

MS IR Thesis

**BALUCH ETHNO NATIONALISM AND GEO-POLITICS
OF ENERGY RESOURCES 2002-2016**



Researcher

AURANG ZAIB

Reg. No. 37-FSS/MSIR/F14

Supervisor

Dr. MANZOOR KHAN AFRIDI

Assistant Professor / Incharge

Department of Politics and IR

International Islamic University,

Islamabad

Department of Politics & International Relations

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University, Islamabad

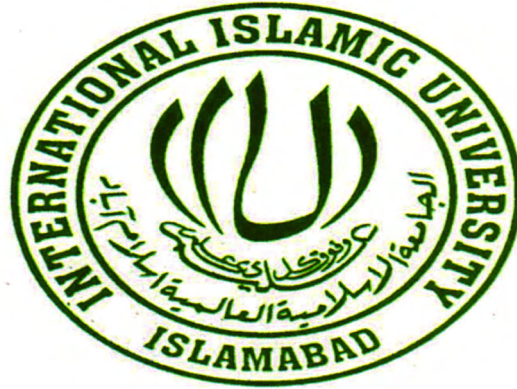
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By

AURANG ZAIB

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MS Degree in International Relations with Specialization in Baloch Ethno Nationalism and Geo-politics of energy Resources 2002-2016 at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad.

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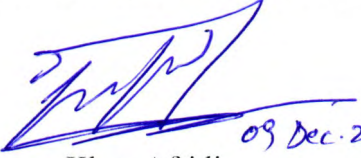
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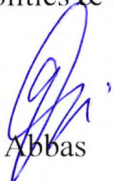
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Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**Baloch Ethno Nationalism and Geo-Politics of Energy Resources (2002-2016)**" submitted by Mr. Aurang Zaib Reg. No.37-FSS/MSIR/F14, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M.S in International Relations.


Supervisor


09 Dec. 2016
Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Assistant Professor,
Department of Politics & IR, IIUI

External Examiner



Dr. Syed Qandil Abbas
Assistant Professor,
Department: School of Politics &
International Relations, QAU.

Internal Examiner


Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi
Professor,
Department of Politics & IR, IIUI

Head of Department


09 Dec. 2016
Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Assistant Professor,
Department of Politics & IR, IIUI


Prof. Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani
Dean,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University,
Islamabad.

Dedication

To

My family, especially my sister Najma (Late)

for

their endless love, support and encouragement.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BDA	Balochistan Development Authority
BLA	Baloch Liberation Army
BLUF	Baloch Liberation United Front
BNP	Baloch National Party (Mengal)
BRA	Baloch Republican Army
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
GSP	Geological Survey of Pakistan
NAP	National Awami Party
NP	National Party
OGDCL	Oil & Gas Development Company Limited
PKMAP	Pushtoonkhwa Mili Awami Party
PPL	Pakistan Petroleum Limited
PPPP	Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarians

Abstract

This research work critically analyzes the role of energy politics in the Baloch ethno-nationalism. In addition to that, research also addresses the questions that how Geo-politics of energy resources is linked with the Baloch ethno nationalism and how the conflicting geo-economic as well as geo-strategic interests of global and regional actors such as China, USA, India, Iran and Russia are affecting the region. Besides this, Baloch ethno-nationalism in historical perspective has been discussed to understand the current Baloch ethno-national movement. Keeping in view the post-1999 events, especially the continuous military operation and extra-judicial killings in Balochistan, the state response has been critical analyzed. During this research, descriptive and analytical style has been applied to analyze qualitative data which is obtained through primary as well as secondary sources. Primary data mainly includes interviews and focused group discussions with politicians, students and scholars from Balochistan, while secondary sources include books, magazines, research articles, newspapers, documentaries and archival data. Furthermore, Regional Security Complex Theory and Perennialist Approach have been blended and applied to this research work, considering the nature and relevancy as research discusses, both, role of competing actors in the geo-politics of energy resources and historical evidences of Baloch ethno nationalism. It also discusses the Mega Projects of development in the province and Baloch concerns regarding all those projects. It is one of the major concerns of Baloch that states' policy of development is like infrastructural imperialism as Baloch were not directly involved in decision-making process regarding development projects in Balochistan. Besides this, it also gives a critical analysis of Balochistan Package, 7th National Finance Commission Award, Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package and 18th constitutional Amendment. This research also finds that conflict was not addressed timely and successive federal governments as well as provincial governments lacked the will which made it more complex over the years.

Key Words: Baloch ethno-nationalism, geo-politics, energy resources, CPEC, Socio-economic injustices.

Chapter: 1

Introduction

Ethno nationalism is the creation of an independent state on the basis of a particular ethnicity. When a particular community in any country feels that its legitimate rights are not given within a state then it demands for a separate homeland. This feeling of separateness comes gradually and passes through different stages over the years. The community's demand change from time to time and people of that community feel alienated from the main stream and when the demands and genuine grievances are not addressed by the state then finally they put the demand of a separate state and consider themselves as a nation (Shahzad, 2007, p. 8).

When we talk of Baloch ethno nationalism, it leads us to its historical evidences and gradual development with every invasion or use of force either by foreigners or by the state. Another important characteristic of Baloch ethno nationalism is that its dimensions have changed with time to time. The change is very clear from current insurgency which is a middle class modern guerilla uprising compared to previous tribal and traditional uprisings. In addition to that, geo-politics of energy resources has a significant role in Baloch ethno nationalism, especially in last two decades. It is because of the fact that this resource rich land has been explored by successive governments in last couple of decades but no social change occurred after development of mega projects. Due to geographical location and abundance of natural resources this region is part of New Great Game and Pipeline Politics, where different regional as well as global actors i.e. India, Iran, America, China are competing. Furthermore, the energy resources of the region have significantly affected the state policy, which is quite clear that state will not compromise at any cost. At the same

time the Baloch insurgents have shown a far longer resistance this time to state, which clearly depicts that they know the importance of resource and have concerns over development pattern and exploitation of resources (Harrison, 1981, p. 7). Moreover, the mega projects which were already operationalized have no positive social impact in the region. It is always a sign of development that mega projects like Saindak, Rekodik and Gawadar bring positive change in the region, but in case of Balochistan the picture is gloomy. District Chaghi is known as Golden District, but it is worst according to statistics (Ahmed, 2015, p. 84). These harsh facts clearly show that why and how geo politics of energy resources and Baloch Nationalism are interlinked with each other. Besides this, the involvement of regional and global actors and their interests are also due to the energy resources and strategic location of the region (Iqbal, 2014, pp. 204- 205). The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is another important factor which has significantly brought change in state policy regarding Balochistan and state is crashing the rebellion with zero tolerance policy. But at the same time people of Balochistan have concerns over CPEC regarding its routes and development of economic zones. On the other hand the internal politics of the province is of great significance, where mostly province is run by collusion partners and there has no strong provincial government which can run the affairs. In addition to that, in last two decades the problem of Afghan refugees and sectarian violence has also affected the politics as well as the social fabric of the society. All these factors have made a complex situation in the province where people are suffering in terms of Human Rights issues, law & order problems, unemployment, illiteracy etc. Due to this continuous turmoil there is no Human Development in general (Marri D. S., 2016).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Significance of energy resources in the geopolitics, socio-economic and political grievances since inception of this country have paved way and strengthened the Baloch Nationalism and the aspirations for statehood increased with each passing day. Continuous political as well as economic marginalization by successive regimes, lack of power sharing in the power structure and use of force has alienated Baloch from main stream. Moreover, the development pattern of mega projects in the province without any positive social impact and geopolitics of energy resource in the region further increased trust deficit between center and the province. All these factors led Baloch to ethno nationalist movement.

1.2 Research Questions

- 1 How Geo-Politics of energy resources is affecting the region?
- 2 How Baloch ethno-nationalism is linked with geo-politics of energy resources?
- 3 What are the Baloch concerns over pattern of infrastructural development in the province?
- 4 What is the state response to the Baloch ethno-nationalist movement?
- 5 How interests of stake holders in geo-politics of energy resources can converge?

1.3 Significance of the Study

It is very important to understand Baloch ethno-nationalism due to the fact that Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of area, which is resource rich,

and strategically important, however highly neglected. People of Balochistan have been facing severe problems right from the creation of Pakistan. But the general awareness about the importance of this province and the issues it is confronted with is minimal. Furthermore, geo-politics of energy resources is of great importance and needs to be discussed in detail. It is because of the fact that the ongoing separatist movement in Balochistan is very much linked with the resources and strategic location of the province. It is very important to know changing dynamics of politics in the region, especially in the last decade. So this study will explore these issues in detail and will present suggestions as to address them.

1.4 Literature Review

Baloch ethno-nationalism can't be understood without knowing historical facts related to Baloch and Balochistan. In this regard, researcher has found helpful work of Mir Gul Khan Naseer (1979), a reputed and well-known writer on history of Balochistan. In his book "Tareekh-e-Balochistan" he provided enough and authentic information about history of Baloch. It also helped the researcher in understanding the relations of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan. The other important book is "Back to the Future: The Khanate of Kalat and the Genesis of Baloch Nationalism 1915 – 1955" written by Martin Axmann (2009). He explained Nations and nationalism by developing conceptual framework. He also discussed the rise and fall of Kalat confederacy in detail. Moreover, he also discussed the accession of Kalat state to the federation of Pakistan. Anatol Lieven's (2011) work, "Pakistan a Hard Country" also provided enough information regarding the concerns of Baloch leadership about mega projects, especially about Gawadar deep sea port. He also discussed the Centre-Province relations during early years of Musharaf's rule. Aisha

Shahzad's (2007) book titled, "The issues of Ethnicity in Pakistan (1972 – 85)" has provided facts about ethnic movements in Pakistan. Moreover, she discussed the concept of ethnicity, nationalism, stages of ethnicity, kinds of ethnicity and theories of ethnicity in detail. This book provided enough insight of concepts of ethnicity and nationalism. The book "Baloch Nationalism and the Geopolitics of Energy Resources: The Changing Context of Separatism in Pakistan" written by Robert G. Wirsing (2008) has remained a key for researcher to understand the Baloch ethno-nationalism and geopolitics of energy resources. In this book he explained the state policy regarding the Baloch uprising and also the movements link with geopolitics of energy resources. Besides this, Selig S. Harrison (1981) in his book "In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations" has explained Baloch nationalism and importance of the resources of Balochistan. He also mentioned the Baloch concerns over exploitation of resources and Center-Province relations. Surat Khan Marri (2014) in his book, "The Serviles Baloch Resistance" has discussed energy resources, Mega Projects including Gawadar port, Sui Gas field and establishment of military cantonments. He also explained the Baloch concerns regarding development projects of the province and has provided information about sectarian issues in the province. His book also provided other beneficial information regarding internal political situation of the province as well as impact of Balochistan issue on region and international community. Maria Malik (2013) has discussed foreign involvement in Balochistan in her book, "Balochistan Conundrum: The Real Perspective". She also discussed the interests of Global as well as regional actors in the Balochistan province. She provided facts and both side perspectives to understand the balanced view about Balochistan issue. Adeel Khan's (2005) book "Politics of Identity: Ethnic nationalism and the state in Pakistan". The book has explained the

role of state institutions in Baluchistan as well as provides comprehensive account of the emergence of nationalism, growth and changing politics of Baluchistan.

In addition to these books, the researcher has also consulted article titled, "Renewed Ethnonationalist Insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan: The Militarized State and Continuing Economic Deprivation" from well reputed Pakistan based periodical "Current Affairs Digest", written by Adeel Khan (2010). He discussed socio-economic grievances with statistics. He also explained the problem of provincial autonomy and issues regarding mega projects. It remained helpful to understand the ground realities. Moreover, report of Human Rights Watch (2011), titled, "We can Torture, Kill, or Keep You for Years: Enforced Disappearances by Pakistan Security Forces in Balochistan" have been consulted. This report has given important and authentic information regarding missing persons and about other Human Rights abuses. Center for Research & Security Studies Islamabad report (2011), titled "Baluchistan's Maze of Violence" also discussed issue in detail. It discussed problems regarding sectarian violence, economic issues, and law & order situation in the province. It provided information regarding state perspective and security issues for a balanced research work.

Although numerous writers have worked on ongoing insurgency in Balochistan, however, most of them neglected the role of energy resources and the diverging interests of regional and global powers. Moreover, they also did not highlight the roots of Baloch nationalism which are centuries old. Similarly, the changing dimensions of Baloch ethno nationalism have not been explored properly which are very necessary to understand that how it became a modern educated middle class led

armed struggle over the years. So this research explores these neglected areas in academic research.

1.5 Gap of Knowledge

Balochistan issue has never been addressed seriously by successive governments. Every regime neglected the ground realities of the problem. Moreover, scholars, writers and media did not highlight changing dimension of Baloch movement, as it has changed from tribal uprisings to educated middle class uprising. In addition to that, many socio-economic aspects were not highlighted, which made this problem severe. Most of the work has been done on nationalist movements with regard to center-province relations and very few writers focused on politics of energy resources of Balochistan. So this research has discussed the pattern of development happening in the region, socio-economic and political injustices by the federation and role of energy resources in particular.

1.6 Hypothesis

The research, while considering Baloch ethno nationalism a result of multiple factors, argues that the accession issue of Kalat State with the federation of Pakistan, socio-economic-cum political injustices since inception of Pakistan and the current geopolitics of energy resources has paved the way for Baloch ethno nationalism in Pakistan.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

For understanding the Baloch ethno nationalism from past to present the theory of Regional Security Complex has been blended with Perennialist and Primordialist approaches. It is because of the fact that Baloch nationalism has always been there, however, now energy politics has a significant effect on Baloch ethno nationalism and has broadened the scope of the study. Unlike previous uprisings, current uprising have also a significant link with geo-politics of energy resources. Importance of resources, especially energy resources are a type of incentive for Baloch to fight for separate homeland. Furthermore, geo-strategic location and pipeline politics further made the situation complex (Marri D. S., 2016). Now different global as well regional actors are involved on one hand and a continued low scale war between Baloch insurgent groups and Pakistan army on other end.

1.8 Perennialist Approach

According to this approach although nationalist ideology might be a current and modern phenomenon, but nations also have pre-modern roots. Moreover, Perennialism has two main forms. The first type is "Continuous Perennialism", which asserts that nations have a long and continuous history and can trace history to pre-modern times or even time immemorial. The other type is "Recurrent Perennialism", and it does not emphasize on continuity, but that a nation in general is perennial and ubiquitous. It reappears in every period of history and can be found in every part of the world. According to perennialist view, nations have been there since time immemorial. Due to recurrent nature they change and reappear. This belief is founded

on empirical evidences that at least few nations have existed a very long time ago (Axmann, 2009, p. 3).

1.9 Regional Security Complex Theory

Regional Security Complex Theory was given by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever. Their book "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security" is a valuable contribution to Post-Cold War era. It emphasizes the centrality of territoriality in the study of security dynamics. Such conceptualization provides them with a basis for the analysis of the different levels of securitization in current international affairs (Waever, 2003, p. 27). Moreover, they also provided a hierarchy of power which includes Superpower, Great powers and multiple regional powers. Main elements of their Regional Security Complex Theory are as under:

1. Regions are the appropriate levels of analysis of security studies.
2. Regions provide analytical scenarios for testing possible developments in the region.
3. Regions provide a useful organization of and developments in future.

According to this theory there are two kinds of security interdependences. First one is Interdependence of Rivalry based on enmity and other is Interdependence of Shared interests, based on Amity. Writers have explained the theory by giving examples of different complexes, such as India-Pakistan rivalry in South Asian complex and Arab-Israel conflict in Middle Eastern complex. Similarly, Arab League, GCC or ASEAN serve best examples for Interdependence of Shared Interests (Buzan, 2009, pp. 5-6).

However, in later works Barry Buzan has further elaborated the concept of Regional Security Complex with a broader vision from different angles. He used constructivist approach and explained the concept from individual to state level and international system. Furthermore, Barry Buzan categorized the security sectors into Economic, Societal, Environmental, Political and Military, which are heavily dependent on each other. As Buzan points out in his article, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century", the "five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkage" (Buzan, 1991, p. 433). The concept of regional security, while seeming obvious to some, is one that, like the issue as a whole, had not been adequately addressed before Barry Buzan. When studying this aspect of security Buzan states, security is a relational phenomenon. Because security is relational, one cannot understand the national security of any given state without understanding the international pattern of security interdependence in which it is embedded. National security or International security becomes more vulnerable in societies where politics of discrimination and exclusion is practiced (Buzan, 2009, pp. 6-7).

In case of Balochistan, economic and political grievances of Baloch people have persuaded them to go for right of self- determination. Both, national and foreign firms badly failed to bring any positive change in the province. Though, government launched different development projects but Baloch were negated altogether therein. The constitution of Pakistan 1973 provides the right of provincial autonomy. Thus it is under the power of provincial governments to control and explore them for welfare of masses. However, the federal government always used central power and

marginalized provincial autonomy. Resultantly, negation of Baloch identity & culture, economic deprivation, political marginalization and use of force by federal government on one hand, and the divergence of interests of global and regional actors in the region on other end have created a security complex situation. It is because these actors are competing for their economic, political and strategic interests.

1.10 Objectives of the Study

- 1 To explain Baloch ethno nationalism with keeping in view the ground realities.
- 2 To explore new dimensions of ongoing Baloch ethno national movement, which is necessary to understand Baloch concerns.
- 3 To explore the effects of geo-politics in the region for understanding the Baloch ethno- national movement and state policy.
- 4 To analyze the role and interests of regional as well as global actors in competition for energy resources.
- 5 To highlight the socio-economic and political issues for possible solutions.
- 6 To analyze the convergence point of interests of major stake holders in the geo-politics of energy resources.

1.11 Research Methodology

The research is qualitative in nature which involves the deductive method as it starts from theory to observation. Furthermore, the research is based on historical, analytical and descriptive method because the issue is historically deep rooted. For the collection of data, both primary and secondary sources have been used. For collecting primary data interviews, focused group discussions and Random-sampling have been conducted from the concerned people such as Baloch and Pushtoon students,

politicians, scholars to know their perceptions about the problem. In addition to that data has also been collected through participant observation in protests and through Questionnaires. Moreover, books, magazines, newspapers, documentaries, archival data and research articles have been used as secondary sources.

1.11.1 Interviews

The main tool of research during field work was Interviews with students, teachers, politicians and researchers. The researcher met with more than fifty concerned people, but managed to interview only forty. Most of the interviews with students were conducted in universities of Islamabad. Quaid-E-Azam University, International Islamic University, and National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, were the main places to find and meet Baloch students as well as Pushtoon students of Balochistan. Interviews with students were more like discussions than proper interviews, but formal interviews were conducted from politicians and other senior people.

1.11.2 Limitations and Problems in Data Collection

During research work the researcher has faced many challenges which are necessary to mention here. First of all the researcher was unable to go for interviews and data collection across Balochistan due to worsened security situation except Quetta. Secondly, the researcher faced difficulties while contacting students, politicians and teachers from Balochistan who are residing in Islamabad. Lastly, problems while making contact to Pushtoon students and politicians which were necessary to bring an unbiased view regarding Balochistan issue.

1.12 Organization of the Study

1 Chapter: Introduction

Introductory part includes a brief description of Baloch ethno nationalism with reference of Geo-politics of energy resources and center-province relations. Moreover, this chapter includes research design.

2. Chapter :Theoretical Framework

In this chapter theoretical framework has been developed for the study. Research work has been discussed in the light of Perinialst Theory and Regional Security Complex Theory.

3. Chapter : Baloch Nationalism in Historical Perspective

This chapter explains historical accounts of Baloch Nationalism. It also traces out the Baloch uprisings against British rule and then against State of Pakistan. Moreover, it also provides a Brief history of Baloch and aspirations of Nationalism among Baloch diaspora.

4. Chapter : Balochistan and Energy Politics

This chapter describes Geo-Politics of energy resources and role of regional as well as global actors. Moreover, the relation of energy resources and Baloch Nationalism has been discussed in detail.

5. Chapter : State Response

This chapter includes all steps which were taken by state to curb the Baloch movement. Military operation, economic packages, NFC, Educational Scholarships and 18th constitutional amendment are main aspects, which have been discussed in this chapter.

6. Chapter: Conclusion

This chapter is consisted of research findings and recommendations for possible solution of the Balochistan issue.

Chapter: 2

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The current Baloch ethno nationalist movement resurged in 2002 when nationalist leader Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri was arrested and kept in solitary confinement for eighteen months. He was accused of murdering Balochistan High Court judge. Furthermore, central government also signed Gawadar port agreement with Chinese vice Premier Wu Bangguo on March 24, 2002 without representation of Balochistan government and Baloch leadership. Moreover, acquisition of land for cantonments and other military enterprises along with movement of security forces in Dera Bugti in 2002 aggravated the situation and Dr. Shazia Khalid's rape case in January 2005 proved to be the trigger point of Baloch uprising against state (Khan A. , 2010, pp. 31-33). However, the current ethno nationalist movement is multi-causal in nature and has deep roots in socio-cultural history of Baloch. Geo-politics of energy resources also have a significant role in Baloch ethno nationalist movement and different regional and global actors are contesting for hydrocarbons of Central Asia as well as Balochistan on one end and Baloch concerns over marginalization in this process increasing with each passing day on other end (Khan A. , 2010, p. 40). So before going into further details of the Baloch ethnonationalism, it is necessary to understand the theoretical framework of the study. This theoretical framework mainly deals with the concepts of nation, nationalism, approaches and theories of nationalism and security.

2.2 Nation and Nationalism

Nationalism has been a dominant phenomenon in the world politics for centuries. It is considered to be an extremely dynamic and forceful phenomenon which has been continuously shaping and reshaping the modern world of today. However, the social scientists have been unable to reach on an agreement regarding that how, why, and when nationalist movements have emerged. There are different competing theories and approaches which see nationalism differently. Some see nationalism as a natural phenomenon while others consider it as a socially constructed modern phenomenon. Sometimes these approaches and theories overlap each other. However, these competing thoughts can be distinguished and briefly outlined (Malik, 2013, pp. 34-35).

2.3 Modernist Approaches

Modernist approaches of nationalism assume that nationalism is a new phenomenon and it appeared and developed due to industrialization in Europe. Moreover, nation-state system and process of rapid modernization in Europe have created the sense of nationhood. Modernists also believe that nationalist movements created the sense of national identity which distinguishes them from the Primordialists who believe that the sense of national identity creates a nationalist movement. Modernists opine that nationalism is an entirely new and socially constructed phenomenon. National identity is constructed due to historical, social, and political circumstances. In addition, the rapid social changes disrupt and dislocate the local communities (Malik, 2013, pp. 36-37).

Most of the modernist, including instrumentalist, assert that the nationalism is used as a tool to secure individual as well as common economic interests of a group. Local elites use symbols, mythical terms, and cultural myths to create a sense of unity. It is local elites who mobilize masses and present nationalism in such a way that it offers a sense of security and well-being to individuals. Besides this, they argue that emergence of nationalism or construction of identities also occur when there is lack of social cohesion and this lack of cohesion occurs when social, political, and economic process have disruptive impact on individuals. In these disruptive circumstances, nationalism emerges with its might having institutional or ideological frameworks. In this way, nationalism offers individuals a sense of identity and emotional security by providing a precise diagnosis of contemporary disruptions and defines individuals as a distinct member of a community (Malik, 2013, p. 37).

Instrumentalist approach is another branch of modernists, which assumes that nationalism emerges when interests of a particular community are threatened in an existing set-up by economic changes. The socio-economic and political oppression of a particular community leads it to the aspirations of nationalism. The educated elites mobilize masses and deliberately stir-up atavistic emotions among them and that is why these elite are considered as “social engineers”. Common people are exploited and manipulated at the hands of elites to gain political as well as economic power. Hence, the main premise of this line of thought is the idea that national consciousness develops on an economic level and ethic or national boundaries are not primordial but socially constructed (Axmann, 2009, pp. 6-8).

Modernists, including instrumentalist approaches talk a lot about role of economic factors in development of national identities and nationalism. Though,

economic factor is an important one, but it is not the only factor due to which nationalism develops. There are many factors, such as, ethnic, racial, cultural, common past, shared memories of battles, and affiliation with a particular land play a more important role in development of nationalism. Modernists argue that nationalism is a new phenomenon which is a result of industrialization and modernization process in Europe. They out rightly reject the past of a community and other socio-cultural factors which contribute in development of nationalism. They also reject that there existed any nation or ethnic group pre-dating to modernity (Axmann, 2009, pp. 6-7). However, this claim of modernist goes fail when apply it on case of Baloch. It is because of the fact that Baloch self-rule existed in different areas in different periods of time, but there is a lack of continuity in it. Nevertheless, there are enough proofs and examples which make it clear that Baloch as a nation or their nationalism existed prior to industrialization or modernity in Europe.

2.4 Primordialist Approach

Primordialist school of thought considers nations and nationalism as pre-dating to modernity or industrialization in Europe. Most of the nationalists believe that it is not result of industrialization in Western Europe or outcome of Treat of Westphalia. They believe that nations exist not as social construct but as given, organic entity. Primordialist believe that world is naturally divided into nations and people are attached to nationalism on the basis of cultural, racial, linguistic and kinship. The common past unites them and makes the national community. They believe that the development of one's identity is natural and defined by the culture that particular community in which he or she born. The national community thus commands

supreme loyalty from its members and resultantly the feelings of antagonism between two opposing sides is a result of inherent cultural difference (Axmann, 2009, p. 2).

Like Primordialists, Baloch also claim that they are a distinct nation and thus demand recognition as a distinct nation; as Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo said in Kalat assembly session back in 1947, "We have a distinct civilization. We have a separate culture like that of Iran and Afghanistan. We are Muslims but it is not necessary that by virtue of our being Muslims we should lose our freedom and merge with other" (Malik, 2013, p. 35).

2.5 Perennialist Approach

The perennialist theory of nationalism also takes almost same approach. According to this approach although nationalist ideology might be a current and modern phenomenon, but nations also have pre-modern roots. Moreover, perennialism has two main forms. The first type is "Continuous Perennialism", which asserts that nations have a long and continuous history and can trace history to pre-modern times or even time immemorial. The other type is "Recurrent Perennialism", and it does not emphasize on continuity, but that a nation in general is perennial and ubiquitous. It reappears in every period of history and can be found in every part of the world. According to perennialist view, nations have been there since time immemorial. Due to recurrent nature they change and reappear. This belief is founded on empirical evidences that at least few nations have existed a very long time ago (Axmann, 2009, pp. 2-6).

Perennialist approach has been well defined and discussed in works of Anthony Smith. Unlike other modernist, he believes that it is possible to date an embryonic development of modern nations to ancestral times. He believes;

“Nationalism is the modern re-enactment of a pre-modern idea and as a political ideology of solidarity that has continually reappeared in new guises. But he does not believe in modernity and industrialization as the prerequisites for nationalism as modernist do and shows instances of nations and nationalist movements emerging well before the advent of industrialization” (Axmann, 2009, p. 3).

His approach gives a lot of importance to elements of memory, value, sentiments, myth and symbols that modernist scholars emphasize, but it does not completely exclude the objective factors either. He believes that nations are based on common cultural groups which have common past, shared memories, historical records, fixed homeland(current or historical) memories of battles, hostile surroundings, customs, language etc. Furthermore, he believes that usually these memories and common past of any ethnic community are connected to a particular territory, even if they do not occupy it. These preconditions may create a powerful shared mythology where the mythic homeland is more significant for national identity than actual territory occupied by the nation. Thus, in some ways, Smith stresses upon synthesis of primordialist and modernist views by underlying the connectivity between the pre-modern and modern type of social cohesion without overlooking the changes brought about by modernity (Axmann, 2009, p. 4). Smith illustrates the perennialist approach to nationalism as;

“The world is divided into nations, each with its own character, history and destiny; the nation is the sole source of political power; loyalty to the nation overrides all other loyalties; to be free, every individual must belong or identify with a nation; every nation requires full self-expression and autonomy” (Malik, 2013, p. 36).

2.6 Ethnicity, Nationalism and Territory

It goes without saying that nationalism has a strong correlation with territory as well as ethnicity. So to understand this relation first we have to understand ethnicity.

According to UN;

“The group is perceived by others in the society to be different in some combination of the following traits: language, religion, race and ancestral homeland with its related culture. The members also perceive themselves as different; and they participate in shared activities built around their (real or mythical) common origin and culture” (Malik, 2013, p. 39).

Ethnicity is not a new phenomenon, however, it appeared giant big and dominant in the latter half of the twentieth century. It is an outcome of increasing modernization and state is the center of all ethnic movements. There are examples when states forcefully repressed the targeted communities. Nazi Germany and Yugoslavia can serve as two among them. Thousands have died in state sponsored violence.

Ethnic and national violence can manifest itself in two forms and that are violence by a state or violence for a state. It's very rare that any state like any demand for autonomy or compromise her policies. States consider these movements as result of provincialism and disruptive for government. On other end the ethnic or nationalist groups also feel alienated and unconnected to the state. These groups also feel unconnected with state institutions and their sense of attachment with state diminishes. Resultantly, then they decide to turn their ethnic origin into grounds upon which the foundation of a new state becomes the prime objective.

Nationalism refers to a process whereby a group with regard to its unique, historical, cultural or religious background and outlook demands a separate state for it. Moreover, the recognizing fact between ethnicity and nationalism is ethnicity's

relationship to the state. As far as nationalism is concerned, political association ought to be ethnic in character with the goal that it speaks to the interest of a specific ethnic class. Besides, the country state draws an essential part of its political right by persuading the masses that it truly represents them as a single social unit. Additionally, nationalism stress upon the social comparability of its supporters and along these lines draws limits with other people who in this manner are known as outsiders. Nationalism need that ethnic limits ought not cut crosswise over political one and the infringement of this rule results in sentiments of resentment or feelings for patriotism and its fulfillment results in state of satisfaction (Shahzad, 2007, pp. 1-5).

Nationalists are of the opinions that every nation has an ethical privilege to a sovereign state. As far as nationalism is concerned, it alludes to an uncommon connection amongst ethnicity and state, and has a solid regional part. For every nation, there is a domain that is connected with it in a way i.e. the national homeland. The patriots therefore assert that the nation is a legitimate premise for a state. The nation state is therefore something that guarantees the presence of a specific nation, secure its clear recognition and furnish that nation with a domain where national culture and national logic wins. Besides this, territorial claim is one of the principle elements of the politics of nationalist movements. At the point when political leaders of ethnic movements make demands of territorial claims, the ethnic movement is changed into a nationalist movement, ethnicity gets to be nationality and the ethnic segment of society accordingly transforms into a nation. We could group such nationalism taking into account ethnicity as ethnic nationalism (Malik, 2013, p. 40).

Similarly, Baloch nationalist who demand outright cessation from Federation of Pakistan they believe that tract of land would unite all ethnic Baloch in a territory that signifies their evolution as a nation over a period of centuries. They assert that they are a separate nation with distinct characteristics from other ethnic groups or Pakistani nation. So they believe that they are entitled to have separate homeland in a territory or geographical area to which Baloch as a nation is associated historically (Students, 2016). However, Baloch people also overlook few dominant effects of geo-politics of energy resources on Baloch ethno nationalism.

To understand the Baloch ethno nationalism from past to present we have to blend a theory of Regional Security Complex with Perennialist and Primordialist approaches. It is because of the fact that Baloch nationalism has always been there, however, now energy politics has a significant effect on Baloch ethno nationalism and has broadened the scope of the study. Unlike previous uprisings, current uprising have also a significant link with geo-politics of energy resources. Importance of resources, especially energy resources are a type of incentive for Baloch to fight for separate homeland. Furthermore, geo-strategic location and pipeline politics further made the situation complex. Now different global as well regional actors are competing on one end and a continued low scale war between Baloch insurgent groups and Pakistan army on other end.

So Regional Security Complex theory will also be applied along with perennialist theory of nationalism to develop theoretical framework for this research. It is because of the fact that Baloch Nationalism is very much affected by the geo-politics of energy resources. Different regional and global actors are competing each other due to strategic and energy riches of the Balochistan. The confrontation between

Baloch separatist and state forces on one hand and competition of global as well as regional actors on other hand has made the situation complex. So it can be easily understood by applying Regional Security Complex Theory.

2.7 Regional Security Complex Theory

Regional security Complex Theory was given by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever. Their book "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security" is a valuable contribution to Post-Cold War era. It emphasizes the centrality of territoriality in the study of security dynamics. Such conceptualization provides them with a basis for the analysis of the different levels of securitization in current international affairs. Moreover, they also provided a hierarchy of power which includes Superpower, Great powers and multiple regional powers. Main elements of their Regional Security Complex Theory are as under:

1. Regions are the appropriate levels of analysis of security studies.
2. Regions provide analytical scenarios for testing possible developments in the region.
3. Regions provide a useful organization of and developments in future (Waever, 2003, pp. 27-28).

According to this theory there are two kinds of security interdependences. First one is Interdependence of Rivalry based on enmity and other is Interdependence of Shared interests, based on Amity. Writers have explained the theory by giving examples of different complexes, such as India-Pakistan rivalry in South Asian complex and Arab-

Israel conflict in Middle Eastern complex. Similarly, Arab League, GCC or ASEAN serve best examples for Interdependence of Shared Interests (Buzan, 2009, pp. 5-6).

However, in later works Barry Buzan has further elaborated the concept of Regional Security Complex with a broader vision from different angles. He used constructivist approach and explained the concept from individual to state level and international system. Furthermore, Barry Buzan categorized the security sectors into Economic, Societal, Environmental, Political and Military, which are heavily dependent on each other. As Buzan points out in his article, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century", the "five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkage" (Buzan, 1991, p. 433). The concept of regional security, while seeming obvious to some, is one that, like the issue as a whole, had not been adequately addressed before Barry Buzan. When studying this aspect of security Buzan states, security is a relational phenomenon. Because security is relational, one cannot understand the national security of any given state without understanding the international pattern of security interdependence in which it is embedded. National security or International security becomes more vulnerable in societies where Politics of discrimination and exclusion is practiced (Buzan, 2009, p. 7).

Sub-national movements either generate their own resources or to get support from outside to run the movement and sustain it. Sometimes they receive financial and military support or only moral support. This makes situation complex. The situation becomes more complex when these sub-national groups live on both sides of boundaries of two nation-states. In this case, the chances of foreign involvement

increase in that particular region. Tamils, Kurds and Baloch serve as the best example of sub-national groups who live across the boundaries of nation-states. So in this situation more nation-states involve and internal dynamics of a country and regional politics make the situation complex. United States of America's involvement in Middle East is an example of foreign involvement when she supported Saddam regime against Kurds.

In the light of above theories and discussion one can safely conclude that Baloch nationalism is multi-face and deep-rooted in the past. The distinct ethnicity, glory of self-rule in past, decolonization and unwilling accession paved the way for Baloch ethno nationalism. Though it lacks continuity but it has existed for centuries. In recent years geo-politics of energy resources further strengthened the Baloch ethno nationalism as it worked as an incentive for Baloch nationalists and separatist groups to fight for separate state. Moreover, economic and political grievances of Baloch people have also contributed to resurgence of current ethno nationalist movement. Though, government launched different development projects but Baloch were negated altogether therein. The constitution of Pakistan 1973 provides the right of provincial autonomy. Thus it is under the power of provincial governments to control and explore them for welfare of masses. However, the federal government always used central power and marginalized provincial autonomy. Resultantly, negation of Baloch identity & culture, economic insecurities, Political marginalization, use of force, foreign investment in the region has created a security complex situation and different regional and global actors are competing for their economic as well as strategic interests.

Chapter: 3

Baloch Nationalism in Historical Perspective

3.1 Origin of Baloch Race

The known history of the Baloch people suggests that it is mostly based on Balochi ballads, folklores and derived from traditional legends. Many scholars, especially Western scholars trace Baloch history from modern city of Aleppo (Halab) and assert that they migrated from there and settled in Iran and Pakistan. However, contemporary Baloch scholars trace it before Christ and argue that Baloch, Kurd and Brahvi are of the same origin and belong to Arya race. Their ancestral religion was Zoroastrianism and they inhabited in Babylonia, Caspian Sea region, Balochistan and once they remained united under the Median Empire (Marri D. S., 2016). According to Agha Naseer Khan Ahmedzai Qambrani Baloch the present day Makran was known to Iranians with same name even in 2100 BC. He further claims that Maad Kurds ruled in Iran from 854 BC to 550 BC and extended their rule to Kalat which was then known as "Toraan". The word Baloch also used then in ancient Iranian society and it means the "cockscorn" or "crest" which was a military sign of Kurd army and since then it is associated with Baloch. Since then the Baloch people and Kurds are considered as two separate nations. The groups which settled in Eastward are known as Baloch and the others settled in Western areas are known to world as Kurd (Ahmedzai, 2005, p. 10).

3.2 Baloch Migrations

According to Agha Naseer, one of the groups of Kurd migrated in 3700 BC from Poraal, passed by the Western bank of Caspian Sea; the mountains of Aaraath, finally

settled in Turkey. The group comprised of four tribal groups: Loloni; Gothi; Sobaari; Kasi. Meanwhile, another group of the Kurd migrated towards South from Yuraal, passed by the Eastern bank of the Caspian Sea, entered in the region of Azerbaijan, Iran where they settled. The group comprised of three tribal groups: Maad, Kaardokh, and Nayari (Ahmedzai, 2005, p. 10).

However, Dr. Naseer Dashti argues that Baloch migration took place from Central Asia to Balochistan and is comprised of three waves which started from 3500 BC and continued till fourteenth century AD. He asserts that, "the first migration was of the Baloch tribes residing in the northern areas of Caspian Sea. These Baloch people were called Narui (Nara denoting north in archaic Balochi) and they settled in the areas now called Seistan in present-day Iran, Helmand valley in present Afghanistan and Chaghi plains in present Pakistani province Balochistan. The second migration took place a few hundred years after the first migration. During the second migration, the migrating Baloch tribes of Mount Alburz in the south of Caspian Sea settled in what is now called central Balochistan in Pakistan. The third and most important of all is the migration of the remaining Baloch tribes who supposedly took a long route traversing Kurdistan to be settled in Kerman, then Makuran and finally to the plains of Sibi and Kachi in Balochistan. This occurred during 12th century AD" (Dashti D. N., 2007, p. 31). Another prominent Baloch scholar Muhammad Sardar Khan Baloch considers Babylon as the original abode of Baloch which they left in 708 and 612 B.C. and settled in Northern provinces of Persia coterminous Black Sea i.e. Kurdistan, Armenia and Gilan. He further asserts that Firdousi also mentions in Shahnameh about Baloch resistance against brutalities of Nausherwan who massacred Baloch in this region (Baluch M. S., 1958, p. 29). During the rule of pious Caliphs Baloch

mainly inhabited in Kerman and probably few tribes embraced Islam at the time of Caliph Umar. Baloch Daptar Shair or Ballad tells us that Baloch sided with Imam Hussain in battle of Karbala and after some time they migrated to Kirman and Seistan. They proudly remind it as, "We are residents of, or, belong to Haleb (Aleppo in Syria). We started from there, and fought battles with Yazid at Karbala. We moved towards Bampur, our last destination the towns of Seistan" (Marri J. (., pp. 52-59)

Besides this, Baloch scholars also argue that Baloch people had always been in struggle for their emancipation and self-rule. They wandered in search of freedom from Mount Alburz to Mount Suleman in Balochistan and never accepted foreign intrusion easily. Dr. Wahid Bakhsh Buzdar argues that Baloch, Kurd and Brahvi are of the same origin and they had Median Empire in 4000 BC. He also opines that historically Baloch inhabited areas starting from Caspian Sea region to present Balochistan and there is connectivity of Baloch and their geography too. He gives the examples of historical as well as archeological places, names and language in Iran, Pakistani Balochistan and Kurdistan. In this regard, he asserts that Sooran is the name of place in two districts of Balochistan and it is also a place name in Iran where Baloch have been inhabited for centuries. In addition, he argues that Bampur is also a common place in the Baloch populace because the same place is present with the same name in Iran and is pronounced as "Bampur", in Dera Bugti district and bordering region of Sindh & Balochistan at Sasi-Punhu's place as "Bhambhor". He also gives the example of baggy trousers (Balochi Shalwar) of Baloch and Kurds and argues that no other nation in the region wears the same trousers. He claims that the Balochi names such as Jaro, Jalab, Saka, Hamal, Beburg etc. are different from European, Iranian, Indian and Arabic names which differentiate Baloch from others in

the region. He agrees that cities of Hamadan, Bampur, Ectabana and Kalat have been the centers of Baloch population throughout Baloch history. Dr. Wahid Bakhsh Buzdar claims that Baloch are indigenous people and therefore their migrations must be considered as internal migrations and even he opines that turbans, embroidery and designs which were found at Mehr Garh are similar to contemporary Balochi doch, designs and Balochi phagh (dastar). He further asserts that Mehr Garh belongs to Baloch and they own 7000 year old Mehr Garhian civilization which is oldest known civilization of the world and no one else has ever claimed it (Buzdar, 2016).

3.3 Struggles for Self-rule

The Baloch's struggle for liberty and emancipation is deeply rooted in their socio-cultural history. They never accepted the alien rule easily at any stage of history. Naturally, the nomadic Baloch always preferred the individual liberty, fraternity and emancipation for which they always resisted intruders. That is why the Khanate never accepted the Afghan rule by defending their instinctual habit of liberty. These types of traits have adopted a collective unconscious in Baloch intellect. The role of Baloch in society has always had a self-respect, honor and freedom. He is always loyal to his people and tribe (Janmahmad, 1988, p. 168).

In 12th century, 44 Baloch tribes migrated from Aleppo to Seistan under the leadership of Mir Jalal Haan and made the first tribal Baloch confederacy. This was the milestone which paved the route for further self-rule and national unity in the history of Baloch (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 95). Likewise, Ameer Mero Mirwani Baloch also called a Jirga which was comprised of the tribal chiefs from Makran, Kharaan, Chaghi, Sarawaan, Jhalawaan, Lasbela, Marri and Bugti areas and established his rule

in 1405 at Kalat. However, it could not last too long and replaced by Chakarian rule. Baloch self-rule under Chakar also emerged in 15th century and Baloch confederacy stretched from Makran to Sibi. His military victory over the tribes of Kalat, Makran and Lasbela resulted into a unified Baloch state in 1487 A.D. He also extended his rule to Sindh, Punjab and some parts of Afghanistan (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 96). Sibi, with more than 100,000 population, was the capital of Chakarian confederacy (Ali, 2005, p. 113). He had a standing army of 40,000 men and ruled Sibi for more than 25 years (Baluch M. S., 1958, pp. 37-39). The unity of Baloch tribes was his everlasting dream. So, for this purpose he emphasized on cultural activities in Sibi. Due to these activities, Chakar's kingdom achieved great progress. However, his rule began to shackle when Arghuns intrusion started on one end and Rind & Lashari tribes civil war started on other end. This civil war remained for 20 to 30 years and resulted into disintegration of Baloch confederacy. Mir Chakar left Sibi and marched towards India via capturing places in Punjab. There he came in contact with Mughal emperor Babar and his son Humayun and supported them in India and Punjab during 16th century. Chakar's son Mir Shahdad Khan supported Mughal army against Suri Afghans. After Humayun's victory, he gave estates to Chakar's relatives in Punjab as well as in India.

On return from India, Chakar settled in Satgarha (Okara) and died there at the age of 96 years. Though Chakar died in exile and his rule came to an unfortunate end, but he is still known as hero among Baloch diaspora. It is because of the fact that he was a born warrior who united Baloch and extended their sway to the Sindh and Punjab. He remained sole leader of Baloch for more than two decades, ruled with bravery and his time is known as golden era of self-rule (Baluch M. S., 1958, pp. 36-49).

3.4 Emergence of Khanate of Kalat

Although we do not have any proper picture of the Baloch administrative set-up in the early stages, but their tribal administration as well as tribal unions of that time constitute a pseudo-state by any primitive standards. Persian and Arab writers have mentioned Koch O Baloch in their work and Baloch rule in Kirman and Seistan. They also discussed Baloch resistance against Anusherwan the immortal of Persia and the rulers of Central Asia attacked Baloch areas to control Baloch land for trade routes, but failed in doing so. It suggests that Baloch tribes had a political as well as administrative set-up with strong centre which also had good relations with rulers of Indus valley and Persia. So it will be unjust to say that Baloch had no state apparatus or administrative set-up and were merely a wandering group. If they had no administrative set-up then they could not have resisted Arabs, Persians and many other invaders (Janmahmad, 1988, pp. 157-158).

Basically, the first ruler of Kalat was Ameer Meero Merwani Baloch who laid foundation of Baloch rule in Kalat in 1405 which was toppled by Chakar Khan Rind the then ruler of Baloch confederacy (Baluch M. S., 1958, p. 36). But sad demise of Chakar and his Baloch confederacy jolted Baloch nation and created a vacume for a long time until Ahmedzai tribe united politically Baloch diaspora again. In 1666, Mir Ahmed I was elected under tribal assembly as the ruler of Baloch nation and the era of independent Khanate began with him. He also extended the border of Kalat confederacy and the history of Khanate assumed a proper and definite shape from where one can determine the chronology of Kalat state. He always tried to extend Baloch dominions and fought with Afghans, Kalhoras of Sindh and Mughals. He

trained Baloch nation in art of war and gave them a direction for a bright future before his death (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 102).

Khans of Kalat confederacy always resisted against alien rule and maintained their independence. However, it came under suzerainty of Nadir Shah Afshar of Iran from 1736 to 1747 and of Ahmad Shah of Afghan Kingdom from 1747 to 1757. But it was not easily accepted and many Khans refused their rule and fought for independence of Khanate. When Nasir Khan came as a ruler he accepted Afghan rule for some time until he consolidated his power. But Mir Nasir Khan Great set the precedent and declared independence of Kalat state in 1758 and it resulted into Afghan-Baloch war. He refused to give any military or financial support to Ahmad Shah Durani. It was time when Nasir Khan had already established his military and other institutions of Kalat state. According to Hittu Ram the Khan's military strength at time of any emergency was one million, while Lieutenant Henry Pottinger, who visited Balochistan in 1810, reported that Baloch military strength during Baloch-Afghan war was 150,000 men. In 1758, Afghan forces attacked Kalat but failed and defeated by Baloch army. Finally, both parties signed a peace agreement which is known as the "Treaty of Kalat (1758)" or the "Treaty of Non-Interference" (Baloch I. , 1987, pp. 103-105).

3.5 The Treaty of Kalat 1758

This treaty is of great importance in international relations and history of Southwest Asian region. According to this treaty the sovereignty of Kalat state was recognized by Afghan kingdom (Durrani kingdom). Treaty gives a real picture of Baloch-Afghan relations and international and constitutional status of Kalat state. It was signed

between Mir Nasir Khan the Great and Ahmad Shah Durani. Following are the provisions of treaty on which both parties agreed;

- 1) Khan-e-Baloch will not pay any tribute to Afghan King.
- 2) Khan-e-Baloch will not give military support to Ahmad Shah. But provided he is at war against external enemies, and Khan will provide military support, on condition that Afghan king will provide annually Rs. 100,000, military weapons and other expenditures for army.
- 3) Khan-e-Baloch will not provide any help or asylum to rebel princes of Sadozai or Afghan chiefs and likewise, Afghan king also will not give refuge or any other help to royal family of Kalat.
- 4) Shah-e-Afghanistan in future will not interfere in internal affairs of Balochistan.
- 5) All areas of Baloch state which are under possession of Shah-e-Afghanistan will be handed over to Khan-e-Baloch.

After this historic treaty, Kalat state started her diplomatic relations with neighbours Persia (Iran), Afghanistan, Oman, and Ottoman Turkey. The Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of Islam awarded Nasir Khan the title of "Beyglar Beygi" (Turkish for "Chief of the Chiefs") (Baloch I. , 1987, pp. 105-106).

This agreement made possible for Khan to bring peace and stability domestically and also helped to expand his sway to all Baloch areas. Nasir Khan reunited all the Baloch areas which were then claimed by Baloch nationalists. During his reign, some parts of Seistan (Iran-Afghanistan), Persian Balochistan, Derajats, Karachi, Kharan, Makran, Chaghi, Jacobabad and Quetta became part of Kalat state. Besides this, Khanate also increased its influence over Bandar Abbas, Sindh and Khorasan. Interestingly, Nasir Khan never included non-Baloch areas into Khanate. He declined

the offer of Ahmad shah to divide Punjab between the Baloch and Afghans, contrary to practice of the Persians, the Afghans, and the Mughals who were expansionist and exploited other nations (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 106). Jan Muhammad Baloch asserts that, "Mir Nasir Khan not only further extended the Khanate to the entire region of present-day eastern Balochistan and most parts of the Irani and Afghan Baloch land, including the port of Karachi, but also provided the solid political structure for the confederacy. Mir Nasir Khan was seventh in the line; he stands out for his enlightened rule; as a remarkable general and statesman" (Janmahmad, 1988, p. 162).

Besides this, Nasir Khan established Kalat state on modern lines and developed infrastructure, communication system, trade relations etc. He was the most powerful ruler of the Kalat state throughout the history of Khanate. From 1666 to the end of Kalat state in 1948, no such statesman came in Baloch history. He united Baloch nation under single political umbrella before his sad demise in 1794. Probably it was his qualities due to which not only Baloch nation, but Shah of Iran, Afghanistan and Sultan of Oman also mourned on his death (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 123).

3.6 The Political System of Kalat

Though many attempts were made by externals to rule Kalat state as their permanent dominion, but they failed except to rule for some time without holding full sway on whole of Baloch land. Even after 1839 British attack on Kalat, Kalat state was not fully under control of British; rather it was a semi-independent state. Perhaps it was the efforts of different rulers of Kalat state who developed and gave a proper shape to Kalat state during the course of history (Janmahmad, 1988, pp. 165-168).

Kalat state had its own unwritten constitution (Baloch Rawaj) which was also known as "Dastur-e-Nasiri" (the constitution of Nasir Khan). All the successor rulers of Kalat

took an oath according to this constitution and made promises to follow political system of Nasir Khan until 1948. Moreover, Kalat state was federal in nature and state administration was divided into federal and provincial levels. Kalat state also had its own currency, military, national flag, Persian as court language and administration was run by Khan's "Wazir" (Prime Minister) (Baloch I. , 1987, pp. 115-116).

3.7 British Imperialism and Baloch Awakening

Balochistan has always been important to the world due to its location because it lies on routes which join Central Asia, South Asia and Middle East. It remained significant to Russians, Portuguese, and British from the point of view of strategy as well as for trade.

Likewise, British forces attacked Kalat on 13th November 1839 and the then Khan, Mir Mehrab Khan refused to surrender. He was killed by British forces and Kalat came under indirect rule of British which lasted till 1947 (Janmahmad, 1988, pp. 163-164). However, Kalat was not fully controlled by British and it enjoyed status of semi-independent state. British army did not want to have more confrontation with Baloch because they also needed Baloch support against Russian and Iranian threat of expansionism. So to make Baloch calm and maintain good relations, British army signed an agreement in 1854. The treaty was signed between General John Jacob and Nasir Khan II which recognized Khan as the independent ruler of Kalat (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 133). Furthermore, British army introduced few reforms to avoid any possible resentment in future. They introduced Sandeman system which was aimed to minimize interference and maximize the efficiency. It was introduced by Sir Robert Sandeman and he empowered sardars through Shahi Jirga system and weakened the Khan. Although British army spoiled the institution of sardari and weakened the

Khan but faced severe resistance from Marris, Bugtis and Khetrans, Zehris, Gichkis and many other Baloch tribes. The Baloch resistance to British army was not limited to few areas; rather it was spreaded to whole Baloch land and lasted for more than a century with varying intensity (Janmahmad, 1988, pp. 164-168). However, these resistance movements were not organized and lacked political mobilization until Mir Yousuf Ali Magsi and Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd appeared in 1920s.

These young energetic Baloch political workers organized Balochs under Anjuman, which was Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Baloch in 1920s. They started different magazines, newspapers and pamphlets to aware Baloch nation. In 1929, Magsi started writing an article, "Faryad-e-Balochistan" from Lahore and in 1933 with a pamphlet, "voice of Baloch" to highlight socio-political condition of Balochistan to British Parliament. He also resisted the unlawful acts of Prime Minister of Kalat and demanded constitutional reforms. Moreover, through efforts of Anjuman, Baloch leaders and tribal elders All India Baloch Conference was held on 20th October 1932 in Jacobabad and in 1933 in Hyderabad. Many Baloch leaders attended these conferences and demanded unification of Baloch regions as well as constitutional rule in Balochistan (Janmahmad, 1988, p. 169).

Later on, in 1936, the general secretary of Anjuman, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd suggested that Anjuman should be reorganized but his proposal was rejected by some right wing members. However, left wing members of Anjuman met at Sibi in February 1937 and replaced Anjuman with Kalat State National Party. The Kalat State National Party followed the similar program like that of Anjuman and demanded reforms and also challenged the unlawful acts of Prime Minister of Kalat. Party rejected the British plan of dismemberment of Kalat state and constantly arranged its meetings. With the passage of time party got popularity among educated people of Balochistan and it

succeeded in persuading many influential tribes as well as secured considerable support from there. This struggle of Kalat State National Party continued till the dawn of the independence (Baloch I. , 1987, pp. 150-156).

3.8 Dawn of Independence

After World War II, British government policy changed towards India and they decided to transfer power. For this purpose British government sent a three member Cabinet Mission to India on 24th March 1946, which was comprised of Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethic Lawrence, Mr. A. V. Alexander and sir Stafford Cripps. The memorandum of Cabinet Mission was developed and it was decided to give independence to princely states, including Kalat State. Interestingly, the case of Kalat State was presented by Quaid-E-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah where British government acknowledged the independence of Kalat and its status different to that of other princely states of India. The treaty of 1876 between British government and Khan also once recognized independence of Khanate. So finally on June 03, 1947 Lord Mountbatten announced partition plan. Likewise, Jinnah clarified his non-interference policy towards newly created states (Baloch I. , 1987, pp. 170-173).

As a result of this policy, an agreement was signed between representatives of the government of Pakistan, the government of Kalat and the government of British on August 4, 1947. However, it was announced on August 11, 1947. According to this, "the Government of Pakistan recognizes Kalat's status as an independent, sovereign state; this status is different from that of Indian states" (Brahoi A. R., 2008, p. 44). However, British government left the leased areas to be discussed between Pakistan government and Kalat State government. Following this agreement, Khan formally declared independence of Kalat on 15th August 1947 and addressed his people in

Balochi language (Axmann, 2009, p. 227). He declared, "I am proud to address you in Balochi today. Inshallah, whenever I will address you in future, it will be in Balochi because it is the language of the Baloch nation" (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 178).

He addressed his political views and future plans in following words, "We will continue our struggle till we achieve complete independence and the unification of the Baloch. We cannot be satisfied unless we achieve our goal. He also asserted that foreign policy would be based on the principle of non-interference and friendly relations to all the nations and particularly to the neighboring states" (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 178).

3.9 The Governmental Structure of Kalat

In the same month, the written constitution of Kalat was promulgated which defined the governmental set-up of Kalat. It was comprised of three parts which defined jurisdiction of Khanate, executive of Khanate, functions of the legislature, and provinces respectively. The sovereignty under this constitution was vested with the institution of Khan. Moreover, constitution provided a bicameral legislative body, namely;

1. Darul-Umra (the House of Tribal Chiefs or Upper House)
2. Darul-Awam (the House of Commons or Lower House)

The Upper house was mainly consisted of tribal chiefs and also included couple of minority members and total strength of the house was 46. The working tenure of the house was five years. Likewise, the Lower House was consisted of 55 members, of which 50 were elected and 5 were nominated by Khan and the tenure of the house was five years.

Although, Kalat state had a written constitution and a parliament, but there were many shortcomings in constitution. It is because of the fact that "Rawaj" (Baloch Society's Constitution) was also working at the same time and constitution did not explicitly define the rights and duties of Royal Family. Besides this, the powers of Khan regarding foreign affairs and on capital punishment were also not described. In the both houses, Khan had much power as the ruler of the Kalat (Baloch I. , 1987, pp. 170-180).

3.10 Elections of the Parliament

Soon after promulgation of new constitution, elections were conducted in Kalat state for the first time in the history of Balochistan. The Kalat State National Party secured 39 seats out of 51 and constituted the majority in the house. Independent candidates extended their support to Kalat State National Party for promotion of democratic culture in Balochistan, which had been already working since 1920s for this cause (Axmann, 2009, pp. 228-229).

On 13 December, newly elected assembly started working and Khan summoned the Lower House to discuss the affairs of the state. In a three-day session a number of issues were discussed. The matters include the official language, relations with federation of Pakistan, and sharia law. Accession issue with Pakistan, Sharia Law, and Baloch Rawaj as constitution were discussed in detail.

3.11 Accession of Kalat with Pakistan

After formal declaration of independence of Kalat on 15th August 1947, the British rule on Kalat came to an end. Now Pakistan and Kalat were two independent states on

the map of the world and both had already signed Standstill Agreement on 11th August, 1947. According to treaty both states were supposed to discuss only matter of leased areas of Balochistan. In the light of Standstill Agreement, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Kalat went to Karachi to discuss matters with Pakistan government but negotiations failed and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah invited Khan of Kalat to Karachi in October, 1947. Accordingly, Khan of Kalat visited Jinnah at Karachi, where he was advised by Jinnah to merge Kalat state with Pakistan. In response to Jinnah's advice, Khan replied that in a tribal structure it is necessary that he has to get formal assent of different tribes and the parliament of Kalat. On his return from Karachi, Khan promptly summoned both house of the parliament to get formal mandate from members on issue of accession. But both houses unanimously opposed the idea and declared it against the spirit of 4th August, 1947 agreement and Indian Independence Act 1947 (Baloch I., 1987, p. 183).

Later on the Darul-Awam had its session in mid-December 1947 and the issue of accession was debated in detail. On this occasion, Ghous Bakhsh Bezinjo, a young Baloch member delivered a forceful speech against accession to Pakistan in following words:

"We have a distinct civilization. We have a separate culture like that of Iran and Afghanistan. We are Muslims but it is not necessary that by virtue of our being Muslims we should lose our freedom and merge with others. If the mere fact that we are Muslims requires us to join Pakistan then Afghanistan and Iran, both Muslim countries, should also amalgamate with Pakistan. . . Pakistan's unpleasant and loathsome desire that our national homeland, Balochistan, should merge with it, is impossible to concede. It is unimaginable to agree to such a demand . . . It is no secret that before the creation of Pakistan, our Khan had patronized the Muslim League. . . Under the Khan's guidance many Baloch helped the League through every possible means. What was our attitude towards Pakistan and what is its behavior towards us . . . ? Pakistan has even refused talks and is making any discussions on the

subject conditional on the repentance of the Baloch government and its prostration before them. . . We are ready to have friendship with that country on the basis of sovereign equality but by no means [are we] ready to merge with Pakistan. . . We can survive without Pakistan. We can remain without Pakistan. We can prosper outside Pakistan. But the question is what Pakistan would be without us . . . ? I do not propose to create hurdles for the newly created Pakistan in matters of defense and external communication. But we want an honorable relationship, not a humiliating one. If Pakistan wants to treat us as a sovereign people we are ready to extend to hand of friendship and co-operation. If Pakistan does not agree to do so, flying in the face of democratic principles, such an attitude will be totally unacceptable to us, and if we are forced to accept this fate then every Baloch son will sacrifice his life in defense of his national freedom" (Axmann, 2009, p. 230)

The majority of the members supported views of Bezinjo and passed a resolution that relations with Pakistan must be based on sovereign equality and rejected the accession agreement. So the issue of accession remained unresolved and tensions between Kalat and Pakistan were increasing with each passing day.

However, Khan of Kalat argues that shortly after Quaid's visit of Sibi, the both houses of Kalat parliament signified their consent for merger but subject to the following conditions:

1. No law will be enacted without prior consent of the Baloch tribes as might affect their traditions and customs.
2. The presence of all sardars at ceremony of Kalat's merger is necessary. The Khan-e-Azam and the Quaid-e-Azam should sign the merger documents before them.
3. The Quaid-e-Azam and the Government of Pakistan should issue a statement which acknowledges the role of Khan-e-Azam and Baloch people for establishment of sovereign Muslim state of Pakistan.
4. Lastly, the Quaid-e-Azam should personally address the traditional gathering of tribal sardars, appreciating and acknowledging their sincere services in the cause of Islam and Pakistan (Khan A. Y., 1975, pp. 154-155).

Khan further asserts that he shared above pre-conditions to Quaid and came back to Dhadar, the then winter capital of Kalat. Both leaders were expected to meet in near future to finalize the issue, but could not meet due to illness of Khan. But during this time period Lasbela, Kharan, and Makran; the subordinate states of Kalat were merged with Pakistan. Moreover, the government of Pakistan had already instructed the army to be ready for action against Kalat state.

So Khan of Kalat argues in his autobiography that he had no time and he had to act quickly. He did and writes as:

“Therefore, without obtaining the formal sanction from the tribal sardars, I signed the merger documents in my capacity as the Khan-e-Azam on 30th March, 1948. I confess I knew I was exceeding the scope of my mandate; yet, I am grateful to my people and the tribal sardars that, despite this, they did not raise a single voice of any nature of protest against my decision on their behalf. And I am pleased to be able to say that I still enjoy their full confidence and trust today as I had in the past” (Baluch M. A., 1975, p. 162).

However, Khan contradicts his own statement when he writes the situation after the signing of agreement without constitutional formalities. He writes;

“And having done so, I stuck to it like a rock. I had two things to contend with: (1) pacification of my Baloch brethren, and (2) the government of Pakistan. I checked the concentration of my people by cheering and advising them to keep cool” (Baluch M. A., 1975, p. 163)

Khan of Kalat had friendly relations with Jinnah and that is the reason that he always supported Jinnah and Pakistan. On Jinnah's insistence, he expressed his willingness to join Pakistan but subject to formal assent of Kalat State's parliament in which he badly failed. Khan expressed his sadness on ill-treatment by Pakistan army and government. He was unhappy on 15th April, 1948 takeover of Kalat in which many ministers of his cabinet were arrested as well as exiled. He asserts that Kalat state was

reverted back to the position of British position with an order of the Quaid-e-Azam, the governor-general of Pakistan (Baluch M. A., 1975, p. 164). From above statements of Khan it is quite clear that accession was a controversial issue and he did not follow legal process for signing instrument of accession with government of Pakistan. Furthermore, he was not treated well by government of Pakistan even after signing such a treaty which served Federation of Pakistan. On other end, Baloch people were also not happy with him and his brother prince Karim led an armed resistance against Pakistan. Even today, he is known as an immature ruler of Kalat among Baloch for signing accession treaty.

3.12 Baloch Uprising of 1948

After a controversial merger with Pakistan, the younger brother of Khan of Kalat, prince Agha Karim and the Kalat State National Party members started anti-Pakistan rallies and meetings. Prince Karim invited different members of leading political parties to join him in struggle for independence of Kalat. On 16th May, 1948 he started liberation movement and planned to unite workers under his command. However, things were not in his favor and he had to flee to Afghanistan. Some prominent political leaders who joined him were Muhammad Hussain Anka (the secretary of the Baloch League), Malik Saeed Dehwar (the secretary of the Kalat State National Party), Kadir Bakhsh Nizamani (member of Baloch League as well as prominent member of the Communist Party, Sindh-Balochistan branch, and Maulvi Muhammad Afzal of Jamiat-al- Ulma-e-Balochistan. He made Afghanistan his base camp and sent messages to tribal chiefs of Eastern as well as Western Balochistan to join Baloch Liberation movement. In addition, he also asked for international support and accessed Soviet Russia, Iran and Afghanistan. Although he organized a group of

Baloch and planned an armed struggle, but he failed to secure internal as well external supported. Meanwhile he and his companions were offered negotiations by Khan of Kalat and government of Pakistan. Prince Karim and his 142 followers came back to Harboi, a hilly station of Kalat. "Pakistani high officials signed a safe conduct agreement with the Prince's party at Harboi and swore an oath on the Muslim Holy book, the Koran, to uphold it" (Baloch I. , 1987, p. 197). However, that agreement was dishonored and Prince Karim and his followers were arrested and imprisoned for some years in Quetta as well as Mucch jails.

3.13 Conflict of 1958

It goes without saying that Khan had lost his all glory which he had been enjoying as the ruler of the Kalat before accession to Pakistan. But things further aggravated when Balochistan was included in the One Unit scheme. All provinces of West Pakistan were merged to bring parity between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The document of One Unit scheme was supposedly prepared by Mian Mumtaz Daultana and it reveals that for success of scheme government must remove decks and use propaganda. Government may use Mullahs, selected leaders in the province and take strict measures to implement the scheme (Malik R. , 1988, pp. 126-127). But this scheme was not welcomed by provinces and they demanded their separate provinces. Likewise, Khan of Kalat and other Baloch leaders constantly agitated against One Unit and demanded separate identity of Balochistan. For this purpose Khan of Kalat met tribal sardars and discussed the issue. Khan of Kalat writes in his political autobiography that he conveyed the concerns of Baloch about One Unit in written form to Sikandar Mirza but he betrayed him. Sikandar Mirza agreed to withdrew the Balochistan from One Unit scheme as well as assured his help for bring back Kalat's

Status but subject to a bribe of 50 lac. And on refusal by Khan, the behavior of Sikandar Mirza changed and Khan of Kalat was declared as traitor (Baluch M. A., 1975, pp. 174-175). Soon, In October, 1958 a military operation was launched in Kalat and Khan of Kalat was arrested and imprisoned. Khan writes atrocities of Pakistan military as;

“The 6th day of October, 1958, will ever remain fresh in the memory of the peoples of Balochistan; for it was on this day that the forces of tyranny, oppression and blood-shed were let loose on the simple and innocent Balochs of Kalat for no fault of theirs I gave up myself to the army which paraded with me on the road and streets of Kalat. I witnessed several of my men falling dead on the ground by the indiscriminate firing of the army” (Baluch M. A., 1975, p. 181).

The impact of such oppressive measures now turned into ethnic mobilization struggling for political unity in Baloch. Eventually, an armed struggle was led by Nawab Nauroz Khan and he emerged as a Baloch nationalist leader during that era.

3.14 Conflict of 1960s

In 1955, one unit scheme was introduced by central government mainly dominated by politicians from Western Pakistan particularly from Punjab. This scheme was an attempt to bring parity between both the units. Now instead of various provinces in West Pakistan, there was only one unit with its capital at Lahore. However, the scheme failed and Martial Law was imposed in country and a military operation was also launched in Balochistan. In 1958s military operation a number of Baloch politician were arrested, including Khan of Kalat who was a symbol of respect for many Baloch. So in this reaction Nawab Nauroz Khan decided to start an armed struggle. The state faced a strong resistance from Nauroz Khan who applied guerrilla war fare tactics. Resultantly, the state applied a more vivid Machiavellian policy offering table talks to armed group with an intension of planning to secure arrest of

leaders. The state assured a peaceful settlement with the condition that if the armed struggle is shunned and the leader himself withdraws from the mountains where they had been fighting. It was concluded in an Oath on the Holy Quran on behalf of the state that Nawab and his companions would not be prosecuted under state laws. Contrary to the promise and instead of initiating any dialogue, the state arrested the leader and sentenced him to death with other companions and put behind the bars in various jails of Pakistan. However, Nawab's death sentence was converted into life imprisonment on the plea of being an octogenarian. His imprisonment continued until death in 1964 (Saleem, 2013, pp. 28-29).

Apart from above all, many political workers who raised voice against the state policies were arrested and held imprisoned for many years. Throughout the decade, Baloch were marginalized in all political aspects and faced severe atrocities and humiliation. The net result of such humiliation and marginalization gave birth to nationalist aspirations among all aggrieved Baloch and nationalism got strength day after day. Baloch people living within the province and its diaspora around the world became active in formation of nationalist political parties like establishment of Baloch Students Organization (BSO) in 1967 in Balochistan. This organization further united Baloch and gave them many leaders in days to come.

3.15 Conflict of 1970s

During the period 1970s, significant developments took place in Pakistani politics which were marked by the first ever general elections. Demands for political rights and autonomy came on surface in both Balochistan and NWFP provinces. Baloch leaders Attaullah Mengal and Ghaus Bux Bezenjo including other nationalist

leaders came on front in this struggle. This ended into an agreement between Bhutto and NAP leaders to form government in Balochistan.

However, Attaullah Mengal could not sustain his government in Balochistan for long. He was charged under the allegation of "Iraqi embassy weapon confinement, London Plan and Pat-Feder issues and Mengal was removed by Bhutto. With the end of Mengal government, Nawab Bugti was appointed as new governor of Balochistan. However, the trust deficit between Baloch nationalist leadership and Bhutto increased with each passing day and finally it led to military operation in 1973. The nationalist leaders in Balochistan opted for an armed resistance against this operation (Shahzad, 2007, p. 40).

During this armed resistance, the guerilla fighters were not strong enough to face a sophisticated army. However, their resistance succeeded to some extent. An independent researcher found saying that the army fighters in Balochistan were numbered around 80,000 and neighboring state of Iran had given a huge military aid to Pakistan for fighting against Baloch. The aid was also in financial means and it decisively penetrated severe losses to the Baloch fighters. Resultantly, many rebels were arrested and some abdicated to Afghanistan with leader Nawab Khair Bux Marri. The suppressive measures on the part of state again disassociated the province from mainstream politics of Pakistan hence aggravating ethno national spirit in Baloch (Harrison, 1981, p. 3).

The next regime in Pakistan was Zia's martial law rule. He treated Baloch prisoners with a modest style of releasing around 6,000 withdrawing the allegations altogether (Harrison, 1981, p. 40). However, military operation during Bhutto regime had left deep impacts in Baloch politics. It gave a message to the Baloch that

their unity can guarantee their survival against the state's brutal ambitions. In short, the policies articulated to marginalize the Baloch crystallized into ethno nationalist ventures and their deep rooting in the entire province.

Chapter: 4

Balochistan and the Energy Politics

4.1 Introduction

Balochistan has been one of the important regions for many foreign powers due to its strategic location; international trade route, and abundance of natural resources such as coal, natural gas, oil, copper, and many others. Its geostrategic significance is crystal clear from the fact that it is very close to Middle East, Central Asia and Indian Ocean. The borders of the province adjacent with Iran on the West, Afghanistan on its North and Indian Ocean lies on the South. Due to geostrategic significance of Balochistan different regional as well as global actors have always competed with one another for their own interests in the region (Iqbal, 2014, pp. 190-193). The Soviet Russia and the British Empire also competed in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to control Balochistan in order to increase their areas of influence in the region. Furthermore, the reason behind the division of Baloch areas by British Empire was to control and avoid any possible uprising of the Baloch.

“Energy and geopolitics have always been closely linked. The twentieth century saw access to energy resources become a major factor in determining the winners of wars, oil producers banding together to create new global alliances, and price swings that spurred or deterred the adventurism of superpowers” (Pascual, 2015, p. 5).

Likewise, The United States, China, India and Iran are also in a kind of competition to secure their own interests in terms of economic, strategic, and energy resources of Balochistan as well as Central Asian Republics. One can understand foreign interest in Balochistan by analyzing the recent China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project and

the construction as well as the development of the Gawadar Port is the core of the project through which trade will be carried out with the Gulf States and the Central Asian Republics (Iqbal, 2014, pp. 204-213). While on the other hand, in response to the project, Iran, India, and Afghanistan have signed a tri-lateral trade agreement. Moreover, India promised Iran to develop Chabahar Port. Although Balochistan is and has always been important due to its natural resources and geographical location, but it has never been developed by any foreign power or even by successive governments of Pakistan. Depriving people and the province for a long time from its natural resources resulted into a complex situation where people no longer trust to any one there is no such infrastructural development which may bring prosperity or improvement in Human Development Index of the province. It is the Gawadar port and the other majority of the Baloch areas which will work as gateway to link CARs, Gulf States, and other parts of the world to China. So one can say that Baloch are the main stake-holders in the process where energy resources and other goods will be traded through this port and the land route. However, the irony of the fate is that Baloch being the real stake-holder in the current geopolitics of energy resources, have less say in affairs of Gawadar, CPEC, pipeline agreements and other related agreements. Consequently, the Baloch population has reservations on Infrastructural development of Gawadar Port, CPEC, Saindak, Reko Diq, exploration of natural gas in different parts of the province and Gas pipelines which will pass from Baloch areas.

Numerous writers and scholars, especially of the field of international relations have written a lot about the concepts of The Great Game and The New Great Game in which Central Asia and Balochistan remained core. Whether there was / is any Great

Game or not, but one thing is quite clear that the both regions i.e. Balochistan and central Asia have always been important to rest of the world due to possession of huge amount of natural resources, especially energy such as Coal deposits, natural gas and oil reservoirs. For this very reason, different regional and global actors competed with one another and made the situation more complex. Contrary to CARs, in case of Balochistan, the geopolitics of energy resources further affected Baloch ethno nationalism and aspirations for independence increased among Baloch population (Wirsing, 2008).

4.2 Major Energy Resources of the Province

It goes without saying that Balochistan is one of the richest regions of the world in terms of natural resources. It possesses huge amount of natural gas deposits, oil, coal, copper, gold and many others. So it remained in focus of foreign firms as well as state owned companies and local private firms. The presence of energy resources in abundance such as natural gas, coal, and oil attracted investors from the country and outside the country. According to estimation Balochistan have 6 billion barrels of oil and 29 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves (Anwar, 2011, p. 103). In addition to that coal has also been a traditionally important mineral resource of Balochistan. The province has large untapped coal reserves. According to estimation 262 million tons of sub-bituminous coal reserves are present in Bolan, Quetta, Sibi and Loralai districts of the province (Gazdar, 2007, p. 5). These energy resources need to be categorized and discussed separately to understand their importance for the local people and whole country.

4.2.1 Oil Reserves

Balochistan sits on estimated 6 billion barrels of oil reserves. The exploration for oil in Balochistan was started in late nineteenth century and first boring was commenced on 17th September 1884 at Khattan Marri tribal area in Kohlu district. At that time it was transported on the back of camels and donkeys to Harnai and sold to Western railway. The Canadian boring system was employed and drillings were carried out till 1893 and oil was sold to railways at 3 annas per gallon. The quality oil for commercial purpose was explored at the depth of 80, 90, and 120 feet. The amount of oil production from 1886 to 1892 was 777,225 gallons which was used in Khojak works. However, this exploration was stopped due to transportation expenses and decreasing quality. Though, the company explored oil in Marri and Bugti tribal areas but it had to abandon the exploration due to difficulties in extraction as well. The presence of floating solids (presumable sulphur and carbonate of lime) and 6 percent of water were the main impediments in the way of exploration. Another scientific seismic survey was carried out in 1990s in Balochistan for exploration of oil and gas in various regions and oil reserves have been found in Kingri area of district Loralai as well as Marri Bugti areas (Marri S. K., 2014, pp. 138-142). However, the search of oil in the province is not confined to the region of Marri-Bugti only even the government has extended licenses to the local and foreign companies for the exploration of gas across Balochistan. In the light of the survey conducted by the Geological Survey of Pakistan, it is estimated that there are six trillion barrels of oil reservoirs across the province. Panjgur, Lasbella, Kharan, Kalat and Marri are also being explored for oil and gas.

In the near past, after the deadlock between the government of Balochistan and the Federal Ministry for Petroleum, the later has succeeded in persuading the former to evade the ban on oil and gas exploration and allow the companies to carry out survey across the province. It was endorsed in the meeting between the former Chief Minister of Balochistan Abdul Malik Baloch and Minister of State for Petroleum Jam Kamal Khan and allowed more than two dozens of companies to carry out survey and exploration across Khuzdar, Lasbella, Jhal Magsi, Kalat, Kharan and other areas (Butt, 2015).

4.2.2 Coal Reserves

Coal has also been a traditionally important mineral resource of Balochistan. Balochistan's coal production of approximately 2 million tons forms the highest provincial share in the national coal production. The production is increasing overtime. From 2000/01 to 2004/05, there has been a 12 percent increase. The rate of royalty on coal has also been multiplied three folds from 20 to 60 with effect from June 2006. This growing output and increased royalties project coal to be a mineral responsible for generation of increased revenue for Balochistan. The province also has large untapped coal reserves. 262 million tons of sub-bituminous coal reserves are present in Bolan, Quetta, Sibi and Loralai districts of the province (Gazdar, 2007, p. 5). The demand for coal has also been increasing. Cement, sugar, textile and fertilizer industries have switched their main fuel source from furnace oil to coal, which has created significant demand for coal in the country. With the growing population, the demand for coal for domestic use is also increasing.

It is believed that Balochistan have 0.459 billion tons of coal reserves (less than 1% of Pakistan's total reserves). Despite this it contributes more than 50% to Pakistan's total coal production annually. The majority of the coal is used in brick kilns and a small amount is used as an energy source (Shehri, 2016).

There are six coalfields considered as developed found in the northern region of the province of Balochistan. Such as Mach-Abegum located in the district of Bolan more or less 70km to the southeast of Quetta, Sor Range-Sinjidi-Deghari (the deepest coalmine in Pakistan) located 28km east of Quetta, Pir Ismail Ziarat-Margar-Narwar located 60km east of Quetta, Duki-Anambar situated in Loralai, Khost-Sharing-Harnai situated in Sibi at the distance of 160km from Quetta and the Chamlang in Loralai (Shehri, 2016).

4.2.3 Natural Gas Reserves

Natural gas is another important energy resource which was discovered in Balochistan back in 1952 at Sui, Dera Bugti district. It has become almost synonymous with the name Sui, and though Balochistan's production has increased over time, its percentage share in Pakistan's total production has decreased. In 1995, Balochistan was contributing nearly 56% to Pakistan's total output of natural gas, but by 2007 its shares had dropped to 22.7%, and that same year it consumed only 5.81% of the country's total output. Currently, Balochistan is the second largest producer of gas in Pakistan after Sindh. Majority of the natural gas is produced in one geographical region comprising of East Central Balochistan. The oldest and largest natural gas field in Pakistan is the Sui Gas Field located at the foot of the Marri-Bugti Hills in Balochistan (Shehri, 2016).

According geological survey of Pakistan sources 19 trillion cubic feet natural gas reserves are expected under new offshore exploration in the province (Papers, 2006, p. 5). The districts of Panjgur, Lasbella, Kharan, Kalat and Marri districts are also under exploration for oil and gas.

There are clear signs that Balochistan will soon be in the grip of international oil politics in coming years. It has become the focus of attention for foreign petroleum firms. The Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL) has been dominating the area of oil exploration for many decades in Balochistan. In future it will have no important role in the province. The international players of oil politics have focused their eye on huge oil and gas reserves, still unexplored in Balochistan.

A Chinese company, BGP, is reportedly resuming seismic and aerial surveys in Bugti tribal area shortly. The company had suspended the survey in Sui due to security reasons. The BGP was awarded \$1 million contract last year by the government of Pakistan to carry out a seismic survey over an area of 178km in Dera Bugti (Baloch I. U., p. 5).

4.2.4 Other Precious Natural Resources of Balochistan

Natural resources include all those substances –air, water, trees, minerals and plants – that are produced by nature and are harnessed by men for their benefit. Balochistan contains a wide variety of minerals but other natural resources. According to the Geological Survey of Pakistan (GSP), there are 106 minerals found in Balochistan. A 2008 World Bank report stated that 39 minerals were being exploited from Balochistan at that time, while a 2012 GSP data report indicated that nearly 80% of all minerals came from Balochistan. Apart from natural gas, gold, copper, uranium, iron

and various other well-known minerals, it also contains deposits of lead, zinc, chromite, gypsum, and limestone amongst others (Shehri, 2016).

One of the largest copper and gold mining projects in Balochistan is the “Saindak Copper Gold Project” in Chagai. In 2002, the Saindak Metals Limited (SML), an organization under federal ministry of Petroleum and Natural resources, agreed on a ten-year joint venture with the Chinese Metallurgical Construction Company. The SML and MCC have a 50-50 partnership in the profits, after repayment of loan with interest. In this project Balochistan government receives only 2 percent royalty and federal government owns 48 percent stakes, while Chinese firm has 50 percent shares in its ownership as well as profits (Gazdar, 2007, p. 6).

A second major copper-gold mining project is in the Rekodiq area also in district Chaghi. “Reko Diq contains one of the world’s largest copper-gold deposits, with estimated mineral resources of at least 54 billion pounds of copper and 41 million ounces of gold” (Ahmed, 2015, p. 80). The project was started in 1993 under a joint venture of Balochistan Development authority and BHP Mineral, an American firm. However, the Chaghi Hills Exploration Joint Venture Agreement (Chejva) of BDA and BHP Minerals proved to be a havoc for people of Balochistan as it was not in favor of people of Balochistan. The American firm was aiming to plunder the minerals of Balochistan under flawed agreement. But soon, the then provincial governor Ameerul Mulk Mengal and later on supreme court intervened and renewed the agreement and allowed other firms to be part of it. Balochistan government became the signatory partner with BHP instead of BDA (Ahmed, 2015, pp. 69-75).

In 2006, Tethyan Copper Company took over all the exploration rights but it also deceived the provincial government and demanded to relax rules for mining in the

area. It was also challenged in courts of Pakistan and finally former chief minister Aslam Raisani denied the illegal licenses to TCC for mining in the area. However, Dr. Malik Baloch, the former chief minister of Balochistan is being blamed for having meetings with TCC representatives in England in 2015 for an out-of-court settlement. He is also accused of compromising the interests of people of Balochistan at the cost of his personal gains in shape of interests from TCC. He is also blamed for not sharing meeting details publically. However he denies all allegations (Ahmed, 2015, pp. 76-84).

Marble, Onyx, iron ore reserves, hematitic sedimentary ironstone, Quartzite, Sulphur, Baryte are other important mineral resources which are in abundance in the province. These resources are found in different areas of Balochistan and need proper exploration. Although few of these resources are being explored and which contribute a lot to the national exchequer but there is need of more exploration. It will contribute more and bring socio-economic development in the province if local population made part of the process (Gazdar, 2007, pp. 6-7).

4.3 Interests of Different Actors in Balochistan

Many countries have strategic as well as economic interest in Balochistan as it is gateway to central Asia, Afghanistan, and Gulf States. India, China, and the USA are concerned about the situation in Balochistan. Washington has a major strategic stake in Balochistan and the reason for this is that Balochistan is being used as a corridor to transport essential supplies to NATO forces in Afghanistan. The US is also interested in Balochistan since the province is rich in energy reserves and strategically situated along the borders to Iran and Afghanistan. Balochistan's energy resources

and the strategic location are also important for China. Balochistan provides Beijing with a strategic deep-water port at Gawadar, an important link between China and South Asia/the Indian Ocean and the Middle East and a way of containing India. While India is also an important regional power which recently signed a trilateral agreement with Afghanistan and Iran for trade and development. Moreover, India also promised Iran to develop Chabahar port in Iran in response to Chinese investment in Gawadar port. So virtually there is a lot of convergence as well as divergence of interests of different regional and global actors in the geopolitics of the energy resources.

4.3.1 Chinese Interests in Balochistan

China's biggest investment is the port of Gawadar under China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), in the far southwest of Pakistan close to the Strait of Hormuz shows Chinese interests in Balochistan. The port has been constructed mainly by Chinese capital and labour. This isolated township has come to be considered a Chinese naval outpost on the Indian Ocean designed to protect Beijing's oil supply lines from the Middle East and to counter the growing US presence in the region. Beijing also operates the gold and copper mines in Saindak, near the borders of Afghanistan and Iran not far from the mountains where Pakistan's nuclear tests are conducted (Baloch I. U., p. 5). From an economic perspective,

Balochistan has become China's physical link to its sizeable investments in Iranian gas and the Middle East's oil, as well as its huge investment in the province itself. Politically, controlling Pakistan's commodities corridor by China can also tie India down in South Asia, restricting its capacity to operate elsewhere in the region.

4.3.2 US Interests in Balochistan

The United States of America has big stakes in Balochistan because Balochistan is being used as a corridor to transport essential supplies to NATO forces in Afghanistan. Due to this concern US has decided to establish a consulate in Balochistan. The US interest in Balochistan does not end here. Likewise, rich in energy reserves and strategically situated along the borders of Iran and Afghanistan, the province of Balochistan is central to the energy politics of the region and US interests cannot be ruled out. There is also a strong and growing fear in Washington that is related to China and its increasing presence in Balochistan. The US fears that China's involvement in building Pakistan's critical warm-water port of Gawadar on the southern edge of Balochistan may mean that the US will lose out on all that energy wealth of Balochistan as well as of CARs. With Washington involved in many wars in the region it may look to Balochistan as a critical staging area for US attacks in Afghanistan. US drones already fly from bases in Balochistan, particularly the Shamsi air base. Shamsi, located about 300km southwest of Quetta, provides a discreet launch base within minutes of Quetta and the surrounding area (Javaid, 2015, pp. 93-94).

4.3.3 Iranian Interests

Iran has also interests in Balochistan which are mainly economic in nature. The former Senator Sanullah Baloch in an interview argued that the Iranians also have their interests in the region which may be explained by the fact that Iran wants to develop its economy to meet the demands of modernization by way of promoting higher Gas export, improve regional security, lessen US presence in the region, make

inroads into Central Asia and Afghanistan, and curb Baloch, Kurd and Azeri movements within Iran (Baloch I. U., p. 5).

4.3.4 Indian Interests

India also has interest in Balochistan as it once intended to be part of TAPI and IPI gas pipelines which will link India with central Asia and Afghanistan. Being regional emerging power, India also wants to increase her influence in the region and wants to establish economic ties with central Asian states by bypassing Pakistan (Iqbal, 2014, pp. 209-210). However, deteriorating relations between Pakistan and India on Kashmir as well as Balochistan issues are a hurdle in materializing these projects and Indian interests.

4.4 Energy Resources of Central Asia

Central Asia is one of the most important regions of the world with respect to geo-politics of energy resources and as well as geo-strategic location on the map of the world. It is comprised of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and the energy-rich lake called the Caspian Sea. The huge hydrocarbon reserves of the region have attracted both, the neighbouring as well as distant nations to enter into the geo-politics of energy resources. Region contains estimated reserves of 23 billion tons of oil and 3,000 billion cubic metres of natural gas (Khawaja, 2003, p. 8). For pursuing strategic and economic interest in the region each actor is trying to gain a foothold in central Asia. Energy-starved nations, especially neighbouring countries are in a constant struggle to get easy access to central Asian energy riches to meet their domestic and industrial needs. While on other hand developed nations are

trying to control region by increasing their area of political influence and gain economic benefits by employing their firms in the region.

In nineteenth century, Russia and Great Britain tried to expand their influence in the region and fought wars. The focus of both the powers was to maintain their foothold in Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia (now Iran). This competition is known to world as Great game. Presently, Russia is trying to make strong hold in Central Asia while the United States of America considers it against her vital interest and experts on Central Asia suggest that it is also a kind of Great game and stakes of the states are high. It is also known as New Great Game in which China, the US, and Russia are main actors. On other hand Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and India are also struggling for possible energy trade with energy rich states (Khawaja, 2003, pp. 16-17).

There is a lot of convergence as well as divergence of interests in the region. Like Russia and the USA want to increase their geo-political influence in Central Asia through their economic and strategic ties. Russia wants retain her strength within the former Soviet Union through economic as well as cultural integration. While USA wants to have good economic ties with CARs especially through employing American oil companies in the region to undermine the strength of Russia and China. Moreover, American involvement in the region will give her opportunity to establish good strategic ties with CARs and diversify American oil trade which will reduce her dependency on Persian Gulf. Similarly, China wants good relations with Russia and Central Asian republics. It is because China shares a common border with Russia and three Central Asian Republics out of five. So China wants to have peaceful relations for economic development and for this purpose she is working on different corridors of trade with these states. China's policy is of non-interference in CARs because it's a

big market for Chinese goods as well. Likewise, Iran and Turkey also want to have good relations with Central Asian Republics due to their cultural and ethnic links with the region. Though, Turkey had rivalry with Iran and Russia but she nurtured good relations with Central Asian Republics to lessen her dependency on Iran and Russia. In same fashion, Pakistan and India are also competing for energy riches of Central Asian Republics. Although there is a rivalry between India and Pakistan, but both the states want to import natural gas for growing domestic and industrial needs. However, India wants to bypass Pakistan for securing economic benefits from CARs (Khawaja, 2003, pp. 17-22).

4.5 Balochistan A Gateway to Central Asia and Afghanistan

Balochistan with its unique geographical location provides an easy access to landlocked CARs and Afghanistan. It provides infrastructural linkages for inter-regional as well as intra-regional trade. The construction of Gawadar and other related routes with Afghanistan reduce distance for Pak-Central Asia traffic by 500km (Anwar, 2011, p. 103). Moreover, it will also connect Western China, The Xinjiang region as China will transport her energy supplies from Central Asia through Gawadar port. The energy transportation and trade mainly will be carried out through China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan and India gas pipeline (TAPI). Furthermore, Gawadar port will link Gulf States and Africa with China, India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Iran and Pakistan. This can be further understood by discussing CPEC and TAPI projects (Ahmad, 2015, p. 4).

4.5.1 China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

CPEC is a milestone in the history of all-weather friends China and Pakistan. In April 2015 Chinese premier Xi Jinping visited Pakistan and signed 4.6 billion dollar projects under China Pakistan Economic Corridor project. The Gawadar port has been handed over to Chinese Overseas Port Holding which was previously run by Port of Singapore Authority till February 2013. The port is just located outside the Strait of Hormuz and at the mouth of the Persian Gulf which is a gateway for 20 percent of world's oil. Under this project a 3000km long land route is being made to north-western city, Kashghar from Gawadar to transport Middle Eastern oil either by train or by road. The project includes construction of roads, railways, power generation projects of 10400 MWs, oil and gas pipelines, industrial park at Gawadar, international airport in Gawadar, and multiple power projects across the Pakistan. Corridor has three routes, western, eastern, and the central within Pakistan which will link all provinces and economic zones will be established in each province to develop local industries (Ahmad, 2015, pp. 3-4).

This corridor will reduce distance for Middle Eastern oil for China by almost 12000 km. Moreover, the project is not just limited to Gawadar, rather it will integrate economies of Middle East, Central Asian Republics, South Asia and Africa as it is a trans-Eurasian project and the revival of the old maritime silk route. It will provide China an alternative for Strait of Malacca and South China Sea to transport oil from West and Central Asia by overland route making a shortest possible route. The important nodes along this corridor will be Gawadar, Karachi, Quetta, Sukkur, Multan, Islamabad, Peshawar, Lahore, Taxkorgan, Khunjerab and Kashgar.

Along with economic purposes, China will also use port for her naval support in the Arabian Sea. It will be used for "Military Operations Other Than War" in and around Arabian Sea" (Ahmad, 2015, p. 4). It is basically to counter and balance Indian navy's presence in Bay of Bengal. Definitely it will secure Chinese economic as well as strategic needs.

Although work is in progress on China Pakistan Economic Corridor but there are few hurdles for both the sides. There are concerns of Baloch and other communities regarding routes of CPEC, industrial zones, and share of jobs in this project, which are still unaddressed. That is why government decided to give security to Chinese workers in Gawadar. Government feels that Baloch see this development as exploitation and expects possible attacks on Chinese workers by Baloch armed groups who are allegedly funded by India. Federal government has decided to deploy 12000 strong Special Forces to protect CPEC, especially in Balochistan (Ahmad, 2015, p. 5).

4.5.2 IPI Gas Pipeline

Iran Pakistan India (IPI) gas pipeline is another important project which was supposed to bring natural gas from Iran to Pakistan and then transport it further to India. In past few years India has not pursued it and Pakistan also remained calmed due to American pressure and possible sanctions from US. However, after Iran-US deal on nuclear program role back agreement, Pakistan is pursuing it with sincere efforts to meet energy needs of the country. Iran has already completed the construction of gas pipeline from her gas fields. On other side Pakistan was promised by China for construction of Pakistani part of gas pipeline. Pakistan has talked to China Petroleum

Pipeline Bureau to construct 700 km pipeline from Gawadar to Nawabshah in Sindh. The estimated cost of the pipeline is about 2 billion dollar which also includes a LNG terminal in Gawadar and this supply of gas will help Pakistani to generate 4500 MWs of electricity for domestic use. About 85 percent of finances of this Pakistani part of pipeline will be funded by China and rest by Pakistan government. Since much of this pipeline will pass through insurgency hit areas in Balochistan and will definitely need security (Ahmad S. M., 2015, p. 4).

4.5.3 Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline (TAPI)

This project is also known as Trans-Afghanistan pipeline. It is being developed by Asian Development Bank. The pipeline will transport natural gas from Fields of Turkmenistan to Afghanistan then Pakistan and finally then to India. Originally it was supposed to run from Daulatabad Gas field but according to recent estimations it will start from Galkynysh Gas Field and its length is 1735 km. The pipeline will transport 33 billion cubic meters (bcm) of natural gas from world's second largest gas deposits in Galkynysh field. From this pipeline both, Pakistan and India will receive 1.365 billion cubic feet of natural gas per day while Afghanistan entitled to have 600 million to 5 billion cubic meters of gas per annum. Moreover, Afghanistan will also receive 400 million dollar every year for transit fee. The project's estimated cost is 10 billion dollar and known as peace pipeline. It is also considered as continuation of modern Silk Road by its proponents. The proposed route for construction of pipeline was along Herat Highway in western Afghanistan, in Pakistan from Quetta to Multan and then Lahore to Fazilka in India. However, due to security reasons in Afghanistan, Asian Development proposed alternative routes. One of them starts from Taskepri in Turkmenistan to Faryab then followed by Kabul and Nagarhar province in

Afghanistan, and then from Peshawar, Nowshera, attock, Islamabad and Lahore in Pakistan to India (Ahmad S. M., 2015, p. 4).

4.6 Convergence and Divergence of Interest of Different Stake-Holders

The conflicting interests of different regional as well as global powers in the geopolitics of the energy resources have made the situation very complex. The main stake holders in this regard are China, Russia, US, India, Pakistan, and Iran. Every state wants to secure her interest in this game at any cost. Sometimes some of them have shared interests while few have conflicting interests as well. So at one and same time few actors and stake holders have shared interests, based on common good while others compete each other due to conflicting interests in the region. Consequently, there appears a regional security complex (Baloch S. A., 2011, pp. 19-27).

In case of geo-politics of energy resources in Central Asian and in Balochistan has made situation uncertain for the people of both the regions. The global and regional actors want to control the energy resources and trade routes of both the regions. For this purpose they are making big investments on infrastructural development for exploration and transportation of energy resources. However, their global investments are also negatively affecting the regions as they have not brought positive social impact (Baloch S. A., 2011, pp. 19-22).

On global level, China and America are the main actors who are competing to control the energy rich Central Asia and Balochistan, which are also important with respect to their geo-strategic location. China wants to use Gawadar port for both the purposes, strategic as well as for energy supplies from Central Asia. On other hand, USA is

trying to make strong foothold on Central Asia to control regions oil resources through American oil companies. In addition to that USA also wants to increase her political influence in Central Asia to counter emerging Russia (Khawaja, 2003, pp. 16-19). Moreover, USA is also trying to contain China in Balochistan and Indian Ocean by supporting India in the region. Furthermore, USA has also pressurized Iran and Pakistan for a long time on construction of IPI gas pipeline which is still pending. In response to this, China has adopted the policy of friendship with all regional powers and Russia too.

In same fashion, as an emerging regional power, India wants to increase her influence in Iran, Afghanistan by bypassing Pakistan. It can be easily judged from the fact that recently India has signed a tri-lateral trade agreement with Iran and Afghanistan. Besides this, India has also invested in Chabahar port of Iran and in many ongoing projects in Afghanistan. More importantly, Indian government has shown her concerns on CPEC in a meeting in China. Along this, on Indian Independence Day, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has also accused Pakistan government for human rights violations in Balochistan (Malik D. A., 2016).

The conflicting interests of all stake holders and actors need to be converging to avoid any kind of confrontation in future. Each one of them must act positively to pursue set interest and respect other actors and stake holders. The best ways to solve their issues global as well as regional actors use diplomatic forums. In this way regional and global actors can pursue their interest in the geo-politics of energy resources.

4.7 Effects of Geo-Politics of Energy Resources on Baloch Ethno-Nationalism

Although effects of geo-politics of energy resources on Baloch ethno nationalism has screened in first decade of the twenty first century, but its roots can be traced out in twentieth century. It was time when British Empire and Soviet Russia were competing in the region due to its strategic location, old trade routes, and warm water ports (Marri S. K., 2014, pp. 17-18). However, the energy politics in 21st century made it clear that Balochistan's energy and mineral resources have made it a vital region for the world. The presence of hydrocarbons and other precious metals in the province has also changed the ethno nationalism in Balochistan. Traditionally, Baloch uprisings were solely result of socio-economic and political injustices that were inflicted by successive governments on them. However, exploration of Coal, Natural Gas, and Oil paved way for a more dynamic Baloch ethno nationalist movement this time. In current circumstances, Baloch consider investment of foreign firms in the province as exploitation. The general view among Baloch is that foreign firms are just exploiting Baloch resources for which they have already been fighting against state for last so many years (Marri S. K., 2014, pp. 88-96). According to Robert G. Wirsing energy resources are kinds of incentive for Baloch that they continue this separatist movement (Wirsing, 2008, p. 42). He also claims that due to energy resources Balochistan is also known as Asian Middle East (Wirsing, 2008, p. 41).

Similarly, Selig S. Harrison writes, "If it were not for the strategic location of Baluchistan and the rich potential of oil, uranium, and other resources, it would be difficult to imagine anyone fighting over this bleak, desolate, and forbidding land" (Harrison, 1981, p. 6).

These views make sense that geo-politics of energy resources has influenced Baloch ethno nationalism with the passage of time, although originally it was not based on energy politics. Furthermore, Baloch consider foreign investment in the province, especially from China as a curse, not a blessing for them. In a group discussion with Master's students of Quaid-E-Azam University Islamabad, who belonged to Balochistan province, they also had same view about Chinese investment in the province (Students B. , 2016). Perhaps the only reason is that Mega projects such as Gawadar, Saindak, and Rekodak has brought no positive social impact in the province generally, and in respective areas particularly. That is why many Baloch are not happy with state policy as well as with foreign firms. In addition to that, Balochistan lies at the trijunction of this great game and the proposed pipelines of oil or natural gas from Iran to Pakistan and then to India will pass through Balochistan and government of Pakistan will also receive more than 70 crores US dollars for royalties. Since most of the pipeline will pass through Balochistan so nationalist also demanded for share in the royalty of gas pipelines, but federal government is not ready to do so. So that is also one of the reasons that Baloch nationalist political parties and armed groups are opposing these proposed gas pipelines (Baloch S. A., 2011, p. 35).

Another aspect of Baloch concerns related to energy and mineral resources is state-centric and it started soon after inception of Pakistan. The nationalist groups and armed groups in Balochistan claim that Balochistan was merged with Pakistan due to its huge natural resources and strategic location. The abundance of energy and mineral resources of whole Balochistan, especially of Kalat state attracted attention of newly established country at that time. Perhaps this claim of Baloch can be justified from a letter that was written to Mr. Jinnah in July 1947 about the merger of

Balochistan with Pakistan. Yaqoob Khan Bangash writes that, "For Pakistan, the strategic location and mineral resources of Kalat were essential for the defence and economic well-being of the country" (Bangash, 2015, p. 165). This letter was written by barrister M. Ziauddin in which he explained to Jinnah about the importance of Quetta as a military station and other resource rich areas of Balochistan. Moreover, he also briefed him in his letter about the geo-strategic location of Balochistan and suggested merger of whole Balochistan for easy accesses to Persia and Afghanistan (Bangash, 2015).

One can understand that how geo-politics of energy resources affected Baloch ethno nationalism. It is because on one side it was originally based on socio-economic and political injustices that were inflicted by successive regimes. While on other hand, the foreign firms and competition among regional as well as global powers for energy resources of the region changed the dynamics of Baloch resistance. This time they got a reason to continue their armed struggle to get control over Balochistan and its resources. They targeted state machinery as well as foreign firms as they consider both as collaborator in exploitation of Baloch.

Chapter: 5

Balochistan Issue and the State's Response

Since its creation, Pakistan has been facing a range of problems that has given birth to too many others in the days to come. However, successive regimes have not examined the distorted facts which were misconstrued over the years in Pakistan. There were so many internal and external forces which were against the very existence of Pakistan and tried their best to damage the image of Pakistan. Moreover, democracy has not fully enshrined in the roots of the nation. Ethnic differences along with constant struggle between and among different state institutions are another challenge for the country. Successive military interventions in the politics and the failure of civil bureaucracy in the administrative affairs have pushed the problems from bad to worse evident in the separation of East Pakistan that added another painful chapter in the history of this country.

A power struggle has been existed between federal government and federating units for many years until 18th constitutional amendment passed, which promised devolution of power to provinces. Although several ministries have been devolved to the provinces, yet there are few issues which remained unresolved. So this struggle is passing through a critical time of Pakistan's history. Due to commercial interests, the media houses have also failed to address real issues of the society and are not performing up to the required standards. On the other end, the existing leadership has failed to tackle the current challenges well that Pakistan is confronting with.

Similarly, Baloch ethno nationalism has been one of the serious issues of this country since 1948. Unfortunately, no one paid serious heed to this problem and Baloch have been marginalized by central government for a long. Successive military operations

were launched for maintaining writ of the state in the province which turned out to be more violent for people of Balochistan. The trust deficit between Baloch and central government increased with each passing day. The zero-tolerance policy of state to the current Baloch ethno nationalist movement further aggravated the situation. Instead of addressing genuine political, economic, and social rights of Baloch and Balochistan, force has been used to curb this uprising. Though, government announced Aghaze Haqooqe Balochistan Package, and scholarship schemes for the province, yet the turmoil continued. 18th constitutional amendment and 7th NFC Award also did not bring a significant change in the province (Akhtar, 2016). Resultantly, the Baloch further alienated from the main stream and most of the Balochistan has become a no-go area. The situation again endangered the sovereignty of the state and poses a serious challenge to the evolutionary democracy in the country. The increased tensions between military and Baloch are a serious threat to the federation of Pakistan. Furthermore, the unaddressed concerns of Baloch over influx of Afghan refugees, CPEC, and on other infrastructural development in the province have made the situation more complex and Centre-province relations are no more satisfactory. Unlike past Baloch uprisings of 1948, 1958, 1962, and 1974, which were limited to few areas and Baloch tribes, the current separatist movement is on large scale which also includes educated middle class population from almost all Baloch areas.

To understand more clearly the state's response to the current Baloch ethno national movement one must understand incidents and developments with great care which took place in the province. In this regard the post-2000 situation is of great importance. It is because it includes dictatorial rule of Musharaf in which military operation was started in Balochistan. Moreover, in the same decade consensus based

NFC Award and 18th amendment bill were passed. In addition to that Balochistan Package and scholarship schemes were announced for the province. However, on other end, Nawab Bugti and Balaach Marri were also killed during military operations in that decade. The turmoil in Balochistan still continues even after a decade long military operation.

5.1 Musharraf Rule and Balochistan

As a result of 1999 military coup, Pervez Musharraf came into power dissolving previously elected national and provincial assemblies. He decided to bring socio-economic and political reforms in the country. Many people believe that his vision was meant to bring enlightened moderation and development including infrastructural development in the country and devolution plan through which he wanted to shift power to grass-root level.

In the case of Balochistan, Musharraf regime decided to build Cantonments across the province. Along with Gawadar port and other mega projects such as, his regime also took decision regarding the exploration of oil and natural gas in Dera Bugti and Kohlu in order to meet the energy needs of the country. However, this plan of Musharraf regime was not welcomed by Baloch; consequently, they showed their grave concerns over such kind of infrastructural development in the province. Nationalist leaders and all political parties blamed Musharraf for not taking them into confidence prior to launching such projects. Moreover, they were of the views that in the past they did not receive their due share in the benefits coming from minerals and energy resources that were being produced in the province. Besides, in the same manner, they also opposed

and attacked army officer's camp but it was equally countered by armed forces and attacked Bugti house in Dera Bugti on 17th March 2005 which took lives of more than 70 people (Khan A. , 2010, pp. 36-37). So this bloody incident brought armed forces and Baloch in direct confrontation. Soon after this incident a parliamentary committee was formed and sent to Dera Bugti for peaceful solution of issues. The committee met Nawab Bugti and came up with few recommendations for peaceful solution. However, the recommendations of the parliamentary committee were not taken into account by Musharaf administration. One of the seasoned and mainstream politicians Mushahid Hussain, who was also a member of parliamentary committee, expressed his views as, "Bugti was not out for personal gain, but to defend his honor and his leadership of his tribe, which he regarded as threatened by the increasing military presence in his area; and to receive guaranteed jobs for Bugtis in the gas field" (Lieven, 2011, p. 350).

Likewise, he explained to an Al-Jazeera News bureau chief about negotiations with Nawab Bugti in following words;

"We find him (Bugti) a reasonable person, willing to talk but unfortunately there is a mind set in Pakistani establishment including few politicians who always marginalized the smaller provinces like Balochistan. And in case of Musharaf, I still remember that conversation with him when we reached at the solution of issue, but he said that how can we believe in the intentions of Bugti. But I replied General Sahib it was not the matter of intentions, rather to get things done" (Zehdan, 2008).

In another documentary on Dera Bugti incident by Dawn News and Dehli News, the then District Coordination officer Abdul Samad Lasi had held another view. According to him Nawab Akbar Bugti challenged the writ of the state and that's why armed forces started military operation in Balochistan (Jahangir, 2006). While on the other hand, people of Dera bugti accused Musharaf and Pakistan army for all their

losses. In the same documentary former Baloch Prime Minister Zafarullah Jamali in his talk also accused federal government that Balochistan was denied of its rights which were promised in constitution due to which Baloch resisted state (Jahangir, 2006). However, the situation was not handled politically, rather force was used. Resultantly, the eighty year old Baloch leader, Nawab Bugti was dragged to the mountains and in a result of military operation he was killed on 26th August 2006.

5.1.2 Missing Persons

The military operation in Balochistan during Musharaf rule created a sense of hatred among the people and it resultantly turned into many protests throughout the province as well as in other cities of Pakistan. The active political participation against such violent operation was suppressed by enforced disappearances let alone the arbitrary arrests.

In recent years, Baloch nationalists claimed that number of missing persons is in thousands. The provincial government says that total number is not more than one thousand. Contrary to this, the former interior minister Rehman Malik in 2008 declared that during Musharaf era 1102 persons were disappeared, he further told that issue of disappearances was ended in August 2008 (Watch, 2011, p. 24). However, Rehman Malik's view goes wrong because the current provincial government has claimed that 164 dead bodies were found in 2014 from the province. While rejecting the official claims, the VBMP has claimed that 435 went missing and 455 dead bodies were found in 2014. Similarly, according to VBMP 157 Baloch were killed and 463 people gone missing (Nation, January 2016).

So due to this worsening situation and humanitarian crisis, Baloch appealed to Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Supreme Court of Pakistan and international community to interrogate the issue but no one heard them.

5.1.3 Killing of Balach Marri

Balach Marri was son of Baloch Nationalist Leader, Nawab Khair Bux Marri and was educated from Russia. He lived his early life with all comforts. He also remained the member of provincial assembly. He believed in Parliamentary politics of Pakistan but when he saw a successive neglect of Baloch rights by the central government, he also decided to join Nawab Bugti for armed struggle. So, military regime focused to remove these two personalities on priority basis. As Nawab Bugti once said in an interview, "All attention is paid to wipe out me and Nawabzada Balach Marri. Instructions have been given to knocking us off" (Jahangir, 2006).

So according to that policy Balach Marri was also killed after a year of death of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti. Balach was killed in 2007 during a gun battle with Pakistan army at "Sarlat", Noushki district the bordering area of Balochistan and Afghanistan. After his killing, the Baloch Ethno-national movement got further pace because the educated Baloch youth joined the movement and many of them joined armed groups. So state decided to crash the movement without any tolerance.

5.1.4 IDPs of Kohlu and Dera Bugti

Due to military operation in Balochistan massive civilian casualties took place and many people displaced. It is because forces did not aim at specific targets. Dera Bugti and Kohlu were the districts facing the hardest hits. As per the reports of

Human rights commission of Pakistan, a great percentage of those who got killed were women and children. This is a precarious condition with a view to Human rights because people displaced due to the prolonged fighting. It was reported by Human rights commission that 85% of the total population of Dera Bugti was internally displaced at the early stage of military operation. The real concern is that those who internally displaced got no significant assistance from the federal government or provincial government. These people moved to the nearby areas of Sindh, Punjab and also areas of Nasirabad and Jaffarabad within the province. In Sindh, they mostly went to Sukkur, Hyderabad, Jacobabad and Nawabshah and in Punjab they migrated to the areas of Rajanpur, Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan. According to former HRCP chairperson Asima Jahangir, "There was a war like situation; ordinary people were suffering greatly" (ICGR, 2006, p. 24). Moreover, people from Awaran, Turbat, Panjgur, Khuzdar and Mastung also migrated to other places in Balochistan as well as other parts of the country in order to secure their lives. So, still this issue has not been solved.

5.1.5 Extra Judicial Killings

Initially, disappearances of active political workers were the dominant phenomenon during Musharaf's government. Later on the process of extra – judicial killings of those missing activists started, and the situation aggravated in 2010. Pakistan institute for peace (PIPS) declared Balochistan as the most violent place of the country in 2010. According to the report, in 737 terrorist attacks, about 600 people were killed and 1100 were injured. These circumstances led to further trust deficit between center and province (Zaib, 2012, p. 28). It is because civilian government also dealt the province on same footings as was in dictatorial regime of Musharaf.

In this regard state has failed to provide justice to the affected families. It is because the extra-judicial killings and the missing persons' case further complicated when mass graves were found in Khuzdar district in Balochistan. The issue of mass graves proved that federal government and provincial government have failed to provide security to the citizens. On other hand it is also a question mark on the credibility of security forces which are operating within the province. It is because either they are failed to provide security to common masses or they themselves are responsible for these issues.

5.1.6 Scholarship for the Students of Balochistan during Musharraf Era

During Musharraf regime Baloch have faced enormous human rights violations as well as political marginalization. However, the positive aspect of his rule was the scholarship schemes for students of the province. It was his rule when Higher Education Commission started Under-graduate and post-graduate scholarships for the students of the province. This initiative of his regime helped many students of the province to pursue quality education in different institutions of the country. Due to these scholarship schemes many students from underprivileged families also benefited and continued their higher education which was once a day dream for them. Moreover, during his rule the reserved quota for students of Balochistan also increased in various educational institutions across the country. Resultantly, the number of students increased and many students from Balochistan got chance to study in top ranking Universities of Pakistan. This positive step was then followed by successive regimes as well.

5.2 Balochistan during Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) Rule

After 2008 general elections in Pakistan PPP came into power and made the government. During PPP rule Pakistan saw many constitutional reforms. The most important constitutional reforms were 7th National Finance Commission Award and 18th constitutional amendment. The devolution of power under 18th constitutional amendment was promised to the all federating units and Balochistan was not an exception in this regard. On other hand, revised formula for distribution of financial resources under 7th NFC Award increased the share of Balochistan province which was a long demand from the people of the province. Moreover, the PPP government also announced Balochistan Package for socio-economic uplift of the province. It was expected that the civilian rule with these reforms would bring a positive change in the province and the plight of the people would be addressed. However, even after these two important constitutional reforms along with Balochistan Package by Gilani regime have not brought significant change in the province. In this regard it is necessary to discuss all three reforms separately so as to understand the plight of common people of Balochistan.

5.2.1 18th Constitutional Amendment

Provincial autonomy has remained a controversial issue in the political history of Pakistan. The demand from all provinces, especially from Balochistan is case in point. In past, Baloch leadership and many others in Pakistan also opposed one unit scheme. The then leadership of the province opposed one unit scheme considering it an encroachment on their rights and resources. It is because that one unit scheme document was allegedly prepared by Mian Mumtaz Daultana and he suggested that

resources of Balochistan should be controlled by central government (Malik R. , 1988, pp. 119-132). This was a wrong decision and that is why one unit scheme also came to end soon. However, the issue of provincial autonomy remained unresolved for many years, until 18th constitutional amendment made it possible to a great extent.

Under 18th constitutional amendment 102 articles of the constitution of Pakistan were amended, replaced, edited or removed. Seventeen ministries were devolved to the provinces and legislative powers have been given to the provinces by removing concurrent list. Executive as well as legislative powers divided among Federal government, provincial government and the Council of Common Interests. According to this scheme, 53 subjects are assigned to federal government, 18 to CCI and provinces have jurisdiction over all other residual subjects. However, there are few subjects such as; tourism, trade unions, general sales tax on services, ministries related to mineral and mines trusts etc are not devolved to the provinces, especially in Balochistan. Although Balochistan got representation of 50 percent in Board of Governors in the Gawadar port Authority, yet they don't have their say in decision making regarding Gawadar. Moreover, the article 173(3) of the constitution after 18th amendment became a controversy which made resources a joint venture. It is because province wants full control over its resources and this right is also given to the provinces under article 161. So in a way article 173(3) also contradicts article 161 which gives 100 royalty rights on oil and gas to the provinces. Besides this, CCI does not meet regularly, which is also a serious issue (Abbas, 2015, pp. 19-24). So there is a need of further practical measures for devolution of power with respect to all subjects.

5.2.2 National Finance Commission Award

According to article 160 of the constitution of Pakistan president shall constitute the National Finance Commission Award and chairs the meeting which includes federal finance minister, provincial finance ministers and other representatives. All financial resources are distributed among provinces and federal government for period of five year until the next NFC Award is constituted.

In past the population was given more importance while constituting NFC Award. However, in 7th National Finance Commission Award which was passed in 2010, other factors such as inverse population ratio, poverty and backwardness, revenue generation etc were also given importance. The demand of Balochistan was addressed to some extent and the distribution formula has been changed. The factors of area and poverty were given some consideration. So according to multiple-factor criteria 7th NFC Award was distributed and share of provinces increased.

“The distribution is based on 82 per cent weightage to population, 10.3 per cent to poverty, 2.5 per cent to revenue generation, 2.5 per cent to revenue collection and 2.7 per cent to area. Moreover the share of all provinces increased in divisible pool from 47.5 to 56 percent and then 57.5 in coming years” (Paper, 2009).

Although Balochistan province share was increased from 5.1% to 9.09%, but long neglected and marginalized province needs more financial share in NFC to meet the needs of underdeveloped province. The technical advisor to Balochistan government in 8th NFC award, Mr. Kaiser Bengali has presented Balochistan concerns and said that province wanted the share based on inverse population to be increased. It is because the province is the largest federating unit in terms of area with scattered population and it needs more money for infrastructural development. Moreover, in past all these factors were not given due consideration while distributing financial

resources which left Balochistan far behind from other provinces. So the factors of poverty and inverse population ratio having more consideration in distribution of financial resources definitely will help Balochistan in socio-economic uplift" (Rana, 2015).

5.2.3 Balochistan Package and Judicial Commission

Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan package was another significant landmark of Pakistan People's Party which promised economic, administrative and political reforms for the province. The then president Asif Ali Zardari apologized people of Balochistan for all those injustices which were inflicted upon them by federation. So it was a ray of hope for people of long neglected province in every aspect and that is why they welcomed this package.

It also included a judicial commission for inquiry of extral-judicial killings of Baloch political workers, especially the cases of Nawab Akbar Bugti, Lala Munir and his companions. The package promised amnesty for Baloch leadership, except those who were involved in terrorist activities, reduction of security forces from Kohlu and Dera Bugti, and control of Frontier Constabulary (FC) by provincial government. Furthermore, the then government also promised that in Saindak project federal government will reduce its share up to 30% and give 20% share of profits to the provincial government. It also included a clause which clearly says that Balochistan government will have rights to have up to 20% shares of oil and gas companies. Likewise, another important clause was that chief minister of the province will be the chairman of the port, where jobs will be given to Baloch. Federal government will also issue especial funds for internally displaced people of Dera Bugti district (Malik

M. , 2013, pp. 221-227). In addition to that, the federal government will spend 10% of the profits from these projects on local areas and from revenues of these projects, 15% will be given to the provincial government (Malik M. , 2013, p. 211).

However, it is very unfortunate to mention here that this much applauded and much appreciated Aghaz-e-haqooq-e-Balochistan package only proved to be a package of promises which had nothing practical to offer. Except few clauses, nothing implemented practically and which can be witnessed from the fact that even after five years since the package was announce the turmoil in Balochistan is as it was before this package. The two former chief ministers, Dr. Abdul Malik and Nawab Aslam Raisani and the former chief secretary Balochistan Ahmed Bakhsh Lehri also accused federal government for not fulfilling promises and guarantees which were given in Balochistan Package (Ahmed, 2011, p. 60). In addition to that the former chief minister Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch also accused OGDCL and PPL for not giving jobs and due share in profits to the province which are also a clear violation of Balochistan Package and 18th amendment which provides this right to the province. Moreover, the issue of missing persons, fair trial of abducted people, and the case of Nawab Bugti killing were also not solved under this package and judicial commission. Nasrullah Baloch the chairman of an independent organization, Voice for Baloch Missing Persons has expressed same views about commission set by federal government on missing persons' issue. He expressed his views as, "We appeared before the commission during three consecutive hearings but soon realized that the local heads of the military Intelligence (MI) and the Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) were not taking it seriously" (Ahmed, 2011, p. 60).

Sadly, the above facts and statements show a gloomy picture of Balochistan affairs and failure of the Balochistan Package except few jobs in education department.

5.3 Target Killing of Settlers in Balochistan

When we talk about target killing of settlers in Balochistan we come to know that it is reactionary to the military operation in the province which was launched during Musharraf era. It is quite clear from the facts that the number of target killing of settlers alarmingly increased after the killing of Nawab Bugti in 2006. Moreover, this argument was further

validated by the acknowledgment of the member of "Balochistan Punjabi Itihad" (Zaib, 2012, p. 32).

Various reports suggest that almost 1200 killings of non-Baloch settlers occurred since post-military operation. According to reports 200,000 people migrated from Balochistan during military operation due to fear of target killing. There are counter narratives to the above discussed facts as they opined that the numbers of killings as well as number of migrants were not as reported by different sources. In fact, some of the members of same group argue that gradually the situation moving towards normalization (Zaib, 2012, p. 32).

5.4 Poor Condition of Social Infrastructure

Basic health and education facilities are not available in Balochistan's far flung areas. Concentration of health and educational facilities are limited to the Quetta city. Rest of Balochistan which constitutes 31 districts, have no adequate facilities and infrastructure. The facilities which are available in Quetta, the provincial capital, are

not enough only two main government hospitals and population is huge one. The hospitals which exist have no trained medical staff and necessary equipment due to which people have to travel Karachi and Lahore, which a common man can't afford.

The worse condition of education can be measured from the fact that the numbers of schools available to the settlements i.e. for 15000 settlements only 7000 schools are available. Furthermore, when it comes to female education the stats are more worse which is evident from the fact that in few districts the female literacy rate falls under 4%. One can measure the lack of educational facilities from the fact that even adjacent areas of provincial capital Quetta are also deprived of such facilities (Fazl-e-Haider, 2004, p. 175).

According to the 1998 census, there is high unemployment rate in Balochistan, which is 33.84%. Pure drinking water is available only to 20% and 47% people are living below poverty line (Khan A. , 2010, p. 27). Balochistan's share in country's gas production is 36% to 40 % and it uses only 17% of its total production of gas while rest of production, which is 83%, is used by whole country (Marri S. K., 2014, p. 93). According to the findings of Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2012-13, by Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, the adult literacy rate in Balochistan is 39 percent and female adult literacy rate is 18 percent, which are lowest in Pakistan (Reporter, 2014). So it is quite clear from above mentioned facts that standard of living of common people in Balochistan is miserable and shows the successive neglect by all governments. This deprivation also alienated them from main stream politics of the country.

5.5 Foreign Involvement in Balochistan

Whenever an insurgency erupts anywhere in the world, the involvement of foreign forces in it is not an extra-ordinary phenomenon, and it can be termed as a natural process. In case of Baloch insurgency, this continued throughout the history of Pakistan but caught on a fresh fire during the last few years. This claim of various sources of the involvement of foreign hand can be due to the strategic location and natural resources of this region.

Balochistan has one of the deepest sea ports in the world which highlights the trade potential it has. Big powers like the United States and China as well as the regional powers like Iran and India have clear focus and have interests in Balochistan. One example can be the billion dollars Chinese investment under CPEC project, especially the construction of Gawadar Port (Baloch S. A., 2011, pp. 42-43). The United State always wants to threaten Iran by its presence in the region and Balochistan can be the most suitable place for this purpose. The congressional discussions and hearings in recent past on the burning issue of Balochistan are a clear indication of American interest in this region. On the other hand, the tri-lateral trade agreement between India, Iran and Afghanistan to compete CPEC is a clear example of competition (Shah, 2015). Therefore, one can't rule out the foreign involvement in Balochistan. Moreover, the recent statements of Indian Prime Minister Nendera Modi about Balochistan shows that he wants to play Baloch card in near future for Indian national interests, not for Baloch.

On the other hand, Barhamdagh Bugti welcomed Indian Prime Minister's statement and argued that if any kind of offer is made to Baloch from any foreign

countries, it should be accepted because the state of Pakistan has been receiving foreign military aid specifically from America and its being used against the Baloch. So according to him, it is quite legitimate for Baloch nationalists to accept any offer of help from outside sources. In short, viewing the nature of insurgency and the magnitude with which it is going on, the involvement of foreign hands in it cannot be ignored.

5.6 Issue of Afghan Refugees

Afghan refugees have been a serious problem since many years for the province on many accounts. They have changed the social fabric of the society over the years as they have penetrated deep in the society. Their involvement in human trafficking, drugs trade, and smuggling affected the peaceful environment in the province. Moreover, they have become a burden on the economy of the province and replaced local human resource (Marri D. S., 2016). While having a focused group discussion with Pushtoon students of Master level from Balochistan at International Islamic University Islamabad, they also acknowledged this fact and demanded their return in a respectful manner. According to them, the refugees have been used by Pushtoonkhwa Mili Awami Party for their vote bank. They systematically helped refugees for securing C.N.I.Cs and made them Pakistanis. Moreover, they had view that Afghan refugees are not only a problem for Baloch, but also for native Pushtoon population of the province (Students P. M., 2016). It clearly shows that due to lack of check on them by federal and provincial governments they have settled in Balochistan over the years and made their computerized national identity cards of Pakistan.

Many Baloch argue that the Afghan refugees were deliberately settled in the province or their stay was prolonged to counter Baloch movement. According to them refugees have been given Pakistani nationality so as to make demographic change in the province and bring an artificial parity between Baloch and Pushtoon population. The number of Afghan refugees varies and it depends whom you ask. According to Baloch the population of Afghan refugees is more than 20 lacs, while many Pushtoon give figure of 10 lacs. However, a recent figure was given by interior secretary Balochistan Akbar Khan Durrani and he claims that there are more than 15 lac Afghan refugees in the province (Hawal, 2016).

Although in past successive governments extended the stay of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, but after Army Public School Peshawar and Civil Hospital Quetta attacks current government decided to return Afghan refugees. Government has also started scrutiny of C.N.I.Cs across the country and many applications of Afghan refugees have been found and rejected by NADRA. So there is need of a strict and concrete policy regarding issue of Afghan refugees, especially in province of Balochistan.

5.7 Baloch Concerns over Gawadar Port and CPEC

China Pakistan Economic Corridor is another landmark in the history of Pakistan which will bring 46 billion US dollar investment in the country. Under this project, Chinese government promised development of Gawadar port, International airport in Gawadar, industrial zone in Gawadar and also develops road networks across the Pakistan to link Gawadar with rest of the country and with Chinese city of Kashgar. Although it's a huge investment in the history of Pakistan, but it lacks consensus among all federating units, especially from side of Balochistan (Raza, 2016). All

political parties in Balochistan have concerns about its routes and industrial zones that will be developed under this project. In an interview with Pushtoonkhwa Mili Awami Party's member of provincial assembly Ms. Spozmi Achakzai, she said that her party and Pushtoon population of Balochistan have reservations about western route of CPEC. She further added that it must be a Corridor project, not a national highway project and it should also include industrial zones for prosperity of the Pushtoon areas as well (MPA, 2016). On the other hand Baloch population of the province has even more concerns about Gawadar and CPEC.

Baloch accused federal government that port is being developed for strategic and economic interests of the China and Punjab as it has more jobs and projects for Punjab and Chinese. "According to official statistics, out of the total of 330 projects, 176 are in Punjab while only eight projects have been allocated for Balochistan" (Tanoli, 2016). During an interview with Balochistan National Party Mengal Group's Senator Dr. Jahanzeb Jamaldini he also expressed his concerns over Gawadar. He demanded that fisher folk of Gawadar must be given suitable place for residence and fishing so they can manage well their life after port development because fisher folk of the Gawadar are being not allowed for fishing near port where they lived for centuries. He further argued that influx of huge population from outside the province in Gawadr will bring a demographic change and convert Baloch into a minority on their own land. For this purpose Baloch demand legislation which should provide guarantees to them that outsiders will not be given right of vote in the province (Jamaldini, 2016).

Similarly, Baloch want their say in decisions related to Gawadar and all projects that are being run in the province. They have examples from past when Musharraf regime

did not consult Baloch regarding Gawadar port agreement with Chinese authorities. Baloch further accuse federal government and Pakistan military that Gawadar is not being developed for Baloch but for Punjab and armed forces of Pakistan. They argue that new town of Gawadar is being built for outsiders and government has neglected old town of Gawadar. "The port, hotel, and surrounding area allocated for construction of naval bases, an elite housing enclave, and a high-class coastal resort are protected by para-military checkpoints. There is no access for ordinary local people" (Khan A. , 2010, p. 33).

In same fashion once Musharraf said that only Baloch sardars are anti-development but Musharraf's view goes wrong as a two time ex-provincial cabinet minister expressed his views on development in Gawadar as;

"The central government claims that Baloch sardars are anti-development. It's laughable for Gawadar because we do not have any sardar. We are not tribal people. We are fishermen. The question is what do they mean by development? Building cantonments and naval bases? That's not development. That's colonization for the last 55 years we were not allowed to benefit from our resources. Sui gas goes to the rest of Pakistan but we don't have it. Frankly, they want to eliminate us. We did not see a better future yesterday. We don't see a better future today. The only future that we can see is that Gawadar town will become the Layari of the new Gawadar town. We are Kurds of the Pakistan" (Khan A. , 2010, p. 34).

Above facts and genuine concerns also depict a gloomy picture of Gawadar and plight of the local people. The long neglect and exploitation of native people of Gawadr have also alienated Baloch and now they consider Chinese and federal government as the exploitators. Therefore, genuine concerns of Baloch and other stake holders must be addressed for success of CPEC and Gawadar project.

5.8 Role of Baloch Public Representatives and Sardars

The role of sardars and elected public representatives of Balochistan has always been questioned across the country. They have been blamed for underdevelopment of the province by public as well as by other quarters. Although it's a valid question but the way it has always been raised is wrong. It is because most of the areas in Balochistan have no sardars or strong tribal structure except few. For example Pushtoon areas or Makran Division, including Gawadar has no sardari system. Likewise, Dera Bugti is under control of security forces since 2006 and there is no tribal chief anymore but district is still worst in statistics in the province. Most importantly, before 18th amendment the education ministry was not under provincial government. Moreover, the sardars of Balochistan were not constitutionally bound to build schools, colleges and universities in the province. Rather it was responsibility of federal government for last many decades before 18th amendment when ministry of education became a provincial subject. However, the role of few sardars and elected public representatives can be questioned on account of their political influence, financial power, tribal influence. Moreover, few of them can also be questioned or made accountable who made money through corruption and neglected the poor people of their constituencies.

Besides this, Baloch argue that British rule and then federal government has strengthened sardars and spoiled the tribal structure. This is the reason that Baloch youth or Baloch scholars too question tribalism and all those sardars who make alliances with federal government. In this regard I interviewed Baloch scholar Dr. Wahid Bakhsh Buzdar, a Ph.D. holder and a permanent faculty member at Quaid-E-Azam University Islamabad; he had the same point of view. Furthermore, he also considers that tribalism has become a hurdle in the way of development. He argues

that tribalism itself was not bad thing at all, but when state supported sardars against common masses and true representatives then it became a hurdle in the development of Baloch and Balochistan (Buzdar, 2016). Likewise, another prominent Baloch literary figure Dr. Shah Muhammad Marri in his interview also opined that Baloch have been living under their tribal structure but there was no issue with it. However, he agreed that over the years few sardars collaborated with successive regimes and exploited Baloch and now tribalism has become a hurdle in the way of development (Marri D. S., 2016).

Chapter: 6

Conclusion

The theoretical framework which was developed for carrying out this research has been implemented successfully. The theories of Regional Security Complex and Perennialist theory have been blended to cover the all aspects of this research as it includes ethno nationalism as well as the energy politics. The Perennialist theory covers the aspects of nationalism and its roots in Baloch society. Whereas, the Regional Security Complex theory explores the current situation in which many countries are competing for energy riches of Balochistan and Central Asia and have divergence of interests. So in this situation they have created an environment of uncertainty and competition and have conflict of interests. Resultantly, a complex situation exists in the region in general and in Balochistan in particular. Moreover, the politics of marginalization have also been discussed in the light of Regional Security Complex Theory. So in this way research has been carried out in the light of developed theoretical framework and came up with findings and recommendations.

6.1 Findings

Baloch ethno nationalism has deep roots in Baloch history and over the years different factors shaped it and have changed its nature and dimensions. One aspect of Baloch ethno nationalism is the formation of Baloch tribal unions, confederacies and resistance movements against alien rule in past centuries proved to be the founding stone. Later on, the Baloch ethno nationalism further got strength during British rule when they resisted against British policies of imperialism under flag of Kalat confederacy.

After partition, the controversial accession of Kalat state with federation of Pakistan created many problems and low scale insurgency was started in Balochistan. Though, it did not last for many years but it sowed the seeds of Baloch nationalism in the country. Since then, many socio-economic and political injustices that were inflicted on Baloch by successive regimes watered the seeds and Baloch ethno nationalism surfaced. With each passing day it got more strength and became a reality in Pakistan's history. The significant aspect of Baloch ethno nationalism is that it has changed from tribal uprisings into middle class uprising. It is because the political and economic marginalization of the province since inception of Pakistan badly affected common masses of the province. Successive military operations, denial of political autonomy for decades and plunder of natural resources alienated Baloch.

Similarly, the centre-province relations always remained unsatisfactory due to whimsical policies which are a legacy of British era. The civil-military elites of the country exploited the common masses of the province and used bureaucracy and sardars as tools. Moreover, this nexus continued the policy of "good sardar" and "bad sardar" as well as "divide and rule" in Balochistan. Resultantly, people resisted against state and demanded their due rights and political identity within the federation of Pakistan but they were denied. This parent-client relationship further increased trust deficit and aspirations for Baloch nationalism nurtured during course of the history.

In recent past, once again Baloch ethno nationalism resurged with a great vigor which still continues. Although once again it resurfaced due to unjust policies of federal government, especially Musharraf regime that started military operation in the province, but now geopolitics of energy resources is another important aspect in it.

The abundance of energy resources in the province, deep Gawadar sea port, and being gateway to the energy rich Central Asia Balochistan's significance further increased for federal government as well as for regional and global powers. Furthermore, the presence of oil, coal and natural gas in huge amount in Baloch areas of the province also attracted national and international firms for explorations. At the same time Baloch is being marginalized in this energy politics and exploration of other resources. So energy resources and other natural resources are a kind of incentive due to which Baloch armed struggle still continues. This politics of energy resources in the region further strengthened Baloch ethno nationalism. Although Baloch ethno nationalism is primarily based on Baloch history, the controversial merger with federation of Pakistan, socio-economic injustices by state, but in recent past energy politics also influenced it to a great extent. This fact can also be understood from the fact that many Baloch leaders always talk about their natural resources, especially natural gas, coal and oil. It is not the only aspect, rather one of the important factors affecting the Baloch ethno nationalism.

Besides this, 18th constitutional amendment, Balochistan Package and NFC Award also have brought no change in the province and provincial as well as federal government failed to fulfill their promises. These packages and incentives were never materialized in true sense. It is because missing persons' issue, extra-judicial killings, economic deprivation in mega projects like CPEC and Saindak etc and military operation in the province have not stopped yet. Consequently, all these circumstances have worsened the situation and Baloch ethno nationalism still exists.

Baloch ethno nationalism is result of a range of problems since inception of the country. Successive governments and military regimes did not tackle the issue well.

Instead of political dialogue, force was used which further deteriorated the situation and alienated Baloch from mainstream politics. Resultantly, Baloch ethno nationalism resurged many times. Although in past Baloch ethno national movements were lasted for few years and were limited to some areas. However, this time Baloch ethno national movement is far longer and covers much of the Balochistan. Few important research findings of this study are here.

1. This study suggests that successive military operations in the province have strengthened Baloch ethno nationalism over the years.
2. Lack of free and fair election process over the decades have also contributed to the miseries of common people and they stood against state.
3. International actors of geopolitics of energy resources also affected the region and have created a security complex which is directly affecting Baloch and Balochistan.
4. Absence of educational institutions and environment has also contributed to the issue and many students joined agitation politics during last decade and lost their lives in confrontation with security forces.
5. Foreign firms have also contributed to the miseries of the common people. They have no social programs for uplift of locals; rather they are busy in plunder of resources.
6. Balochistan also lacks infrastructural development and communication system and that is why people feel alienated from rest of the Pakistan.
7. The current Baloch ethno national movement has changed its dimensions and includes educated people of middle class and it's no more tribal in nature.

8. This study also suggests that there is a kind of security complex in the region because many regional as well as global actors have divergence of interests and are in a competition for getting access to energy resources of Balochistan and Central Asia.
9. Study also suggests that the packages and promises were not materialized which resulted in continuation of Baloch ethno nationalist movement.
10. Most importantly, study suggests that economic marginalization in CPEC, Saindak, Suï gas; Gawadar port and lack of decision making power over these subjects to the province have always troubled the center-province relations.

6.2 Recommendations

In the light of above findings of the study some important recommendations have been streamlined which are written as under.

- 1) Federal government should stop military operation in the province on immediate basis and make sure recovery of missing persons in order to avoid further damage and humanitarian loss of Baloch.
- 2) Baloch must be given their legitimate rights and all mega projects should be given under the control of provincial government.
- 3) Election commission of Pakistan must ensure free and fair election process in the province which will definitely help in order to bring true representatives of Baloch in the corridors of power.

- 4) Provincial government must utilize its full constitutional power and authority for better governance in the province. Moreover, the elected representatives should perform and avoid corruption and nepotism.
- 5) Federal government should take special initiatives to establish universities and technical institutes for quality education in the province. It will definitely help and produce skilled human resource for the Baloch and Balochistan.
- 6) Federal government as well provincial government should invite donor agencies to rehabilitate people of insurgency hit areas. In this regard both, provincial and federal government must provide funds to compensate all those people who internally displaced during military operations.
- 7) Federal government should make sure peaceful return of Afghan refugees in a respectful manner in order to avoid any demographic change in the province. In this regard, government must cancel C.N.I.Cs of all those who succeeded in getting nationality of Pakistan through illegal ways in Balochistan province.
- 8) Federal government should ensure the implementation of job quota at federal level in order to meet employment needs of the province. More importantly, special job quotas in PPL, OGDCL, CPEC and other national companies as well as departments should be reserved to accommodate only insurgency hit areas. It must be a practical step, not just announcements as it happened in past with people of Balochistan.
- 9) Government of Pakistan must start a sincere dialogue process with genuine Baloch representatives not the fake and planted people. Through a reconciliation order all Baloch leaders should be brought back with respect that who is in exile. This step will definitely strengthen the federation of Pakistan.

- 10) Baloch leadership should make their decisions wisely and foreign powers might use Baloch card for their own interests not for the interest of Baloch.
- 11) For females educational institutions should be established by federal as well as provincial government to increase female literacy rate in the province.
- 12) Baloch armed groups must prefer dialogue process in order to avoid further damage of Baloch society.
- 13) All foreign and national companies which are working in Balochistan must hire basic labor from the local areas and also spend 20 percent of profits for socio uplift of the area.
- 14) Human rights commission of Pakistan, Supreme Court of Pakistan and United Nations play a sincere role about the humanitarian crisis in Balochistan. Missing persons should be recovered as soon as possible.
- 15) The constitutional guarantees and promises which were given under 18th amendment as well as in Balochistan Package must be fulfilled. Federal government makes sure implementation of all those rights which were promised to the people of province.

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Appendix A

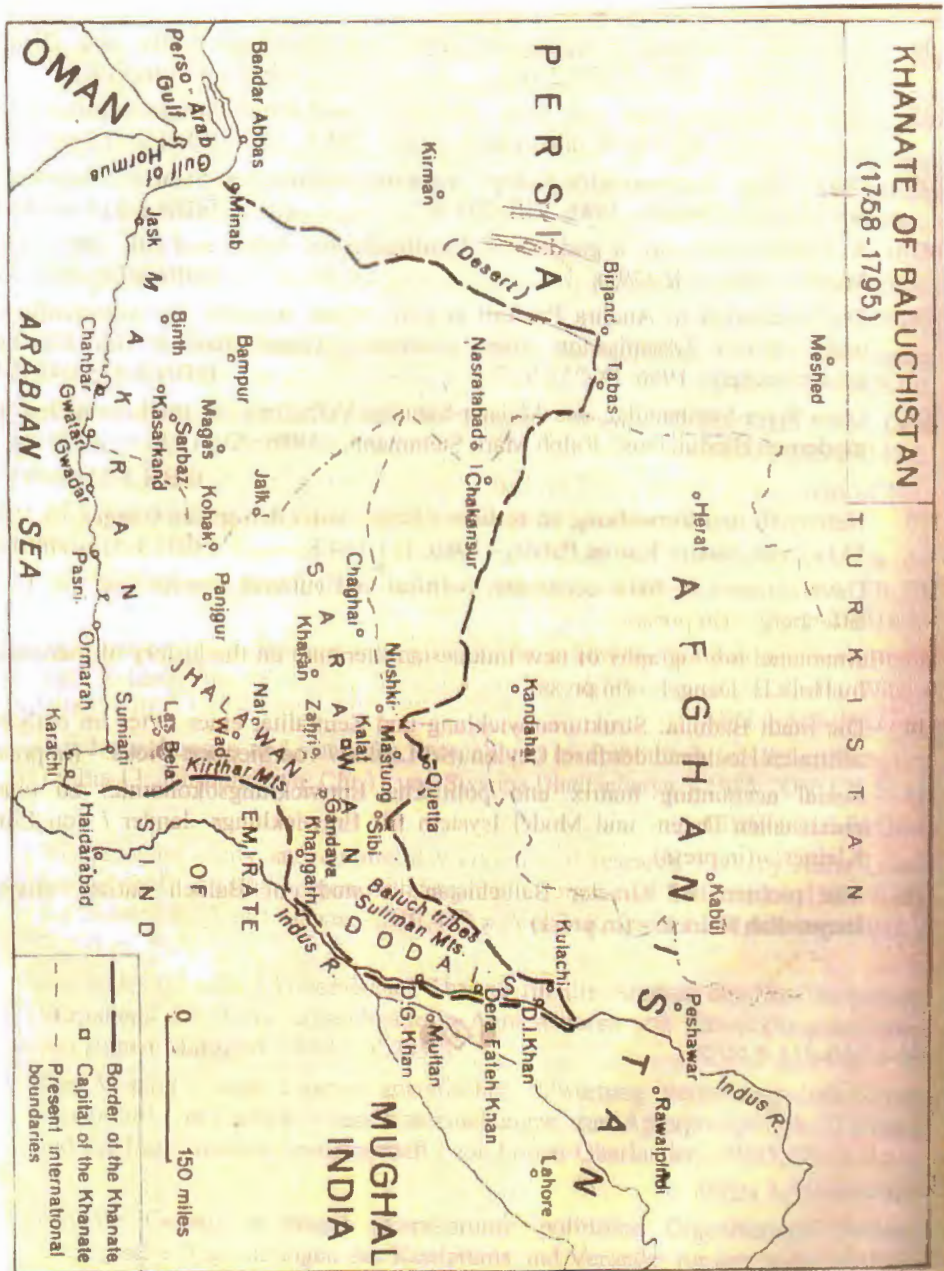
Maps of the Greater Baluchistan or the Kalat State

Map (A)



Source: Taken from Inayatullah Baluch's book "The Problem of Greater Baluchistan"

Map (B)



Source: Taken from Inayatullah Baluch's book "The Problem of Greater Baluchistan"

Map (C)

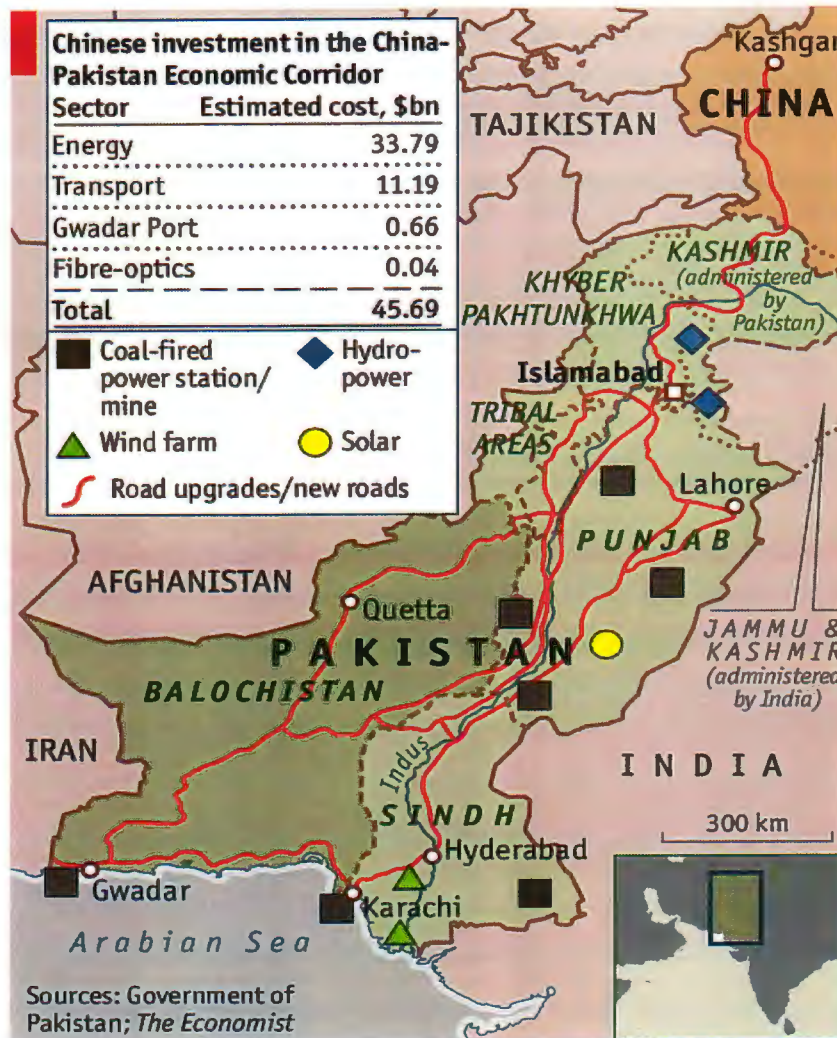
Map (D)



Source: Taken from Inayatullah Baluch's book "The Problem of Greater Baluchistan"

Maps of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor

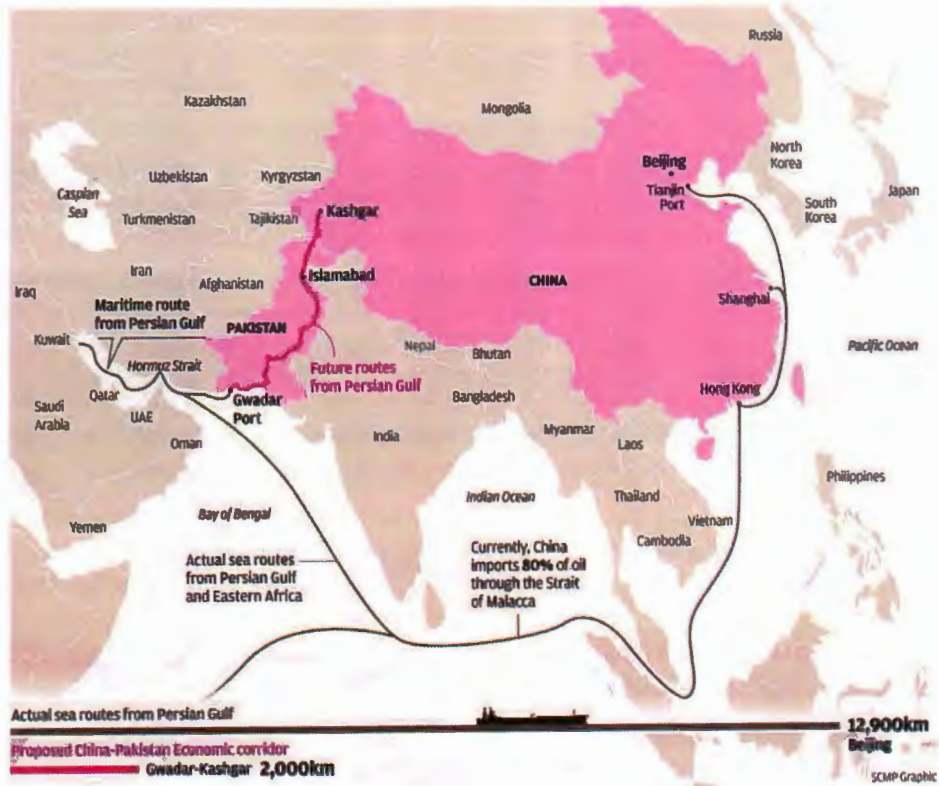
(A)



Economist.com

Source: <https://www.google.com.pk/>

(B)



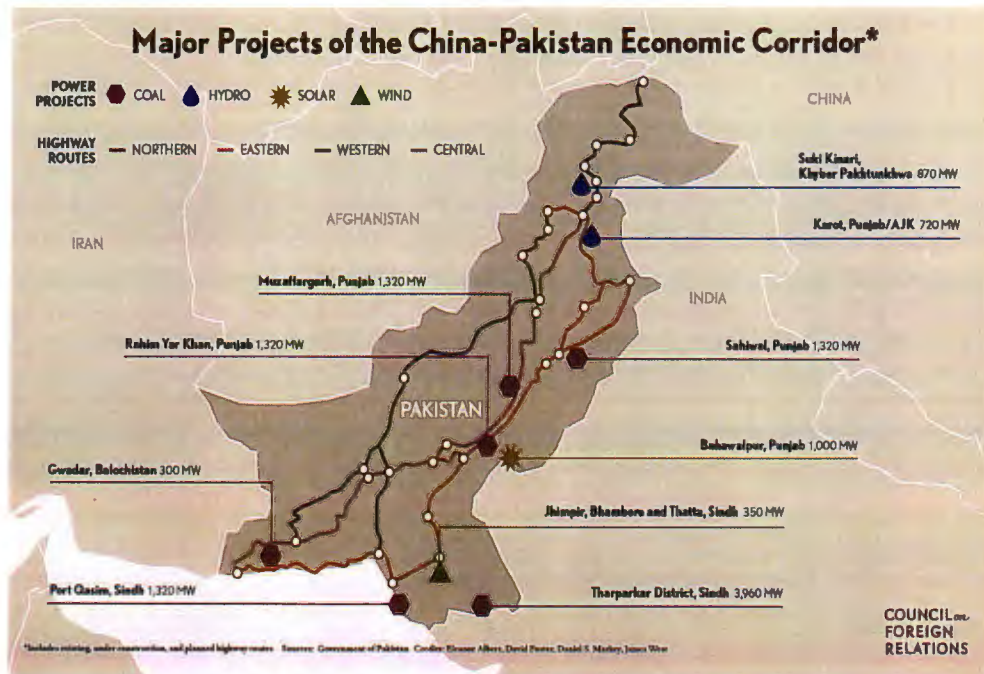
Source: <https://www.google.com.pk/>

(C)



Source: <https://www.google.com.pk/>

(D)



Source: <https://www.google.com.pk/>

Appendix B

From Political History



Atta Ullah Mengal during his trial in Ayub khan's government.

Source: Taken from Janmahmad's book "Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence Dimensions Repercussions"



Prince Abdul Kareem being received in Kalat (1955) after his release from prison.

Source: Taken from Janmahmad's book "Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence Dimensions Repercussions"



Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bezenjo in Mach Jail. He was arrested during 1958's military operation in Ayub Khan's Government.

Source: Taken from Janmahmad's book "Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence Dimensions Repercussions"



Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bezenjo and Nawab Nauroz Khan coming out from the Court-room. Nawab Nauroz Khan was under trial for rebellion. He was sentenced to death but was commuted to life imprisonment due to his old age. He was ninety years old at that time.

Source: Taken from Janmahmad's book "Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence Dimensions Repercussions"



Bodies of executed Baloch insurgents are being unloaded from a truck. They were executed in Hyderabad and Sukkur Jails on 15th July, 1960.

Source: Taken from Janmahmad's book "Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence Dimensions Repercussions".