery is one of the most important economic activities of Gwadar district, in which the majority of the population is engaged. The district has a 600 kilometers long coastline which is the inhabitant’s source of living. About one fourth of the total catch of different varieties in Pakistan is produced in Gwadar. At present there are two jetties (Gwadar and Pasni) in the district. The people are born fishermen but they need training in modern fishing techniques. On an annual basis there is potential for an additional catch of at least 70,000 tones. Fish processing at Gwadar is providing

employment to many of the local educated and uneducated youth. In case fish farming and shrimp farming are encouraged, it can double the quantity, besides improving the quality.

Tourism

The landscape of district Gwadar is unique in itself. The mud hillock looks as if carved by an artist. The two hammer heads of Gwadar and Ormara are matchless. The turquoise sea water with golden sand beaches facing south is unparalleled. The beaches can be used throughout the year. The tourism ministry has yet to realise the beauty and potential of beach tourism. They must be encouraged and pushed to market the area initially for locals and ultimately for foreigners. Across the sea, Dubai is attracting 6 million tourists a year, whereas we have yet to start tourism there. We should try to encourage and attract these tourists, as tourists from far flung countries would like to see another adjacent country, spending a meager amount by air or by ferry service. In case we are not able to attract international tourists, we can have domestic tourism in the initial stages. Being a new city and having virgin beaches, everybody would like to visit it once and then again and again.

Real Estate

Gwadar has great potential for the real estate business with the development of the port and the ensuing economic activity which will push up land costs proportionally with the level of progress the city achieves. Already there has been rush on prime land there along the coast line. This is going to increase even as the costs soar.

Construction

Presently, Gwadar has no building/accommodation to accommodate the human influx and store the bulk supplies of any kind. The construction industry has so much potential that one can start even from making bricks for the coming days when high rises will dot the Gwadar sky line.

Job Opportunities

The Gwadar project can provide job to thousands of people of the country in a short span of time, as everything new has to be developed and need for human resource, from labourers to executives, will be in tens of thousands. Developing new projects in the country has far reaching benefits in comparison to loans and outside jobs which one must beg to get.

Economic Significance of Gwadar

- a. Presently Gwadar is a fishermen's town, having a population of fifty thousand people. Gwadar is connected through a coastal highway, approximately 600 km long, with Karachi. The travelling time is 7-10 hours depending on the mode of transportation. Necessary road networks have been completed. The area west of Jinnah Avenue has been earmarked for residential and towards east for

commercial/industrial buildings. For Export Processing Zone (EPZ) 46,000 acres of land has been earmarked on the eastern side with 10 years tax holiday.

- b. **Future Trade Forecast:** The envisaged trade forecast for Gwadar port in early 2000, from Western China, Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan is as under; data about the proven reserves of minerals in Central Asian Republics as shown indicates the immense size of the cargo that Gwadar would one day be handling.

Category	Year		
	2005	2010	2015
Dry Cargo (million tones)	3.96	4.74	5.77
Liquid Cargo (million tones)	16.62	17.54	18.77
Container (1000 TEUs)	200	241	295
Trans-shipment (1000 TEUs)	200	250	300

Proven Reserves

Country	Crude Oil (Million Barrels)	Natural Gas (Trillion Cubic Feet)	Coal Million Short Tons)
Kazakhstan	5,417	65	37,479
Kyrgyzstan	40	0.2	895
Tajikistan	12	0.2	Minimal
Turkmenistan	546	101	Minimal
Uzbekistan	594	66.2	Minimal
Total	6,609 million barrels	232 trillion cu ft	38,374 million tons

Country	Petroleum (Thousand Capacity Barrels/Day)	Natural Gas (Billion Cubic Feet)	Coal (Million Short Tons)	Crude Oil Refining Capacity (Thousand Barrels/Day)
Kazakhstan	811	314.3	82.4	427
Kyrgyzstan	2.1	0.5	0.8	10
Tajikistan	0.4	1.4	0.02	0.4
Turkmenistan	159	1,642	0	237
Uzbekistan	137	1,992	3.3	222
Total	1,109	3,950	86	896

Besides the above, the other natural resources like gold, uranium, iron and marble are also in abundance. It will take centuries (minimum four centuries) to transport the natural resources of CARs to world markets through Gwadar. We must realise its potential and give access to these countries. In case we are able to attract the

natural resources of CARs, the transit fee/octroi, port handling and other charges will be in billions of dollars annually, besides other businesses and job opportunities.

Trade Prospects with Regional Countries

Being a deep sea port Gwadar will attract businesses of the region and the world like a magnet, because of its location. Trade and business flourish at port cities, and port cities are connected to all countries of the world having ports i.e. through sea we can be neighbours also:

Trade Prospects with CARs

The total population of CARs is 60 million and the land area is 4 million sq km (bigger than India). Three states i.e., Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have close geographical proximity with Pakistan and will be potential users of Gwadar port. The road distance from Turkmenistan to Gwadar is less than 1500 Km, whereas the nearest Black Sea Port of Odessa in Ukraine is more than 3000 km. Thus Gwadar becomes a viable option for CARs for transportation of their natural resources. The US has so far invested billions of dollars in Central Asia for gas/oil. The “Blue Gold” (natural gas) agreement worth US\$ 7.6 billion was signed amongst Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India (TAPI) in 2008. The government is planning a liquid gas plant at Gwadar for export purpose.

Trade Prospects with China

Gwadar port was constructed by China in 2005. China is also interested in buying thousands of acres of land and establishing an oil refinery/oil city. China is emerging as an economic giant. The western province of Xinjiang is approx 5000 km from Chinese ports on the east coast, whereas Gwadar is approximately 2500 km from Xinjiang province. More so, the travelling time for ships from the east coast to Dubai will take approximately 3 weeks to offload its cargo. The Karakoram Highway (KKH) already connects Pakistan with China and is being further widened. Construction work on M-8 (Gwadar–Khuzdar–Rato Dero) is already in progress and will connect Gwadar with Indus Highway and onward with KKH. It will be the preferred option for China to have trade via KKH/National Trade Corridor thus saving travelling time by 1/5th. China is also planning to pump Iranian gas and ME oil through this corridor. Besides this, the movement of containers/cargo through road and rail will be in millions of tons, having transit fee/octroi and other charges in billions.

Trade Prospects with Afghanistan

The country is full of natural resources but desperately needs a route to world markets. Historically and traditionally, Afghanistan has been doing trade and business with the sub-continent (now through Pakistan) for centuries. Afghanistan does not have many options and Gwadar suits her best from all perspectives, including demography. Presently, Afghanistan has transit trade through Pakistan. All the routes from CARs to Pakistan pass through Afghanistan, thus it will benefit from our trade with CARs. From TAPI, Afghanistan will get US\$160 million annually as transit fee.

Trade Prospects with India

The north-west part of India will prefer to have trade and business through Gwadar as it lies at a shorter distance than the Indian ports. The basic principle of trade of quantum magnitude is saving a penny a mile that adds up to millions. Due to close proximity to Lahore, the East Punjab will prefer Gwadar for their transit trade, provided we realise and allow it.

Trade Prospects within Country

Conceptually, the Gwadar Port was constructed as a deep sea port for trans-shipment and transit trade with China, Central Asia, Afghanistan etc, whereas Karachi and Qasim ports were to be used for up country inland consignments (hinterland). Due to its geographical location and being a deep sea port, it will be cheap in terms of transportation, as compared to other ports of the country.

Trade Prospects within the Province

Once Gwadar port is operationalised, the whole province's natural resources can be exported through Gwadar. Imagine the gold deposits of Reko Diq copper deposits of Saindak, marble and coal being transported to Gwadar and then onward to the world. Similarly, all the items imported for the province will be shipped to Gwadar. Thus the province will benefit the most as the entire port earnings including octroi charges from the point of origin till Gwadar port, and the Cost and Freight charges and other handling charges at the port, will be circulated within the province. To summarise, once the port is operationalised, the biggest beneficiary will be the province, whereas presently the biggest sufferer is Balochistan province.

Trade Prospects with Gulf Countries

The trade of the Gulf countries will flourish in case we encourage the regional countries to develop the region on the concept of EU as "Gulf Regional Business Hub" (or any other name) by inviting UAE, Muscat and Iran etc., with the understanding of complimenting each other rather than competing with each other. Gwadar will have a pivotal role because of its location, deep sea port, access to Central Asia and China.

Financial Aspects of the Port

If Karachi can generate 70 per cent revenue of the country and Jebel Ali can attract the regional business, then Gwadar has all the potential to attract world level businesses. By no means one should compare Gwadar with Karachi and Jebel Ali, however, the point is that Gwadar will generate finances and job opportunities that will be enough for the province and the country for centuries – "Balochistan is waiting for the Messiah to develop Gwadar".

The Challenges

It is a universal fact that mega projects have inherent mega problems. Similarly, Gwadar development process has to pass through many twists and turns, starting from the drawing board, till the docking of the first ship and so on. Though the government has played a yeoman role in seeing the project through, the real challenge lies ahead i.e., how to operate and develop the whole area as one inter-reliant, mutually complimenting and integrated complex. A few suggestions for the challenges and implementation phase are:

Policy

The government must have a sound, concrete and consistent policy with regard to all businesses in Gwadar. The policies may have equal, if not better, terms and conditions than Dubai, so as to attract the diaspora of myriad trade and business houses at the international level.

Dedicated Team

We need to create dedicated and harmonised teams from all over Pakistan (even from abroad, but the province's quota be kept) with vision and the capacity to implement the required projects/processes on ground in all fields. We have indeed capable people in the civil services, defence forces as well as in the private sector, who could deliver in the best and most efficient manner possible.

Marketing

We will need to put in place an integrated marketing policy in order to attract both Pakistani and international investors/entrepreneurs. It will have multiple advantages in the shape of much-needed investment, technical know-how, modern port handling techniques and latest commercial/trade trends, etc. The government should invite and involve all the stakeholders (Pakistanis as well as foreigners) who are interested in the furtherance of their genuine commercial interests in, and through, the port of Gwadar. Our embassies and the tourism ministry can be a great help towards this end.

Procurement of Land

Procurement of land by the government in bits and pieces is also discouraging the investors and locals. The government should procure the land it needs for its genuine requirements, once and for all, so that the investors are sure that their land would not be usurped or procured by the government, on one pretext or the other – howsoever genuine. However, under any such unavoidable eventuality, it must make sure to pay the market rates for the land acquisition, and remit the amount as early as possible.

Government Supervision

It is a mega-mega project which needs government supervision and encouragement at all levels. While such projects have inherent problems, if foreseen in time and taken

care of appropriately, no degree of malafide intentions, or machinations of disruptive forces can derail the development process.

Specialisation – The Key Word

We undoubtedly need specialists, whether Pakistanis or foreigners, to develop Gwadar. The specialists need to be hired for all the development works in the shape of port operations, trade and business, and other related activities being generated from one business to another. In the process our own people will also get trained and thus be able to develop the expertise to undertake other such gigantic projects.

Role of Different Segments

Government

The main actor is the Government. It must have firm, friendly and vibrant policies with regard to all developments and the people involved in the development process in any shape. For such a mega project where a deep-sea Port City has to be developed, requires a “de facto Prime Minister/an Effective Executive” who has the vision, power and ability to get work done on ground. The main advantage of this shall be to curtail the bureaucratic channels, remove day to day impediments and give a boost to the development process in a planned way in the shortest possible time. The Government should formulate policies and then only supervise its implementation, and leave the rest to the businessmen, investors and private sector to play their role. The government should also start thinking of shifting the provincial headquarters to Gwadar in case the whole coastal belt from Hub till Gwadar is to be developed.

Local

The people of the area are very cooperative and soft spoken. Locals at all levels should be encouraged to participate mentally as well as physically to play their role. The locals should be paid well for the land and properties bought from them and at the same time encouraged to enter into joint ventures so that the proceeds of their assets add to their wealth and give them a better life. To bring the locals at par with the rest of the country, the foremost thing is to give a good education system to the area which will benefit the locals in many ways e.g. they will be able to compete for any job and will run their own businesses efficiently.

Investors

All investors, especially rich people, are basically cowardly. Mostly the investors like to have a consistent business policy, and secondly they want a secure environment to operate in. It is the responsibility of the government to ensure both.

- (1) **Foreign Investors:** Foreigners should be encouraged to invest preferably in joint ventures. Firstly, to give them confidence and make them feel secure, and for other obvious advantages of foreign investors, like having technical know how, resources and a lot of spare money to invest.
- (2) **Pakistani Investors:** Pakistani investors within the country and outside should be encouraged to invest in Gwadar. I can say with conviction that

whosoever does not invest in Gwadar now, will repent in the future. Pakistani investors must be educated about the future prospects of Gwadar through seminars, print and electronic media. The Pakistani investors will have many advantages, like they are familiar with international business rules/regulations, and secondly they have their roots in Pakistan and would be glad to contribute in a dignified way for their own sake as well as for the country.

Strategy for Development

Gwadar should be like a state within a state and should be run by a capable body of the government. It should have its own boundaries, rules and regulations etc. But the right and share of the locals and province should be safeguarded, irrespective of what the cost may be. Gwadar should be developed in phases from the area comprising of east-west (Ormara till Jiwani) and in the north to which there is no limit. The area should be further sub-divided and sub-sub divided into different sectors. The area shall be zoned e.g. Jiwani should be developed as a tourism hub including the coastal belt; Pasni as a fisheries hub; Ormara should develop due to the presence of the Navy and they should be tasked to establish educational institutions; Gwadar and the area towards the east and the north should be developed as industrial-cum-commercial zone and the area towards the west as residential. The whole area should be secured through natural barricades (hills etc) and fenced.

Initially all-out efforts should be made to create a conducive and secure environment which will only be possible if a dedicated team is deputed to do this work. Once it takes a start, it will be easy to tie up the loose ends. It is just like the process of grinding where the material is brought to its required shape. We are the same material which is working in Dubai, UK and USA etc. There our behavior and attitude is absolutely good and we excel also. If we are able to create an environment as of Dubai, then our own people will prefer to work here rather than going abroad. Once an individual undergoes such a process, on return he brings a good attitude and inculcates it in his family, and so a family is trained. Now this family will inculcate the same in the village, town, city and so on. Similarly, any foreigner working in Gwadar should have a comfortable working environment so that he goes back to his native country with only words of praise for Gwadar and the people of Pakistan who are so nice and easy to work with. This way he will encourage other people, and having a good impression of Pakistanis at Gwadar, he will also prefer to do business in other cities of Pakistan. This two- pronged strategy will help in the overall development of Pakistan which will ultimately discourage the growth of extremism. Gwadar shall be the "Face of Pakistan". The people inside and outside the country should quote Gwadar as an example of a successful business hub.

Benefits at World Level

Gwadar is the key to many development processes in the region and the world. The energy provided through Gwadar to India/China/Pacific will bring light to many homes of the poor; at the same time many houses of the developed countries will be

decorated/beautified due to natural resources of Central Asia. Let's see the advantages each country will get in return for their businesses at Gwadar:

- a. USA: Keeping eye on Central Asian resources and exploit them for economic and political benefits.
- b. China: Sees her future expansion in business, and wants to curtail time in reaching world markets through Gwadar.
- c. Russia: Wants to reach warm waters to have round the year business through Gwadar.
- d. Central Asia: Shorter route to world markets for supply of natural resources through Gwadar.
- e. Europe: Shall have easy access to Central Asia through Gwadar, as soon as the US anchors the first commercial ship.
- f. Africa: Will help Africa in linking and developing with China through Gwadar.
- g. Pacific: The energy crisis can be overcome by providing Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) from Gwadar.
- h. India: India will prefer Gwadar over her ports due to short route to her north-western parts.

There is hardly any region left which will not benefit because of Gwadar. Common sense dictates that if a location is so beneficial, why should we not develop it to our advantage? For this the simple answer is, just give a few important facilities at Gwadar and encourage the above mentioned countries. They will come for their own advantage, but in the process we will develop and benefit.

Golden Route

Those who can think and realise, shall see a road map being developed from Gwadar till China/Central Asia. In the process a "Golden Route" is in the making between these countries/cities. The volume of vehicles plying on this route will generate business and prosperity at each and every point, provided we have a proactive mind set, and let our head and hands work for it. (See Annex A).

Security

A low profile security arrangement should be created with the help of electronic surveillance, and people in civilian clothes, rather than having security people in different uniforms, giving an impression of a besieged city. In the later stage aerial security can also be undertaken in the shape of a helicopter just watching the main roads like Coastal Highway, M-8 and other important places. For the time being, there is not much of a security problem, but for future it must be planned.

Construction of Other Ports

Gwadar is a God-gifted natural deep sea port, whereas Karachi and Qasim ports are not. It is worth mentioning that Gwadar port was constructed for less than 20 billion rupees, whereas, Karachi port is being developed as a deep sea port for more than 100

billion rupees. Besides this, the maintenance cost of the Karachi port would be four times as compared to Gwadar port. The construction of Sonmiani/Karachi/Qasim ports as deep sea ports is a wise decision, but with unwise timing. We have Gwadar as a deep sea port and we have yet to operationalise and develop Gwadar for lack of sincerity, technical knowhow, funds and a number of other reasons. For the time being, the development of Gwadar with focused aim will have many advantages. Firstly, the port has been constructed and only needs to be operationalised. Secondly, everybody involved with it will get the expertise of development of a new port. Thirdly, it will generate income for construction of other ports. We wish and pray that the whole coastal belt be developed and ports/deep sea ports be constructed at Port Qasim, Karachi, Ormara, Pasni and Jiwani, rather on every inch of our coastal belt, but we must first operationalise the Gwadar port which is ready, and at the same time give Balochistan province what is due.

Honorary Committee

While in Pakistan committees of all sorts abound without much purpose or benefit, I sincerely propose a committee that should comprise the stakeholders at Gwadar, including the locals. The primary aim of this committee would be to report on the development work and its effects, both positive and negative, on the overall development of Gwadar, i.e., implementation progress and pitfalls, while the secondary aim could include concrete proposals for future development and prospects. The committee should have no salaries, incentives or perks and privileges. It should be selected by the President/Prime Minister.

Recommendations

- a. Gwadar Port should be operationalised on priority basis by attracting commercial ships and having trans-shipment as the area's development and economic prospects are synonymous with it.
- b. The transit trade with China/CARs be started forthwith as coastal highway can take the load volume. However, the M-8 road/railway be completed on priority.
- c. Gwadar should be developed as an economic hub by exploring its full potential by deputing specialists and efficient staff under an effective executive.
- d. Gwadar be developed as per the aspirations of the people of Balochistan and the rights of the locals be safeguarded at all cost. The people be educated as a priority and encouraged to participate in the development projects there. They should have joint ventures with parties with know how and resources.
- e. The Government should have a vibrant but firm and consistent business and trade policy in Gwadar.
- f. The foremost effort of the government should be to operationalise Gwadar Port first, and thereafter develop other ports.
- g. Marketing at international level should be done to attract foreigners as well as Pakistanis living abroad.

- h. Fool proof and low key security arrangements should be made.
- j. An honorary committee should be constituted to periodically and regularly report to the President/Prime Minister directly, on the progress and development of the Gwadar project.

Conclusion

Initially I thought that Gwadar will become Dubai, but once I realised its true potential, I said that Dubai will be in the pocket of Gwadar. Once again I thought more, and I concluded that it is a disgrace to Gwadar to compare it with Dubai. Now, further analysing the potential of Gwadar, I feel that Gwadar has the potential to become a role model for the world, provided we exploit its potential.

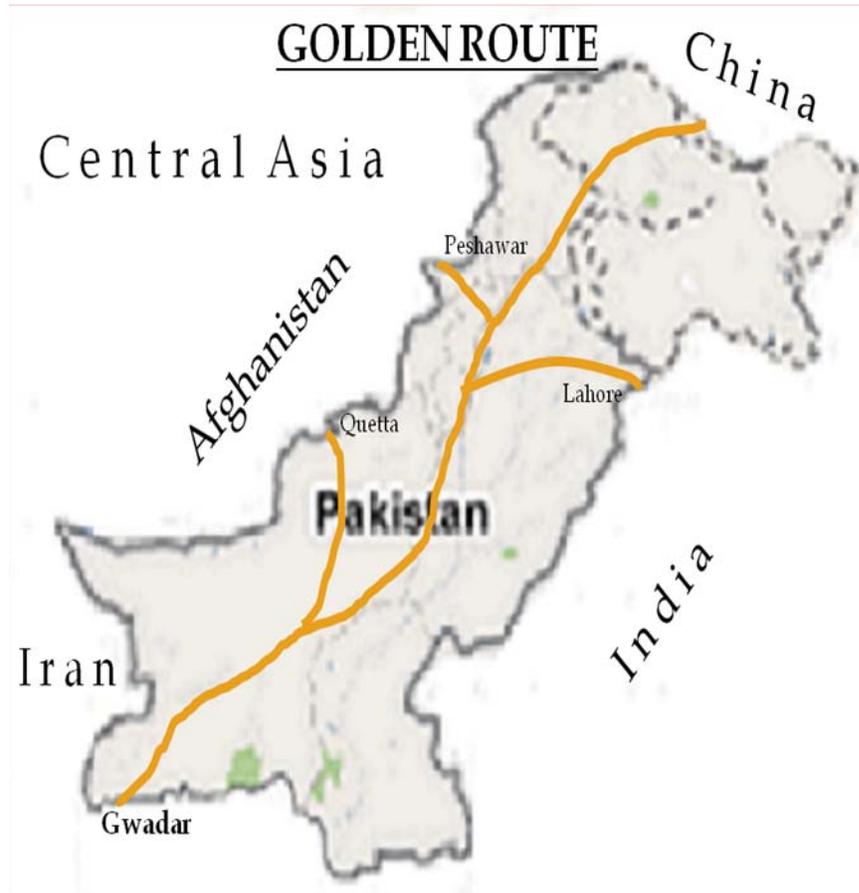
Let us develop Gwadar as an economic hub with Islamic values, where business and trade is conducted as per the norms of our ancestors, whose stories we narrate and hear, but do not emulate.

To summarise, Gwadar is destined to change the economic outlook of Pakistan, and will bring prosperity to each individual, province and the country, *InshaAllah*. The motto should be “Build Gwadar and Develop Pakistan”.

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Annex: A



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A ROUNDTABLE ON CONFLICT IN BALOCHISTAN

Pak Institute for Peace Studies conducted a roundtable on conflict in Balochistan on 4th February 2011 in Islamabad. The participant speakers included political leaders from Balochistan, representatives of civil society and development organizations, media persons and scholars. PIPS Director Muhammad Amir Rana coordinated the discussion. The purpose of the roundtable was to share with the participants key findings of a recently published PIPS report on conflict assessment of Balochistan and get insight into how the recommendations offered in the report could be strengthened and turned into practical programs of development.

In his opening remarks PIPS Director Muhammad Rana noted that Baloch insurgency had spread to almost all parts of Balochistan and without genuinely

addressing the demands of Baloch people and taking on board all the stakeholders, an amicable solution of the problem could not be worked out. He maintained that measures like 7th National Finance Commission Award (NFC), Balochistan Package and 18th Constitutional Amendment were the steps in the right direction. However, without their judicious implementation any reduction in violence did not look possible.

Research Analyst at PIPS Abdul Basit presented the summary of the PIPS report on “Conflict and Insecurity in Balochistan: Assessing Strategic Policy Option for Peace and Security.” After highlighting various aspects of Balochistan conflict along with policy recommendations, he asked the participants of the discussion to propose suggestions for programmatic interventions in the province with a view to promote peace.

A summary of participants’ comments is given below:

Mr Abdul Basit Mujahid

General Secretary, Balochistan Intellectual Forum, Islamabad

A series of incidents and broken pledges have eroded Balochistan’s trust in the Center. Without mobilizing the political will of the state actors to resolve the conflict in Balochistan nothing can be achieved. Announcing different packages and awards for Balochistan is not what the province needs. The 1973 Constitution, if implemented in its true letter and spirit, can pave the way for peace. However, without the political will of the federal and political governments and sincerity of Baloch elders this is least likely to happen. The current provincial assembly of Balochistan does not represent whole of the province. The present governments are doing nothing except paying mere lip services to the problems of Balochistan. Islamabad is acting like a silent spectator. Baloch people believe there is nobody sincere enough in Islamabad to address the woes and sufferings of the Baloch people.

Ms Safiya Aftab

Chief Executive, Strategic and Economic Policy Research (SEPR), Islamabad

Political considerations related to economic matter are stronger in Balochistan than other federating units of Pakistan. However, bad governance and corruption in various announced policies and development plans hinders the efforts to make headways in current state of affairs in the province. Politics impacts economy, which is a real concern of the aggrieved Baloch. The real issue is how to ensure implementation of development and political initiatives.

Mr Syed Ziaul Noor

Country Head, The Muslim Hands

Baloch leadership is equally responsible for the suffering of the Baloch people. Instead of blaming the Center all the time, Baloch leadership needs to put its own house in order first. Balochistan’s leadership is part of the problem as it is insensitive and hardly bothers about sufferings and rights of the Baloch. Meanwhile at the national level leadership is not responsive either. At national level no accountability is maintained for funds and budgets allocated for Balochistan. There is a need to improve the

accountability mechanisms as well as a strict monitoring of various development projects. Muslim Hands has been working in health and education sectors in 11 districts of Balochistan since 2003 and not a single school has been threatened or closed down so far. It has established 251 primary schools and more than 2,000 students are enrolled there and most of them are girls. Baloch people and even local community leaders are development friendly. It is imperative to invest in education and infrastructure in Balochistan.

Mr Fadullah Wilmot

Country Director, Islamic Relief

There is not much difference between 1971 situation in Bangladesh and current state of affairs in Balochistan. If things are not taken care of there is very likelihood of history of 71 crises repeating itself in Balochistan. The discriminatory policies of the center have contributed to a strong sense of alienation in the people. People at community level need peace. Instead of paying lip service, it is about time that international development community and donors should come up with concrete plans and measures. Even small scale projects like installations of water hand pumps, digging of tube wells and addressing problem of sanitation can help in minimizing the violence in the province. Security forces' training programs can be started. There is also need to develop infrastructure in the province. Moreover, human rights violation is another problem which should be addressed forthwith. Local communities should be empowered. A lot of investment is required in health sector.

Mr Raees Gul Zaman

President, Balochistan Mines and Gold Association

The ills in Balochistan exist due to illiteracy, higher rates of unemployment and erroneous policies of the central government. There is no comparison of level of education of Karachi and Lahore with that of Quetta or any other district of Balochistan. To make intervention of international development community more meaningful and result-oriented they should consult with the local leaders at the community level. Local community leaders can best apprise them of what kind of development projects are needed in various areas of Balochistan and how they can be implemented. There are vast mineral and marble resources which can be tapped as well to generate employment opportunities for Baloch youth.

Dr Abdul Maalick Baloch

President, National Party (NP)

The report by the PIPS is an objective analysis of Balochistan conflict and recommendations are very relevant. Balochistan faces two major issues: attitude of the establishment which needs Baloch resources but not its people; and a genuine leadership crisis. Establishment leased the province to feudal lords and *Sardars*. Over the years elections were state managed and engineered which barred the real public representatives from reaching assemblies. Out of 92 *Sardars* in Balochistan only three have been anti-establishment. To reinforce their position of authority not just *Sardars* but even the establishment discourages education. Higher Education Commission

(HEC) spends Rs 20,000 per annum on one university student in Balochistan, while in other provinces the amount is Rs 140,000 per annum. It is imperative to invest in people-friendly development, that is, development for people of the area and not such projects which are not benefitting the local people.

The international community should influence the government to give up human rights violations in Balochistan and produce all the illegally detained and missing persons. Center is doing to Balochistan what Sinhalis did to Tamils in Sri Lanka. In 21st century nations cannot be eliminated. So instead of trying to enslave people of Balochistan, a solution should be worked out which gives Baloch people their constitutional rights with dignity and honour.

Mr Naseer Memon

Chief Executive, Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO)

Balochistan is one manifestation of multiple types of crisis unfolding in Pakistan polity. Pakistani state as a whole is responsible for the existing ills in Balochistan. The fundamentals need to be corrected. If document of 1948 instrument of accession agreed between Baloch people and newly independent state of Pakistan is implemented honestly the issue of Balochistan can be resolved. Autonomy without possession of resources and representation at federal/national level is useless. It is analogous to treatment meted out to Bengalis in 1971 and same is being repeated here. The policy of branding people as traitors or patriots is fatally problematic and it has generated violence.

The mainstream intelligentsia of Pakistan is also becoming a partner in crime by remaining silent and indifferent to sufferings of Baloch people. The right of the Baloch people over natural resources should be accepted and respected. The policy of sucking all resources and not giving due share to the Baloch is highly unfair. Moreover, equal representation of Baloch at all levels should be ensured. There is a need to increase resource allocation for human development as well. Balochistan Package is a good step but its judicious implementation is vital, which is becoming a victim of bureaucratic bottlenecks. If negotiation with Taliban and India can be conducted then why talks cannot take place with Baloch insurgents? It is good to have a meaningful dialogue with all the resisting elements that have picked up arms and have revolted against the state.

Professor Abdul Wadood

President, Balochistan Intellectual Forum

The PIPS recommendations are very much relevant. But who will implement? You should have invited the security establishment and state as well in this discussion. Without changing the mindset of the security establishment positive progress on Balochistan conflict is not possible. Baloch leaders are being assassinated in mysterious ways. Then how trust can be restored? There is a dire need to create an atmosphere of mutual trust which is based on honor; only then an amicable solution can be worked out.

Mr Shahzada Zulfiqar*Quetta-based journalist*

The situation of education facilities in Baloch-dominated areas is worrisome. The other communities in Balochistan such as Pashtun and settlers are far ahead in that regard. Closing the doors of education to Baloch masses is an unforgivable crime. Turning a military cantonment in Sui into a military college, a step government took recently, is however a good step. Moreover, dialogue is the need of the hour but issue of missing persons is a stumbling block in the way. Since June 2010, at least 93 Baloch youths were killed and their decomposed dead bodies were thrown in isolated open areas. Perishing the Baloch militant is no solution but a recipe for further violence. They are Pakistanis and persistent efforts should be made to convince them to give up the armed struggle and come to negotiation table. Human development and education should be the top priorities for peacemaking efforts in Balochistan. There is also need to look into how the political governments can be strengthened.

Dr Ismail Baledi*Senator and Leader of JUI-F*

Several proposals are discussed and recommended to the government but they are never implemented. Such things have been going on inside and outside the parliament but all suggestion of solving the issue of Balochistan fall on the deaf ears of insensitive leaders. Security establishment has been rigging elections in Balochistan and the real representatives of the people have been barred from contesting elections. The real issue right now is who the real representative of Baloch people is. Balochistan was part of Pakistan only in theory not in practical terms. Out of 56 federal secretaries in federal bureaucracy no one is from Balochistan. Without cultivating trust based on equality and honor, positive headways in Baloch conflict are not possible. Moreover, human rights violation on the part of security forces feeds violence and separatist fervor. In line with 1973 constitution, Balochistan needs its due rights and not concessions. An all-party convention, under the supervision of Pakistan's President, be convened which should chalk out agenda of negotiations with Baloch separatists.

Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, March 2, 2011,
<http://san-pips.com/index.php?action=events&id=76>

STRONG BALOCHISTAN, STRONG PAKISTAN

Development for all is the phenomenon to enable all members of the society to play pivotal role in their respective spheres. Due to the decades long elite led system of the governments and the political chaos in the country many of the areas remained undeveloped. Balochistan is the province which has seen numerous experiences during the course of time. People who use to blame the governments for its backwardness were some how or the other had been part of the said governments. Most of the political leadership kept on doing gimmicks in the name of backwardness of the province and tactfully inculcated the germs of hatred among the youth of the province against the state. Many of the quota seats remained vacant in civil servant jobs due to non availability of the right candidates from the province. As for the technical and

professional education like medical and engineering are concerned that remained a dream for the youth due to non availability of the quality education in the province.

The deprivation would haven't been converted into anger and hatred against the state if the quarters concerned had played their role in provision of the basic rights and of course the education and awareness to the general masses. Despite hectically engaged in securing the boundaries of the motherland and fighting war on terrorism Pakistan army under the brilliant leadership of its chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani has stepped forward to deliver its maximum to take Balochistan on the highway of development, awareness, empowerment by making its youth professionally strong enough to compete the other world.

General Kayani has inaugurated Quetta Institute of Medical Sciences (QIMS) which will be a landmark in the health sector. Mr. Ainullah Shams Balochistan health minister apprised the audience that it would be the second ever medical college in the province after 1972 when Bolan medical college was established. Obviously it was tough for a single medical facility to coup up the needs of the province. The students will be facilitated in the medical institute being established in the heart of the capital city. It's the unique example of offering professional medical knowledge to the youth at their doorstep. The same has been completed within a record one year time. General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani reiterated that QIMS sort of institutions were not for the commercial purposes. First ever session of the institute will be starting in the month of November. The most powerful aspect of the said institute is resolve of the COAS that more than of 80 percent of the students will be taken from among the youth of Balochistan. Despite this Pakistan army is running about 44 schools and 6 colleges in which 23,322 Balochi students are under education. Under the Chamalang beneficiary program 4418 students are getting education in different educational institutes of the country, which includes Lawrence College Murree, PAF public school lower topa, divisional public schools and army public schools.

It gives an in-depth gratification that the present military leadership is pertinent to give boost to the Balochi youth towards positive aspects of life by providing them life time opportunity to gain professional excellence in certain fields. COAS heartily expressed that "strong Balochistan is the base of strong Pakistan". The elements which are behind unrest in the certain areas of Balochistan province are in fact after stability of the country. Proofs of neighboring countries both Islamic and non Islamic have been found that the same are actively supporting subversive elements to malign government, security forces and intelligence agencies which work in greater interest of the motherland. Media's role in it is really very important as it should highlight the positive steps taken at the part of the civil government and the army to improve the aggravated situation of the province and not to give hype to the people working against this land. So in the ongoing environment when some of the elements are behind peace of Balochistan and specially the capital city Quetta by initiating target killing sort of crimes which create uncertainty among the masses efforts like maintaining law and order at the part of FC Balochistan are appreciable.

Pakistan army is not only concerned about the subversive elements active in the province but is going all out to do its best in the fields of education, health and sports as well. COAS in his recent visit to Quetta also inaugurated Garrison sports complex at Khojak Road, Quetta which is like a centre point between civil area and the cantonment. It is going to provide state of the art facilities to the sportsmen of the

province. Balochistan is no doubt a place of daring and brave people who believe in tough sports like boxing, karate, judo, taikwondo etc. The sports complex which is the brain child of the Commander Southern Command Lieutenant General Javed Zia has provided the first ever well equipped gym and sports facility to the locals. It will help diverting youth's attention from negative activities towards positive and healthy activities like sports.

Yousuf Alamgirian, *Pakistan Observer* (Islamabad), August 25, 2011,
<http://www.pakobserver.net/201108/25/detailnews.asp?id=110804>

BALUCHISTAN'S UPLIFT TOP PRIORITY: PM

Prime Minister Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani on Monday described integrated development of Balochistan the top most priority of PPP-led federal government which is evident from the unprecedented increased share of the province in NFC Award, the employment quota of Balochistan in the federal departments and development share of the province in the federal PSDP.

Talking to a PPP Balochistan delegation led by provincial president Mir Sadiq Umrani here, the Prime Minister mentioned Aghaz-e-Huqooq Balochistan package, payment of Rs. 120 billion under Balochistan gas development surcharge and royalty which had been outstanding against the federal government since the gas was discovered from the province and several other initiatives being taken by the federal government for development of Balochistan.

He said Rs. 20 billion had already been paid to the province while remaining Rs. 100 billion would be paid in 10 installments. He termed the payment of gas dues to the province a historic step which had been made possible by the PPP government.

The Prime Minister said that Managing Director of Overseas Pakistanis Foundation had been appointed from Balochistan while boards of all corporations of the federal government are being restructured in order to give due representation to Balochistan in their boards.

Referring to the share of Balochistan in NFC Award, the Prime Minister said it has been increased from 5.1 percent to 9.09 percent which increased Rs. 50 billion for the province in the divisible pool.

Besides, an amount of Rs. 3 billion had also been given by the federal government under Quetta package and the amount is being utilized on development of infrastructure in the province.

He said information technology centre at Balochistan University of Information Technology has also been established at a cost of Rs. 460 million which is about to be completed.

The Prime Minister said the parliamentarians from the province had been provided Rs. 13.7 billion from the PM special fund in order to carry out development schemes in their respective areas.

On the occasion, the Prime Minister announced establishing of campuses of Balochistan University of Information Technology at Zhob, Kalat, Noshki, Pishin Qilla Abdullah and Gawadar districts.

He said LPG plants are also being established at Noshki, Dalbandin and Surab. The Prime Minister also referred to his decision to ensure additional privileges to the

individuals from the province who had been recruited in the federal capital so that they could live a decent life.

He also referred to the Prime Minister's Scholarship scheme for the students from Balochistan and said under the scheme, the scholarship holders would study in the prestigious institutions of the country on the government expenses.

Besides, Benazir Income Support Programme had been extended to all 30 districts of the province while 600 students from the province would be granted PhD scholarships at a cost of Rs. 50 billion, he added.

The Prime Minister also announced an amount of Rs. 0.5 million as financial assistance for Dur Mohammad, a citizen of Quetta who lost his family member in an act of terrorism in the provincial capital.

About law and order situation in the province, the Prime Minister said it was the responsibility of the provincial government to maintain law and order.

He, however, assured for the directing the provincial government to take concrete steps in this regard.

Earlier, the delegation members were briefed about the progress on Aghaz-e-Huqooq Balochistan package and recruitment of the youth from Balochistan in various federal government departments.

Complete progress on 31 policy actions out of a total of 61 initiatives under Balochistan package had been achieved while work on remaining initiatives is in progress with rapid pace.

About recruitment of the youth from Balochistan in the federal departments, the delegation members were briefed that appointments on 200 seats of a total of 350 reserved seats for Balochistan in Pakistan Coast Guard had been made besides relaxing the qualification criteria in favor of the youth from the province from matriculation to middle.

Besides, 67 youth from Balochistan had been recruited in Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), three in Civil Defense Department, 68 in PWD, 70 in Utility stores corporations, 7 in Planning and Development Division, 50 in Anti Narcotics Force and three in Ministry of Defense.

Six percent employment quota of Balochistan had been reserved in Chief Commissioner Office Islamabad, Passport and National Database and Registration Authority.

The delegation members including Saifullah Pracha, Mir Baz Mohammad Khetran, Rozi Khan Kakar, Abdul Ghani Kakar, Jamal Khan Jomezai, Syed Iqbal Shah, Bismillah Khan Kakar and others expressed their complete confidence in the leadership of President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani.

They said the reconciliation policy of the PPP-led government was bearing its result and created an environment of consensus at all issues across the country.

They lauded the government efforts for Balochistan under which Aghaz-e-Huqooq Balochistan package was announced. They said the present government is committed for integrated development of the province which is evident from the frequent visits of Prime Minister Gilani to the province.

Pakistan Observer (Islamabad), October 11, 2011,
<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=119040>

PROOF OF FOREIGN HAND IN BALOCHISTAN

It was on October 7, 2011 that Inspector General FC Balochistan told newsmen that certain groups in Afghanistan were exporting terrorism to the province. He categorically stated that peace of Balochistan and Afghanistan was inter-connected, there was evidence of Afghan soil being used for anti-Pakistan activities and that vehicles used in terrorist incidents in Balochistan come from across the border. And two days later, a meeting of the provincial cabinet devoted to law and order was told that law-enforcing agencies have busted about 150 cells of criminals involved in target killing and incidents of robbery in the province. The meeting was also informed that elements opposed to peace were taking advantage of porous border with Iran and Afghanistan to carry out their subversive activities and that there was enough proof of foreign involvement in the province. All this makes it abundantly clear that foreign forces and elements were exploiting the situation in Balochistan as part of their nefarious designs to destabilize the country. This is also borne out by the fact that Afghanistan and some European countries have been playing host to some of those involved in criminal and anti-state activities. The briefing given to the provincial cabinet portrayed the situation in a manner as if everything was well under control of the government as criminals are being brought to book but the ground situation speaks otherwise as innocent people still lose their lives in target killings and state symbols are being targeted in incidents of terrorism and sabotage. All this is happening with active support of some foreign forces but unfortunately we have miserably failed to sensitise the international community about this dangerous dimension of the situation. We would reiterate our demand to present culprits and other evidence about foreign involvement on television channels and also take up the issue with members of the international community through an aggressive diplomatic campaign.

Editorial, *Pakistan Observer* (Islamabad), October 12, 2011,
<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=119267>

THE BALOCH YOUTH

The prime minister may have reiterated his offer of dialogue with what he calls angry Baloch leaders, expressing readiness even to go to their doorsteps to listen to their “grievances”. But, bluntly, they are no leaders but hereditary princes holding their tribes in their serfdom with their ferocious private armies at their command. And it is not the wellbeing of the Baloch people that sits at the heart of their “anger”. It is their own vaulting ambitions for greater personal economic affluence and more strength to their muscle power that solely impel them and lead up to their grouses out of their frustrations in not getting wholly what they want on this count. This is the palpable bland truth. Their own demands they artfully dress up as the Baloch people’s grievances. And no lasting peace can even be hoped for in Balochistan by going after massaging these princes’ large egos and appeasing them by conceding their endless demands. A meaningful venture to this end could only be the emancipation and empowerment of the enslaved Baloch commoners, particularly their youth. And this Baloch youth is, demonstratively, a mountain of oceanic hidden treasures of boundless talent and unfathomable energy. The Baloch youths who have somehow broken out

from their oppressive princes' shackles have impressively shown the enormous mettle this youth is intrinsically made of. They have admirably made their mark in various fields, rising to the pinnacles of diverse professions and services. They have made respectable professionals, renowned doctors, prominent lawyers, reputed civil servants and remarkable generals. But this Baloch youth is chronically the nation's most wronged and neglected segment. He indeed is the pathetic forlorn victim of a double whammy. The princes callously use the Baloch youths in their serfdoms as the gun fodder for their feuds and fracas. The federal governments have throughout followed the policy of keeping the princes in good humour, while dealing an ignoble total disinterest to the commoners. All the time, they have been hankering after keeping the princes happy by satiating their unquenchable thirst for fattening up their financial and muscle powers in every manner. And all along they have given a short shrift to the uplift of the Baloch commoners, especially their youth brimming with talent, promise and energy. It is only now that opportunities are being opened up to the Baloch youth to grow, flourish and advance as a fuller respectable human being. Apart from recruitment to its officers corps and ranks by lowering the qualification criterion, the army has laid out a remarkable chain of educational institutions for Baloch youths' schooling, higher learning and training in various trades and skills. In thousands, the chain will produce professional and skilled manpower on its conveyor belt regularly for the province to meet its trained hands' needs from its own human reservoir. More, Balochistan is admittedly enviably rich in natural wealth. Yet, while appallingly the princes have all through been self-servingly bemoaning of the province's rich mineral resources being plundered for others', not its residents', good, they never ever raised a voice for even establishing an institute of mineralogy in the province for producing specialised trained local manpower to exploit this natural wealth. Nor they acted to this end when not infrequently they held the reins of state power in the province. It is the army that has taken an initiative in this regard, not even the incumbent provincial administration. Anyway, some measures like giving jobs to the province's educated youth under the Balochistan package should certainly help bring the Baloch youth upfront. But far more robust efforts are still needed to help this promising youth to show its mettle fully and vibrantly. The state hierarchs must understand that the key to permanent peace and tranquility in Balochistan as well as its socio-economic advancement lies not in appeasing and molycoddling the Baloch princes. The surest way to it is the emancipation, empowerment and advancement of its commoners, the Baloch youth in particular. And it really hurts that Levies force has been revived in a patently politically expedient move. Since the recruitment to the force is to be from the tribes, Levies will predictably be crammed up with the Baloch princes' favourites and appointee. Resultantly, the recruits will be loyal not to the state authorities but to their benefactor princes whose muscle power they will beef up muscularly. On another plane, while the security forces in the province must be bound on the pain of penalty to strictly abide by law in their actions, the commission on missing persons must be energised in every manner to find out the whole truth, establish the facts and bring the real culprits to justice. This is an extremely saddening humanitarian issue that must be brought to a denouement sensitively. And the state authorities imperatively must be very elaborative on their stance about the foreign hands' involvement in the province's disturbed conditions. They must identify unambiguously these foreign hands and their

local collaborators. No hedges are acceptable. At stake is our most sensitive strategically-located province's peace and stability.

Editorial, *Frontier Post* (Peshawar), October 13, 2011,
<http://www.thefrontierpost.com/?p=67211>

BALUCHISTAN QUAGMIRE

A home-grown insurgency can be handled through political engagement and reconciliation process. But if the insurgency is hijacked by foreign hands then it becomes a security risk for the country. Balochistan is a political problem and needs a political settlement. If political leadership does not deal with the crises sensibly the history of 1971 could be repeated. The present situation in Balochistan has been aggravated by foreign meddling. Prime Minister Gilani is known to have provided the proof of Indian interference to his Indian counterpart during their meeting in Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt. Manmohan Singh was astonished to see the dossier that included photographs of Brahamdagh Bugti and other terrorists meeting Indian agents not only in Afghanistan but also during their visits to India, together with the names of the Indian officials who met them. This evidence proved Pakistan's allegations that India was involved in recruiting, training, financing and arming terrorists in Afghanistan to feed the insurgency in this troubled province of Pakistan. The US is also suspected of providing tactical support to India and Israel who want to loosen the federal structure of Pakistan and strengthen fissiparous tendencies in other parts of the country also. The Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), and Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in New Delhi, have organised seminars and conferences in the recent past featuring Balochistan. To these conferences titled "South Asia 2020 regarding Balochistan" and "Pakistan is the Problem in Balochistan" selected dissident Baloch leaders were invited to slander Pakistan. Some of these gatherings were held behind closed doors and were presided over by former high ranking officials of RAW and Indian military. The speech delivered by Dr. Wahid Baloch, General Secretary of the American Friends of Balochistan (AFOB) at one of these conferences exposed the designs of the separatist groups. Making false allegations against Pakistan, he said, "Balochistan still remains under the occupation of Pakistan and the international community should interfere in preventing atrocities on the Baloch people, being committed by Pak Army and ISI..." Dr. Wahid repeated the rumours in western and Indian press about the presence of Quetta Shura and Taliban leaders in Balochistan. The BLA and another group, Jundollah (God's soldiers), which have been fighting for secession of the province get logistic support from RAW and CIA, and are also working against the cordial relationship of Pakistan with China and Iran that both India and the US want disrupted..

Balochistan is Pakistan's largest province, comprising approximately 43% of the country's total land area. It is rich in mineral resources and is the second major supplier of natural gas in an energy-starved Pakistan. Control over these resources and the extent of provincial autonomy have long remained contentious issues. All across the Baloch political spectrum, people have two main worries, one 'enforced disappearances'; and second, the presence of military. But a larger political issue that

frustrates the provincial psyche is the exclusion of the Baloch people from the decision making process.

These well defined complaints that could be resolved through administrative and political measures have been compounded by sectarianism, extremism and tribal rivalries within the body politic of the province. While the simple Baloch and Pashtun masses watch helplessly an armed insurgency is gathering ground in the province through the violent activities of armed bands financed and supported by foreign agents. Innocent people are being killed, harassed and intimidated by these gangs.

Targeted killings and kidnappings for ransom that are a daily occurrence are easily blamed on government agencies. Members of religious minority communities are at greater risk and have been forced to migrate to other parts of the country and abroad. The nationalist groups are also targeting settlers from other parts of Pakistan who have been living there for decades. The federal government has been trying for a political solution alongside economic development, since long neglect in the latter area has been at the centre of the problem in Balochistan. But it is paradoxical that unrest started in Balochistan when various development projects were undertaken to develop the backward regions of the province. The sole aim of these projects was to eliminate frustration among the people by building infrastructure and creating employment opportunities. The Baloch Sardars who had been backed by India, US and Israel, opposed all the developmental projects. These Sardars who were running their own private jails and 'farrari camps' resisted the government plans as they were not ready to give up the old system of feudal over lordship. When the Pak Army acted to dismantle these private jails and farrari camps to set free the prisoners, the Sardars considered that as an attack on their traditional authority. In fact the so called nationalism of these Sardars is but a thin veil for their desire to perpetuate their inhuman hold over their poor subjects.

Among the major steps that the government has taken on the economic development and political side are the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan package, the larger initiative of the Eighteenth Amendment, the very specific NFC Award, the employment quota for Balochistan in the federal departments, and development share of the province in the federal PSDP. These are wide ranging reformative measures that would bring quick results and change the whole complexion of governance in the province if the militants and insurgents allow the works to proceed.

The government has chalked out a plan to provide 20,000 jobs for the youth. So far about 10,000 youth have been provided jobs. Five thousand Balochis were recruited in Pakistan army. In addition, the Balochis have been appointed in several federal and provincial departments including, Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), Civil Defense Department, PWD, Ministry of Defense and others. This integrated socio-political cum economic approach to Balochistan's problems would need strong political will to bring out positive results. As most previous efforts taken by Islamabad remained insufficient to address the Balochistan challenge, there is an urgency to create a climate of confidence and trust among the Baloch masses so that wider consultation with all stakeholders becomes possible. The last general elections in the province are said to have been stolen by federal government agencies to install stooges through electoral fraud. This should not happen again.

Let the Baloch elect a government of their choice. As one Baloch leader said, the people need a better Balochistan rather than a greater Balochistan. In this regard,

Islamabad's Balochistan agenda should have the following clear objectives: a) addressing political grievances of the Balochis by giving them the reins of governance through fair democratic elections b) political solution to the problem lies in recognising the Baloch identity and handing over the management of resources to the people of the province; c) Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan must be carried forward in true letter and spirit; d) Balochistan is a multi-ethnic province, thus all stake holders should be taken on board; e) the dissident elements should also be involved in the dialogue process; f) target killings must come to an end; g) Gwadar should be operationalised on priority basis as per the aspirations of the people and at the same time the rights of the locals must be safeguarded; h) raising awareness among the people outside Balochistan on what is going on in the province; i) setting up industrial zones in Quetta and other urban centres of the province where the young people could use their potential and get employment; j) Baloch students cannot compete with the students of other provinces and need to be given preferential treatment in admission to colleges and universities and in public sector employment. In short, a political settlement is urgently needed and vital if Balochistan is to have peace, normalcy and fair share in national development.

Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer, Islamabad Policy Research Institute,
Pakistan Observer (Islamabad), January 24, 2012,
<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=136934>

A HEARING ON BALOCHISTAN

There is reason to be both optimistic and cynical about hearings by the US Congress's Foreign Affairs committee on the situation in Balochistan. The hope is derived from the fact that the state's violations of human rights in the province, including alleged killings, abductions and torture, have generally been ignored by the international community and so, any publicity given to the issue can be seen as a net positive since it opens the prospect of a much-needed change in policy. At the same time, however, the sudden concern by some members of the US Congress about Balochistan could be part of larger strategic concerns that may have little to do with human rights and international law. The Americans have always been suspicious of Chinese investment in the region, including their involvement in the port of Gwadar and in the country's energy sector. The proposed gas pipeline from Iran is also supposed to run through Balochistan. This, apart from the embarrassment caused to the federal government by the hearing having taken place, may explain the Foreign Office's denunciation. Even the US State Department, acutely aware of how sensitive this issue is, distanced itself saying that the hearing did not reflect the policy of the US government and that the issue of Balochistan should be solved through internal negotiations.

Having said that, the mere fact that the US Congress saw fit to conduct these hearings shows just how dire the situation in the province really is. Human rights activists and experts apprised the committee of the violations taking place in Balochistan. A representative of Amnesty International even called for the Leahy Amendment to be applied to all military units operating in Balochistan. The said amendment is commonly applied to security assistance programmes to prevent foreign aid from being used to further human rights abuses. While one can understand why

the Pakistan government is upset about the hearing, a better response may be to change in existing policy on Balochistan in a manner that the wishes of the local population are factored in. This is the best way of ensuring that the situation improves and that separatist feeling is quelled. That, clearly, is an end that should not even require prodding by a committee of American lawmakers.

Editorial, *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), February 11, 2012,
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/334478/a-hearing-on-balochistan/>

SPECIAL BALOCHISTAN REPORT-FEBRUARY 2012

The preceptor group held an in house meeting to discuss the Balochistan issue after it was taken up in USA congress with a view to have a look at other side of the picture and assess important issues raised by speakers in the US congress on Balochistan in general and Balochistan issue in particular. Members were asked to get credible data through their own sources on the issue to substantiate their logics. A guest member was also invited who has wide knowledge of the subject and present happenings. The sharable data and some of the important discussion points are given under:

Conclusion Drawn From Discussion

The discussion concluded that there is no denying the fact that Balochistan had been neglected province in the past mainly because Balochistan became a province many years later. Its rights were not protected from there on, for which local leadership and federal political and military governments are responsible. The province became part of Pakistan in 1947 and continued to be administered by a Chief Commissioner. It was dissolved in 1955 when most parts of the western wing of Pakistan became the new province of West Pakistan. When that province was dissolved in 1970, the former Chief Commissioner's province was combined with the former Balochistan States Union and the enclave of Gwadar to form a new larger Balochistan Province with a Governor, a Chief Minister and a Provincial Assembly. This was intelligently exploited by the hostile forces working against Pakistan having direct interest in natural assets of the area. The sub-committee of the USA congress committee on foreign relations conducted a special hearing over the Balochistan issue in first half of Feb 2012. Five US lawmakers attended this unusual hearing of the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations and it witnesses human rights abuses in Balochistan and stressed the Baloch right to self-determination. It was noticed in the video of hearing on Balochistan that a speaker kept calling it Balukistan and did not even know the location of Balochistan. He stated that it is located between Iran and India. This shows that this was not a intellectual forum which studied the area, environment and the human right situation but the participants had some different agenda. Paper read by Mr Ali Dayan Hassan, the Pakistani director for human rights is also note worthy. Both US state department and Pakistan disowned and criticized the hearing.

As of present bad governance, tribal system, ethnic diversity, corruption and issue of missing people have worsened the situation of peace and stability. Groups like BLA, BRA and BLUF have come up as militant organizations some demanding independence of Balochistan. The present situation has been progressively tailored by

initial low profile presence of militants in media and diplomatic circles outside Pakistan, till the time situation is ripe for direct international funding and support (see support at UK, USA, India and Israel below). It was further concluded that solution lies from within and not blaming foreign interest as these interests only emerge when a state provides opportunity.

However, last decade or so has witnessed realization by all stake holders. The government and its institutions have been making efforts.

The policy now does not only address the issue from now onwards but also has significant clauses for filling up the past inadequacies (NFC award and Aghaz hakooq Balochistan 2009 see extracts below). The main questions raised were

- “Why the fruits are not reaching a common Baloch and they still remain deprived?”
- “Despite the awareness and efforts, is this the difficult environment or the duplicity in the will of governments and leadership which is not delivering?”
- The Human Rights Watch gives verdict by saying “indisputable” evidence points to the hand of the FC, the ISI and military intelligence, behind the killings and kidnapping. Is this true?

Truth is what we have failed to face and talk upto now. The money has come, the efforts have been made but all has been diluted due to no checks and control. Absence of monitoring mechanism have made the mafia from strong to stronger. The reverting of ‘A’ area (police responsibility) back to ‘B’ area (Layies responsibility - appointed by Sardars) by provincial government in 2008 has been the main source of bad Law and order. The mafia has raised their private armies by using government incentives. After closing of two Cantonments now there is emphasis on Frontier Corps (FC), despite the fact that we have seen developments in and around cantonments in entire country. Interestingly if you see the data of weekly Perceptor Report of end Jan and Feb 2012 the figure of deaths of security agency persons is much more than other deaths which negates the perception that FC is lifting and killing people in Balochistan, it is rather being targeted. The figure of FC deaths in Jan only is as high as 38.

The mafia cannot withstand any measure of the government that could bring prosperity in the region and develop awakening among the masses that would lead to erosion of their authority. The private armies of local warlords need to be tackled. Baloch Politicians have to come forward own and participate in development to defeat fear of militants.

More than anything Balochistan requires a system of deliverance in tangible terms with political ownership. “What is more disturbing is not betray of traitors but silence of patriot” The logical and patriot Baloch Sardars rubbish even the idea of separate.

Data on Balochistan. The data below will provide you an insight on the issue. Some data is not seen and talked in media but leaves a food for thought for all readers.

What NFC Award has for Balochistan

1. For the first time in the history of Pakistan multiple criteria for resource distribution has been adopted which includes Population, Human Development Index (HDI), Inverse Population Density (IPD), and revenue generation/collection. Sole criterion of population has been discontinued which was the hallmark of previous NFC Awards.
2. Share of Balochistan from the divisible pool has been increased from 5.11% to 9.09%.
3. Balochistan will get Rs 83 billion in the next financial year (2010-11) which will not be reduced in case of shortfall of revenue collection by the Federal Government. At present Balochistan is getting Rs 44 billion.
4. Balochistan will also receive Rs 120 billion over a period of twelve years on account of Gas Development Surcharge (GDS) arrears. An additional amount of Rs 10 billion will also be released by the Federal Government on account of equalization of well head price with effect from 2002.
5. A sum of Rs 3 billion would additionally be available from the next financial year as a result of equalization of well head price throughout the country.
6. General Sales Tax (GST) on services has been shifted to the provinces which will be an additional source of revenue for Balochistan. November 25, 2009.

http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/images/NFC_points%20for_GoB_Web%20Portal.pdf

Balochistan Package

The Federal Government on November 25, 2009 presented the Aghaz-eHuqooq-e-Balochistan package to a joint sitting of the parliament. Following is included in package presented by Senator Raza Rabbani of the ruling Pakistan People's party:

- Ø Constitutional-related Matters
- Ø Politically-Related Matters
- Ø Administratively-Related Matters
 - Commission. A commission should be constituted in respect of the missing persons. The commission should be headed by sitting member of the superior judiciary from Balochistan, including the federal defence, interior ministers and the home minister of the province. The proceedings of such a commission shall be held in camera.
 - New Army Cantonments. Construction of new cantonments in Sui and Kohlu be stopped for the time being. Army will be withdrawn from Sui after handing over the duties to FC. FC will also takeover the already constructed Cantonment at Sui.
 - Conversion of "B" Areas into "A" Areas. In view of the decision of the provincial government, the policy of conversion of "B" areas into "A" areas may be reviewed from time to time. Urban areas may have regular police.
 - Gas Development Surcharge. The federal government agrees to pay the arrears of Gas Development Surcharge from 1954 to 1991. This is a total amount of Rs 120 billion payable in 12 years.

- Ownership in oil and gas companies. In organisations such as PPL, OGDCL and Sui Southern, the province will be able to purchase up to 20% of the right shares when offered in the open market.
- Sandak Project. The federal government from its 30% shares in the project will immediately give 20% to the province. On completion of the project and when the foreign company withdraws, the project shall be owned exclusively by the province.
- Uniform Price of Gas. There shall be a uniform price of gas throughout the country for the purpose of calculation of GDS.
- Kohlu District. Special incentives should be given to the local tribes to facilitate exploration in the area, which continues to be closed due to security concerns.

Data Included in Discussion after Cross Check from more than One Source

- Ø Out of 30, only 5 districts of Balochistan are volatile.
- Ø In 2011 there were 117 rocket, 39 grenade, 134 gas pipeline, 20 electric pylon and 215 IED attacks.
- Ø Rs 25 crore per minister (about 65 in number) given per year for development. Are they seen on ground?
- Ø Councillate at Afghan border, main source of backing for militants.
- Ø BLA, BRA and BLUF amongst main militant groups as they kill and own responsibility.
- Ø Only 5-7% was A area police monitored and rest B area is with Lavies under Sardars.
- Ø 78 FC and 533 civilian killed in 2011.
- Ø 38 FC killed in Jan 2012.
- Ø 291 reported kidnappings in 2011.
- Ø Missing person list of thousands when came to court only about 50 found missing.
- Ø No go areas formed by influential as lavies does not have potential and grounds to check the powerful. These areas may be having some missing persons.

Foreign Hand Sabotaging Peace in Balochistan:

Defence Minister Ahmed Mukhtar said on Wednesday [February 2, 2010] that India is involved in sabotaging peace and creating trouble and instability in Balochistan and the tribal areas of Pakistan. Talking to visiting British Minister of State for the Armed Forces, Bill Rammell, who called on him at the Defence Ministry, the Mukhtar said that the coalition partners and the international community needs to take note of Indian involvement in Pakistan. Interior Minister Rehman Malik has reiterated that Indian intelligence agency's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) is involved in instigating the ongoing armed insurgency in Balochistan. He made these comments while talking to reporters in Gwadar on Wednesday [December 30, 2009] before attending a federal cabinet meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani

Balochistan has a long porous border with Afghanistan. The Indian consulate in Kandahar, a border town, provides a firm base to train, arm and dispatch militants across the border to undertake sabotage activities in Balochistan. Indian companies have been awarded contracts on various projects to link Kabul with Balochistan near Iranian border; and in the bargain it makes the job of RAW easier.
<http://ipripak.org/factfiles/ff118.pdf>

Baloch Movements Operating from Foreign Bases (Web based Information)		
<p>A rally was held by Balochistan Action Committee UK & World Sindhi Congress, lead by Khan of Kalat.</p> <p>Forcible annexation of Balochistan by Pakistan, a petition to PM of UK.</p>	<p>Press release and petitions to Prime Minister Gordon Brown by Balochistan Action Committee, UK.</p> <p>(Source: Baloch Action Committee, dated March 31,08)</p>	<p>International rally/Letter to UK's prime minister.</p>
<p>Balochistan Legal Fund (BLF)</p> <p>Baloch Society of North America (BSO-NA) Washington DC.USA</p>	<p>Balochistan Legal Fund (BLF)</p> <p>(Source: Balochistan Legal Fund Website)</p>	<p>Address of Balochistan Legal Fund (BLF) located in USA.</p>
<p>Baloch Student Organization (Azad)</p> <p>Balochistan People's Party P.O Box 13022 103 01 Stockholm Sweden Sweden Fax: +45 8 43 75 97 37</p> <p>Bank Account: 356690-8, PG Bank, 0606 Stockholm PG SISESS, Sweden</p>	<p>Press release by Balohistan Students Organization (Azad) with address and bank account number of BSO in Stockholm, Sweden.</p> <p>(Source: BSO (Azad) website)</p>	<p>Address and Bank account number of BSO (AZAD), which is operating from Sweden.</p>
<p>GOB (Exile) is composed of a loose group of Baloch nationalists from around the world who are structuring a skeleton for a sovereign Balochistan state so we can have a functional government. Our temporary office is located in the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, and Jewish Baloch nationals financially support us. Exile government was</p>	<p>Government of Balochistan in exile: An interview with Mir Azaad Khan Baloch</p> <p>By Hindu Baloch</p> <p>(Source: GOB (Exile) website)</p>	<p>Establishment of Govt. of Balochistan, GOB (Exile) w.e.f April 18, 2005 with its headquarters at Jerusalem. Direct involvement of US-Israel nexus in Balochistan.</p>

<p>launched on April 18, 2005.</p> <p>...</p> <p>United States is already doing a lot for the Baloch. I've personally met congresswomen Shelly Barkley (Nevada) and Sheila Jackson-Lee (Texas) and informed them of the crisis in Balochistan. Prior to President Rice's visit to Pakistan, Congressman Thomas G. Tancredo (Colorado) wrote a letter to Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, to inform her of the crisis in Balochistan and to brief the President of the situation.</p> <p>Contact Address: Desk of The Government of Balochistan in Exile The World Baloch Jewish Alliance Building PO Box 5631 Jerusalem, 91000 ISRAEL</p>		
<p>Nawabzada Harbayer Marri, son of Nawab Khair Bux Marri, who was arrested in December last year has been released from Belmarsh Jail.</p> <p>The two (Harbayer Marri and Faiz Baloch) were arrested on December 4, 2007 on charge of being involved in terrorist activities in Balochistan and on the suspicion of being members of the so called Baloch Liberation Army.</p>	<p>Harbayer released in UK.</p> <p>(Source: Daily Dawn, April 18, 2007)</p>	<p>Harbayer Marri has been very active along with Khan of Kalat in UK. He is believed to be fund raiser and remotely leading and supporting BLA operations.</p>

FC and Pak Army Contribution in Development of Balochistan

Job Opportunities:

- **Induction- PMA**
 - ISSB Detachment has been established at Quetta.
 - Special Relaxation of 5% marks as compared to candidates from other Provinces.
- **Induction- Soldiers**
 - Education 8th Class instead of Matric in all arms/services except technical arms.

Projects Supervised by Army

- **District Ziarat Development Project (After Earthquake)**
 - Renovation of Quaid's Residency completed.
 - Construction of 117 schools, 3 BHUs and 1 civil dispensary.
- **Dera Bugti Development Project**
 - 1500 individual provided job opportunities.
 - 1500 families provided fin asst.
 - Renovation of 31 health facilities.
 - Students studying in Sui Cadet College and Balochistan Public School Sui (BPSS).
- **Kohlu Development Project**
 - Project being monitored through FC Balochistan.
 - Aimed at infrastructure uplift of area through construction of 7 roads (307*Kms) in progress and 4 roads completed.
 - 3 electricity and 10 water supply schemes.
 - Construction of 50 bed hospital and Basic Health Unit (BHU).
- **Medical Facilitates by Army**
 - Free medical treatment is also provided to approx 500 to 1000 patients of Mekhter and Chamalang per month.
 - Free med camps for 2-3 days are established in remote areas, where free medical examination and medicines are distributed.

Chamalang Coal Mines

- 71, 586 individuals have been provided job opportunities.
- A labourer can earn Rs 30,000 per month.
- 2,000 Marri tribesmen have been employed as guards.
- 1.5 M tons of coal has been excavated so far (worth approx Rs 8.23 B).
- Army started a comprehensive social uplift programme.

- Chamalang is about 40-45 KM north of Kohlu and 30-35 KM north-west of Barkhan, though far away but falls in the jurisdiction of Loralai.
- Chamalang coal reserves are 7 KM wide and 60 KM long which join with the coal, oil and gas bearing ranges in neighboring dists of Barkhan, Kohlu and Musakhel.
- Chamalang Coal estimated to be approx 500 million tons, being one of the best and easiest to excavate in Pakistan, is worth about **US \$ 50 billion**.
- Chamalang, though in Luni area, had been under forcible occupation of the Marri tribe being superior in fighting potential since ages, especially after initial excavation in 1973.
- The tribal war claimed innumerable casualties and an area dominated by the one tribe was out of bound for the other. It was mandatory for a Marri to kill a Luni trespasser and vice versa.
- Chamalang with a radius of about 50 KM was the **stronghold** of the **Marri Farraris** and other **hardened criminals/militants/terrorists**. None other than the Marris could ever think of entering into that area.
- All, without any exception, **opposed the project** because of its inherent risks and dangers making it almost **impossible** to undertake.
- I took a **deliberate decision** based on my appreciation that benefits and virtues of the project would far outweigh its risks, dangers and cost and therefore **accepted the challenge**.
- Both **civil and military hierarchy expected** and thus prepared to accept a **large** number of **causalities** on both sides. Allah be praised, **not a single drop of blood** was shed on either side.
- Today more than **80,000** people are directly **employed** at the site and each on the average earns **Rs. 20,000/-** per month. This means **Rs. 1.6 billion** are disbursed to the work force alone every month.
- A **Labor Township**, consisting of 4 Labor Colonies, worth about **Rs. 2 billion** has come up. Phase-2 of the Township will have more colonies.
- A **25-Bedded Hospital** including residential accommodation for the doctors and staff has been constructed.
- An attractive “**Chamalang Beneficiaries Healthcare Program**” with **benefits** including huge incentives **for the doctors, paramedics and staff**, and **free treatment/medicine** going down to the dispensary level. More than **100,000 Balochi patients** received free treatment, including **eye surgeries with gratis eye lens**, from the medical camps frequently established in the far-flung areas.
- The most popular “**Chamalang Beneficiaries Education Program**” is sponsoring the tribal children in very good quality schools. Today about **7,000 tribal children**, overwhelmingly Marri, are **studying all over Pakistan** in such schools where my children used to study. The Luni children are also availing the benefit.
- Roads, tracks, electricity, telecom, Police Station, water supply schemes have been provided that helped generation of economic activity and a chain of linked businesses.

- So far approx **3 million tons of coal** has been added to the national economy thus saving huge foreign exchange.
- A **2,500 strong force**, known as Chamalang Guard, from the Marri tribe has been raised that is now protecting the coalmines.

FC Role in Education Development

- FC Balochistan is running 16 Primary Schools and 5 Middle schools and 6 high schools with 100% free education to 3500 local children.
- FC Balochistan is running 6 x Colleges and 28 FC Public Schools
Total Students - more than 10000.

Development Project

Name of Project	Length in KMs
Construction of Peri-Gabd (Pak-Iran Border) Sec of MCHP (N-10) Sec II	35
New Gwadar International Airport Package-A Site Protection Works	18
Construction of Gwadar Pleri-Jiwani Sec of MCHP	38
Construction of Lakh Pass Tunnel Project on BOT Basis	42
Upgradation, Widening and Construction of Surab-Basima-Nag-Panghur-Hoshab Road Project	448
Design and Construction of Mangi Dam and Water Convenyance System	108

Pakistan Navy

1. **Establishment of PNR & SC Gwadar.** In order to enhance representation, in particular for the youth hailing from Balochistan, **PN Recruitment & Selection Centre (PNR&SC) at Gwadar has been established, in addition to PNR & SC Quetta which will start functioning in next two months.** In the backdrop of this, it is envisaged that recruitment of candidates from coastal and adjoining areas i.e Ormara, Pasni, Gwadar, Turbat and Jiwani will increase substantially.
2. **Recruitment Campaigns for Baluch.** Pakistan Navy undertook vigorous recruitment campaign in Balochistan since the year 2007 to create awareness amongst the people. As a result, large number of **candidates** appeared for the qualifying test, out of which 278 were selected out of which **147 joined Pakistan Navy in sailors category.**
3. During the year 2011, 03 candidates have joined Pakistan Naval Academy (02 as cadets & 01 as commissioned officer through SSC entry). In addition, recruitment for PN Cadets & Short Service Commission (SSC) for 2012-A batch is in progress. **Total of 09 & 19 candidates for PN Cadets and SSC terms respectively have been selected** for appearing at ISSB. Subject to qualifying ISSB, the individuals will be selected for induction in Pakistan Navy for the term scheduled to commence in Jul 12.

4. **N Cadet Scheme for Baluch.** N Cadet scheme is being reintroduced (as a welfare scheme) exclusively for candidates hailing from Balochistan who have passed 7th class. Each year 20 candidates will be selected and given admission in selected Cadet Colleges for a period of 5 years to complete their studies till FSc on Govt charges. Subsequently, these candidates will appear before ISSB; those recommended will join Pakistan Naval Academy as PN cadets.

5. **Short Service Commission (SSC) for Baluch.** Induction of talented and bright Baluch youth in PN through Short Service Commission (SSC) who have completed their education till Graduation (with any combination of subjects) has been approved. *These candidates will be inducted without ISSB in Pakistan Navy.*

Special Relaxations for Baluch

To facilitate the candidates and enhance intake from Balochistan, following special/exclusive relaxations have been approved for ethnic Baluch's:

- a. **Relaxation in Sailors Category**
 - (1) 20% in SSC marks for ethnic Baluch.
 - (2) Two years in upper age limit.
 - (3) Substantial number of seats have been reserved for province of Balochistan in every batch of sailors.
- b. **Relaxation in PN Cadet Term**
 - (1) 10% relaxation in FSc marks (i.e, 50% marks for Baluch candidates instead of 60% applicable for others).
 - (2) 10% marks waiver in entrance test (35% marks for Baluch candidates instead of 45% applicable for others).
 - (3) This year special relaxation has been given to induct 01 x Baluch candidate in PN Cadet Term 2011-B who has joined Pakistan Naval Academy at Karachi on 08 Jan 12.
- c. **Relaxation in SSC Course**
 - (1) 10% marks relaxation in respective subject qualification applicable to all SSC branches.
 - (2) 10% marks waiver in entrance test (35% marks for Baluch candidates instead of 45% applicable for others).
- d. **Other Measures for Baluch**
 - (1) ISSB facilities (tests/interviews) are being provided for candidates of Balochistan at Quetta for officer's induction.
 - (2) A close liaison is being maintained with concerned authorities of province while carrying out Mobile Recruitment in the province. A team headed by Officer-In-Charge (O I/C) PN Recruitment and Selection Centre Karachi has visited Gwadar, Turbat, Pasni and Ormara from 12 to 17 Dec 11. Previously, Mobile Recruitment was conducted from 25 to 30 Jul 11, 14 to 19 Mar 11 and 25 to 30 Oct 10. The next Mobile Recruitment is planned in the month of April 2012.

PN Educational Activities and Projects in Balochistan

1. **Bahria Model School Gwadar.** Bahria Model School Gwadar (from Mont (Beg) class to IV), established in March 2010, is providing quality education to the local children at nominal fee with pick and drop facilities. At present, 158 students are studying in the school. Out of 158 students, 152 are local and 6 are Naval wards. A grant of Rs. 0.6 M (Approx) is being provided to the school on annual basis to meet the recurring expenditure.
2. **Bahria Model School Ormara.** Bahria Model School Ormara (from Mont (Beg) class to VII), was established in 2004. At present, 331 students are studying in the school. Out of which 306 are local and 25 are Naval wards. A grant of Rs. 2.0 M has been provided to Bahria School Ormara for purchase lab equipment and books to meet the requirements of Federal and Quetta boards for affiliation. Additionally, a grant of Rs. 1.0 M (Approx) is also being provided to the school on annual basis to meet recurring expenditures and staff salaries.
3. **Patronage of Govt Schools at Ormara.** Govt Boys High School Ormara, Girls High School Ormara, Govt Middle School for Boys Ormara are being look after by PN and necessary assistance like provision of teachers, furniture, stationary items and maintenance of school is being provided to these institutions on 'as and when required' basis. A Naval Officer of the rank of the Lt Cdr is also appointed as principal Govt High School Ormara.
4. **Admission of Baluchi Students to Bahria Model Schools at Karachi.** Admission of Baluchi students of coastal areas to Bahria Model Schools at Karachi is another major initiative of PN. In this regards, 19 Baluchi students (10 in class VIII & 09 in class IX) have already joined PN Model School at Sabir SRE, Karachi. The selection of the third group of 10-15 students for the next academic session is under process. Under this scheme, all facilities including education, boarding, lodging etc are being provided free of cost and on successfully qualifying SSC exam, these students will have the option to join PN as sailors.
5. **Reserved seats for Baluchi students in Bahria University.** One seat each in MBA and BBA programmes at Bahria University, Karachi campus for the youth of Balochistan, has been reserved for the children of local residents of the coastal areas of Balochistan. The nominated students are exempted from payment of tuition fee and allied charges, however, cost of living is to be arranged by the students themselves.
6. **Reserved seats at Cadet College Petaro.** At Cadet College Petaro (CCP), functioning under auspices of PN, two seats have been allocated to students from the coastal areas of Balochistan and one seat for students from Dera Bugti. Presently 27 students from Balochistan, including 9 admitted with current academic year, are studying at Cadet College Petaro.
7. **Establishment of Cadet College Ormara.** A mega project of establishment of Cadet College Ormara has been initiated at the cost of Rs.601.0 M. NHQ accorded in principle approval of the project. Upon functioning of the college, 50% seats will be reserved for Baluch candidates (N-Cadets) who will join the college in class VIII and on successful completion of F.Sc studies and recommendations of ISSB, they will join PN as regular cadets. The recurring expenditure of the project is Rs.21.5 M p.a.
8. **PN Model School Ormara.** The school is under construction at the cost of Rs.197.576 M and will tentatively be completed by December 2012. The level of the

school is SSC and will be enhanced to HSSC level. PN will provide all facilities to the school. The school will provide better educational opportunities to the local populace.

Media Point, February 12, 2012,
<http://www.mediapoint.pk/special-balochistan-report-feb2012/>

NO MILITARY OPERATION UNDER WAY IN BALOCHISTAN: COAS

Chief of Army Staff (COAS) General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani has made it emphatically clear that no military operation is under way in Balochistan.

“Not a single soldier of the army is combating in Balochistan,” the army chief said here on Saturday while talking to a group of media persons at a lunch hosted by Prime Minister Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani in honour of the visiting President of Sri Lanka, Mahinda Rajapaksa, at the Prime Minister House.

Admiral Asif Sandhila, Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) and Air Chief Marshal Rao Qamar Suleman, Chief of Air Staff, were also present on the occasion.

To a query, General Kayani said that Frontier Constabulary (FC) is deployed in various parts of the province in aid of the civilian administration under article 245 of the Constitution. He said the FC was working under the provincial government.

The army chief was candid in offering his comments on the situation in Balochistan but declined the impression of the army in any manner having any link with the affairs of the province. “We are maintaining our position strictly in accordance with the Constitution. It’s a baseless accusation to suggest that the army is taking part in any action in Balochistan,” he said.

The COAS was hopeful that the situation would become normal in the province as the provincial authorities are trying their best to overcome the activities of disgruntled elements.

Earlier, Prime Minister Gilani introduced General Kayani to the Sri Lankan president who inquired about the well-being of his troops. General Kayani responded that the armed forces are in excellent shape and doing their duties diligently. The two also had a brief chat. The lunch was also attended by former prime minister and president of the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q) Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, Chairman Senate Farooq H Naek, Senate Deputy Chairman Jan Muhammad Jamali, leader of the house in the Senate Syed Nayyar Hussain Bukhari, opposition leader Senator Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri, Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar, some federal ministers, Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir, Advisor to the PM Syed Qasim Shah, Defence and Cabinet Secretary Nargis Sethi and Principal Secretary to the PM Khushnood Lashari.

Muhammad Saleh Zaafer, *News International* (Rawalpindi), February 12, 2012,
<http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=12399&Cat=13>

THE ARMED FORCES AND BALOCHIS’ UPLIFT

Despite being the richest in mineral resources and having a 750 kilometre coastline, offering tranquil beaches and abundance of marine life, Balochistan is the most neglected province of Pakistan. Successive governments have not only left the

Balochis in gross neglect, but also plundered its riches, leaving the inhabitants in a shabby and decrepit condition.

Besides the federal government, the provincial governments of Balochistan and the feudal lords have been complicit in this criminal abandon. In the decade 2000 onwards, various development projects were launched to reduce the plight of Balochis, but it seems to be a case of too little, too late. Decisions that should have been taken in the seventies and eighties are being taken now, which has done little to alleviate the misery of people. Resultantly, the Balochis have been exploited to fuel insurgency and strife. Most of their grievances are genuine, but taking up arms was not the right action.

In the near past, the armed forces of Pakistan have taken up the cudgels for the uplift of the Balochis. The main areas of concern have been education, health and means of livelihood to wean away the disgruntled elements into lives of normalcy. Both the army and the navy have spearheaded projects to induct Baloch youth into their services, as well as set up educational and medical institutions.

As regards recruitment in the armed forces, there have been adequate vacancies. But a small number of Baloch youth have come forward to join this profession, mainly because of illiteracy and ignorance. Resultantly, their representation in the armed forces has been less as compared to the youth from other provinces. In order to create awareness among them about the military, and subsequently choosing it as their profession, over the past few years, the armed forces have started a massive awareness campaign and concession package all over the province.

Consequently, the army's campaign met with overwhelming successes. Thousands of Baloch youth appeared for recruitment in various army selection and recruitment centres. About 4,000 Balochi recruits of this massive campaign completed their basic training on October 29, 2010, and joined various units of the Pak Army. The induction of these soldiers in large numbers is a major milestone and historical occasion for their families and the province. Additionally, 10,000 youths - still undergoing basic military training in various institutions - are likely to join the prestigious service in the near future.

Likewise, Pakistan Navy (PN) has launched the "N" Cadet scheme. The Baloch youth are being inducted in different cadet colleges through a sponsorship system in which they will be able to join the navy after completion of their studies. In a fast-track scheme, they are being taken directly into the PN as officers without undergoing the rigours of the Inter Services Selection Board (ISSB). Two years after commissioning, they will have to undergo the selection process by ISSB, and by that time they will be better equipped to pass the tests. Similar schemes are being undertaken for induction into the PN's other ranks. Different branches of Bahria schools and colleges are being set up in the province, while simultaneously local schools are being sponsored by the navy where books, furniture, sports equipment and development funds are being provided.

On its part, local army units have been assigned by the COAS to arrange educational classes for the children of poor people, who cannot afford the heavy expenses of imparting even basic education. Their boarding, lodging and tuition fee is borne by the Pak Army from its own resources. The army's contributions in the progress of Balochistan, including Chamalang Education Programme, Sui Education City, and Gwadar Institutes of Technical Education, are remarkable. Measures have

been taken to sustain these projects, which are contributing positively towards better education and creation of jobs for common people, particularly in its remote areas.

Moreover, the health sector has received no less attention. Both the army and navy have set up medical centres and hospitals, where the Balochis not only receive free treatment, but also medicines. The navy's Darman Jah Hospital at Ormara with a 100-bed facility and state-of-the-art medical equipment is a matter of pride for Pakistan. Additionally, serious patients are transferred to major hospitals in Karachi and other metropolitan centres if required. These facilities also provide equal employment opportunities to Baloch boys and girls. Indeed, the contribution of the armed forces in bringing the Baloch youth into the mainstream through their induction process is commendable.

S M Hali, *Nation* (Islamabad), February 15, 2012,
<http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/columns/15-Feb-2012/the-armed-forces-and-balochis-uplift>

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

The National Assembly, in a unanimous resolution passed on Monday, condemned the US Congress hearing on Balochistan, terming it "blatant interference in Pakistan's internal affairs". The Congressional Foreign Relations Subcommittee had taken up the situation in the province for debate last week, and accusations of grave human rights violations by the security forces were levelled. Some of its members even ventured to raise the issue of self-determination for the Baloch, saying that the only way for the province to get out of the existing mess was to achieve independence from Pakistan. The NA resolution took serious note of it, maintaining that the hearing was totally unacceptable and the US administration needed to play a proactive role in discouraging such ill-informed and motivated debates on sensitive issues of a foreign country. On the other hand, the American position, as explained by US Chargé d'Affaires Richard Hoagland who was summoned to the Foreign Office for making a démarche with Washington, was that the US administration had neither extended any support to the initiative nor did it subscribe to such views.

The NA resolution rightly pointed out that the Congressional debate was happening when Pak-US ties were passing through a bad patch. Leader of the Opposition Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, who moved the resolution, also took the government to task for turning a blind eye to the violation of territorial sovereignty by drones.

While successive governments, both federal and provincial, cannot be absolved from the charge that they have signally failed to take steps to remove the sense of discrimination felt by the local population, it is unfortunate that even friends are muddying the waters for us with an eye on its strategic significance. The province is rich in mineral wealth and other natural resources and has a 750km long coastline. Balochistan, with a vast hinterland consisting of Central Asia stretching into China, is an ideally located province for trade.

The government, as suggested by Chaudhry Nisar, should hold dialogue with Baloch dissidents and take steps to remove their genuine grievances. Equal focus must be on tackling the ample supply of money and arms being provided in Balochistan,

with the intent of creating trouble for Pakistan. The US will not benefit from interference in Pakistan's internal affairs and such hurtful remarks about Pakistan will have serious repercussions for a US image already battered and broken in Pakistani minds.

Editorial, *Nation* (Islamabad), February 15, 2012,
<http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/editorials/15-Feb-2012/na-resolution>

BALUCHISTAN UNREST: PANEL URGES GOVT TO CLIP AGENCIES' WINGS

Rejecting a report presented by the Balochistan's home department on the rampant human rights violations and law and order situation in the province, a senate panel has urged the government to introduce laws that clip the wings of all-powerful security agencies.

The Senate Functional Committee on Human Rights on Wednesday warned that not taking serious steps, and pushing the province against the wall, will lead the Baloch to seek external help.

It pressed the government to undertake more "serious" efforts – suggesting laws be introduced to "curtail" the power and influence of security agencies, alleged to be involved in violations of human rights in the province.

The committee met under the chairmanship of Senator Afrasiab Khattak, and was briefed by Balochistan Home Secretary Naseebullah Bazai.

"The recovery of mutilated bodies and incidents of kidnappings for ransom are particularly a matter of great concern. These issues must be taken up seriously and sincere efforts are needed by the government to normalise the situation," Senator Khattak said, while addressing a press conference.

He added that recovery of mutilated bodies comes across as disassociation of the victims by the state and its institutions, who, it seems, "consider them as enemies rather than their own people".

There is common perception that secret agencies are involved in enforced disappearances and dumping the mutilated bodies, Khattak said. If this is true, he added, the government should control its institutions as they are damaging the sovereignty of the country.

The senate committee suggested that laws should be introduced to bring security agencies under the democratic control of Parliament.

Senator Khattak further said that the government cannot evade its responsibilities by stating that foreign elements are involved in destabilising Balochistan. "They (the government) should investigate that what kind of circumstances have paved way for foreign elements," he said, adding that "People will look towards foreigners when their rights are trampled down by their own."

The senate committee suggested that the government should hold negotiations with the disenchanted Baloch to address their grievances. "All the Baloch political parties must be taken into confidence for negotiations. If the government can agree to hold talks with Taliban militants, then why not with our Baloch brothers," Khattak said.

The Report

Home Secretary Naseebullah Bazai said the government had arrested 31 people in connection with kidnappings for ransoms. "Law-enforcing agencies often arrest the culprits but they are set free due to lack of evidence," he told the committee.

He also added in his report that incidents of targeted killings had declined relatively during the past one year.

Minorities in Balochistan

The functional committee said that targeted killings of people from the Hazara community are not sectarian violence, rather acts of terrorism. Terrorist groups are behind these killings, the committee added.

Khattak said that kidnappings of members of the Hindu community were also discussed during the meeting and the committee will pressurise the provincial government to ensure protection to the life and property of minorities.

Shehzad Baloch, *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), February 16, 2012,
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/337257/balochistan-unrest-panel-urges-govt-to-clip-agencies-wings/>

OUR TRAITORS, THEIR HEROES!

The Americans have finally shown their Balochistan card. **They definitely crossed the red line in relations with Pakistan. By openly talking about an independent Balochistan on pretext of so called human rights violations, the US Congress Sub Committee under Republican Congressman Dana Rohrabacher has violated international norms and principles of non interference and respect for sovereignty and integrity of other independent states.**

US Ambassador Cameron Munter's declaration last year that 'Balochistan was very significant for the United States' exposed the failing superpower's grand designs in the context of their 'Great Game' in Pakistan's biggest but sparsely populated and perhaps most mineral rich province.

While the US State Department may deny any Administration's support for the Congressional hearing, yet this event held at Capitol Hill was undoubtedly held in coordination with anti Pakistan lobbies including few Baloch dissidents, their India's RAW/CIA sponsors and certain their newly converted US loyalists in Pakistan. **Well aware of the pattern and sequence of US psychological operations that precede their grand designs, this hearing was aimed to exploit their own created Balochistan insurgency and internationalize the issue.**

It would not be surprising if Husain Haqqani, our former Ambassador in Washington DC, known as diehard opponent of Pakistan Army/ISI and principal suspect in the ongoing anti Pakistan Memo conspiracy (Memogate) case in Islamabad, with his influential Capitol Hill connections may also have motivated such a hearing. Husain Haqqani is finally back in his Washington's safe havens after VIP 'detention' in Islamabad's President/Prime Minister House and maybe reorganizing his 'Haqqani network' in United States.

See the American hypocrisy and double standards. Does Congressman Dana Rohrabacher have the moral courage to hold similar hearings on grave human rights violations and atrocities by the 500,000 strong Indian Occupation forces in Indian Occupied Kashmir? Do US Congressmen have the guts to expose Israeli brutalities against Palestinians? Why has no hearing been conducted to condemn the killings of unarmed and innocent Pakistani tribal victims of US drone attacks?

The timing of the Balochistan hearing on February 08 is significant. In line with the Pakistani parliament's decision to review and redefine the future roadmap of Pak-US civil/military relations, the parliamentary committee on national security recently finalized the detailed recommendations on the new terms of civil/military engagement which will soon be debated in the parliament by Pakistan's lawmakers for final approval.

The Congressional hearing also reflected Uncle Sam's frustration over many strategic losses suffered in Pakistan ever since the November 26 NATO airstrike on Pakistan Army's Salalah post on Pak- Afghan border that killed 26 soldiers.

The humiliating US/CIA's expulsion from Balochistan's Shamsi airbase, stoppage of NATO land supplies, Pakistan's refusal to grant secret access to other airstrips for drone operations and dismantling of CIA's covert intelligence network in Pakistan have adversely affected US designs in Balochistan and the region.

Shamsi's loss has affected US strategic surveillance/intelligence operations capability to monitor Chinese presence in developmental activities at Gwadar port and other mineral exploration projects in Balochistan. Most significantly in case of a US/Israeli attack on Iran, the Americans stand deprived of a major well established operational airbase that could be used to launch reconnaissance and bombing airstrikes into Iran.

The US cannot swallow the Pakistan government's refusal to allow an American consulate in Quetta, the capital of Balochistan for this would have served as a launching pad for greater American interference in Balochistan affairs. Any presence of US security personnel in Quetta is likely to intensify their clandestine activities in the province which would further fuel the Baloch insurgency in coordination with RAW/CIA funded and armed Baloch militant groups.

The Balochistan hearing was aimed to pressurize Pakistan to restore the NATO ground supplies that remain suspended since the November 26 NATO's cowardly attack on Pakistan Army's Salalah post. To some extent this pressure has seemingly worked with few pro US elements in the Pakistan government creating confusion over allowing food supplies on 'humanitarian grounds' through air corridor to Afghanistan.

The American troops reportedly ran short of diapers that they wear on long combat patrols in the Taliban infested areas. Since NATO supplies were stopped in protest over the 'inhumane' massacre of Pakistan Army soldiers, should Pakistan be expected to act humanely to support US/NATO forces in Afghanistan?

In the first place the airspace facility was never withdrawn. Pakistan has persistently demanded a formal US apology and action against the planners and executors of the Salalah attack which have yet not happened. Perhaps the nation's response was being tested in anticipation of restoring NATO ground supplies in near future without a parliamentary debate/approval. If this happens, then anti US hysteria is expected to register record heights in Pakistan.

Thousands of oil tankers and containers remain stranded around Karachi and on the NATO supply routes along Chaman in Balochistan and Torkhum in Khyber Pakhtun khwa. While the cost of transporting NATO supplies via the northern distribution network (Russia, Georgia etc) was almost six times as compared to that of moving the same through Pakistan, the current record freezing winters have added to NATO's miseries in using the northern route.

By playing the Balochistan card the US would try to intimidate Pakistan into abandoning the Iran – Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project in favor of the American sponsored Turkemanistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan- India (TAPI) gas pipeline project. While Pakistan's critical energy requirements may not be of any significance to the US, the underlying thrust was aimed to deprive Iran of the economic/financial benefits of exporting surplus gas to Pakistan as well as denying Chinese access to this project via the planned energy corridor through the Karakorams.

The apprehensions of many Pakistanis have come true. We were impressed and taken aback with the 'instant and massive' US response during the devastating 2005 earthquake as well as the 2010 floods in Pakistan. But Pakistanis knew there was something eerie and strange about this extraordinary display of American 'love' for Pakistan.

Now, according to the latest revelations by D.B. Grady and Marc Ambinder in their book "The Command: Deep Inside the President's Secret Army", the CIA took advantage of the natural disaster emergency to fly in hundreds of secret operatives/special forces using valid US passports and posing as construction/aid workers, without the requisite detailed background checks by our security agencies.

With dozens of US Chinooks flying all over Pakistan and loaded with US/CIA Secret agents, one can imagine the strategic intelligence that must have been gathered about our communication infrastructure/defence installations etc during the relief missions.

The Americans are known to reward their loyalists in other countries for rendering services with promise of protection for serving and promoting their (US) interests. Incentives usually include lucrative greenbacks payments, facilitation of the individual/family's immigration to US including provision of US green card/citizen ship, children education and even job guarantees in USA.

Will CIA's secret doctor face treason trial? Dr. Shakeel Afridi, alias Dr. Polio, who hails from FATA, was recruited by CIA to reach out to Osama Bin Laden's Abbottabad compound through collection of DNA samples under cover of a fake polio vaccination drive. The Abbottabad Commission investigating the US Special Forces May 02 'get Osama Bin Laden operation' had ordered that Dr. Afridi be tried on treason charges under charges of spying for a foreign intelligence agency.

The Pakistani government has yet to proceed with the trial though Dr. Afridi remains under arrest by security agencies. US Defence Secretary/former CIA Chief Leon Panetta's recently admitted that the doctor provided useful intelligence in May 02 operation and expressed concern over his detention in Pakistan. Not surprisingly, many US Congressmen have introduced legislation seeking US citizenship for Dr. Afridi whom they consider a US hero. He has even been recommended for a high US civil award.

If the US demands the release of Dr. Afridi, who is our traitor and their hero, then the weak and frail but highly courageous Dr. Aafia, our hero and their (US) so

called enemy, languishing in US prison and serving 86 years jail sentence on concocted charges of assaulting US marines in Bagram airbase, should also be released.

Pakistan's parliament has unanimously passed a resolution condemning the US Congressional hearing on Balochistan as blatant interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. But was this enough? If the US continues to meddle in Pakistan's domestic affairs and shows scant respect for Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity then a hard hitting and well calculated national response was the need of the hour.

Pakistan should permanently stop NATO land supplies through our territory and also withdraw the airspace corridor concession for US/NATO aircraft that overfly Pakistan. US military trainers or counter terrorism experts should no longer be welcomed.

The US should be asked to scale down its Islamabad Embassy staff and stop its huge expansion project designed to increase diplomatic presence in Islamabad. The current freedom of movement enjoyed by US Ambassador Munter and other US diplomats in Pakistan should be limited.

Pakistan should move the United Nations Security Council and also the International Court of justice to stop US drone attacks against unarmed and innocent Pakistani tribals.

Pakistan desires a smooth working relationship with United States based on mutual trust and respect for our sovereignty. The US mindset of stabbing Pakistan in the back needs a radical change. But make no mistake. By working against Pakistan's interests, the United States may find it increasingly difficult to manage a safe and peaceful exit from Afghanistan.

Brig Farooq Hameed Khan (ret'd), Opinion Maker, February 17, 2012,
<http://www.opinion-maker.org/2012/02/our-traitors-their-heroes/#>

US BILL ON BALOCHISTAN DRIVEN BY ARROGANCE AND IGNORANCE

Pakistan has severely criticised and condemned a move by three US lawmakers of tabling a resolution in the House of representative which said the Baloch nation has a historic right of self determination.

Pakistan's Foreign Office on Saturday termed the resolution ill-informed and expressed the hope that it would not be accepted.

"This is a self-serving attempt on the part of those who are driven by arrogance and ignorance. The bill shows utter disrespect for international norms and practices," foreign ministry spokesman Abdul Basit said in a statement.

The resolution moved by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, a California Republican, said the Baloch people "have the right to self-determination and to their own sovereign country; and they should be afforded the opportunity to choose their own status."

It also noted that in Pakistan, the Baloch people are subjected to violence and extrajudicial killing.

Congressman Louie Gohmert, a Texas Republican, and Steve King, an Iowa Republican, have also signed on as original co-sponsors of the bill.

Republican Rohrabacher is Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. He created uproar in Pakistan last week when he held the first-ever exclusive hearing on human rights violations in Balochistan.

Pakistan had earlier called the hearing interference in its internal affairs while Baloch nationalists welcomed it as a much-needed move which they said could relieve their sufferings and ultimately lead to their freedom.

The US State Department, however, distanced itself from the hearing, saying that it recognised Balochistan as part of the Pakistani state.

Dawn (Islamabad), February 18, 2012,
<http://www.dawn.com/2012/02/18/us-bill-on-balochistan-driven-by-arrogance-and-ignorance.html>

A TROUBLED LAND

Predictably, the US Congressional hearing on Balochistan has triggered off much comment in Pakistan, some to give vent to a sense of outrage at the American interference and some to express vague sanctimonious sentiments about the suffering of the Baloch people. There has also been a welcome evidence of Pakistani analysts addressing the roots of Baloch alienation, especially the rage of the Balochi youth. I cannot think of a better way of joining the discussion than by making the basic point that has generally lacked emphasis in our commentaries, namely that without Balochistan, there would be no Pakistan. In the case of Bangladesh, we allowed a lobby of narrow vested interests to rationalise its traumatic severance from Jinnah's Pakistan by arguing that, in the final analysis, it was beneficial to have jettisoned its troublesome eastern wing. In Balochistan's case, no such misconceived and self-serving pragmatism would be conceivable.

Consider the land. A sprawling region of Pakistan spread over 347,190 sq kms abuts Afghanistan and Iran and provides Pakistan with a long coastline that links the country with the Persian Gulf and pioneers its maritime stretch into South Asia. Home to oil, gas and minerals such as copper, coal, marble, chromite, barite, limestone, shale, it is the principal guarantee of Pakistan's future prosperity. But more importantly, consider its people in their historical context. Viewed through the prism of the writings of Herder and Fichte, as was done by a contributor to this newspaper only the other day ["The Balochistan conundrum"], Amber Darr, Feb 15], the inhabitants of all provinces of Pakistan qualify to be 'nations' or, if one is squeamish, 'nationalities' with hallowed traditions of distinctive culture and well-developed languages. Pakistan does not have pure ethnic or linguistic provinces, each one of them being a mosaic of great richness. All its peoples came together in a federation in 1947 confident that their political, economic and cultural rights would face no threat in a state created as a mighty hedge against the hegemony of one religious group that would dominate India under majoritarian principles.

Unfortunately, in Balochistan's case, this confidence was undermined by some issues that accompanied the accession of its 'princely' states to Pakistan in 1947-48 and, far more seriously, by the persistent neo-colonial approach to administering a huge province with sparse population (estimated at 7,597,000 now) with a strong tribal structure. Balochistan had its tribal chiefs but not a middle class that could participate

effectively in the tortuous quest for equilibrium in a federation with an inherent imbalance with one populous province that enjoyed a dominant representation in the national army and security forces. Regrettably, during both periods — of military rule and of democratic restoration — Balochistan was the victim of impatience on the part of the federal dispensations leading to a hasty recourse to the use of force to suppress dissent.

This was, indeed, the shortest route to converting this dissent into an armed insurgency that has locked the relations of the federation with its utterly indispensable constituent into a spiral of mindless violence. The present situation in the province represents the worst manifestation of an enduring contradiction of Pakistan's polity: it is, at the declaratory level, committed to parliamentary democracy as the linchpin of national unity, political integration and economic development and the rule of law that underwrites the social contract while, at the practical level, it tolerates a stubborn denial of the rights of the people, particularly of smaller 'nationalities', disadvantaged population groups and minorities. The Balochistan initiatives of the present government run a heavy risk of being consigned to the category of 'too little, too late' in the histories of militant sub-national movements. Clearly, Islamabad will have to stay one step ahead of those in the Balochi movement who have lost faith in negotiations and of predatory foreign powers that see a target of opportunity in the current crisis.

Instead of rejecting out of hand the pre-conditions attached to a dialogue by the so-called 'separatists', Islamabad should engage them to help create conditions in which all demands could be negotiated. The Constitution has space for genuine autonomy without undermining the foundations of a federal state. Above all, the taboo on a public debate on Balochistan must now end as it is no longer a sub-regional law and order issue; it has existential implications for the state. It is also high time that 64 years down the line, the Baloch should be able to count on the support of millions of other Pakistanis who are anxious to find the right answers to the divisive issues of their troubled land. It is also about time that parliament rises to the challenge and helps translate that national sentiment into effective policies. It is a race against time but it can be won.

Tanvir Ahmad Khan, *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), February 20, 2012,
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/338733/a-troubled-land/>

TEXT OF US CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON BALOCHISTAN

H.CON.RES.104 — Expressing the sense of Congress that the people of Balochistan, currently divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, have the right to self-determination and to their own sovereign... (Introduced in House – IH)

HCON 104 IH
 112th CONGRESS
 2d Session
H. CON. RES. 104

Expressing the sense of Congress that the people of Balochistan, currently divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, have the right to self-determination and to their own sovereign country.

**In the House of Representatives
February 17, 2012**

Mr. ROHRABACHER (for himself, Mr. GOHMERT, and Mr. KING of Iowa) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Concurrent Resolution

Expressing the sense of Congress that the people of Balochistan, currently divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, have the right to self-determination and to their own sovereign country.

Whereas the people of Balochistan have maintained a proud and distinctive national, cultural, and religious identity dating back to ancient times;

Whereas in 1666, the Baluch Khanate of Kalat was founded which functioned as an independent, sovereign country;

Whereas in the 19th century, the Baluch people were conquered and divided by the imperialist expansion of Persia (Iran) and the British Empire;

Whereas, on August 15, 1947, the Khan of Kalat declared independence, only to have Baluch aspirations crushed by an invasion by Pakistan in April 1948 followed by 2 years of a bloody campaign to stamp out popular resistance;

Whereas revolts in 1958, 1973, and 2005 indicate continued popular discontent against rule by Islamabad, and the plunder of its vast natural wealth while Balochistan remains the poorest province in Pakistan;

Whereas a popular insurgency is also under way in Sistan-Balochistan and being met by brutal repression by the dictatorship in Iran which has added religious bigotry to tyranny; and

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to oppose aggression and the violation of human rights inherent in the subjugation of national groups as currently being shown in Iran and Pakistan against the aspirations of the Baluch people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the people of Balochistan, currently divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, have the right to self-determination and to their own sovereign country and they should be afforded the opportunity to choose their own status among the community of nations, living in peace and harmony, without external coercion.

Media Point, February 21, 2012,

<http://www.media-point.pk/text-of-us-congress-resolution-on-balochistan/>

PEOPLE OF BALOCHISTAN WANT FREEDOM FROM SARDARS: MUHABBAT KHAN MARI

As a US lawmaker tabled bill in the House of Representatives, espousing self-determination for Balochistan, Pakistani media has been airing string of programmes and holding debates on the issue with several Baloch leaders sharing their views on how to redress the miseries of people of Pakistan's southwestern province.

In an interview with a local Urdu daily published here on Tuesday, senior Baloch leader and provincial minister Muhabbat Khan Mari has said that Baloch separatist leaders were responsible for all the problems facing the people of Balochistan. He says it seems absolutely ridiculous when Baloch Sardars like Attaullah Mengal, Akhtar Mengal, Nawab Khair Bux Mari, Barhamdagh Bugti and Herbyar Mari speak about rights of Balochis as they were who exploited the nation.

He said had there been people support for Herbyar Mari, there would have been his influence in at least three Tehseels of the province.

Muhabbat Mari claims only five percent of people have been supporting the separatists.

He says every Baloch child is ready to shed his last drop of blood for Pakistan.

When asked to elaborate situation in Kohlu district, deemed as stronghold of separatists, he said on the one side there were 180 million people of Pakistan while on the other hand only handful of terrorists and still the government of Pakistan seemed to be failed in controlling the miscreants. "Seeking separation is not new for this Sardars," he said and added Khair Bux Mari lived in Russia for 20 years while his son Herbyar Mari had also been living in Europe. "They have no influence in Kohlu district despite they offered Rs10, 000 to jobless youth to join them," he said. Mr Mari added that he knew financial status of Mari separatist Sardars and they could not purchase weapons. "Now they are having weapons and living in expensive cities like London. How come deprived Balochs live such a luxurious lives".

He said Herbayar Mari had spent time in a London jail and was released after Rehman Malik's efforts.

When asked to comment on excesses with Baloch, Mr Mari said it was beyond any doubt that excesses were committed not other than Baloch Sardars who ruled the province as governors and chife ministers. "I ask them what measures they took for providing basic amenities, education and employment to Baloch people." He said Sardars were responsible for injustices as they tried to make Balochis their selves.

He recalls the past and says Nawab Mehrullah Mari, father of famous Baloch leader Khair Bux Mari, didn't allow British government to open a primary school in his area some 95 years ago. He said the Sardars wanted to keep people away from education.

Answering a question whether Baloch separatists could achieve their goal through US intervention he said: "Even father of this terrorist will not be able to achieve this goal". We will free people of Balochistan form the shackles of this Sardars and our children would scarify for the integrity of Pakistan.

He also denied that any military operation was going on in the province. Mari said India was funneling arms and money to terrorists in Dera Murad Jamali, Sibbi, Kohlu and Makran through Afghanistan.

Abdul Hafeez, February 21, 2012,
<http://www.thenewstribes.com/2012/02/21/people-of-balochistan-want-freedom-from-sardars-muhabbat-khan-mari/#.T4LNAdkfvRs>

KAO PLAN UNLEASHED IN BALOCHISTAN

When Indira Gandhi took over as Prime Minister of India in the late 60s, among her basic priorities was to undo the division of India that created a new State, Pakistan which was highly irritating the Indian leaders since its birth.

In that particular era, India's all intelligence related matters, both internally and externally were managed by only one intelligence agency of the country that was the Intelligence Bureau (IB).

The Daily Mail's research indicates that when Mrs. Gandhi assumed the charge of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) at New Delhi, she ordered the IB to prepare comprehensive plans to destabilize Pakistan and to transform into a failed State and to negate the 2-Nation Theory which was the foundation of the creation of Pakistan.

The Daily Mail's research indicates that in 1968, the then head of IB's External Division Wing and the founder of Directorate General of Security, commonly known as DG(S) in India, Rameshwar Nath Kao, a confidante of Indira Gandhi and her late father as he was cleared of falling to any honey trap because of being a gay, presented a very comprehensive plan to fulfill Indira Gandhi's wishes regarding Pakistan.

This, around 240-page plan, which is still known as 'The Kao Plan in India's clandestine community had three different operations to destabilize Pakistan. The Kao Plan, which is described as a three-pronged strategy by the Indian officials, had three different operations to eliminate Pakistan. The first, known as Kao's Bangla Plan (KBP) was chalked out to start an insurgency movement in East Pakistan and transform the Eastern part of Pakistan into a new State. The 2nd plan, known as Kao's Balochistan Plan (KBP-II) was architected to create a similar scenario in Pakistan's Balochistan province, while the 3rd one was relating to organize a separation movement in the then North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and now Khyber Pakhtun Khawah to establish an independent State there and this one is known as the Kao's Pakhtoonistan Plan (KPP).

Indira Gandhi, the research indicates, went through Rameshwar Nath Kao's plans with all the comprehensions. She, however, held a detailed meeting with Kao and discussed his plans in deep details. After the meeting, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi reached to the conclusion that Kao plans were very comprehensive and were having all the potential of earning far reaching results but she was very much aware of the limited capacities and abilities of country top intelligence agency the IB. After detailed deliberations with Kao and her other very close associates, Mrs. [Gandhi] discovered the IB was not at all capable of executing the Kao plans. According to some Indian media persons, who were close to the developments at the PMO in late 60s, Indira Gandhi finally decided that since IB had not enough capabilities to run the foreign missions, prominently the Kao plans, there was an immense need for India to have a separate, more powerful and more resourceful intelligence operates to execute

extremely high profile projects like the Kao Plans. According to these journalists, Indira, while contemplating upon forming a brand new intelligence mechanism, apart from Kao plans regarding Pakistan, was also eyeing on China.

The Daily Mail's investigations indicate that after all the discussions and deliberations, it was decided to a new secret agency but to keep its profile as a research body and not as spy agency for the outer world, an agency, with the title of Research and Analysis Wing, commonly know as RAW these days, was finally formed on 21st September, 1968 under the Cabinet Division and no one else was made the first Chief of Raw but Mr. Rameshwar Nath Kao. The Prime minister approved all the Kao plans regarding Pakistan but directed Kao to go step by step instead of executing all at once as it would add more creditability to the operations and advised him start with East Pakistan plan (KBP) and to execute the remaining ones in the light of the outcomes of the 1st plan in this direction.

The research reveals that soon after the formation of RAW, Rameshwar Nath Kao's first priority was to form a team of professionals at the top level of agency. For this purpose, he brought in many 'like-minded officers from the Intelligence Bureau and from the Indian Police Service (IPS) cadre. According to certain media reports, the top wing of RAW in its early days was comprising all the well trusted guys of Kao as majority of them was known as gays and thus were very commonly called the Kaoboys of RAW, not within the agency but also in the media across India and those officials who were not inducted in RAW by Kao, despite being falling on merit were the main sources of such leaks to the media and also to the young RAW officers.

These Kaoboys were initially given the task of enhancing the capabilities of the agency to the maximum for running the covert operations while a special wing was formed to launch the KBP in East Pakistan. The details of Kao's Bengla Plan would be discussed at another stage though; the research reveals that RAW launched the Bengla plan soon after its inception. It is worth mentioning here that soon after the inception of RAW, Kao also formed a high profile Monitoring Division, comprising the retired and serving officers from the Indian army's corps of Signals.

The basic features of Kao plan were to launch a Psychological Warfare operation in East Pakistan; to communicate with East Pakistani politicians, mainly those belonging to Awami League; to get on board all the East Pakistani civil servants working in East and West Pakistan and also in Pakistani embassies across the world; to launch extensive media campaign against Pakistan army's actions in East Pakistan and to project a highly exaggerated plight of the people of East Pakistan in the world media and to organize moots and conferences across the world to highlight the sham miseries of the people of Pakistan; to establish a sense of deprivation amongst the general public in East Pakistan; to create a feeling of hatred amongst the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan through social circles etc. While the training of militants of Mukti Bahni goons at training camps inside Indian territory, at West Bengal, Assam and Tripura and to arm them for an ultimate civil war was decided to be organized with the help and assistance of Indian army, headed by General Manekshaw and Indian Border Security Force (BSF), headed by K.F. Rustomji while the IB was also kept engaged for other covert operations. According to a veteran journalist Qutubuddine Aziz, who was stationed in former East Pakistan during the execution of India Kao plan for creating Bangladesh and the gentlemen who wrote the famous book Blood and Tears, India trained Mukti Bahini militants massacred at least

one million non-Bengalis in former East Pakistan. He says “The sheaves of eye-witness accounts, prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the massacre of West Pakistanis, Biharis and other non-Bengalis in East Pakistan had begun long before the Pakistan Army took punitive action against the rebels late in the night of March 25, 1971. It is also crystal clear that the Awami League’s terror machine was the initiator and executor of the genocide against the non-Bengalis which exterminated at least a million of them in less than two months of horror and trauma. Many witnesses have opined that the federal Government acted a bit too late against the insurgents. The initial success of the federal military action is proved by the fact that in barely 30 days, the Pakistan Army, with a combat strength of 38,717 officers and men in East Pakistan, had squelched the Awami League’s March-April, 1971, rebellion all over the province. They were all trained and armed by Indian army and were given details of non-Bengalis by a new spy agency of India, the Research and analysis Wing.

The Daily Mail’s investigations indicate that before launching the 1st phase of the Kao plan, the RAW leadership decided to dominate the Indian diplomatic Missions across the world to ensure the availability of strongest possible platforms to run RAW operations, specially the operations relating to the Psychological Warfare. Though the PMO had approved the placement of RAW officials in Indian diplomatic Missions under diplomatic covers, yet RAW decided to dig out and secure personal or official scandals of the as many as possible Indian diplomats across the world after it was found at the agency’s Headquarters that in many cases, the diplomatic staff at different stations did not cooperate with RAW under cover officials in commissioning of certain undiplomatic practices in different parts of the world. It was this exercise of RAW that helped it immensely in launching aggressive media campaigns against Pakistan army and in mobilizing the world opinion in favor of east Pakistanis to have a separate State and to justify India’s open interference in the East Pakistan’s affairs, from the platforms of Indian diplomatic Missions across the world and it was started with blackmailing the Indian ambassador in Burma (Myanmar) in the late 60s while the practice is still going on very effectively for RAW. In the beginning of the launching the Kao plan in East Pakistan, RAW also attempted to use certain British parliamentarians and journalists for organizing moots and conferences in favor of separation of East Pakistan from the rest of Pakistan.

After the RAW got immense success in East Pakistan and due to the lack of abilities on part of Pakistani leadership to handle the crises in Eastern part of the country, a new country was created with name of Bangladesh in 1971, just within some 30 months of the inception of RAW, Rameshwar Nath Kao sought Prime Minister Indira Gandhi’s permission to launch KBP-II for the separation of Balochistan from Pakistan.

The Daily Mail’s investigations indicate that though Kao and the ‘Kaoboys’ of RAW were feeling over excited with their success in breaking Pakistan into two and wanted an immediate go-ahead from the PMO for the implementation of the 2nd phase of the Kao plan (KBP-II), the Indian Prime Minister was being extraordinary cautious in taking any further step in this direction as she got the information that the American CIA and the Chinese intelligence, both were monitoring the RAW moves very closely and both the Chinese and the US government had in a way conveyed to the government of India that any repeat of East Pakistan like mischief by India in West Pakistan would not be allowed and tolerated at all.

These findings further indicate that at that particular stage, Indian government was very eagerly looking forward to the Shah of Iran for 2 soft loans amounting to the tune of not less than \$ 25 millions. Indira Gandhi also knew that any Indian move in Balochistan, at that particular stage, could have easily annoyed the Shah of Iran as he was a very close friend of Pakistan, resulting into the refusal of the 25 million dollars loan from Shah. India was already persuading the sister of Shah of Iran, Madame Ashraf Pahlavi for persuading Shah to approve loan. According to the records, Shah's sister was given a kickback of \$ 6 million for the sanctioning of the loan.

The Daily Mail's investigations indicate that keeping all these reservations, Indira Gandhi asked the RAW Chief Kao to hold his horses and shelve the Balochistan plan until the circumstances get changed and especially until the loan from Iran was transferred into Indian government's accounts. These findings further indicate that this reply from Prime Minister came as a great dejection for both Kao and his 'Boys' at the RAW headquarters, though Indira Gandhi allocated huge funds to RAW for its expansion worldwide after getting the Iranian loans, yet many officials of RAW still believe that it was just a bid to appease RAW after ordering it to keep the Balochistan operation on hold while the RAW officials were very much excited about launching it as soon as possible, without letting the Pakistani counterparts to get out of the shock of Kao's Bengla plan.

According to some senior International journalists as well as certain security experts and former intelligence official, the RAW and specially its Kaoboys were never actually waiting for a formal nod from PMO and they in fact had already started working on Kao Balochistan Plan (KBP-II). RAW had already started contacting Baloch leaders through social activities in foreign countries and a PSYWAR was launched amongst the Balochistani people with a crystal clear reference to what happened in East Pakistan and how India helped East Pakistanis to have a state, independent country. In the meantime RAW also sought agency-to-agency help from its counterpart in former Soviet Union and KGB replied in a positive manner to help RAW implement its Kao plan for Balochistan.

Soon after entering into the Balochistan game, Kao and his team realized that the things in Balochistan were never as easy as those were in East Pakistan. They discovered that they had no advantage of having a road link in Balochistan that they had in East Pakistan and secondly the disadvantage was that Pakistani army had total control and very strong road link to any part of Balochistan, something that it lacked in case of East Pakistan. The only encouraging point for RAW while starting the Balochistan game was that here they did not had to launch and fund the movement at the grassroots level like in case of the East Pakistan but in fact in Balochistan, they just needed to lure a handful of Baloch tribal leaders, specially young ones who were very much attracted towards fun life of West, and rest was to be done by these tribal leaders. After making this assessment, RAW decided to go-ahead with the KPB-II. However it got a shocker from KGB when KGB expressed its inability to provide any strategic or tactical help for Balochistan plan due to KGB's lack of resources to carry out any deep sea covert operation in the hot waters of Indian Ocean and the Arabian sea, however, it promised every help and support for the cause in any other shape, at a later stage. Some experts say that KGB's abrupt nod for joining RAW in Balochistan game could also be seen in the backdrop of cold war era rivalry between CIA and KGB as KGB was constantly looking to hit CIA hard anywhere in the world at first

available opportunity during that era and since KGB knew that CIA would feel deeply hurt by its any joint operation with RAW in Balochistan and thus it straight away offered all its help and support, even without approval from the highest level of the Soviet government. It remains another fact that over the years, things got drastically changed and today CIA itself is fully embedded with RAW in the Balochistan game.

The Daily Mail's findings indicate that the top boy amongst Kao's 'like-minded' Kaoboys was an IPS officer B. Raman and was known as 'Kao's Special Boy.' Raman served in RAW and earlier in the IB for about 27 years and got retired from RAW in August 1994. When RAW was making an assessment to enter into Balochistan game, the agency's head Rameshwar Nath Kao decided to explore a new avenue to begin the game, without waiting for PMO's word in this direction. After the careful assessment of all the options, Kao decided approach the French Intelligence. The French external Intelligence, then known as SDECE and is these days know as DGSE. In French language SDECE means Service for External Documentation and Counter-Espionage while DGSE stands for Directorate general of External Security.

Research indicates that the then SDECE was headed by Le Comte Alexandre de Marenches, an ex army officer of France. As mentioned above as how RAW manipulates Indian diplomats across the world, RAW opted in this case to use the services of the then Ambassador of India to France who himself was an ex-army officer of India and was married to a French speaking lady from Luxemburg that had enabled him to become a close friend of the then French Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski. Kao used the Indian ambassador to have a meeting of top RAW officials with their French counterparts through Michel. The ambassador 'obliged' the RAW chief and a meeting was fixed between French and Indian spy masters at Paris. During the meeting, the RAW side, headed by Kao, proposed for a liaison between French and Indian intelligence agencies for the collection and sharing of intelligence with regards to the movement of US and Soviet as well as the Chinese Navies in the water regions of Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea. An agreement in this regard was finalized straight away and France agreed to establish a liaison office at Paris in this regard and showed its complete willingness to the project, without knowing that RAW had some Balochistan related motives behind this move as it no interest at all in the movement of the Naval fleets of soviets or Americans or even the Chinese. The research indicates that RAW wanted to use the project for transporting arms and heavy weapons to Balochistan through this project as it had already been able to lure certain Baloch leaders to launch an insurgency movement. The French and Indian intelligence agencies agreed to establish at least four Technical Intelligence (TECHINT) stations in India's spotted water regions in Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea. Though the Indians claim that the project was soon abandoned, yet it remains a fact that these stations still exist and are operational under Indian control. However France pulled out of the project after quite some time. Some intelligence experts believe that France developed some serious doubts about RAW's movement under the garb of the said Technical Intelligence Stations after the French intelligence managed to retrieve volumes and volumes of highly classified documents relating to the covert operations of RAW from the Indian Prime Minister's Office. There are some stories in this direction out which one says that it was the job of some French under cover secret agents who developed some special relations under the disguise of gays with RAW's liaison officer in France

for the said project B. Raman and they managed to get some way to access to the classified document in Indira Gandhi's office.

Research indicates that after French and Indian intelligence agencies agreed upon establishing a liaison office at Paris, B Raman maneuvered a lot to motivate the RAW Chief Kao to post him to Paris as the liaison officer as at that time, France was known as the Paradise of the gays. Kao who did not want to send Raman out of sight for a longer period due to his 'special feelings' for Raman, finally agreed upon sending Raman to France on deputation. In this direction first RAW tried to send him Raman to France in the disguise of media representative from India, a practice that RAW is still exercising across the world with a great success, and all arrangements were made with the collaboration of an Indian newspaper *The Hindu*, yet at the eleventh hour the plan was changed and Raman was sent to Paris under the diplomatic cover, the other major practice of RAW that is still very much in fashion.

At Paris, Raman's duties to the knowledge of the French intelligence were to perform liaison officer for the TECHINT project while the host government knew him as diplomat at the Indian embassy. However, RAW had assigned him some other responsibilities. He was sent to Paris to communicate with Baloch tribal youngsters living and studying in England and France and to lure them to join the Kao plan for Balochistan. In the process, Raman met with a young Iranian gay at Paris. In one of his latest books, Raman admits that he met the Iranian boy in Paris and he lured him and developed special relations with him. Raman writes, one night his Iranian friend, suddenly developed some serious medical problems and he, despite being an Indian diplomat, rushed the Iranian boy to the hospital in the emergency and got him treated there and also paid all the bills at the Paris hospital. Though Raman refrains from explaining his relations with the Iranian gay in details, he however writes that the same Iranian guy, proved very helpful to him for his covert operations during his stay in Paris. According to certain media and intelligence reports, during his stay in Paris, Raman used the Iranian boy to the maximum to establish special ties with certain Balochistani youngsters, mostly the sons of Baloch tribal leaders and he remained successful in luring them to get embedded with RAW for the successful implementation of the Kao Plan for Balochistan.

Back home at New Delhi, when RAW had finalized the aggressive implementation of the Kao plan in Balochistan, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi got into some internal political turmoil and she finally declared the state of emergency in the country, a move that prevented RAW from pursuing the Kao plan at that very moment.

Research indicates that during the state of emergency, Indira Gandhi misused RAW to the maximum to fix her political opponents. However, she finally went to the polls and met with the defeat in the General Elections. This resulted into the bringing of Moraji Desai as the new Prime minister of India. Desai did not have any respect for RAW as he knew that Indira Gandhi had used RAW against him as well. However he did not touch the affairs of RAW much. In the meantime, when RAW moved the file of Kao Plan for Balochistan, he got furious and asked RAW to focus on country's security instead of remaining busy in hatching conspiracies against other countries. He however kept the Kao plan file in his office. Some close associates of Desai attribute this development to Desai's hateful feelings towards RAW and he thought that Kao plan was a baby of his first degree opponent and thus he should stay away from it.

Some others think that Desai snubbed RAW over the Kao plan owing to his peace initiatives with Pakistan and because of his very cordial relations with then military ruler of Pakistan, late General Zia-Ul-Haque. It is said that during his visits to England and France, Desai asked the RAW officers posted those countries to give him details of their responsibilities in those countries in writing. Both the officers refused to give any explanation to Desai in black and white.

RAW did not succeed in getting a formal green light for the Kao plan for Balochistan during Desai's era and the agency decided to suffice on wait and see policy. In the process, new elections were held in India and as result of these polls; Indira Gandhi again came into power as the Prime Minister of India. Once again, at a suitable stage, RAW moved the Kao plan file to the PMO. People associated to the Indian Prime Minister's office say that upon receiving the file, Mrs. Gandhi summoned the RAW Chief and directed him that the agency should first address the new menace that had hit the country. This was the growing Sikh separatist movement in Indian Punjab. Indira asked to deal with the issue as top priority of the agency and to use all resources for the purpose. RAW got engaged in the new top priority assignment and the Kao operation was again put on the back burner. However, reports suggest that RAW, on the parallel, continued its unauthorized interference in Balochistan and kept the Kao plan alive and in the meantime, it managed to shift maximum weaponry into Balochistan through the France-blessed 'TECHINT' sea stations. It also got the immense support from KGB and its extension in Afghanistan after the former USSR invaded Afghans. The reports suggest that KGB played the major role in training the Baloch militants, given to RAW by certain Baloch tribal leaders, to use the arms and weapons shipped by RAW through sea routes to Balochistan over the years.

The reports also indicate that it was not possible for RAW to successfully form the militant outfits in Balochistan without the strong help and assistance of KGB as both RAW and KGB managed to install militant forces like the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) and Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) etc., there were comprehensive training facilities for these militants by KGB in adjoining Afghanistan and loads of money for their mentors by RAW.

Back in India, RAW remained busy in tackling the Sikh movement. The details of the Sikhs' movement in India would be discussed at a later stage but it is to be worth mentioning that RAW's inability to handle the genuine movements like the Khalistan movement by Indian Sikhs was exposed to everyone across the world and particularly amongst the global clandestine community. RAW made many goof-ups in implicating Pakistan and its top security agency, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) into the Khalistan movement. It remains a fact that the ISI did get some security benefits out of the Khalistan movement but the volume of the ISI role in the movement, portrayed by RAW was no where near the ground realities.

Just one incident out of dozens, is enough to prove that how panicked and furious the RAW got to implicate ISI and Pakistan into the Khalistan freedom movement and that how unable the RAW was to create even fake cases against ISI to convince the global community. In one incident, some alleged members of the Sikh freedom movement, hijacked an Indian passenger aircraft and took to Lahore. Pakistan refused to hold talks with the hijackers and the plane was then taken to the UAE. From UAE, somehow RAW managed to take the custody of the hijackers and

took them to India. After a few days, Indian government came out with the claims that hijackers had confessed that they hijacked the said aircraft from India with a toy pistol but later, during their brief stay at Lahore airport, some ISI officers gave them the real pistol which was retrieved from the UAE authorities later and after contacting a French arms company in the backdrop of the make and serial number of the said pistol, it was revealed that the said pistol was officially imported by Pakistan army and the episode proves that ISI was behind the hijacking and the entire movement of Khalistan. This outrageous episode earned India merely a big, loud laughter across the world and very badly damaged the credibility of RAW and Indian government's allegations against Pakistan which is still haunting New Delhi as well as RAW.

The research reveals that as RAW completely failed in countering the Khalistan movement, it finally advised Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to go all out for a comprehensive military operations against the Sikhs and presented a high profile report that the only way out to tackle the Khalistan movement was to storm the most prestigious and religiously motivated Sikh Temple, the Golden Temple in Indian Punjab as all the top Sikh separatists were hiding and operating from there. This prompted Indira Gandhi to order the most infamous military operation by Indian army, code-named Operation Blue Star in which thousands of innocent Sikhs were butchered by Indian army troops.

Just when Indira Gandhi was about to order full-fledged launching of the Kao plan for Balochistan to divert the national and international criticism from operation Blue Star, she was assassinated by some religiously motivate Sikh Guards of her own security detail.

Indira Gandhi's assassination brought in her elder son Rajiv Gandhi to the scene and he took over as Indian Prime Minister. Rajiv always had serious doubts that her mother lost her life due to completely misleading reports and advices of RAW and thus had special anger and hatred for RAW and its top policy makers.

In the process, when his attention was drawn towards the Kao plan for Balochistan, he really lashed out at top RAW officials and snubbed them for misguiding his mother and thus getting her killed. Poor Rajiv, who remained away from country's political and intelligence affairs as Indira was training her younger son Sanjay Gandhi to replace her in politics but he was unfortunately killed in an air crash, forgot that by that time, RAW had already become an uncontrollable monster and had emerged as a government within the government.

Rajiv decided to revamp RAW and curtail its powers and funds to a considerable volume and to make it's every action known to the government and to make the agency accountable to the government. In the process, he kept changing the heads of RAW and kicked out many of agency official and ordered drastic reforms in RAW. The RAW moles at the PMO, informed RAW as to what was cooking for them in the minds of Rajiv Gandhi. It is said that it was this decision of Rajiv Gandhi that costed him his life and RAW finally managed to get rid of him through a suicide attack by a Tamil woman as RAW was drastically training Tamil people for suicide bombing and other militancy tactics for fighting in Sri Lanka in the ranks of LTTE.

Research indicates that two things happened after Rajiv's assassination; one, no Indian PM ever dared to introduce any sort of reforms in RAW and 2nd was that no one from RAW ever moved the Kao plan file to any successive Prime Minister, though it continued with keeping the Kao plan alive in Balochistan.

The research indicates that it was only after the 9/11 tragedy that RAW started getting very positive response from America's CIA to make life miserable for Pakistan and its ISI. The research shows clearly that as the CIA, RAW ties started deepening owing to common interest of both the agencies; the things in Balochistan started getting worst, day by day. The RAW-CIA honeymoon prompted RAW once again to get a formal approval of launching the Kao plan in Balochistan after the Congress government came into power in 2004. This time, the case was not discussed by RAW Chief with the Prime Minister but it was found more appropriate to get a final nod from the party chairperson Sonia Gandhi. Given the circumstance and assurances from CIA, RAW succeeded in getting Sonia nod for the Kao plan in 2004-2005 as it was found out to be the best time to launch the Kao plan as Pakistan was already surrounded with multiple dangers and conspiracies and for the first time it did not have a friendly government in adjoining Afghanistan. Sonia gave the final approval for formal launching of the Kao plan in Balochistan.

The Kao plan was initiated in Balochistan formally in 2004-2005 and within one year of its formal launching things got drastically changed across the province. The Kao plan made veteran Baloch leader Akbar Bugti and his like minded tribal leaders of the province defiant towards the federal government and they bent upon initiating an insurgency movement in the province and even brought a name for the new Independent country as Islamic Emirates of Balochistan.

Kao plan for Balochistan had just a few amendments if compared with the Kao plan for East Pakistan. The basics remained the same. What was that? Launch a psychological war amongst the general public of the area; generate a feeling of deprivation and hatred amongst the local against the rest of the people of the country; fund and arm the tribal leaders; launch motivated media campaigns and seminars across the world to highlight a sham plight of the locals; generate feeling of hatred against the country's army and Armed Forces; motivate locals to assault the Armed forces and portray security forces as some occupying troops amongst the locals as well to the global audience; create fake as well real clashes between country's security Forces and the paid militants; train and arm the militants; organize seminars and conferences at major Capitals of the world and motivate a global opinion in favor of the militants by portraying them as freedom fighters and oppressed nation; do the media buying in the local country as well in the international market; create caucuses at different parliamentary forums across the world to plead and support the view point of the fighting militants etc; equate Balochistan issue with the freedom movement in Indian Occupied Kashmir etc.

This plan is very clearly unleashed in Balochistan at the moment and this plan is titled "RAW's Kao Plan for Balochistan" in the clandestine community of India and the West. The study indicates that the game is just the same that it was in 1971 in East Pakistan, just the players and the rules of the game have changed a bit.

The Daily Mail's findings indicate that the latest move in the US Congress to support the cause of Balochistan's militants and to call for right of self determination for the people of Balochistan is nothing new. RAW has been organizing similar move at many occasions in the past as well by getting the paid services of certain politicians and so called intellectuals as well as NGOs across the world. They have done it in England, in India and at many other places across the world while the Capitol Hill is

the latest venue for the purpose.

Makhdoom Babar, *Daily Mail* (Islamabad), February 21, 2012,
<http://dailymailnews.com/0212/21/FrontPage/index2.php>

US INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES OF BALOCH DIASPORA

While the US President Barack Obama is trying vigorously to reduce tensions that have bedevilled US-Pakistan relations for more than a year, the US legislators and Lawmakers have staged an unusual US congressional hearing on human rights abuses in Balochistan. Is this not paradoxical US policy?

By doing so, US is trying to achieve two-prong interests in South Asia region; a) Most political analysts and experts on Balochistan affairs consider it as ‘settling score’ over Osama bin Laden’s presence in Abbottabad, pressurizing Pakistan to soften its stance over Nato air attacks on Salala check post along with its decision on Nato’s supply lines to Afghanistan. b) The lawmakers wanted to highlight Balochistan as a stronghold of Taliban (allegedly Quetta Shura) close to a US war theatre. The US has long shown concerns about the activities of the Taliban council in Balochistan. Way back in 2009, the New York Times reported that the Pentagon was contemplating “broadening the target area” to include “a major insurgent sanctuary in and around the city of Quetta” for unmanned drone attacks. The Americans had long been trying to discover Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and Mullah Umar from Balochistan area bordering Afghanistan. Thus, a US Foreign Affairs Sub-committee’s discussion on Oversight and Investigation in relation to Balochistan is not a surprise to many experts on Balochistan affairs.

Since long, Baloch diaspora in United States has been playing a negative role against Pakistan’s effort to allay Baloch grievances by introducing various mega-developmental activities in Balochistan. However, with the sneaking of some renegade Baloch tribal chieftains into European countries, many foreign-based organizations of Pakistani origin came into being. These organizations introduced a mushroom of websites advocating the so-called Balochi cause during a very short span of period. The main-line associations are American Friends of Balochistan (AFB), London-based Greater Balochistan National Conference (GBNC), Scandinavian-based Baloch outfits, etc. They highlight the so-called miseries of Balochis by posing themselves as aggrieved party, whereas, they are wanted in countless murder/arson cases in Pakistan. These self-exiled Sardars are living luxuriously in modern cities, leaving behind their compatriots in lurch (in Pakistan).

More importantly, the Baloch exiled Sardars living in the United States also highlight the self-created incidents of human rights violations of Balochis to the senators, Congressmen as well as Indian cartels associated with media in the US. The second purpose of these outfits was to keep Pakistan under pressure by demanding independence and also to raise the issue at international level. The AFB organization is headed by Bob Selle, contributing Editor of the *World & I*, a publication of the Washington Times Corporation. Reportedly, Dr Wahid Baloch, a Baloch activist and general secretary of the American Friends of Balochistan, met four members of the US Senate in Chicago to brief them on objectives and functions of AFB established in Washington D.C. The US senators were Edward Kennedy

(Massachusetts), Charles Schumer (New York), Dick Durbin (Illinois), and Mary Landrieu (Louisiana). These legislators and lawmakers promised to cultivate more US think tanks, cartel and academicians to support the US congressional hearing in projecting a pro-Baloch stance.

Resultantly, a Congressman Dana Rohrabacher — a Baloch nationalist supporter who organized and chaired the congressional hearing on Balochistan, assured the Americans that the Baloch are natural US allies, and would like to share the Gwadar port with the US, would not allow the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline through their lands and would fight the Taliban as well.

Another US Congressman Dr M Hosseinbor who well-known for anti-Pakistan stance, gave a wake-up call to those who still believe Pakistan is a friend as Pakistan sheltered Osama bin Laden responsible of slaughtering 3,000 Americans on 9/11 attacks on WTC New York. Ralph Peters, a retired US military officer, urged the US administration to break up its ties with Pakistan and support the Baloch struggle for freedom. All these unsavoury developments is due to widening trust deficit between the two allies fighting a joint war on terror.

However, Ms Christine Fair, an assistant Professor at Georgetown University, in her written statement, disagreed with the suggestion, saying that given the ethnic diversity of the province, its complicated history, and the existing geographic constraints, an independent Balochistan was untenable.

It is very disheartening to note that these foreign based organisations patronized by exiled Baloch chieftains are discussing their inter-province disputes and feuds to a foreign country. Every sovereign country in this world has its own peculiar disputes but by no way these are passed on to a foreign country for discussion and arbitration. These anti-Pakistan alliances working in foreign countries are distorting the positive and favourable national image at the international level. They cannot be allowed to continue with these negative and harmful activities at any cost. Since 2002, Pakistan's southwestern province of Balochistan has remained gripped by insurgent violence. It is important to understand that the violence in Balochistan is a reaction to government's "strategic objectives" — such as Gwadar Port, Coastal Highway, Mirani Dam, Kachhi Canal and Sandak Copper Gold project.

The sabotage activities are an attempt by some tribal chieftains (Sardars) to prevent economic development in Balochistan and maintain their traditional power. The political analysts say that the solution to the people's issues lies in the distribution of the dividends of development equitably. The sad truth is that Balochistan has been neglected by the centre from day one with little benefit accruing to the people of the province.

Meanwhile, the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan (initiation of the rights of Balochistan) package which was approved by the Parliament on November 23, 2009, acknowledging the widespread deprivation and neglect that prevailed in Balochistan, have been severely criticized by the Baloch militants — terming it as "deceiving the Baloch people." The package, included six constitutional, five political, 16 administrative and 34 economic proposals, and set a three years implementation period.

It has, however, so far succeeded in 'delivering' just 34 of the 61 proposals. Given the economic state of the country, the Balochistan package seems satisfactory. Nevertheless, it is also believed that if political and economic disputes are not

addressed, there is an imminent threat of worsening scenario where Baloch may demand a separate country for themselves. The only option left is a policy of reconciliation and mutual accommodation. The government's decision to address the grievances with the more focus on negotiation with armed militants, is a step towards right direction.

All agree that the fulfilment of genuine rights and redressal of long standing grievances can only discontinue blood bath in the resource rich province — creating room and capacity for the increasingly crippled national economy.

Aslam Rana, *Dawn* (Islamabad), February 23, 2012,
<http://e.thenews.com.pk/2-23-2012/page5.asp#>;

MAGSI TASKED TO LURE BALOCH SARDARS

President Asif Ali Zardari held a meeting with Governor Balochistan Nawaz Zulfiqar Magsi.

During the meeting President Zardari tasked Governor Magsi to eliminate the grievances of disgruntled Baloch leaders. The President also summoned the National Assembly session on March 1. On Thursday, Interior Minister Rehman Malik and announced that cases against exiled Baloch leaders would be withdrawn.

The announcement was however not welcomed by Baloch leaders. He said that addressing Balochistan issue is the top most priority of the government and he is willing to visit the province to engage a dialogue with the Baloch leaders.

Speaking with Governor Balochistan Nawabzadah Mir Zulfiqar Magsi at his Karachi residence, President said that steps are being taken to arrange an All Party Conference (APC) to address the Balochistan situation. He also urged Magsi to reach out all Baloch tribal leaders and encourage them for peace efforts and engagement of a dialogue.

It is important to note that Balochistan Governor is also the chief of the Magsi tribe of Balochistan. Minister of Sindh Nadir Magsi was also present at the meeting. I am willing to talk to my disgruntled Baloch brothers myself, declared President Asif Ali Zardari as he called on the Governor of Balochistan Zulfiqar Magsi in Karachi.

During his meeting on Friday, Zardari said that he will make sure that the people of Balochistan become part of the Pakistani society. Saying that he was aware of the injustices faced by the Baloch people, Zardari stated that he will not abandon his brothers during these difficult times.

Zardari also mentioned that he did not believe that posts and official designations would be an obstacle in meeting his Baloch brothers, hence the reason he had made the effort to meet the Balochistan Governor.

PM mulls situations with Balochistan Committee.

The situation in Balochistan was discussed in detail during a meeting held here at the PM House with Prime Minister Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani in chair.

The meeting was attended by Governor Balochistan Nawab Zulfiqar Magsi, Chief Minister Nawab Aslam Raisani and members of the committee on Balochistan, which was constituted by the Prime Minister to contact political leaders for holding of an All Parties Conference (APC).

The 14-member committee comprises Leader of the House in Senate, Syed Nayyar Hussain Bokhari, Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattoo, Minister for Textile Industry, Makhdoom Shahabuddin, Minister for Religious Affairs, Syed Khursheed Shah, Minister for Science and Technology, Changez Jamali, Minister of Communication, Dr Arbab Alamgir, Minister of State for Industries, Ayatullah Durrani, Senators Mian Raza Rabbani, Jahangir Badar, Dr Babar Awan and MNAs Raja Pervez Ashraf, Qamar Zaman Kaira, Nazar Muhammad Gondal and Sumsam Ali Bokhari.

The Prime Minister directed the members of committee to propose practical steps within one week, in consultation with all stakeholders. The meeting also discussed the holding of APC on Balochistan.

The Prime Minister further directed that a detailed report with regard to the development work in Balochistan including under the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan should be presented in the next meeting, so that its fast track implementation is ensured.

During the meeting it was also decided to take all out measures on the issue of missing persons. The meeting reiterated that the federal government will fully cooperate with the provincial government to address the situation in Balochistan. The next meeting will be held after one week.

Editorial, *Daily Mail* (Islamabad) February 25, 2012,
http://dailymailnews.com/0212/25/Editorial_Column/index1.php

BALUCHISTAN IS NOT BEYOND HOPE

There is much that Islamabad has to answer for in Balochistan, where it has bungled badly in virtually every respect over the years. Its goals, priorities and motivations are all helter-skelter. It has precious little to show in terms of winning the hearts and minds of ethnic Baloch. Actually, it appears as if Islamabad has no hearts-and-minds products to sell. It has treated Baloch grievances with imperious insensitivity and suspicion. Rigged elections have further eroded the moral authority of Islamabad while malodorous policies such as “kill and dump” along with the arrogance and hubris of our governing elite have set the stage for what is fast becoming a self-imposed tragedy. That’s a pity because Balochistan is by no means a lost cause. Secession may spring eternal in the hearts of those Baloch who have taken to the hills, but the reality is very different. For a start, not all of them, not by any means, want to secede. Besides the Baloch are hopelessly outnumbered, like the Kurds of Iraq, Turkey and Iran; or the Chechens in Russia. There are simply not enough Baloch to take on the rest of the country, and those that wish to live on that hope will die fasting because in the end numbers are a decisive factor which simply does not work for Baloch independence. It is equally absurd for those hotheads in exile to think that the Baloch can piggyback their way to independence with Indian or American support. Even if India possesses such a desire, it does not have the means to make it happen, short of risking a full-scale war. As for America trying to carve out a Baloch state out of Pakistan, that would only compound the historical ignorance displayed in Washington’s Afghan strategy. Actually, an independent Balochistan is neither feasible nor desirable. If anything, it will be a huge disaster. For a start, the province itself is deeply divided between Baloch

and Pakhtuns. An endless civil conflict is more likely than independence if the situation should get out of control in Balochistan. The fact that the notion of independence is a serious issue is only because we have mistreated the Baloch and also because of the way we have mismanaged our overall foreign relations.

Besides, the illusion that America can intervene to fix things and create new countries following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Berlin Wall has finally begun to thaw. Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya – now given up to anarchy - have been bloody and ruinously expensive lessons for America. In the words of a former CIA analyst, “America has been creating enemies faster than it can kill them. It has far more enemies today than after 9/11.” It is not surprising, therefore, that the Obama administration has sensibly distanced itself from the rants of analysts and politicians like Col Peters and Dan Rohrabacher, and also prefers to keep the Baloch rebel leadership at arm’s length.

Hence, it is neither the threat posed by the secessionists nor the danger of them riding into power on the backs of a foreign force that need concern us overly. But what must concern us seriously is the deplorable and deadly impact the Balochistan situation is having on our own morale and self-esteem. The mess in Balochistan shows us as cruel and evil, incapable of responsible and humane government, given to exploiting the land and resources of a segment of our people and treating them as second-class citizens. And the longer we take to admit this sad fact and begin to right the historical wrongs done to them, the more we will appear as self-deceiving, unconscionable moral cowards. Surely no self-respecting people can tolerate that? It is our convoluted mindset that is our deadliest danger, which if ignored could turn into an existential threat for Pakistan.

Many, like me, have offered suggestions as to what must be done to win back the Baloch in previous articles and speeches. Nearly all proposals involve some kind of amnesty for the rebels, the withdrawal of the military from Balochistan, free elections and a genuine transfer of power to freely-elected Baloch representatives – of course, all within the ambit of the Pakistani Constitution.

In my view, these steps should be taken as soon as practicable. There is no need to wait for the rebel response, or ponder the risks because they are risks worth taking and, if need be, the army can return. Nor should politicians, like Nawaz Sharif, make their participation in discussions on a new deal for Balochistan conditional on the arrest of Akbar Bugti’s killers and the recovery of missing persons. Those demands should be fulfilled, but if for some reason, that proves difficult, it should not prevent him from participating in the endeavour. He should consider it his national duty to do so, overriding personal or political considerations.

In any case, Nawaz Sharif is as much to blame as the others who have had a turn at the helm in Islamabad. None of them did anything during their stints in office for the Baloch, and now is the time for all of them to make amends rather than to procrastinate and dither, or throw a spanner in the works merely to score political points.

This crisis is far too grim and complex for the politicians to continue to do things in their divisive manner or for the establishment to carry on as usual. We have to find a way to face up to the reality and that we can only do by bringing the civilians and the military together for Pakistan’s sake. Neither side can handle it without the other’s cooperation. So we need some hard talk between the two. That’s a big

challenge given our past record and current cutthroat politics, but it will put our survival instinct to its ultimate test.

But that's not to say that in our rush to make amends we must passively turn the other cheek when settlers in Balochistan, who have been living there for decades, are murdered, kidnapped for ransom or made to flee. That's out of the question. The application of hard power is as necessary, and perhaps even more so, when a new deal is on offer, lest the secessionists feel emboldened to shoot their way into power. However, a fair and generous offer to the Baloch, if sincerely made and implemented, will take much of the wind out of the sails of the rebels. And, in case they prove adamant and the time to play rough does arrive, there will be greater national support for the army to intervene in Balochistan.

True, all the steps that need to be taken will be hard, painful and fraught with danger. But fortunately, all of it is in our hands. We need no one else's support to rectify the mistakes of our own doings. All we need is what we have badly lacked, and that is leaders who have courage, determination and a modicum of common sense and are not insensitive, bloody-minded and corrupt ignoramuses who can bleat and preen before the TV cameras at political rallies but are good at nothing when it comes to the real thing.

So let's make up our minds and look beyond what needs to be done in Punjab and other provinces for the moment and concentrate our political and intellectual energy and imagination on Balochistan. Too much is at stake if we fail in Balochistan.

Zafar Hilaly, *News International* (Rawalpindi), February 26, 2012,
<http://images.thenews.com.pk/26-02-2012/cthenews/e-94643.htm>

BALUCHISTAN: TERRORISM, POLICING AND MEDIA

Had Pakistan invested small amount of money in policing, maintaining law and order, and judicial system in Pakistan especially Balochistan and Sind they might not needed to do military operations every so often? It is a complete failure of politicians in addressing the issues. Common people have no choice but to put up with thugs and criminals of so called liberal political parties when law enforcement agencies and judiciary completely fail to provide justice and protection. A military force cannot be used for policing?

Pakistan's fundamental problems are corruption, mismanagement and its ruling elite, and that is very true for Pakistani province Balochistan. Few years ago a senior BBC journalist and expert on Pakistan was telling me about his interview with a powerful Sardar (chief tribesman) of Balochistan. He said: "I was interviewing this Sardar and during the interview he said, 'oh by the way my (grand) son also studies in London. His was also present at the time of the interview. I asked his son which college he goes to. That college was not far from BBC Headquarters in White City in London. The son and future Sardar looked at me with begging eyes as if saying to me; 'drop it man'. In actual fact the son of the Sardar never went to the college in the first place". For the whole tribe and Sardar his son was getting education abroad in the great city of London.

Coming and living in London was enough for him to rule thousands of his poor fellow tribesmen? That make him foreign qualified. This foreign exposure does

not change them. That is true to all most all the feudal elite of Pakistan including Balochistan. Now these few sons of Sardars are threatening to undo Pakistan with the help of enemies of Pakistan. Someone said; 'history tells that they will be hanged by their own foreign supporters. As these traitors are hired like prostitutes, though they are paid before the job but surely kicked out after the job is done?'

British are very kind hearted and generous in helping out and supporting good causes anywhere in the world including Pakistan. They provide platform to speak anyone and everyone as per democratic values. They are not hypocrites but do protect their national interests and rightly so. If Pakistanis are not protecting their own national interests no one else is going to do that for them?

Dr Shahid Qureshi wrote an article on 1st July 2006, "Balochistan: Pakistan going to be betrayed again?" I was of the opinion: "Betrayal by friends is not a new word in the history of Pakistan. Since its inception different sinister plans and plot have been hatched against it. Now it's high time to move on and see things objectively and clearly. Pakistan must be aware of the very small minority whose interests are tied outside its borders."

This minority consists of bureaucrats, politicians, technocrats and businessmen. These are the people who have their sons, daughters and grandsons settled in the West and US and hoping to spend their retired life in those places and conspire against Pakistan.

India with its economic and strategic partners in Middle East, west and US never stopped conspiring against Pakistan no matter how many positive gestures Pakistan showed. India, US and its allies support almost all the ethnic parties in Pakistan including MQM, Sindhi Movements and Baluchi separatists. These parties are provided intellectual and academic support by holding seminars, workshops and conferences. The Foreign Policy Centre in London on 27th June 2006 provided a similar type of platform where all the one man anti-Pakistani parties gathered with their wishful sinister ideas and claims. Their focus was Pakistan Army, the joining and defending force. They keep on referring it to be a Punjabi Army. My response to them in the discussion was:

"Half of the Royal British Army was from only four districts of Punjab which continued initially after the partition. You are in the right place to make your complaint because it was British who were responsible for it. I have not seen so many angry and anti Pakistan people under one roof... You are responsible directly or indirectly for the killings of around 400 innocent Pakistanis, injuring more than 750 and more than 1500 bombings. You are behaving like Chalabis and Iraqi exiles who provided wrong and false information to the US and West about Iraqi WMDs, which got them into deep trouble. That also led them to commit gross violation of human rights." (Not if they did not know about WMDs but 'Chalabis' helped in winning public opinion). "You are singing creation of 'Greater Balochistan' from US and Indian hymn sheet and that will destabilise the whole region gravely. Any such plan will create problems in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. USA and its allies are already in great trouble in Iraq and Afghanistan. Your actions will cause more deaths and violations of human rights". I also told Sanaullah Baluch and Mehran that you would not get anything out of it like Chalabi in Iraq. Sanaullah said to me that, 'Baluch youngsters would soon be flying Rs 3 Crores (Rs30m) helicopters and dropping

bombs on Pakistani cities. I told him, 'it's a stupid and absurd idea'. (Senator Sanahullah Baluch's brother was/is serving officer in the Pakistan army).

The speakers like Frederic Grare, of Carnegie Endowment for International peace, Senator Sana Baloch from Balochistan; Lakhu Lohana, Mr Dashiti and Mr. Mehran Baloch were all singing from the same hymn sheet, 'anti Pakistan, anti Pakistan Army and interestingly anti China too'. In my view it was a great meeting to see the different stake holders like Indians, US, Russians, may be Israelis under one roof. The so-called ethnic leaders were miserably trying to prove their worth. It is very interesting that most of the stakeholders are fully aware with ground realities and worth of these people but still consider it to be a great investment for future. For example these so called leaders cannot survive without the protection and support of these countries?

"Few months ago these people arranged a demonstration outside No 10, Downing Street, I covered the event, which was attended by about 40 people. They send me a press release saying, 'thousands attended from UK and Europe'. I sent an email to the London Police to confirm the numbers and what arrangements were made for the parking of busses and cars of these thousands protesters?" (Everyone knows one has to inform the British police about the approximate number of attendees/protesters.) Now it is up to the policy makers in Pakistan how they want to handle this issue. A robust and calculated response is needed. There is no harm in de-classifying information to the media about these nawabs and sardars and their financial dealings with the government that will shut the supporters up for time being at least. British Pakistani and Kashmiri community should write to Prime Minister Tony Blair, patron of FPC to hold a similar conference on Kashmir and Asam." Few days ago Ayaz Ahmed Khan a senior Pakistani analyst wrote about Balochistan terrorism: "When Nawab Bugti bombed Sui Gas installations and Sui Pipe Line 273 times and caused billions of dollars losses to Pakistan's economy, why the Balochistan and the Federal government arrested him as an arsonist and brought him to justice? All the Chief Ministers from day one were Baluch Sardars. They were given billion of Rupees for the development. They squandered and stole the billions. Why does the federal government not disclose the billions allotted for the development, along with the names of the Baloch Sardars who were Chief Ministers? Nawaz Bugti was Governor of Balochistan. Please tell us what he did for the uplift of the Baloch people? Is it a fact that Sui Gas Co Ltd had employed 2000 illiterate Bugiti tribesmen, on paper; they never showed up for work and their salaries were being pocketed by Nawab Akbar Bugti. Is it a fact that Nawab Bugti blackmailed Pakistan, and yet received Rs nine crore (Rs 90m) annually. Is it a fact that since decades all members of the Provincial Assembly were made cabinet ministers and even now are all provincial ministers, drawing huge salaries, indulging in nepotism and huge corruption, and pocketing every grant given for the education, social development and up lift of the poor Baluch people? Is it a fact that some provincial ministers are engaged in kidnappings, and take little notice of kidnappings for ransom or other heinous crimes being committed by the so called BNA — the bunch of traitors who call themselves Baluch National Army? The Baloch Sardars have looted Balochistan and exploited its people. This truth must be told without fear". The role of media is very important in the current environment a senior writer and a politician wrote following asking Pakistani media: "Our irony is that most anchors are fun seekers, very few those who realise the gravity

of the situation; they are unaware of the historical perspectives, they unsettle the settled issues, would bring such people on the show who have no sense of responsibility but to praise and defend their worthless leaders. Many (TV) anchors work just to promote their ratings; they have a sight on 50 million dollars from Kerry Lugar Bill. To improve their ratings, they can do anything even if it costs national integrity. At times seeing the Pakistani channels, one wonders are we watching Indian channels or American who want to destabilize Pakistan. Anchors must bring committed people who are not willing to compromise national interests and not longing for relations with India at our national cost". "It is amazing how all the media creepy crawlies have come out of the woodwork on cue trying to turn what is essentially an externally inspired and supported terrorist campaign into a just cause for Pakistan. Only in Pakistan do the media champion the cause and lionize traitors and terrorists that act against the country. Would the British media have acted in the same way in the case of IRA or the Spanish for ETA or the Indians for the Kashmiris, Sikhs and Naxalites?" Why don't our (Pakistani) anchors ask rebel Baluch rebel leaders and other politicians the following questions?

1. Who made the Khan of Kalat the Khan? Who did he or his ancestors defeat in battle to acquire the territory that he claims and wants to rule over?
2. Who created the Nawab of Marri and of Bugti? As the British that, how does it confer legitimacy to their lordship over the tribe?
3. The rebel leaders say that military operations have been carried in Balochistan five times? Wasn't there a rebellion before the operation? If there was, the operation was justified. What are they complaining about? Are they not leading an armed rebellion?
4. Did they not get weapons and money from the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in the past and from India, Mossad and the CIA now? Do they deserve a reward for their treachery?
5. The most effective response to treason and rebellion is 'decapitation'. Pakistan hesitated in East Pakistan in 1971 and it is hesitating now. It is counter-productive to kill hundreds; it is best to deal with the leaders".

Pakistani rulers must not forget its constitutional, national and international obligations to protect the human rights of all the Pakistanis in KPK and Balochistan. It is true that those involved in terrorism and killings of innocent people including from Punjab and other areas brought to justice in the court of law. All districts of Pakistan and Balochistan must produce a list of 'Real Missing People' with their traceable identities and next of kins for media confirmations.

Had Pakistan invested small amount in policing, maintaining law and order, and judicial system in Pakistan especially in Balochistan they might not need to do military operations every so often? A military force cannot be used for policing? Those who have fits of inviting military to do the policing for them are the real enemies of Pakistani people and country. It will provide them the excuse of asking for international UN protection and that is a Trap?

Dr Shahid Qureshi, *The London Post*, February 27, 2012,
http://www.thelondonpost.net/Balochistan_terrorism_policing.html

WHITHER BALOCHISTAN?

The media hype being generated about Balochistan is a glaring example where the security establishment is being held solely responsible for the unfolding crisis. Most of our problems stem from jumping to conclusions based on incorrect facts, and going on to deliberately distorting them to suit mass perception. There are targeted killings going on and people are disappearing, one does not doubt that the elements of the State are responsible for some of them, and that these are mostly people we generally know as the Baloch. An equal number, if not more, of Pashtuns and Punjabi settlers in Balochistan are being murdered in cold blood by the "sons of the soil" but the media seems to give it only cursory mention.

I took part in military operations in Balochistan in 1973 commanding a Rifle Company in 44 Punjab (now 4 Sindh). The Marris opposing us were basically simple people who had no reason to fight except that they were so ordered by their Sardar living comfortably in Kabul at that time. The 1973 military operation against the Marris (and sometime later the Mengals) was ordered by a democratic government headed by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the advice and instigation of then Governor Akbar Khan Bhutto, "to eliminate the miscreants".

Nadir Shah installed Naseer Khan Brahui as the Nizam of Kalat Region in 1740, the Baloch/Brahui areas comprised Sarawan, Jhalawan, Mekran and Kachi, the region included not only Baloch and Brahui tribes but also some from Sindh. Of the three tribes in the forefront of the protest in varying degree, Marri and Mengal Baloch, the Bugtis are actually Rahejas of Sindhi origin. Conversely the Bijranis of Sindh originate from the Marris, and so on and so forth. History has ethnicity in its embrace into one melting pot. This has all been duly recorded by none other than a member of the Sindh Public Services Commission Mr. A D Dandpota at the turn of the last century. Out of the 7 million people populating Balochistan today, Baloch (including the Brahuis) and the Pakhtuns are almost in equal number, with about a million of other ethnicities resident including those settlers. More Baloch live in Punjab (7 million) and Sindh (4 million) than in Balochistan, and that almost all of them in the old Kalat Division. Till a few years ago, the Governor was Pashtun and the Chief Minister Baloch so as to equate the ethnic balance, why was this practice stopped?

As a multi-racial, multi-ethnic land populated by diverse races, it is absurd that a small militant minority led by the descendants of cruel and despotic Sardars speak holistically about "democracy and independence". For the record, Brahamdagh Bugti is a descendant of Shahbaz Khan Bugti who was elevated from being a Sardar to a Nawab by Maj Sandeman in 1890 alongwith Sardar Mehrullah Khan Mengal for helping the British quell the "Hur Revolt" in Sindh. This is the same Maj Sandeman whom the proud Baloch Sardars of yesteryear carried on a litter on their shoulders from Punjab into Balochistan for many scores of miles when his horse died. Quetta Club has many old photos of the ancestors of today's Baloch Nawabs prostrating themselves before their British masters in the club premises. There was no protest by the Sardars when they were subjected to humiliating terms by the British for their continued rule on Nawabs and Sardars, viz (1) single heir to be designate by the British (2) he would serve conditionally on the government's pleasure (3) information service to be provided by the British during his terms of office (4) his incumbency was strictly subject to good behaviour and (5) his services to British would be on call. And all

these rules lasted till 1947! The Baloch now protest Army cantonments but did not protest when the British made the biggest cantonment in British India after Agra in Quetta in the early 1900s. Till the 60s Quetta was nothing but a garrison town populated mainly by the Hazara Pashtuns.

The three "Nawabs" of the Baloch who are now agitating for "independence", as are some sardars, have taken repeated oaths of allegiance to Pakistan as Governors, Chief Ministers, Federal and Provincial Ministers, Members of the Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies. There has been a Baloch President and a Baloch Prime Minister. During their time in office none of the Baloch Nawabs and Sardars made any effort to uplift their own people, most of the money meant for development landed up in their pockets, mainly to finance their luxurious lifestyle and profligate ways, both at home and abroad. Has anyone ever taken any Baloch Sardar to task to account for all the funds doled out to them for the uplift of their people? The media should be fair and compare their lifestyle and houses in Karachi and in Quetta with the squalid huts of the Baloch in Sui, Dera Bugti, Mawand, Kahan, etc. Gas from Sui did not go to Quetta and other towns till Gen Rahimuddin pushed it through as the Governor in the mid 80s within months. If the Baloch people live in penury and poverty today it is only because of the hereditary rulers planted on them by the British. There is a problem in Balochistan and it has to be addressed but we must get all the communities on the table and not talk the Sardars. These Sardars represent only their own narrow vested interests and not that of those whom they call their people.

One has to recognize that the situation availing today is a very complex issue, most of it can be attributed to neglect, bad governance, corruption, inadequate capacities of law enforcement agencies (LEAs) to establish writ of State and to ward-off foreign intervention. There is now a very deliberate attempt to create perception of non Baloch hegemony, the political government must take ownership of territorial integrity and not dump it on the military. The fact remains that both the political and administrative leadership is native Baloch, the Army is sincerely committed to help them and that is acknowledged privately, if not publicly. The Army has stopped construction of any further cantonments and there is no military operation ongoing at the moment, or has been for several years. However critical areas like the coastal belt have to be guarded, so must be the socio-economic infra-structure, by the paramilitary Frontier Corps (FC) which nation can allow communications and facilities of the public to be disrupted at will? The cantonment at Sui has been converted into an education center. Primary schools paid for by international agencies were turned into "Autags" by the Nawabs and sardars, they now actually have children getting education. Baloch youth are now joining the Army and FC in great numbers.

The problem is that the present Federal government is all rhetoric and no action, despite the NFC Award virtually no development has been carried out, even with allocation of double the funds. There is no accountability of the money being spent. No effect has been made by government or civic society to address the social aspect of the issue, the tribal Sardars in self-imposed exile breathe fire against the State in the media but do not represent the majority of the ethnic Baloch nor the vast majority of non-Baloch who populate Balochistan today.

"Kill and dump" is certainly not the answer, in fact should be condemned, but what should the Frontier Corps (FC) do when they are violently attacked or have to defend critical socio-economic installations like gas pipelines, electric transmission

towers, etc? What about their personnel who die or are maimed? Should they allow the non-Baloch to be murdered and driven out of their homes? Unfortunately disproportionate media projection of the separatist leaders encourages ethnicity and violence. While it must bring into forces the excesses of the security force, the media has a responsibility to the populace. It is their bounden duty to give the correct facts about the excesses on the populace by the leaders who remain in "power" by the barrel of the gun rather than by full exercise of the democratic vote. Who gave them the right to openly brandish their weapons in public, and in such numbers?

While dialogue must be a constant process, history confirms that the concept of appeasement is disastrous for national security, it tacitly accepts the erosion of national interest. To negotiate with their hereditary rulers and their hired guns, and that also of a minority of the population, is tantamount to condemning the people to continued slavery. Compromise of basic tenets of society at the point of gun will be fatal for the Federation. The people of Balochistan, Baloch and non-Baloch, must enjoy the manifold wealth buried in their land, they have waited for this for centuries.

The Baloch must be taken out of their life of deprivation and want, they deserve all our sympathy, so do the other oppressed people in other Provinces suffering under a very unfair feudal system that disfigures the electoral vote and ensures merit is a disqualifier, only absolute loyalty gets premium. The "democracy" that the feudal lords espouse is limited to their own version of despotic role, under its veneer a vast majority has been kept by them virtually as slaves. Almost every Baloch tribal serving out of Balochistan has to give part of his earnings to his Sardar or his family suffers. The incongruity of it all is that the military wants democracy for the Baloch people, but has not been able to translate its objectives into practice, this can only be possible under democratic dispensation which must obtain freedom for the Baloch from cruel depraved rulers who have the power of life and death over them and their children.

While the country cannot be held hostage by a murderous minority, the answer to all this is to not to fight fire with fire alone but only do selective response, if and when needed. A dialogue must be immediately started with all the groups who comprise the population of Balochistan today. Local Bodies Elections must be carried out and the State must ensure it is free and fair, and not influenced by the diktat of the Sardar who presently holds power of life and death over the populace. It is only by freeing the Baloch from the cruelty of the Nawabs and Sardars that the benefits of democracy will go to the people of Balochistan, Baloch and non Baloch, but all of them Pakistanis.

Feudalism is a curse, not only on the people of Balochistan but the entire country. It can only be eliminated by empowering the people at the grassroots level.

Ikram Sehgal, *Bangladesh Today*, February 27, 2012,
<http://www.thebangladeshtoday.com/archive/February%2012/23-2-2012.htm#editorial>

BLAMING OTHERS FOR BALOCHISTAN

The sharp reaction in Pakistan over the US congressional anti-Pakistan slur in the context of Balochistan was understandable. The government and the people have been

furious that within a week after the controversial hearing on Balochistan in the House Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations, a handful of misguided if not mischievous congressmen should have crossed all limits by moving a resolution in the US House of Representatives that called for giving “right of self-determination” to the Baloch people. There could not be a more unabashed example of double standards and blatant violation of global norms of inter-state relations and decency. It was outright interference in our internal affairs.

We must however note that the man behind this whole episode was Dana Rohrabacher, a Republican Congressman from California, who is known for his maverick behaviour and oscillating public positions. The other two sponsors of the resolution Louie Gohmert and Steve King are relatively unknown entities in a House of 435 members.

A renowned American scholar and an authority on this region, Professor Christine Fair who was invited as a witness to the hearing aptly described the whole affair as a “stunt” which a staff member in Rohrabacher’s office confided to her was organised only because “they wanted to stick it to the Pakistanis.”

It was indeed a “stunt” motivated not by any genuine concern for the situation in Balochistan but largely by a level of frustration in the US Congress over the situation in Afghanistan. The sub-committee was a convenient forum to bring Pakistan under pressure by using the “human rights” situation in Balochistan. But instead of burning ourselves with anger and frustration on these unfriendly acts or resentfully arguing as to who gave the right to the US Congress’s Committee on Foreign Affairs to discuss ‘human rights situation’ in Balochistan, we should be doing some real soul-searching to find who made us an easy target for foreign interferences and humiliating coercion and reproach.

The congressional focus on Balochistan should have been an eye-opener to us. Our problems will not end just by making anodyne noises that do not reflect our pathetic reality of being a ‘client’ state whose self-centred rulers have themselves been espousing ‘foreign interferences’ not only as an instrument of their statecraft but also as the basic plank of their political survival and strength. The words ‘sovereignty’ and ‘territorial integrity’ have no relevance in their ‘philosophy’ of greed and power. This has been a legacy of total subservience to foreign powers including a couple of neighbouring ‘kingdoms’ and ‘sheikhdoms’ which seem to have gained an intrusively decisive role in our domestic affairs.

We must be truthful to ourselves by at least recognising our own frailties and accepting our own responsibility for being where we are today. A cursory look at the events of the last few years will show how committed our rulers have been to the established norms of inter-state relations. Under the UN Charter, no country, however powerful or dominant, can resort to pre-emptive or preventive use of force, or to any punitive action, unless it is authorised by the UN Security Council within the scope of Articles 42 and 51 of the Charter. We never had the courage to invoke these principles and remained totally complacent if not explicitly consensual to repeated violations of our territorial integrity.

Likewise, under Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter, all member states are required to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations. In our case, humiliating territorial transgressions and frequent

'distant interventions' in the form of unlawful drone attacks are almost a daily routine. The 'use of force' against our territorial integrity and foreign intrusions in our internal affairs are an accepted and at times solicited norm for our rulers. The illegal NRO and notorious memo scandal are clear evidence of this sordid reality.

We have also been a shameful accomplice at the UN in the 'legitimation' of a highly exceptionable 'Right to Intervene' in the name of 'Right to Protect' which the West has in recent years been using as a lethal political weapon of their 'regime change' policy. After Qaddafi's ouster, this weapon was tried for a similar result in Syria through a resolution in the UN Security Council which surprisingly we supported without even realising its ominous implications for us. We didn't have to do this especially when we knew the resolution was being vetoed by Russia and China. Our compliant positive vote on the resolution amounted to acceptance of the 'Right to Intervene' in cases of alleged human rights violations.

All said and done, the only silver lining in this grim scenario was a short statement issued by the US Embassy in Islamabad affirming that Balochistan is Pakistan's internal issue and that the US respects the latter's sovereignty. The US State Department on its part also distanced itself from the controversial initiatives in the Congress, while urging the need for all the parties in Balochistan to resolve their differences through peaceful means and for Pakistan to "really lead and conduct a dialogue that takes the Balochistan issue forward." This was sound advice no matter where it originated from. We should have no qualm in heeding it. In today's world, all problems, intra-state or inter-state are best resolved through peaceful means. The noises made by our rulers on the Balochistan "stunt" in the US Congress were no more than the same 'double talk' and 'double deal' for which their skills are known not only in the country but also the world over. No one took them seriously. Instead of crying foul and blaming others for interfering in our internal affairs, they must accept the situation in Balochistan is not normal. It is not merely a law and order problem. It is an issue of gross governance failure in removing the regional disparities inherent in our lopsided federal structure and resultant sense of inequality and deprivation among different parts of the country.

Despite its abundance of natural resources, Balochistan remains the most backward province of the country and its legitimate political and economic grievances have long remained unaddressed. The Quaid, himself, was mindful of the injustices of the colonial period inherited by the people of Balochistan and acknowledged the need to redress their long-standing grievances by giving them a direct say in the administration and governance of their province. At the first Sibi Darbar on February 14, 1948, he pledged to them "the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan as were open to their brethren in other provinces."

He also assured them of a future reform package on their socio-economic and political well-being but with his early demise, the promised package never came. With a deeply entrenched feudal and tribal power structure in the province and totally apathetic ruling elite in Islamabad, things continued to worsen. It is time now to deliver on the Quaid's promise to the people of Balochistan. Our Baloch brothers must also understand that their future lies in Pakistan alone. Whatever grievances they may have must be resolved through political and economic means, not by force or militancy. Balochistan's sardars and nawabs must also come out of their exploitative mode and instead of fuelling self-serving 'nationalist' unrest and obstructing genuine

development and security related projects; they should join the country's political mainstream and genuinely work for the socio-economic well-being of their people. The Baloch interests will be best safeguarded only in a strong and stable Pakistan and in an environment of peace and tranquillity in their province free of exploitation, blackmail or duress from any source.

Shamshad Ahmad, *News International* (Rawalpindi), February 29, 2012,
<http://images.thenews.com.pk/29-02-2012/cthenews/e-95135.htm>

ROHRBACHER & BALOCHISTAN

If any evidence was required that as a nation generally and as the so-called educated intellectual class particularly we have succumbed to mass hysteria and paranoia, we need go no further than the reaction to the hearing that Congressman Dana Rohrabacher conducted on Balochistan and the subsequent resolution he presented in the US House of Representatives supporting Balochistan's right to independence.

Driven by public furore, the Foreign Office and our embassy had to set aside what they knew about Rohrabacher and the resolution and lodge a protest with the Americans. What did the Foreign Office and our embassy know and what is it that we should have known, given the fundamental importance of the US-Pakistan relationship? First, that in the American system every congressman and senator thinks of himself as qualified to be the secretary of state. The standard joke is that other countries have one foreign minister but the Americans have 536 one secretary of state, 435 members of the House of Representatives and 100 senators. They can and do act as though they have decision-making powers, which they do not.

Second, presenting resolutions is the right of every congressman just as in our system every member of parliament can present a private member's bill. At last count, Congressman Rohrabacher had put forward seven resolutions/amendments for our region in 2011/2012. They ranged from amendments prohibiting assistance to Pakistan (this was the only one voted upon and defeated soundly last July) to awarding a medal to Dr Shakeel Afridi, involved in the US operation to track down Osama bin Laden.

More importantly, there were resolutions calling for the empowering of Afghan ethnic minorities by replacing the present 'failed' system of government in Afghanistan with a federal political structure and another that urged the United States not to release the Taliban prisoners 'until Mullah Mohammad Omar had been turned over to United States custody'. All these resolutions have been referred to various committees/subcommittees and it can be assumed will not see the light of legislative day.

Third, Rohrabacher in an op-ed written some days before the Balochistan hearing, made the case for empowering Afghanistan's ethnic minorities, and having berated Pakistan for interference in Afghanistan concluded that 'Perhaps we should even consider support for a Balochistan carved out of Pakistan to diminish radical power there also'.

His hearing was clearly designed to provide some intellectual support for this objective. Equally clearly, he failed: in the hearing the witnesses he had called certainly pointed out human rights violations and the Baloch sense of deprivation and alienation but offered no support for Baloch independence. The most radical witness was Dr Hosseinbor and his recommendation was that the elected Baloch

representatives should negotiate with the elected central government subject to the caveat that `there is no room or popular mandate for the army in such negotiations` Another witness, Christine Fair whose more recent writings have been, to say the least, rather critical of Pakistan also made it clear that she was opposed to any talk of Balochistan`s independence. In fact, in a piece written after the hearing Ms Fair disclosed that when she tried to ascertain what facet of Balochistan she should focus on she was told by Rohrabacher`s staff that the purpose of the hearing was to `stick it to the Pakistanis` because they had for the past decade been `killing us in Afghanistan` As regards the resolution presented by Rohrabacher, she says rightly `this nonbinding resolution does not reflect the sense of Congress and no congressmen have embraced the measure.

Fourth, Rohrabacher has had an interest in Afghanistan for the last 30 years. As part of president Reagan`s stable of speech writers he takes credit for having Reagan call the Afghan Mujahideen `freedom fighters` and even for the parallel Reagan drew between America`s founding fathers and the Mujahideen. In those days, Pakistan was his favourite country.

Today his attitude towards Pakistan is coloured by what he believes Pakistan is doing in Afghanistan and not by his concern for the Baloch people. Had he been genuinely concerned about Balochistan his star witness should have been Selig Harrison who has long been regarded in the American security establishment as the foremost expert on Balochistan.

Following on a number of books and articles advocating Baloch independence and closer India-US relations Selig Harrison published in April 2009 a special report titled Pakistan: the State of the Union. For someone advocating Baloch independence this report has much to offer if read selectively. It has such gems as `...an independent Balochistan would not be a threat to US interests, since Baloch leaders have often declared their support for US strategic objectives in the Persian Gulf and have offered assurances that the US Navy and US merchant shipping would have access to the modernised port facilities at Gwadar now being built for Pakistan with Chinese help` It adds: `Notwithstanding ISI efforts to depict them as terrorists, Baloch nationalist groups espouse secular values. They have avoided ties with Islamist forces in Pakistan and Afghanistan and have cooperated with secular Pakhtun elements in areas of northern Balochistan where there are Pakhtun enclaves.

Our Balochistan problem is serious.

We need to address it if we wish to survive as a united country. But we should do so without having to stoke anti-Americanism or attributing to the American government that which it has not advocated. We should recognise, however, that what Rohrabacher has done is to pinpoint our vulnerabilities and, in effect, to warn that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

Najmuddin A. Shaikh, *Dawn* (Islamabad), February 29, 2012,
http://epaper.dawn.com/~epaper/DetailImage.php?StoryImage=29_02_2012_007_004

OPENING OUR EYES ON BALOCHISTAN

In the last couple of days, Interior Minister Rehman Malik has made a series of startling revelations about Balochistan, claiming that separatist Brahmdagh Bugti was running a training camp for between four and five thousand people and that this had been shut down by Afghan President Hamid Karzai after Pakistan provided his government with information on it. Malik also said that amnesty would be given to more Baloch separatists and that there were only a handful of ‘missing’ people in Balochistan. So far, these statements haven’t been backed with any substantiation. Even if they are true, however, that doesn’t mean that the Baloch problem is any closer to being solved. That Brahmdagh Bugti may have been training his men in Afghanistan and that the camp has now been shut down will not in itself end the insurgency he is leading. Bugti will simply transfer his camps to another area and will not give up the fight. More importantly, such measures do little to address the root of the problem, which is the sense of alienation and frustration that most Baloch feel towards the centre and its policies on their province. Amnesty, too, is not a solution as that also does nothing to assuage the Baloch separatists that their demands are being heard.

A good start would be to consider the recommendations made by two committees that, quite ironically, were drawn up during the time of the previous government, when General Pervez Musharraf was in power. One dealt with constitutional matters, while the other looked at tangible issues related to socio-economic development that could be introduced in the province. While the current government has introduced the Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package, other than the media hype that initially accompanied it, not much else was achieved. The federal government and the establishment both need to be on board with whatever needs to be done, especially the latter, since much of the Balochistan policy is formulated and implemented with its input and thinking. Clearly, this thinking needs to overhaul itself because whatever has been tried till now has not worked. The province is drifting away from the federation, it would seem to some, and the matter has even been raised by a member of parliament of a foreign nation. What else do we need in order to open our eyes on this matter?

Editorial, *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), March 6, 2012,
http://express.com.pk:88/DisplayDetails.aspx?ENI_ID=11201203060192&EN_ID=11201203060136&EMID=11201203060014

PAKISTAN MEDIA GANGED UP!

Balochistan these days is making headlines and all patriotic elements are feeling deeply perturbed over the worsening security situation in Balochistan owing to excessive interference by several foreign powers. The print and electronic media instead of playing a positive role and highlighting the true facts is reinforcing misperceptions and portraying Balochistan as a lost case. Runaway dissident Baloch leaders spewing venom against Pakistan are given lot of space by our print and electronic media, particularly Geo channel. They are allowed to spit poison on Pakistan and to preach independence of Balochistan and no pointed questions are asked. This is exactly what

the adversaries of Pakistan wish for and is in harmony with propaganda of western media. While our media is feverishly engaged in tarnishing the image of Army and ISI on the basis of human rights violations, foreign media blames the two premier organizations on charges of abetting cross border terrorism in Afghanistan, India and Occupied Kashmir and their linkage with Afghan Taliban.

While the focus of local and foreign media, foreign paid NGOs, Baloch nationalists and the US officials is upon so-called human rights violations against the Baloch, there is no mention of target killings by Baloch terrorist groups against settlers, Hazara community, pro-government Balochis and security forces. Punjabi settlers and Hazaras are being systematically cleansed by target killers and all Baloch dominated towns have been cleared of their presence. Tens of thousands of settlers have migrated to other provinces while those who have risked staying on and the marooned Hazaras who have nowhere to go have got locked up in specified localities in Quetta. There is not a single non-local residing in Baloch dominated districts.

Hardly a day passes without an incident of target killing, attack on convoys of security forces, passenger trains and buses, on gas pipelines and installations. In January-February, dozens of Frontier Corps (FC) personnel died at the hands of terrorists. On 3 March, three mutilated bodies of FC men were recovered. Each act of terrorism is proudly claimed by the BLA or BRA but ironically no word of sympathy is uttered by our media and pseudo intellectuals; acts of terrorists are not censured; evil design of Indo-US-Israeli nexus is not exposed. Burning of Pakistan flag, prohibition on hoisting of Pakistan flag and singing of national anthem in schools/colleges and other anti-state activities are ignored.

Most of the mutilated bodies of Baloch nationalists are the ones who had got fed up of living in the hills and wanted to renounce militancy and resume normal life. They are the victims of Blackwater or BLA/BRA/BLF. Inter-tribal rivalries are also behind mysterious killings of Baloch. The blame is, however, conveniently put on the intelligence agencies and FC. One of the reasons put forward for their suspicions is that the abductees were clad in militia uniform.

The US funded Human Rights Watch under Ali Dayan Hasan is working on foreign agenda and is openly espousing the cause of separatists and criticising the security forces and ISI. He is a great fan of Asma Jahangir since she too is fond of hurtling invectives against the Army. Dayan was instrumental in colouring the perceptions of Dana Rohrabachar and two other Republicans about Balochistan and making them move a bill in the Congress seeking self-determination right for the people of Balochistan. Pak security forces employed in Balochistan are now being dubbed as occupiers and oppressors and the terrorists as innocent victims.

The dissident Sardars wanting to break away from Pakistan initially wanted the Army to return to the barracks. Under persistent demand, the Army was forced to return to barracks and to hand over security duties to the FC. Now that the entire security has been taken over by the FC and the terrorists have been unable to gain an edge over it, the FC is being demonized. Kharotabad incident is link of the same chain to defame and demoralize the FC. The FC is being portrayed as an occupation force and in collusion with the ISI involved in abductions and murders of Baloch nationalists. The rebels want the FC not to carryout counter terrorism so that they could invite foreign troops to step in and occupy Balochistan. Demand for withdrawal

of FC from security duties is getting louder and many pseudo intellectuals have ganged up to lend strength to this gory scheme.

Since 2002, deliberate efforts have been put in to address the grievances of the people of Balochistan. Significant ones are grant of provincial autonomy, greater share in NFC, additional vacancies in federal jobs and in armed forces. Between 1947 and 2002, total development budget of Balochistan was Rs 152 billion whereas between 2002 and 2008, the budget shot up to Rs 302 billion. Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan (Beginning of Right of Balochistan) initiated by the government is a Rs 120 billion socio-economic-political package, out of which Rs 12 billion in outstanding debts from gas revenues has already been released. In addition, \$1.77 billion budget has been announced. Mehran Coastal Highway has been built and lot of work done on improvement of road infrastructure in interior Balochistan as well as on several water dams including Mirani dams.

Gwadar has been converted into a seaport and Ormara is being built as Jinnah naval base. Judicial inquiry into Akbar Bugti killing has been ordered. Gen Musharraf has been declared a proclaimed absconder and his red warrant issued to get him back through Interpol. Issue of missing persons is under scrutiny of Supreme Court. Amnesty has been announced for all the Baloch leaders who are in self-exile and it has been decided to withdraw all cases against them. A call for All Parties Conference has been given by the PM. 15000 young gradates and post graduates from Balochistan would be given employment under special internship program and Rs 15000 monthly stipend given to them. Rs 4 billion will be paid to Wapda as subsidy for farmers of Balochistan. 2400 federal government's jobs would be reserved for the Balochis on merit. Petroleum Ministry will provide jobs to the Baloch youth in all its departments more than the fixed quota. Strength of Levies is being increased.

In deference to the wishes of the Baloch nationalists, plan to construct military cantonments in Sui and Kohlu has been abandoned; instead the two are being converted into educational cities where number of army public schools, colleges and technical/vocational institutes are being opened both for boys and girls free of cost. The Army has planned to recruit 20,000 Baloch youth by 2013-14. ISSB selection standards have been lowered for them and special education cadres arranged to enable them to get inducted into Army as officers. Likewise, the Navy is also working upon a comprehensive program to induct Baloch youth in Navy. The FC has also undertaken host of welfare projects. Greater induction of Baloch youth in the FC and Frontier Constabulary is taking place. The FC requisitioned by provincial government to restore law and order cannot be possibly involved in acts of terrorism. Its determination to combat foreign aided terrorists is what troubles the separatists and their patrons.

The Army, Navy and FC are in direct communication with the common Balochis and addressing their day to day problems and striving to better their lives. The US, Britain, Israel and India on the other hand are providing huge funds to the rebellious Sardars to keep them on warpath. These countries are providing arms as well as intelligence and guidance to the terrorist groups which they have pitched against security forces and provided them sanctuaries in Afghanistan. Whenever they find that the insurgency is dying down, they stir it up and even go to the extent of killing the uncooperative wanting to give up militancy and return home.

Massive development works undertaken by the government, the Army and Navy have never been highlighted by partisan media. Neither the impotency of law courts in the province is mentioned. Not a single terrorist arrested by the FC has been sentenced. All are given bail, allowing them to re-continue their acts of terror. It is not brought to light that about 2500 dissidents are involved in insurgency and within this lot; half has been forced to follow the path of violence. Each militant is paid Rs 30,000 a month and special cash awards are doled out on each successful act of terror. Instead of forcefully condemning the blatant interference of foreign powers in our internal affairs and exposing their nefarious agenda in Balochistan, our liberal journalists, TV anchors and intellectuals sing the tunes of their foreign paymasters and whack the Army, FC and ISI. It is high time for our media to show maturity and sense of responsibility to confront foreign intrigues rather than become a part of conspiracy.

Brig Asif Haroon Raja, Opinion Maker, March 7, 2012,
<http://www.opinion-maker.org/2012/03/pakistan-media-ganged-up/>

A TALE OF DECEPTION AND TREACHERY

For the common Baloch, it has all along been a tale of deception and treachery. He has always been treated as a commodity, bought and sold at the whims of exploiting tribal chiefs. While the Baloch sardars have had a history of enthusiastically selling the land, the Baloch populace approved and appreciated Pakistan's creation. Unfortunately, the same parallel streams representing a clash of interests dominate the landscape of Balochistan, even today – the opportunist tribal chieftains and the hapless common Baloch. The former are always on the lookout for new buyers of the land and people in exchange for paltry personal gains, while the latter are overwhelmingly patriot Pakistanis.

In 1861, Jam of Bela allowed the British government to setup a telegraph line through his territory, substantially helping it to control large areas of Balochistan. In addition, he took the responsibility to safeguard the line. The compensation that Jam received for this was less than Rs 900 per month.

In 1883, the Khan of Kalat leased the Quetta district and adjoining territories to the British government. Beside the land, it was an outright sale of the people. The heirs of the Khan were also obliged to adhere to this hire purchase arrangement. He received an annual grant of Rs 25,000 for selling the most attractive part of Balochistan to the British.

Sardar Mehrulla Marri sold all mineral and petroleum rights of the Khatan region to the British government in 1885 for a paltry sum of Rs 200 per month. Again there was no time limit to this agreement; it was in perpetuity. In the same year, the British paid Rs 5,500 to the Bugti sardar for his cooperation, although it was not specified as to what kind of cooperation he extended to them.

Originally, Balochistan comprised of four states of Brahvis and Baloch known as Turan till 1700 AD. In 1754, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the King of Afghanistan, named Nasir Khan, who was a Brahvi, as 'Khan of Kalat' and allowed him to rule the Kalat state. Khan is not a Baloch; rather it is a Pashtun title. Later, other Brahvi/Baloch sardars were also brought under the Khan's control. In 1854, all these four states went under British suzerainty in exchange for Rs 50,000 a year.

In 1896, the British, who had captured Afghanistan in 1876, carved out 'British Balochistan' by drawing the Durand Line and merging some of Afghanistan's territory with Marri and Bugti tribal areas and a portion of Sindh. It was directly ruled, as a Commissionerate, through an agent to Governor General. The Baloch/Brahvi states were allowed to be run as a federation by the Khan of Kalat, with a British Major as 'resident' in the area.

In 1947, Balochistan was designated as Kalat division. The 'British Balochistan', alongside a part of Sindh, was designated as Quetta division. These two divisions were ruled as part of West Pakistan till 1970. The present-day Balochistan was established once the 'one unit' was abolished in 1970. The Quetta and Kalat divisions were merged and named Balochistan. However, the naming of this province was contrary to the realities of the landscape, it was, indeed, a merger of two distinct territories each housing a distinct ethnic group.

The Pashtun and Baloch are co-partners in the stakes of Balochistan with almost equal numbers. The total population of the province is between seven to eight million. This counts for five percent of Pakistan's population. Its landscape is almost half of the country. This low man-to-land ratio, coupled with poor railroad infrastructure, supports the sustenance of exploitative socio-political structure usually centred around tribal chieftains. Hence, it is not surprising that the chiefs oppose infrastructure and services related development projects. The Marri and Mengal sardars first stood up against the federal government when the law was passed to abolish the sardari system in the province to free the ordinary Baloch from the clutches of tribal leaders.

During the cold war, the Soviet Union was surprised by the ability and resourcefulness of Pakistan to generate a spontaneous resistance movement in Afghanistan. To punish it, Kremlin decided to create some organisations that would specialise in sabotage activities in Pakistan. One such organisation was the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA); it was built around the core of Baloch Students Organisation (BSO). The BSO was a conglomerate of leftwing students in Quetta and some other cities of Balochistan. The BLA remained active during the Russo-Afghan war and then it disappeared from the surface, because its main source of funding - the Soviet Union - vanished from the global scene. In the wake of 9/11, when the US occupied Afghanistan with little preparation and less insight, it felt the need to create sources of information and action that was independent from the Pakistani government's control. Most of the elements of such structures were in place, though dormant; and it was not difficult for anyone with sufficient resources to reactivate them. Hence, the present-day BLA was reborn.

In January 2002, reportedly, the first batch of 'instructors' crossed over from Afghanistan into Pakistan to set up the first training camp. The first shipment of arms and ammunition was received from Afghanistan, but as the number of camps grew new supply routes were opened from India. By 2005, according to reports, the pay structure of militants was elaborately defined. Ordinary recruits and basic insurgents received around \$200 per month, the section leaders got upward of \$300 and there were special bonuses for executing a task successfully. Presumably, now they are paid much higher sums. The BLA is not the only fish in the pond, there are others too out there who are actively doing their pay masters' bidding.

Against this backdrop, the federal and provincial governments, as well as the

people, need to align themselves with the common Baloch and capitalise on their goodwill to save lives, support livelihoods and prevent further deterioration of the province. The starting points could be through resolving the missing persons' issue and provision of jobs to the youth.

However, there were a number of patriotic Baluch notables and elders who fiercely resisted the British occupation. These personalities mobilized requisite support for making Balochistan a part of Pakistan. This effort cumulated in Sibbi Darbar presided over by Quaid Muhammad Ali Jinnah where, through a unanimous decision Balochistan became a part of Pakistan.

(Revised article by the author)

Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI, *Nation* (Islamabad), March 12, 2012,
<http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/columns/12-March-2012/a-tale-of-deception-and-treachery>

PAKISTAN ENERGY CRISIS AND BALOCHISTAN

If today someone comes across a claim that oil has been struck at a depth of 60 or 80-90 feet, it would surely be either mocked or thought to be wishful thinking. But the truth is that about 200 years ago, oil was found and extracted, and the production was of good quality even on commercial basis. This quality oil at a depth of 80, 90 and 120 feet was explored, extracted and thousands of barrels were transported on camelback to Harani, Balochistan, and sold to Western Railways for many years. These oil fields were in Marri area, Kohlu District at Kathan.

With the passage of time, the demand of oil for the railways was increasing and so was the problem of transportation. There were not a lot of camels in the area, donkey transportation didn't work, and camel managers demanded extra transportation fares. Along with these inadequacies, the harshness of the summer heat was unbearable for camels. A number of loaded camels even ran away to unknown destinations to avoid the unbearable heat. Therefore, after a couple of years' bad experience, oil exploration and production were abandoned. Pumping pipes were capped. Explorers and other officials left the area. Sibi District Gazetteer published in 1902 narrated the episode under 'Khattan' (a local word meaning asphalt), which is the name of a place in Kohlu, 43 miles by road east of Bebar Kach station. There, in a desolate valley, in bare Eocene strata, two or more springs of hot calcareous water saturated with sulphurated hydrogen issued out of a fault or crack in the rock and with the water came frequent globules of black tarry oil. The amount of oil so issuing is quite insignificant though the traces of asphalt or dried oil in the strata give evidence of a long continuance of the flow.

A few hundred feet away from the springs on a convenient flat ground, boring was commenced on September 17, 1884 at the expense of the government. The Canadian system of boring was employed and from commencement of operations to stoppage early in 1892, Mr R A Townsend, a Canadian, was in charge. Some six holes were put down at Khattan itself within short distances about 50 feet of each other; the deepest of these recorded was 534 feet in diameter, the hole eight inches on top and four and a half inches at the bottom. It was passed through broken nodular limestone (approximately 200 feet thick) and then into shales with thin limestone bands. Oil was

obtained at 28 feet, at 62 feet, at 92 feet, at 115 feet, at 125 feet, at 133 feet and 374 feet, all but the last point being in the nodular limestone.

On the large sample of Khattan oil sent to London, Mr Boverton Redwood reported that it was like the Californian Maltha or black viscid petroleum, from which asphaltum (pitch) was extracted by sun-drying. Its density at 60 F is nearly that to water at higher temperatures, and being lighter than water, it floats. The sample had in it four per cent of floating solids (presumably sulphur and carbonate of lime) and six percent of water.

The yield from the boring varied greatly on February 23, 1888, as Mr Townsend stated; the output 2,500 barrels of oil per six days, which means 15,000 gallons or 60 tons per day. Early in 1890, Mr Oldman noted that four wells were being pumped, yielding a total of 30 barrels per day only; at the close of 1891 pumping ceased as little but water was obtained. The total output between 1886 and 1892 was 777,225 gallons. Afterwards for twelve months, from March 1893, Messrs MacBean and Company pumped the bore holes and produced 60,000 gallons of oil, which was sold to the railways at three annas per gallon. Mr MacBean appeared to entertain the idea that there was no doubt that more could have been obtained had he been able to employ more staff at Khattan. The rate of three gallons delivered at Baber Kach seemed to be about the least working expense at which oil could be put on the railway at Baber Kach (from one anna to one anna seven pies being the cost of camel carriage from Khattan).

The total expenditure of the government in Khattan amounted to Rs 646,259. Of this, Rs 150,000 was for 11 miles of the four-and-a-half inch pipes through which the oil was to be forced from Khattan to Kaura Duff. Through the Chakar gorge, there was also a three mile line of small pipes bringing drinking water for Khattan; for this also credit could be got as likewise for the portable boiler and engine deep well pumps, roofing material, etc. The net loss was probably about Rs 400,000.

Surat Khan Marri, *Daily Times* (Lahore) March 12, 2012,
http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2012\03\12\story_12-3-2012_pg3_4

UNDERSTANDING BALOCHISTAN PART – I

It is painful to see what is happening in Balochistan. It is more painful to see accusations being made against the army or the Frontier Corps (FC), Balochistan, or even me, that we were the cause of the problem. Such accusers, who are actually trying to gain political mileage, do not realise how much they are damaging the solidarity and unity of Pakistan.

There also are TV anchors and writers in the print media who with, their half-baked knowledge, cause more damage to the cause of Pakistan. My motivation for writing this article is to remove some misperceptions and distortions and expose the vicious propaganda that is misleading the people of Pakistan on the Balochistan issue. Balochistan was debated in a US Congressional committee and aspersions were cast on human rights violations. Signs of an ulterior motive of planting seeds of separation were visible. I have always warned of a known foreign hand trying to destabilise Pakistan through Afghanistan and Balochistan. This is now getting serious. Pakistan must take immediate note and tell the US not to encourage anti-Pakistan activity in its

highest legislative bodies. It is a pity that human rights violations are not being noticed in Kashmir or Assam in India but are visible only in Balochistan. I strongly reject these planted notions of human rights violations or missing persons in Balochistan as anti-Pakistan designs being promoted by agents provocateurs.

Brutal suppression of demonstrations for public rights by citizens within a state does come under the purview of human rights but use of modern weapons to kill innocent people of a different ethnicity, undertake terrorist activity to disrupt/damage national infrastructure, launching a guerrilla war for separation against government forces, openly challenging the writ of the government by a small minority of the population is intolerable for any state and needs to be dealt with with an iron hand. There certainly have not been any human rights violations in Balochistan. A few of the sardars have always shown anti-Pakistan tendencies since the country's inception. Operations have been launched against them in the Ayub era, the Bhutto era, the Zia era, and then during my tenure. Such confrontations are not unique to my tenure. Balochistan has a total population of about eight million (four percent of Pakistan's population). Forty percent of these are Pukhtuns who inhabit west and north Balochistan bordering Afghanistan. They have orchards and are peace-loving traders. They are not Taliban supporters, they are very patriotic and strongly pro-Pakistan. The area to the south of Turbat, Panjgur and Bela is the Mekran coast. This area, and even up to Khuzdar and Kalat, is populated by Brahvi-speaking Baloch. These twenty percent of the Baloch population are very different from tribal Baloch. They are entirely pro-Pakistan.

This leaves the area in the centre and east Balochistan bordering Punjab and Sindh. It is this area that Marri, Bugti, Mengal, Rind and several other tribes inhabit. They are pro-Pakistan. It is mainly the Marri and Bugti areas where agitation is found. Their combined population is about 400,000 (0.25 percent of the population of Pakistan). Even in these tribes the major part of the population is not with the sardars.

The biggest sub-tribe of the Bugti clan, the 70,000-strong Kalpar Bugti, were expelled from their lands in a vendetta launched by Nawab Akbar Bugti, who forced them to languish in Punjab and Sindh for over 15 years. It was our government which resettled them on their own land for which they remain ever grateful to me. In the Marri area the rich Chamalang coalmines were closed owing to a Pakhtun-Baloch ethnic feud. Through strong action we got the dispute resolved and the coalmines were made operational again.

Thousands of people got employment and millions of rupees worth of coal was sold daily from the mines. Fifteen percent of the revenue generated went to Kohlu district, which probably became the richest district of Pakistan. The Marris were extremely happy at their newfound development. They will not follow their decadent sardars. In the Mengal tribe, Naseer Ullah Mengal is a prominent tribal leader. He is strongly opposed to the Akhtar Mengal group.

The question that arises is as to who are these militants opposing Pakistan and engaging in separatism. They are a few tribal followers of the agitating sardars and their offspring living abroad getting protection from foreign agencies. These tribal followers, who perhaps number 2,000 to 3,000, spread into some sixty "Ferrari camps" and, armed by foreign agencies, are the ones resorting to militancy. When governments show weakness or adopt a policy of appeasement towards them, these

separatists and militants run wild and suppress the pro-Pakistan population, which is in vast majority.

Some of the sardars are very vicious, unforgiving and decadent. They believe in keeping their tribes backward and under subjugation. A typical insight was provided by none other than Nawab Akbar Bugti in an interview on June 29, 2006, with the Economist magazine. The magazine said “Mr Bugti claims to have killed his first man at the age of twelve.” Bugti was quoted as saying, “What is better than seeing your enemies driven before you and then taking their women to bed?” Ninety percent of Balochistan was “B” area and only 10 percent was “A” area. In the “B” areas writ was exercised by the tribal sardars through the “Levies”. These Levies were paid by the government through the sardars who would keep a good chunk of the money themselves. Also, in cases of confrontations with the army or the Frontier Corps, which were not an infrequent occurrence, the government- paid levies acted as soldiers of the Sardars’ militias.

I gradually converted the entire “B” area, district-wise, into “A” area. We raised an additional police force for districts and additional 10 wings of the FC, creating thousands of jobs to augment law and order. This was not received well by some of the sardars, notably the Marris, the Bugtis and the Mengals.

It would be appropriate to talk of Nawab Akbar Bugti’s episode here. He was challenging the authority of the FC, the army, the provincial government and, indeed, of Pakistan. On his behest gas pipelines, electricity pylons, road bridges and railways lines were being intermittently blown up by miscreants. On one single day 450 rockets were fired at Sui gas installations. The FC garrisons were subjected to rocket and machinegun fire. The FC’s movement in Dera Bugti was restricted.

When the FC retaliated, Akbar Bugti escalated the confrontation and, with his close followers, went into the mountains. During the ensuing confrontation he was located in a cave in the mountains. The cave was surrounded and four officers went inside, quite clearly to ask him to surrender. If the intention had been to kill him, the officers would never have gone in like that.

After that an explosion took place and the cave collapsed, unfortunately burying Nawab Akbar Bugti and the four officers inside. The explosion, most likely, was from a planted explosive device or a rocket being fired. The officers certainly could not have been carrying rocket launchers. This is a clear case of a self-inflicted casualty.

(To be concluded)

Pervez Musharraf, *News International* (Rawalpindi), March 14, 2012,
<http://images.thenews.com.pk/14-03-2012/ethenews/e-97528.htm>

UNDERSTANDING BALOCHISTAN PART –II

There is no doubt that Balochistan is the most backward and most deprived province of Pakistan. Successive governments since our independence are responsible for their share of the neglect suffered by Balochistan. But unfortunately the sardars themselves did not favour development in their areas. Notably Akbar Bugti, who despite having been chief minister and governor of the province, hardly did anything for Balochistan, or even for Dera Bugti. An anti-Pakistan, anti-army and anti-FC sentiment was planted

and gradually nourished, especially among the Bugtis, Marris and Mengals, by their sardars. Some efforts made in the 1970s to open up the area through the establishment of a communication infrastructure were strongly opposed and rejected by the Marris. What is Balochistan's demand? Basically, they demand maximum autonomy and an appropriate share of the earnings from their natural resources. Both demands are genuine, and a lot was done by me. More could be and should be done. The major requirement, however, is socio-economic development, which the sardars almost totally ignore. My government from 1999 started with complete realisation of Balochistan's sense of deprivation and a resolve to correct the situation. What we did and achieved in Balochistan in eight years can be safely said to have been more than what was done during the previous decades since independence. Let me elaborate on our achievements during my period.

- a. We created a new deep-sea port at Gwadar. The port, an alternative to Karachi port, has tremendous strategic significance.
 - b. A 750 kms coastal highway linking Gwadar to Karachi was constructed.
 - c. Work was initiated on a 950 kms road from Gwadar to Rato Dero in Sindh, linking the port to the Super Highway, the RCD Highway and the National Highway.
 - d. A Quetta-Zhob-Dera Ismail Khan linking Balochistan to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was started.
 - e. A road linking Quetta-Loralai-Dera Ghazi Khan linking Balochistan to Punjab was started.
 - f. A road linking Gwadar, Turbat and Mand on the Iranian border was started and completed.
2.
 - a. Two new dams, Mirani and Subukzai, were constructed for the irrigation of barren lands in Baloch and Pakhtun areas, respectively.
 - b. Over 100 small delayed-action dams were created.
 - c. Construction of a more than 500-kms-long Kachi Canal off-taking from Taunsa Barrage and irrigating barren lands of Dera Bugti and Jhal Magsi.
 - d. Over Rs10 billion were spent on an underground water project for Quetta to overcome the critical drought conditions of the city.
 3. A pipeline was laid and gas taken to Kalat, Ziyarat and Pishin, which had been considered economically unviable projects.
 4. Electricity was imported from Iran for the electrification of the coastal belt up to Turbat, Panjgur and Ormara.
 5. Work on the stalled Saindak copper mine was reinitiated. The largest copper gold mine project, Reko Dik, was allotted to the top-of-the-world Chilean-Canadian consortium. Pakistan was supposed to get on the copper/gold map of the world by 2011. Unfortunately this key project is closed now and a legal case has been initiated by the consortium in the International Court. Some of these projects have now been stalled and are incomplete.
 6.
 - a. A project for opening seven cadet colleges was launched. Three at Qila Saifullah, Pishin and Jafarabad were opened, but the other four have now been stalled.

- b. Universities: An IT University and a Women's University in Quetta, and a Marine Sciences University at Lasbela and an Engineering University in Khuzdar were opened.
 - c. Vacancies for the Balochistan's youths were increased in medical and engineering universities in Punjab and Sindh.
 - d. The army was told to open special vocational training centres in Quetta and Sui and also to induct Baloch youths in all the other centres.
7. The army was told to take special measures to increase the induction of youth from Balochistan as officers and men in the army. Special training centres were opened to prepare potential Baloch youths for qualifying for the army. An Inter-Services Selection Board (ISSB) was also opened in Quetta for the administrative convenience of Baloch youths. Today the army boasts of a substantial number of Baloch officers and men in their ranks in accordance with proportion population.
 8. The POF Wah, the HIT Taxila, the Aeronautical Complex were all told to select Baloch youths for training in their respective workshops and subsequent induction. Thousands of jobs were thus created for the Baloch.
 9. Anyone who received a masters degree in Balochistan was guaranteed an interim arrangement of a one-year government job with a salary of Rs10,000 per month.
 10. Uniquely, the Public Sector Development Projects fund allocation for Balochistan was more than that for Punjab. Each district of Balochistan was given a special allocation of Rs100 million in 2006 over and above their annual funds. Kohlu and Dera Bugti were allocated Rs1.5 billion each as a special socio-economic development fund for roads, water projects, schools, dispensaries.

In spite of all my sincerity and good wishes for Balochistan, and in spite of all that I achieved for this neglected province, there were Baloch elements opposing the government. There were 67 "Ferrari camps" (for miscreants and terrorists) spread all over Balochistan killing people of other ethnicities (especially Punjabis), blowing up and damaging national infrastructure, waging a guerrilla war against the FC and the army and challenging the writ of the government. Quite clearly, the sardars manipulating these terrorists are not interested in any development in Balochistan for its people. They were, and remain, against Pakistan. They are separatists and will remain so. All the Ferrari camps were dealt with and eliminated by the government. The question that Pakistan political leaders have to answer is: to what extent should we be appeasing such anti-national elements? Should we be engaging in dirty politics for narrow, short-term gains at the cost of a very serious long-term loss to Pakistan? Today, Changez Marri – the brother of anti-Pakistan Harbiyar Marri, who is living abroad in self-imposed exile, is for a totally independent Balochistan, and is behind terrorism in Balochistan – is senior vice president of the PML-N. What kind of politics is this? Balochistan needs a stick-and-carrot policy. Stick for the anti-Pakistan and anti-Balochistan elements and lots of carrots for the vast majority, the deprived people of the province.

The media must also understand the Balochistan issue in its entire complexity and stop giving anti-Pakistan elements a platform to project their nefarious designs. Groups like Human Rights Watch should stop meddling in Balochistan's affairs without understanding the depth of the problem.

As long as the armed forces are as strong as they are, Pakistan can never become a banana republic. All Pakistanis must rise as one for the integrity of our motherland. Pakistan First!

Pervez Musharraf, *News International* (Rawalpindi), March 15, 2012, <http://images.thenews.com.pk/15-03-2012/ethenews/e-97739.htm>

PAKISTAN AND BALOCH IRREDENTISM: DIALOGUE NEEDED TO STEM THE SLIDE

Synopsis

Pakistan faces another nationalist uprising in Balochistan, driven by grievances over sharing of the proceeds from its resources. Effective governance and a credible dialogue with Baluch leaders are required to stem further polarisation.

Commentary

Pakistan is once again facing calls for independence from Baloch nationalists in its largest province, Balochistan, which is undergoing another spell of violence. Fiercely tribal and nationalist, the Baloch people, like those of other smaller provinces in Pakistan, resent the Punjabi-dominated state structure and have expressed their reaction with repeated armed movements in support of calls for greater autonomy or complete independence. The Pakistani government's response has been typically to blame a foreign power (meaning India) or the sardars (tribal chiefs) for the uprising. Besides calls for independence the Baloch demand control over resources. While nationalism may drive Baloch yearning for self-rule, complaints about inadequate compensation for resources extracted from the province are central to their grievances against Islamabad. For instance Balochistan gets only two percent of the profit from its major copper mines. The natural gas drawn from Sui since 1954, which has driven the Pakistan economy, was only provided to users in Balochistan in the 1980s.

Strategic Location

While much of the province remains undeveloped the new Gwadar town development, adjacent to the port, has turned into a land grab for outsiders who want to make it a high-end resort. Further, the development of two new cantonments in Balochistan have angered locals. The killing and callous disposal of the body of Nawab Akbar Bugti, a Baloch leader resisting military intrusion, has fanned the unrest in Balochistan. The rallying cry for Baloch now is to remove the cantonments and bring former President and Army Chief General Musharraf to trial for the killing of Bugti. Balochistan, constituting 43 percent of Pakistan but with just 4% of the population, is strategically located, providing the shortest land link to Afghanistan and to western China. It has 700 kilometres of Arabian Sea coastline and is mineral-rich with potentially some of the biggest mines of gold and copper besides natural gas. Balochistan is the logical route for the Iran-Pakistan-India energy corridor. Allegedly the home of 'Quetta Shura' – the consultative body of Afghan resistance - its sparse population makes it vulnerable to external intrusions.

Internally Balochistan suffers from poor governance. The 18th constitutional amendment, giving provinces greater control over economic resources has led to more corruption in Balochistan where the entire 65-member provincial assembly comprises the front bench. The chief minister is not known for his leadership. The recent government offer of holding an all-party conference (APC) on Balochistan has no takers.

Of serious concern is the question of missing persons in Balochistan. Though reliable numbers are not available they are said to range from less than a hundred to thousands. Bodies of many missing have been found bearing torture marks. Politicians and civil society blame it on the secret services.

Pakistan's Dilemma

Pakistan, born out of a partition of India in 1947 from which Bangladesh spun out after a bitter civil war in 1971, faces a serious dilemma. Both divisions occurred on the basis of demands for justice and fairness. Both were resisted in the beginning and yet came about with millions of lives lost. Justice and fairness are at the centre of Baluch demands.

Baloch nationalist leaders know that a thinly populated large land mass where the Baloch constitute just about half the population works against their demand for complete independence. Equally valorous Pashtuns, who constitute much of the other half, are well integrated into the Pakistani state system and will challenge the Baloch demand. Contiguity to other provinces and divided population, make it easier for the military to quell the insurgency. Moreover, unlike Indian military support for Bengali uprising in 1971, Pakistan will not face a hostile neighbour in Iran that will provide succour to the insurgency.

Against this backdrop, demand for independence seems only a tool used by the Baloch nationalists to extract maximum concessions. There seems total agreement in the rest of Pakistan that force is no solution to the problems and Baloch grievances need to be addressed.

A corruption-free and effective provincial government, working in the interest of people, needs to reclaim space from the military and establish order necessary for resumption of economic activity in the province. Pakistan's leadership must initiate a credible dialogue quickly before polarisation due to an election year begins to infect the country - as it did in 1971.

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Sajjad Ashraf, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, Commentery,
no. 047/2012, March 19, 2012,
<http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/Perspective/RSIS0472012.pdf>

GRAND JIRGA IS A WAY OUT

Chief Justice of Pakistan Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry has once again expressed his disappointment over the failure of law enforcement agencies to control law and order in Balochistan. While hearing a case about the disturbing situation in the Province, the Chief Justice suggested that a Grand Jirga of Chiefs of all tribes be convened to resolve the issue permanently.

It is a fact that law and order situation in the province is worsening, people are being kidnapped, murdered and dead bodies are found every now and then. Maintenance of law and order is the responsibility of the Provincial Government but it appears that the Chief Minister is least concerned. Balochistan is pummelled with numerous problems, which require immediate resolution and being Chief Executive of the province, he is supposed to take the initiative, meet tribal chiefs and find a way out. Governor Zulfikar Magsi on several occasions expressed his serious concern but he too has limitations because the responsibility for restoration of law and order lies with the Chief Minister. Every one recognises that life is not secure and particularly people from other provinces are being targeted by elements that are being funded and armed by foreign agencies. The Chief Justice asked the Chief Secretary and Inspector General of Police for a comprehensive report on incidents of kidnapping and one expects that at the next hearing facts would be placed before the Apex Court. However, it is important that the Intelligence Agencies should also be directed to place their version of the situation before the court so that those behind the disturbing situation are exposed. Balochistan situation has many complexities and they would have to be looked into and addressed squarely. As the Federal and Provincial Governments have so far failed to bring normalcy, the suggestion by the Chief Justice for a Jirga of tribal chiefs appears to be a way out as these Chiefs enjoy tremendous influence in their respective areas. Some of the tribal chiefs have their strong reservations but they could be persuaded through the good offices of other Chiefs to attend the Jirga and help bring stability.

Editorial, *Pakistan Observer* (Islamabad), March 22, 2012,
<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=146293>

FOREIGN-BACKED HRS VIOLATIONS IN BALOCHISTAN

While some foreign elements have already been assisting their affiliated militant groups and agents in conducting subversive acts such as suicide attacks, abductions, targeting killings, ethnic and sectarian violence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Karachi including other cities of Pakistan, the situation in the province of Balochistan has also deteriorated.

As part of psychological warfare, a deliberate propaganda has been accelerated by the foreign-based NGOs, human rights groups and media, with the secret support of US, India and Israel which want to separate Balochistan from the federation of Pakistan to obtain their secret strategic designs. In this regard, with the help of Baloch separatist leaders who have taken refuge in western countries, these external entities

are perennial launching false campaign about the human rights violations in Balochistan so as to distort the image of federal government and its security agencies.

In this respect, recently, a demonstration was held outside the United Nations in Genva on the occasion of the 19th session of UN Human Rights Council to condemn the human rights violations in Balochistan and to end military operation there. The demonstrators who stood outside the UN building for two hours, displaying placards, called for the accountability of the security and intelligence agencies for the missing persons. Apparently, the demonstration was organised and led by Mehran Baloch, Balochistan's representative at the United Nations and Noordin Mengal, but in fact, it was arranged by anti-Pakistan NGOs, human rights groups and Indo-Israeli lobbies with the clandestine assistance of America.

Addressing the rally, Mehran Baloch said that the Pakistan was acting criminally by the military operation in Balochistan. He called on the international community to take notice of the extrajudicial killings in the province by the military and country's intelligence agencies, especially ISI. He also requested for international support and that of the UN for independence of Balochistan. The other Baloch separatists leaders and speakers of human rights groups also repeated similar accusations. Like other Baloch leaders, Mehran Baloch remarked that the support, shown by the US Senators to the Baloch cause was a step in the right direction and called on the European countries to follow the suit.

Meanwhile, Baloch activists staged a demonstration in London in front of US Embassy on March 4 this year to express their gratitude to three American Congressmen, Dana Rohrabacher, Louie Gohmert and Steve King who tabled a bill before the US Congress in February, calling for the right of self-determination for Balochistan, while blaming Pakistan's security institutes for extrajudicial killings and missing persons.

It is mentionable that the 19th Session of the UN Human Rights Council started on 26th February and ended on 23rd March 2012. Before the session, with the backing of anti-Pakistan foreign elements, exiled Balochs had already planned to intensify their movement at the international level. The session of the UN started soon after the US Congressional hearing about Balochistan. American government has distanced itself from the steps taken by these Congressmen, but the move had covert support of some US officials. The resolution has encouraged Baloch separatist groups who are now actively lobbying the lawmakers of the European Parliament for a similar move.

Notably, at a briefing in Palais des Nations hosted by Mehran Baloch and attended by international observers, parliamentarians including Muttahida Qaumi Movement's delegation, a European Parliament member Richard Czarnecki who announced that he would table a similar resolution at the EU parliament soon calling for support to the Baloch nationalists. Brahmadagh Bugti, who has sought asylum in Switzerland and lives near the UN Human Rights Council building, is regularly holding secret meetings with delegates from different countries, lobbying against Pakistan. During the session on Balochistan at the UN forum, human rights campaigner Peter Tatchell urged the International Criminal Court (ICC) to issue arrest warrants against Pakistani military and political leaders who are involved in crimes in Balochistan. There is no doubt that due to their strong media and influential lobbies in world, US-led some western countries have succeeded in internationalisation of the human rights

violations in Balochistan, accusing Pak Army and ISI, but ground realities are quite different. The facts behind extrajudicial killings and the missing persons of the province cannot be changed through a false propaganda. In this context, Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) and another group, Jundollah (God's soldiers) which have been fighting for secession of Balochistan get arms and ammunition from CIA and RAW. Their militants kidnapped and massacred many innocent people who include teachers, professors, lawyers, and the security personnel in the province. Many persons in Balochistan have also been killed in suicide attacks and bomb blasts. On a number of occasions, BLA, Jundollah and other separatist groups claimed responsibility for these criminal activities. In the past few years, Jundollah's insurgents, with the cooperation of foreign agents, kidnapped and killed many Chinese and Iranian nationals in Pakistan. They also arranged subversive acts in the Iranian Sistan-Balochistan. In this respect, Tehran had directly named CIA for funding of terrorist attacks.

A majority of the disappeared individuals are also in the detention centres (Farrari Camps) which are being run by Baloch feudal lords (Sardars). With the assistance of US-led India and Israel, these Sardars are fighting for their so-called prestige status and influence, and want to continue old system of feudalism in the province.

It is mentionable that Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik and Army Spokesman Maj-Gen. Athar Abbas have repeatedly disclosed that militants are being sent to Balochistan from Afghanistan as part of a conspiracy against Pakistan. During Swat and Malakand military operations, huge cache of arms made of America and India were captured from these insurgents who are responsible for inhuman torture, forced kidnappings and other human rights violations in Balochistan. In the recent past, Rehman Malik pointed out that during his trip to Afghanistan, he emphasised upon President Hamid Karzai to close Baloch training camps. In that background, Brahmdagh Bugti and some other Baloch so-called nationalists left Afghanistan and went to western countries.

Particularly, on July 23, 2008, Brahmdagh Bugti told the BBC that they had the right to accept foreign aid and arms from anywhere including India. Recently, during the related session of the UN in Geneva, Baloch so-called leaders Mehran Baloch, Dr Allah Nazar Baloch and Hyrbyair Marri, while interacting with foreign media and addressing meetings stated that for the independence of Balochistan, they would also welcome help from India. They also opposed Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline project, saying that even America had objected to it. Notably, recently Islamabad rejected US pressure to abandon this pipeline project.

We cannot see the foreign-backed human rights violations in Balochistan in isolation as it is part of the strategic game in the region. Although the province is replete with mineral resources, yet its ideal geo-strategic location with Gwadar seaport, connecting the world with Central Asia, irks the eyes of US and India. It is due to multiple strategic benefits that the US which signed a nuclear deal with India, intends to control Balochistan as an independent state merging it with Iran's Sistan-Balochistan so as to counterbalance China and contain Iran. Therefore, America and India are creating instability in Pakistan by backing Baloch separatists to complete their hidden agenda.

Media reports suggest that the leaders of separatist Baloch groups, who are living in self-exile in London, have been found to be holding secret meetings with the Indian diplomats there. They have been living in highly expensive flat which has become a centre of their covert activities. These Baloch leaders have very costly vehicles and regularly visit US and other western countries. They get anti-Pakistan propaganda material printed in London and using different channels to distribute it in various parts of Balochistan. They obtain tickets for their frequent foreign visits from an Indian travel agent in London, who reportedly receives payments from the Indian High Commission. Indirectly, Indian RAW sends money for all their financial expenses. Now CIA also gives them money.

Nonetheless, during the 19th Session of the UN Human Rights Council, the Baloch separatist leaders, NGO representatives and other anti-Pakistan elements decided to stay in Geneva to organise and participate in various demonstrations, seminars and meetings, while interacting with human rights activists of various western countries so as to distort the image of Pakistan, its army and superior agency in relation to human rights violations which are, in fact, backed by the same foreign elements to dismember Pakistan.

Sajjad Shaukat, *Frontier Post* (Peshawar), March 28, 2012,
<http://www.thefrontierpost.com/article/117217/>

BALUCHISTAN: MISSING PARTS

On Tuesday, both the prime minister and the chief justice spoke on Balochistan. Holding court in the Quetta registry, Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry expressed his dissatisfaction over an official ‘sum up’ that was submitted to him and asked for a more thorough report on law and order in Balochistan. The chief justice’s strongest remarks came when he reiterated what everyone has been saying: the government’s writ does not prevail in the province. He asked the government’s lawyer tough questions, and hopefully, some of the missing aspects will be covered in the hearing of the case. A few things may remain more unexplained than others though, such as the role that the intelligence agencies — the MI, IB and ISI — are playing to restore peace to Balochistan. The government has now been forced to quickly fill the large empty spaces of the Balochistan puzzle with facts it could not have seriously hoped to ‘conceal’ from the Supreme Court. Given that the summary didn’t even include the hundreds of acknowledged instances of missing people later found dead, it was as if the officials had simply forgotten their assignment in the unfortunate tradition of the powerful as well as the less-empowered state actors ignoring a province’s demand for rights.

Meanwhile, Mr Gilani’s typical prime ministerial take on Balochistan on Tuesday reflected the sad fact that the government is still unable to see reality as it is. Speaking in Naudero, the prime minister repeated the same old jargon that only a handful of people wanted independence for Balochistan. At a distance from a stern judiciary and a prime minister apparently lacking in authority it appears that ‘the handful’ are ensuring that their anger with the government is clear to all. To make the first attempt towards peace, they have to be fully understood. They cannot be fully understood unless they are taken due notice of. They cannot be expected to have high

hopes of justice unless all actors, from the more visible government to the less-spoken-about but conspicuous agencies, are held accountable.

Editorial, *Dawn* (Islamabad), April 6, 2012,
<http://dawn.com/2012/04/06/balochistan-missing-parts/>

HOW TO RESOLVE BALOCHISTAN ISSUE

Islamabad, Special Report by Ch. Sajjad Ahmad: There is no doubt that Pakistan's largest province, Balochistan, always remained a burning issue. Some of us, who are not fully aware with the Baloch history, think that since Balochistan became a province of Pakistan, it has been brutally ignored and denied for resources. Which resulted sky touching poverty ratio and is the only root cause of recent unrest in Balochistan. However, it is not true.

The Balochis are the nation, which is divided in to sub-nations. These sub-nations exist in the whole known history of Balochis.

These sub-nations, also known as Tribes, rarely enjoyed friendly relations with each other. Most of the time, they remain in conflict.

These conflicts never ended even after the creation of Pakistan. The tribal leaders, commonly known as Sardars and Nawabs tend to use every mean, available to them, to undermine each other. The Bugti and Murree/Mangals Sardars, who are enjoying American, European and Indian hospitality, now a day, were, only few a years before, each other's biggest enemies. When Nawab Akbar Bugti was in power in Balochistan, he used state machinery to crush his opponents, who all were Balochis.

This game of bloodshed between these Sardars and Nawabs has recently taken a new turn when an American senator submitted a resolution in US Senate, demanding for the right of Self-Determination for the people of Balochistan.

That could be considered a biggest achievement of these Sardars and Nawabs so far. They openly welcomed the resolution and also openly announced to welcome any kind of help from any country, including USA and India. Many analysts consider it a dangerous development for Pakistan.

Surely, it is a dangerous development on Balochistan issue, but not for Pakistan. The USA had openly intervened into internal matters of Pakistan, which could not be welcomed by any country of the world, even India. The USA had lost its credibility, if there was any, in the international community. The Anti-Pakistan Sardars, who are spending a luxury life in western countries openly welcomed this resolution and vowed to receive all kinds of help even from India. Even if they provide military help.

However it does not mean that we should take this issue lightly. Balochistan was the part of Pakistan and will, InshAllah, always remain part of Pakistan. The people of Balochistan are not only the loyal Pakistanis but also fully understands the international conspiracies against them and against their country. They know that their country, Pakistan, which was established as laboratory of Islam, will always remain a target of its enemies. Until or unless we make our country strong and powerful enough to respond to these conspiracies effectively.

Not even an inch of the land has been gifted to Pakistan when it came into being. The people of all territories of Pakistan including Balochistan had voted for

Pakistan and only then they became part of Pakistan. Nawab Bugti and other Sardars in Balochistan also met with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and vowed to vote for Pakistan. Same was the situation in rest of the country.

Few of those Sardars are even more corrupt than Mir Sadiqs and always ready to do any thing for the sake of money. This is only the lust of power and money and nothing else.

Such Sardars have now become the terrorists and are openly working on western agenda. They are receiving bribes and arms from their masters and transformed their BADMAASH into TERRORISTS. Those former badmaash and recent terrorists are poor, illiterate and heavily under-influence personals of these corrupt Sardars and have no other option but to obey their bosses.

These Sardars are using their influence and forcing these poor and needy innocent Balochis to kill people and bomb state assets.

The political instability in Pakistan and lack of will amongst politicians to work in the best interests of Pakistani nation had added further fuel in to fire. First of all, the Federal Government of Pakistan is totally failed to address the rising poverty issue in Balochistan and even if some efforts has been made, it was ruined by these Sardars to keep the people poor and dependent on them. So that they can use them for their own vested interests and prolong their Sardaris in Balochistan. One could rightly call it the existence and continuation of slavery system in Balochistan.

The presence of so-called NGOs in Balochistan is also an important issue. As many of these NGOs are funded by western countries and their intelligence agencies. Take example of one foundation, whose name also include the word "Asia", which is very popular amongst the Journalist community for its alleged usage by CIA to pay bribes to the Pakistani journalists.

However, it is time that we should immediately address the grievances of common Balochi people, who are spending miserable life in slavery of these Sardars. They are not only part of our nation, but our proud Musalaman brothers and sisters.

The people in Balochistan are denied all necessities of life through out the history. They were not provided with electricity, telephone, gas and other utilities. Lack of clean drinking water is yet another issue. There is also a huge vacuum in educational sector in Balochistan and in result, most of the Balochi population remained illiterate. This leads to less job opportunities for them and made them low paid labour class of our nation.

The federal and provincial governments paid very little attention to build roads and railway network in Balochistan. Which are believed as backbone in modern world economy.

The Government of Pakistan should aggressively address the Balochistan issue and hit on nerve of this Sardari system in order to eliminate these permanent national headaches or, at least, to decrease their influence up to manageable levels.

The start, to build a new Balochistan, could be given by ending economic dependence of Balochistan's provincial government on central government and State bank by writing off all loans by State Bank and the central government to Balochistani government and by making Balochistan, a loan free province of Pakistan. In the meanwhile, the central government should also announce at least 1,00,000 new job opportunities in federal offices all over Pakistan for Baloch natives.

All other provincial government, especially in Punjab, should also fix a quota in provincial jobs for the Balochi people. So that the un-employment could be eliminated and more job opportunities could be created for them.

The government of Balochistan should be provided with more powers and resources to be used in the best interests of the province.

In the areas of troubling Sardars, Pakistan should immediately announce the construction of Cantt areas and the construction should begun as soon as possible. The Pakistani government should assure the presence of armed forces in Balochistan on permanent basis.

Pakistan should work out the negotiations with the poor and under-influence Balochis, who are forced to work for Sardars and should try to convince them to put down weapons and return to their normal life.

Pakistani government should only negotiate with those Sardars, who promise to stop receiving funds and arms from enemy countries and return to Pakistan immediately and un-conditionally. Such Sardars should also be provided with full opportunity to become a loyal Pakistani citizen and all cases against them should also be taken back.

The foreign embassies and consulates in Balochistan should be ordered to close their offices and no European country, USA or India should be allowed to open their embassy in any part of Balochistan, till the whole Balochistan become peaceful and A area.

The government of Pakistan should work on war footings on water projects in Balochistan, especially in cities like Gaddani, Gwadar, which are on Sea, to provide clean drinkable water for the common people.

DHA, Bahria Town and other town planners should be requested to invest in real estate in Balochistan and plots and houses in these newly established towns should be sold on 90% subsidy to the Baloch natives.

Pakistan's leading companies such as Software Houses, Mobile companies etc should be provided tax holidays to establish their offices in different parts of Balochistan and their employees should not be taxed on their salaries for minimum of 5 years.

The leading educational institutes in private sectors, such as Beaconhouse, Convent, Punjab group of colleges, Sindh and Punjab university etc should be ordered to fix minimum 1 % quota of their capacity for Balochi student and provide free education and fully furnished accommodation for Baloch natives. As they are not taxed.

The government of Pakistan should not launch, directly, any development project in Balochistan, such as Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan. Instead, the provincial government should initiate and operate all such economic programmes and the federal government should arrange funds for these programmes.

The Pakistani government should immediately start construction of Rail link from Gwadar to Karachi and to Quetta, which later linked to Peshawar.

The government should also start the construction of roads and bridges from far areas to Quetta, to Gwadar and to other provinces to help economy boost.

The government should also encourage sports activities in Balochistan and different sports, such Football, Shooting Sports, Cycling, Car Racing etc, along with popular sports like Hockey, Squash, and Cricket should be promoted on war footings

in Balochistan. Construction of sports facilities in different areas of Balochistan and encouraging big national and multi-national companies to sponsor sports activities of their choice and encouraging national electronic and print media to give full coverage to these sports activities would be highly beneficial.

Last but not least, the federal government should assure the continuation of Political process in Balochistan, even if it is disturbed in other parts of Pakistan. And should press for higher voting ratios in every next elections. Setting up targets for upcoming elections for voting ratios would be a good idea, not only in Balochistan but also in the whole country.

Mark The Truth,

<http://www.markthetruth.com/specialreports/2731-how-to-resolve-balochistan-issue.html>
(accessed April 9, 2012).

BALUCHISTAN CAN BE SAVED

Two months back I went to Quetta after a gap of four years since my posting as Inspector General of Balochistan Police in 2007. Going through the city, I found the state of Pakistan in a bunker. The cantonment had a concrete wall and security gates that literally displayed the siege mentality of our security establishment. Out in the city, fear and helplessness was writ large on the faces of the hapless citizens.

The provincial government, despite a large and unwieldy cabinet, lacks political will to meet the daunting challenges and is mired in corruption. Provincial bureaucracy is, by and large, inept and clueless in matters of service delivery and maintenance of law and order. Police is demoralised due to being confined to only 5 per cent of the area and continuous machinations of the bureaucracy to curtail their powers and authority. As much as 95 per cent of the provincial jurisdiction for law and order has been handed over to a rag-tag tribal militia named Levies whose only qualification is unbridled loyalty to their tribal lords. They are simply incapable of handling law and order or investigating crimes. The state or Sarkar has been made subservient to the wishes of the Sardar or tribal chief.

The void created by lack of proper policing in the province is being filled by the Frontier Corps, which is a civil armed force under the command of serving army officers. Instead of effectively manning the vast borders across Afghanistan and Iran, the FC is totally committed to maintaining law and order and conducting patrolling on the highways of the province. They are simply performing the policing functions for which they are not trained. A soldier is trained to kill and obey orders, whether lawful or illegal.

The security establishment that comprises the armed forces and the intelligence agencies has looked at the Balochistan situation only through the barrel of a gun. This tunnel vision gave birth to the phenomenon of the missing persons. Violence in Balochistan escalated after the unfortunate death of Nawab Akbar Bugti, in a cave, along with three senior army officers, on August 26, 2006. General Musharraf-led security establishment was responsible for this fiasco. The present elected governments, both at the centre and in the province, have let the security establishment handle the insurgency challenges. Target killings of the Punjabi settlers

and security personnel by the Baloch sub-nationalist militants have resulted in tit for tat, kill and dump strategy adopted by the state agencies during the tenure of elected government since 2008.

The Supreme Court has rightly taken cognizance of the Balochistan situation and is trying in earnest to find a resolution in accordance with the law and Constitution of the country. In my view, some political, administrative and legal measures will have to be adopted by both the federal and provincial governments and the security establishment of Pakistan. The following recommendations are made:

1. The federal government and the Election Commission of Pakistan must ensure that the next general elections are free and fair, so that Baloch nationalists must be provided a level playing field to contest elections and become part of Parliament and democracy in the country. A true representative government of Balochistan will be able to resolve the complex issues and bring Baloch sub-nationalists to the negotiation table.
2. Nawab Akbar Bugti murder case registered on the orders of the High Court and being investigated by the provincial crimes branch under the IG Police may be entrusted for further investigation to the Federal Investigation Agency Islamabad, as it has the legal mandate to investigate erstwhile officials of the agencies and seek international police assistance in the context of persons who are abroad and need to be investigated.
3. The issue of missing persons must be handled within constitutional and legal framework. No one should be kept in illegal confinement by the intelligence and security agencies. Anyone suspected of anti-state activities should initially be detained under the MPO for one to three months and questioned by a joint interrogation team comprising police and security personnel. Those declared black should be prosecuted under the Anti Terrorism Act 1997 and the ones declared grey may be restricted to the confines of their homes, towns or districts, subject to movement with the approval of the law enforcement agencies. Such restrictive provisions are contained in the schedule of the ATA 1997.
4. The jurisdiction of the provincial police CID extends to the entire province. The JITs should therefore be headed by SPs of CIDs and comprise members of ISI, IB, MI, SB, and the local levies or police officials.
5. Provincial Levies are incapable of handling law and order and carrying out proper investigations of crime. The security of highways may be entrusted to the Balochistan Constabulary, which is under the command of the Inspector General Police. Investigation of heinous crimes like murders and robberies may be carried out by the Crimes Branch that has province-wide jurisdiction and works under the IG Police.
6. The Frontier Corps has no legal mandate to arrest suspects or investigate crimes. It should work in aid of civil authorities like the police and the levies in maintenance of order, carry out raids for the arrest of fugitives, and assist in patrolling the highways to beef up the strength of the highway police and the levies. FC must revert to its primary role of securing Pak-Iran and Pak-Afghanistan borders.

7. The jurisdiction of the police, which had extended to the entire province in 2007, has been severely curtailed to 5 per cent of the area by the present political government. This jurisdiction may be gradually extended to 10 per cent of the area that comprises cities and towns. The highways of the province should also be given to the police on the railways analogy so that police can take legal cognizance of crimes committed on the inter city roads.
8. For good governance and better service delivery, the cream of Pakistan's civil servants and police officers must serve in Balochistan for at least two years as a policy to be adopted by the federal government.

The above recommendations are made to save Balochistan from further anarchy and to restore the writ of the state. It is important to have civilian control over military matters, especially if Baloch grievances are to be redressed. Military and the intelligence set-up must support representative political government and regular criminal justice system needs to be strengthened in Balochistan. Otherwise it may be too late to save Balochistan as part of the federation.

Tariq Khosa, *News International* (Rawalpindi), April 17, 2012,
<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-6-103624-Balochistan-can-be-saved>

BALOCHISTAN: IMRAN KHAN AND LAWYERS

There is a relationship between the PTI and the Baloch nationalist parties. Both were together on the APDM platform and had decided to boycott the elections held in 2008.

Two positive events visited Balochistan last week. The first was the rally of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) in Quetta on Friday and the second was the application moved on Saturday in the Supreme Court by the Supreme Court Bar Association (SCBA) for becoming a party to the Balochistan target killing case.

In the recent past, several political parties gave a call for holding an All Parties Conference on Balochistan but later they retreated from their stance on one pretext or another. The government has also not paid due attention to the issue, perceivably because the military or the Frontier Corps is ruling the roost in Balochistan.

It is also known that Balochistan is the only area of Pakistan that has borne the brunt of maximum military operations on its soil since 1947. The latest military operation — the fifth one — launched by General Pervaiz Musharraf did maximum damage, injured the Baloch identity and shattered their confidence in the federation. The killing of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti is considered a great loss to the Baloch tribal distinctiveness. Consequently, Baloch nationalism has surfaced more than ever before.

Against this background, Imran Khan, the chairperson of the PTI, must be credited with the initiative of staging a political rally in Quetta where he was able to assemble the Baloch to hear his voice of concern for their future. Khan must have done some backstage work to have his rally approved by the Baloch dissidents and nationalists. Nonetheless, the event is indicative of the fact that he perhaps is the only politician in whom Baloch dissidents and nationalists repose faith. If this assumption is correct, there is big news for all Pakistanis. That is that the PTI holds the potential to bring peace to the restive province of Balochistan in at least two ways. First, by

negotiating with the Baloch dissidents to renounce armed struggle and give them a chance to speak for their rights. Second, by convincing Baloch nationalist parties to take part in the next general elections and secure their rightful political place. In this way, the Baloch, whether they have disappeared into the mountains or gone into exile, can be brought back into the national mainstream.

Khan also recognised the fact that peace must be introduced in Balochistan not through the barrel of a gun or the coercive means applied by the intelligence agencies but through dialogue and by taking politico-economic measures that could develop the Baloch's confidence in the federation. Khan must also be appreciated for showing solidarity with the Hazara who have been massacred mercilessly.

There is a relationship between the PTI and the Baloch nationalist parties. Both were together on the APDM platform and had decided to boycott the elections held in 2008. The PML-N, the main political party of the platform, could not honour its word of boycott and took part in the elections held under the auspices of General Musharraf. Sticking to their avowed principle of showing mistrust in Musharraf made both the PTI and Baloch nationalist parties experience electoral exclusion and subsequent political seclusion. The absence of Baloch nationalist parties from the political scene aggravated the situation.

In December 2011, Mian Nawaz Sharif of the PML-N met a veteran Baloch nationalist leader, Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal in Karachi to pave the way for staging a political rally in Balochistan. In fact, several Baloch nationalist leaders were indisposed to listen to the PML-N because of the mistrust that had grown on the APDM platform. The PML-N weighed up the situation correctly and shied away from holding any rally in Balochistan to avoid humiliation. Nevertheless, in this initiative contest, the PTI has gone a step ahead of the PML-N. ...

Both the PTI and the SCBA are new players in the Balochistan-federation equation and have an ability to reach out to the Baloch. If both become able to win over the trust of the Baloch, the situation in Balochistan can turn towards peace and tranquillity.

Dr Qaisar Rashid, *Daily Times* (Lahore), April 25, 2012,
http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2012%5C04%5C25%5Cstory_25-4-2012_pg3_3