NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON BALOCHISTAN SITUATION: PERCEPTIONS AND REALITIES-THE WAY FORWARD (17-18 JULY, 2012)

(THE POST-WORKSHOP REPORT)

Complied and Edited by:
Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan, SI (M)
Lieutenant Colonel Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi, AEC
Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed
Ms. Asma Sana

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NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON
‘BALOCHISTAN SITUATION: PERCEPTIONS AND REALITIES - THE WAY FORWARD’

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Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA)

NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

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Graphics
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Tel: +92-51-8003125272
Fax: +92-51-9260663
Email: manzooraabbasi@yahoo.com
Website: http://www.udu.edu.pk
“If we begin to think of ourselves as Punjabis, Sindhis, etc. first and Muslim and Pakistanis incidentally, then, Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition: our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities which I must warn you that they are already busy exploiting... As long as you do not throw off this poison in your body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanise yourself into a real true nation. What we want is not to talk about Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pathan and so on. They are, of course, units. But I ask you; have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago... Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a nation, for God’s sake, give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism-Shia, Sunni, etc.”

Speech at Islamia College,
Peshawar, 12th April, 1948
FOREWORD

Strategically, Balochistan has acquired a significant status, mainly due to the ‘Great Game’ reaching its pinnacle in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan, Iran and the Central Asia. Geographically, Balochistan serves as the gateway to all these volatile regions. It was, therefore, inevitable that we should have visualized the emerging situation and taken measures beforehand to forestall any possibility of vested powers exploiting the situation to advance their interests.

Once a peaceful hamlet, security situation in Balochistan is getting worse with each passing day. Terrorism, sectarian violence, target killing, kidnapping for ransom, attacks on security forces, and the phenomenon of so called missing people etc characterize the Balochistan of today. Apart from the security crisis, socio-economic life, which at best had been stagnant since long, has also deteriorated to a dismal condition. The pattern of attacks, the weapons and equipment being displayed by the militants clearly illustrate that they are getting a sustained support from foreign elements. There is also a failure on our part as a nation, since we consistently displayed a state of apathy to an issue, which is primarily political in nature; instead, we relied on the policy of appeasement and the use of security apparatus to quell the unrest.

The National Defence University, Islamabad, being a premier academic institution of ‘National Security’ as well as a reputed think tank undertook to organize a national level workshop on Balochistan issue, titled; ‘Balochistan Situation: Perception and Realities – The Way Forward’ on 17-18 July 2012. It was essentially an academic exercise, aimed at an open, dispassionate, frank and comprehensive debate on wide range of issues, concerning the Balochistan situation. It turned out to be a significant initiative, as large number of
participants from a wider cross section of the country, especially from Balochistan participated. The participants offered candid views, while dilating upon their grievances, concerns and suggestions, in order to proffer a viable way forward. Keeping in view the significance of the Workshop, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Raja Pervez Ashraf and the Chairman Senate, Syed Nayyer Hussain Bokhari also graced the occasion and shared their views with the participants.

The speakers and participants of the Workshop explored various dimensions of Balochistan imbroglio. The faculty of National Defence University extend their profound gratitude to all the participants, particularly the speakers, who came all the way from various parts of Pakistan and even abroad, to share their views. The papers and speeches composed and delivered by the speakers during the Workshop are being published, along with the findings and recommendations. It is hoped that our government, political elites, think tanks, universities, media and other stakeholders will take a serious note of Balochistan unrest and make deliberate efforts to find ways and means to bring about an enduring peace in the Province.

We are grateful to Brigadier Agha A. Gul (Retired), who provided much needed guidance and help to conceptualize and plan this workshop. I must also commend the efforts of ISSRA team, who put a sustained hard work to organize the Workshop. I am optimistic that we will be able to follow up this event in the days to come.

Lieutenant General Nasser Khan Janjua, HI (M)
The President, NDU
Balochistan is geographically the largest and strategically one of the most important provinces of Pakistan. Owing to its inhospitable climate and terrain, for the most part of its recorded history, it remained a sparsely populated and backward province, as compared to other parts of the Subcontinent. The cultural landscape of this province represents mostly tribal and nomadic way of life. Balochistan of today, as a geographic entity, never existed in the pages of history. Even after the creation of Pakistan, it consisted of two administrative set-ups; one comprising the former Confederation of Kalat States and the other British Balochistan and Quetta Municipality.

Even a cursory look at the map of Pakistan gives an impression that the creation of such a large province, spreading over 44% of the total land mass of the country, after the abolition of ‘One-Unit’ in 1969, was probably not a rational decision. It is generally believed in the contemporary world that ‘the smaller the administrative units, the better the governance would be’.

The present Balochistan unrest has a historical legacy, which stands exacerbated with overt neglect of successive governments and covert machinations of some foreign hands. The disturbance in Balochistan, even if it is in small pockets, naturally perturbs every patriotic citizen, let alone the state institutions, which are primarily responsible for the integrity and solidarity of the motherland.

Realizing the state of apathy and inaction about the Balochistan situation, National Defence University, Islamabad, took a major initiative to organize a national level workshop, titled as ‘Balochistan Situation: Perceptions and Realities-The Way Forward’, spanning two days (17-18
July 2012). The workshop was originally planned in the month of May 2012, which had to be delayed due to certain administrative constraints as well as our desire to reach out to maximum Baloch leaders. Consequently, a large number of political leaders and tribal heads from Balochistan, including Ministers, Senators, MNAs, MPAs, senior civil and military officers, representatives of think tanks, academia and media persons turned up to participate in the workshop.

It is worth mentioning here that NDU contacted every important Baloch leader, including nationalist parties, to participate in the workshop, barring a few militant outfits. It was a matter of great satisfaction that no one expressed any inhibition to attend the workshop; rather they were extremely courteous, forthcoming and expressed keen desire to bring about normalcy and durable peace in the Province. We whole-heartedly extend our profound gratitude to all of them.

National Defence University is essentially an academic institution and a national think tank, with the sole agenda of pursuing national interests; including security, cohesion, solidarity and socio-economic uplift of the people of this country. It has no prism with specific colours to look through. A large number of participants during the workshop said that it was a pleasant surprise for them to witness such an academic and intellectual freedom at NDU, where ideas could be exchanged and debated, with complete freedom of thought and expression.

The workshop helped in sensitizing all the stakeholders about the Balochistan situation. Thereafter, a healthy debate was generated in both the print and electronic media, besides setting up of a Special Committee of the Cabinet on Balochistan by the Federal Government, which monitors the progress on a daily basis.
This special report, being published as a sequel to the Workshop, consists of two segments: the executive summary, findings and recommendations; and the details of the proceedings of the Workshop, followed by the Photo Gallery and the Press Coverage. We hope that this effort will open up new vistas for research on various aspects of Balochistan and will serve as a guideline for the policy-makers as well as the readers in general. May Allah bless us with collective wisdom and honesty of purpose, while dealing with our national issues.

The Editors
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Workshop on ‘Balochistan Situation: Perceptions and Realities-The Way Forward’, spreading over two days (17-18 July 2012), was held at the National Defence University, Islamabad. The purpose of the Workshop was to provide an academic forum to a wide spectrum of the society, particularly from Balochistan, to dilate upon various aspects of Balochistan situation, with a view to comprehensively understanding the dynamics of the issue and, thereby, formulating suitable policy options and recommendations to bring about peace and tranquillity in the Province. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Raja Pervez Ashraf and the Chairman Senate, Syed Nayyer Hussain Bokhari, were the Chief Guests on Day One and Day Two respectively. A large number of members from academia, intellectuals, political leaders, Senators, MNAs, civil and military officers and community leaders from Balochistan and representatives of both print and electronic media participated in the Workshop. The Workshop consisted of five thematic sessions, with clearly delineated themes, followed by question-answer sessions.

The speakers of the Workshop included following renowned Baloch leaders, apart from several politicians and intellectuals from all walks of life; Mr. Yar Muhammad Jamali, Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai, Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezi, Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed, Syed Nasir Ali Shah (MNA), Mir Shahnawaz Khan Marri (the Minister for Sports and Culture Government of Balochistan), Mir Ahmadan Bugti (MNA), Ambassador Aminullah Raisani, Brigadier Agha A. Gul (Retired), Former Vice Chancellor, the University of Balochistan, Mr. Abdul Malik Kassi (Former Federal
Minister for Health), Major General Ishfaq Nadeem Ahmad (Director General Military Operations), Major General Muhammad Farooq (Retired), Former GOC 41 Division, Mr. Tariq Khosa (Retired), Former Inspector General Police Balochistan, Mr. Akbar Hussain Durrani (Secretary Science and Technology Government of Balochistan), Mr. Mohabat Khan Marri, Mr. Sarfraz Bugti, Mr. Shafiq-ur-Rehman Mengal, and Dr. Azam Tahir (the Head of Department of Psychology, the University of Balochistan).

While addressing one of the sessions, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Raja Pervez Ashraf, said that, the turbulence in Balochistan was though ‘foreign abetted’, however, the Government of Pakistan would assert its sovereign right to deal with the internal problems as per our own national interests. He stressed that the law and order problem in small pockets of Balochistan must not be equated with insurgency. While repeating his offer of dialogue to the estranged elements of Balochistan, he reiterated that the government would not let a handful of people to take the patriotic people of Balochistan hostage. He further added that the government would not talk to those who desecrate the flag of Pakistan. He suggested that a few angry Baloch youngsters must not fall prey to the detractors of Pakistan.

He also lauded the role of Army and Frontier Corps in promoting and protecting the national interests, with special reference to their role in promoting education, healthcare and generating economic activities in Balochistan Province.

There was almost consensus among the speakers and participants that the real issues of Balochistan are economic and political in nature. It was concluded that the system of governance in Balochistan is simply unfit to deliver. Balochistan is a province, which has been seething under unabated poverty, backwardness and socio-economic regression for centuries. Thus, it needed efficient and honest
political dispensation, which is unfortunately not forthcoming. The benefits of much-hyped developmental packages, announced by the Federal Government from time to time, could not reach the common people. The youth in Balochistan is neither equipped with sound education nor sufficient skills, to carve out an honourable living for them. It was also alarming to note that unlike the past, the youth is frustrated and getting out of the control of their elders. It therefore, makes them vulnerable and an easy prey to the hostile forces. Hence, the youth needs to be handled well and brought back in mainstream by giving them incentives like education and job opportunities.

Majority of the speakers were of the view that “both Federal and Provincial Governments suffer from an acute state of ‘inaction and inertia’ as far as the problems of Balochistan are concerned”. There is no serious effort to protect the lives and properties of the citizens. Only a handful of terrorists and militants, hiding themselves in big cities as well as in Ferrari Camps, operate at will. There is a frequent unchecked movement of hostile agencies from and to Balochistan, which is extremely dangerous for the security of the country. It was also emphasized by the speakers that arrangements should be made for holding free, fair and transparent elections in Balochistan, in which all parties, including nationalist parties; particularly those who bear allegiance to the state of Pakistan, should have fair opportunities to participate. However, there were also strong voices in favour of imposing Governor’s rule in Balochistan for at least five years, with strong backing of the Army and Frontier Corps, which should focus on education, healthcare, communication infrastructure and economic development. Thus, it may help create an enabling environment for the people of Balochistan to come forward and play their positive role afterwards as a result of free and fair election.
An overwhelming majority of speakers lauded the role of the Army and Frontier Corps for initiating educational and developmental programs, besides protecting and promoting the national interests. They demanded that the sacrifices of soldiers and innocent people, who lost their lives at the hands of terrorists, should not only be recognized but their families must also be protected and paid reasonable compensation, as is being done in the other provinces. A large number of speakers urged for rapid improvement in the law and order situation of the Province, so that business and economic activities could take off. They highlighted the magnitude of threat coming from terrorists and non-state actors to the lives of academia, judiciary and media persons and the resultant ineffective performance of these organs under duress.

There was also a consensus that the media, both print and electronic, lack balance, proportion and objectivity in reporting the events. Non-state actors in Balochistan receive more media coverage than the 95% patriotic people of Balochistan. Even the brutal murder of citizens like Mir Muzaffar Hussain Jamali went unnoticed. It was a unanimous demand of the speakers that a National Level Conference on Balochistan should be held by the Federal Government, in which all stakeholders, including political leaders, intellectuals, youth leaders from Balochistan, top civil and military leadership, representatives of judiciary and media may be invited to discuss and chalk out a comprehensive plan of action for bringing normalcy in Balochistan in the short term and prosperity and development in the long term.

A few speakers also recommended the constitution of high-powered Commission on Balochistan, which should
be represented by all stakeholders, including Army, FC, and Judiciary. This Commission should be mandated to find ways and means to bring normalcy in the Province in the first instance and devise a comprehensive plan for its uplift in the long term. The proposed Commission can also serve as a ‘Truth and Reconciliation Forum’, for the estranged elements, provided they give an undertaking to lay down the arms and sever contacts with their foreign patrons. The speakers urged that Balochistan needs serious attention, without any further delay, as the slackness in this regard will be detrimental to our national security. The seriousness of the issue has been highlighted by the daily ‘The News, Rawalpindi dated 30th July 2012’, in its editorial, in these words: “Most dangerously, Pakistan has thus far managed to get away with ignoring Balochistan’s plight because it was an internal issue. However, given the re-alignments of geo-political configurations in the region, the problems have taken on a far greater significance and scope. As things stand, Pakistan can ignore Balochistan now only at its own peril.”
SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan, spanning 44% of the total area of the country but a home to only 5% of the total population of Pakistan. Owing to its location in the proximity of the Persian Gulf, Iran and Afghanistan, it has gained increased attention of regional and international players, particularly in the wake of US presence in Afghanistan, apart from ensuing power politics in the region. The geography of Balochistan is characterized by unique features. On the one hand it is clad with rugged mountains; some of them like Koh-e-Suleiman reaching the height of over 9000 feet above sea level and, on the other hand, it has long stretches of deserts and a more than nine hundred kilometers long coastline. Balochistan as a whole suffers from extreme scarcity of water, which forces the population to live in and around a few selected towns and villages. The major part of Balochistan still remains an unexploited, barren land mass.

Balochistan is the cradle of one of the oldest ancient civilizations, ‘The Mehrgarh Civilization’, which is considered even older than the Indus and Gandhara Civilizations. The present day Balochistan, as a geographic entity comprising southern Baloch and Brahui areas and northern Pashtun districts, never existed in the pages of history prior to the creation of Pakistan, not even during the British rule, as the British Balochistan excluded the Confederation of Kalat States. Makran was, in fact, acquired from Oman by the Government of Pakistan in 1955. On the eve of independence, both the British Balochistan as well as the Confederation of Kalat States, willingly acceded to the
State of Pakistan, a fact proven by authentic historical records.

The culture of Balochistan has always been tribal in nature; probably, due to origin of the Balochs from the Arab lands. In a tribal society, the tribal heads and elders weld a considerable clout, particularly when the masses are uneducated and economically less self-reliant. Consequently, the tribal heads most often become the sole arbiters of destiny of the people under their influence. It also provides them with enough leverage to extract maximum benefits from the rulers, both economically and politically. The rulers, particularly the British, had also been finding it more convenient to make alliance with a few Nawabs and Maliks, rather than the public at large. Such coalitions were mainly achieved through generous monetary grants, in order to win not only their own loyalty but also that of the people associated with them. Balochistan was governed during the British era in this typical tribal style, with effective British suzerainty.

In the post-Independence period, the successive governments of Pakistan could not grasp the centuries-old culture and intricacies of the tribal set-up of Balochistan. Their policies kept on fluctuating. Sometimes, the extravagant demands of a few Baloch tribal heads were accepted without question and, at other times, they started treating them at par with the people of the rest of Pakistan, without providing the common public with sound education or wherewithal, with which they could emancipate themselves economically and politically. Resultantly, a few tribal leaders, accustomed to luxurious life styles based on government grants, started feeling threats to their perks, privileges and influence. Seeing their receding income and influence, they started challenging the writ of the government under the cloak of ‘Baloch rights’. All insurgencies in Balochistan need to be seen in this
perspective. It is also a reality that all past insurgencies were able to find some foreign sympathizers and, at times, garner active support thereof, earlier from the former USSR and its accomplices and now from new international and regional players. The present unrest in Baloch and Brahui areas of Balochistan has clear and discernible signs of ‘foreign abetment as well as sponsorship’, as has rightly been pointed out by the Prime Minister of Pakistan in his address to the participants of the Workshop.

The irony is that all those who claim to be the champions of Baloch rights never thought of granting basic needs to their fellow tribal brethren, despite the fact that they remained most of the time in the corridors of power in our 65 years of post-Independence history. Their estate largesse is beyond account, both inland as well as abroad. A few Nawabs were maintaining private militias, sometimes exceeding 500 men, laced with latest weapons and arsenal. How did they manage it, is still a riddle. The recent rise in militancy in Balochistan after the death of Nawab Akbar Bugti has claimed thousands of innocent lives. The overwhelming majority of patriotic and peace-loving people of Balochistan are hostage to the savagery of a few hundred foreign sponsored militants. The Government of Balochistan seems to have given in to the non-state actors and militants. A clear state of apathy and inaction on the part of entire government machinery can be witnessed, which does not help resolve the crises that the Province is currently confronted with.

Realizing the grim situation of Balochistan, National Defence University, Islamabad, organized a two day workshop, titled as ‘Balochistan Situation; Perceptions and Realities-The Way Forward’, on 17th and 18th July 2012. The purpose of the workshop was to provide an academic forum to a wide spectrum of the society, particularly from
Balochistan, to dilate upon various aspects of Balochistan situation, with a view to comprehensively understanding the dynamics of Balochistan unrest and, thereby, formulating suitable policy options and recommendations for the solution of this problem, as reflected in the Executive Summary. The findings and recommendations of the Workshop are appended below.

**Findings/ Conclusions**

Sequel to the prolonged deliberations and marathon sessions of the Workshop, in which a large number of speakers and participants gave frank and candid views, the following findings emerged:-

- As rightly pointed out by a speaker, at the time of independence, Pakistan was the ‘backwater’ of the Subcontinent, where as, Balochistan was the ‘backwater’ of Pakistan and unfortunately continues to remain as such even today after 65 years of independence, due to varying reasons, including its challenging geographical and political constraints. The rugged mountainous terrain, lack of communication infrastructure and scarcity of water are huge barriers to develop new cities and towns, for bringing about rapid development in the province.

- It is because of this historical legacy of backwardness that Balochistan would require colossal resources and investment with total commitment over the next two decades to bridge the gap that exists between present Balochistan and the remaining provinces.

- The present grim state of the Province can be attributed to the failure of successive governments both in the center as well as in the province, mostly led by the
Nawabs and Maliks, who would only help themselves rather than helping the poor people of the Province. Therefore, unless the true representatives of the people are brought in, the change is not expected.

- Unfortunately, the ground situation has deteriorated over the past four years. The current leadership, although being labelled as democratic, has disappointed the people to a great extent that allowed the non-state actors and ‘fifth columnists’ to grow and expand in the ungoverned areas of Balochistan, thus, creating a great sense of insecurity for the common people of Balochistan.

- Balochistan’s unique geography characterizes both promising opportunities as well as barriers to the rapid development. The vast unexploited mineral resources can change the destiny of the people, provided the peace and security in the province are quickly restored, which may help attract foreign and domestic investment. Yet the difficult terrain would be a big hindrance to the fast development.

- Balochistan represents an amalgam and a fine blend of ethnic communities, religious groups and settlers. Balochistan as it exists today, as a geographic entity, emerged after the creation of Pakistan. This ethnic and religious balance seems to be threatened in the wake of prevalent militancy in the Baloch and Brahui areas as well the trans-frontier movement of non-state actors.

- A deadly nexus of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashker-e-Jhangvi and local sectarian groups already exists in Balochistan which has the capacity to keep Balochistan boiling even in the absence of terrorists’ activities. At some stage, when the law enforcing agencies are asked to root out non-state actors and other
terrorist groups, this nexus would actively engage the armed forces. Pakistan’s intelligence agencies will have to be mindful of their presence and activities.

- The historical decision of the people of Balochistan, through Shahi Jirga, Referendum of Quetta Municipality and the accession of Rulers of Confederation of Kalat States, needs to be respected by dissident elements. After all, it is the principle of majority rule that the democracy fosters on.

- The system of governance in Balochistan is totally decadent and simply unfit to deliver. The functioning of parliamentary democracy in Balochistan, where all members of the Assembly, except one, are ministers, is itself a big question mark. The entire government machinery is soaked in rampant corruption and malpractices. It does not leave any room for the welfare of the common people, which is the major reason of deprivation and frustration of the people, particularly the youth.

- The 17th and 18th Amendments in the Constitution of Pakistan has given much demanded autonomy to the provinces. However, there is a need to build the capacity of provinces, especially Balochistan, alongwith genuine presentation of the people in the government. Under prevalent system of governance, the resources are most likly to be plundered and wasted.

- There is a need for free and transparent elections, in which all parties, including nationalist parties, should have fair opportunities to participate. Presence of nationalist parties in the Assembly will balance out the present mess.
The benefits of special economic packages and NFC Award could not go down to the common people. Millions of rupees have been doled out to the politicians for so called developmental fund for their areas, whereas, no visible improvement in the road network, communication infrastructure, construction of schools and colleges, provision of water, health facilities or gas has been witnessed. It further erodes the confidence of the people in their government and the State.

Balochistan is educationally the most backward province of Pakistan. Neither the state of primary nor higher education is satisfactory. Most of the Punjabi and Urdu-speaking teachers have left the Province, because of the on-going ethnic cleansing. The universities of Balochistan are practically non-functional, mainly because of poor law and order situation and increased activities of the militants.

The situation of law and order in the province is extremely wanting. The Government of Balochistan, which is primarily responsible to protect the lives and properties of the public, seems to be in a state of ‘inertia and inaction’. There is no or very little coordination and harmony among law enforcing agencies, which is so important while dealing with a situation like Balochistan.

In the absence of clear direction, support and patronage, the Army and Frontier Corps have to face the brunt of public criticism, whereas, these institutions can only operate under the directions of Federal and Provincial Governments, which seems missing at this point in time. It is, perhaps, the reason that the militants and terrorist are taking the lives of the innocent people at their will.
The decision of the incumbent Provincial Government to revert the ‘A’ areas, declared during General Musharaf’s rule, back to ‘B’ areas seems inappropriate and imprudent. The Province seems to have regressed to outdated colonial system, where tribal heads used to be provided with levies to subjugate the common public. Traditionally, the levies are more loyal to the tribal heads than the State.

The increasing youth bulge of the population poses serious challenge to the State of Pakistan, particularly in Balochistan. The existing educational system of the Main Stream Government Educational Institutions does not provide the students with requisite competence and skills to earn an honourable living for them. Hence, a huge mob of half-educated and unskilled youth is continuously emerging in an already squeezed job market. These un-employed youth are, unfortunately, very vulnerable to hostile propaganda and the activities of foreign agencies, which pour in handsome amounts of money to entrap them. Therefore, the issue of providing economic opportunities to the youth in Balochistan cannot be taken lightly.

The media persons, both from print and electronic media, operate in Balochistan under serious threats to their lives and properties; therefore, they cannot be expected to show objectivity, balance and proportion, while reporting the events. That is why; we witness more coverage bring given to the activities of so-called Naaraaz Balochs than the 95% patriotic citizens of Balochistan.

Similarly, the Police and Judiciary also function in the Province in a state of perpetual threats, which hampers their functioning as well as the dispensation of speedy
justice. The criminals involved in heinous crimes, taking advantage of weak judicial system, move around scot-free and most of the times go un-punished. It forces the people to take law in their own hands, which is extremely detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of any society.

❖ While extra-judicial summary disposal of any person, even if he is a terrorist, cannot be condoned, it is equally imperative to tighten the noose of criminal laws, so that the violators should think hundred times before breaking the law and the law-abiding citizens should feel secure.

❖ It transpired during the Workshop, in the wake of extensive discussions, that there is a definite need for organizing and activating a strong civil defence system throughout the country, particularly in Balochistan and Karachi. It is really strange that a country like Pakistan, which has experienced three wars and which has hostile neighbours, could not devise any effective civil defence system. The law enforcing agencies cannot be expected to act as supra-human, ubiquitous creatures to be present in each nook and corner of the country, particularly in the prevailing situation, when they are already over-stretched due to anti-terrorist operations and security surveillance on all frontiers of Pakistan.

Proposed Options/Recommendations

As pointed out earlier, there was unanimity of thought among the speakers and participants that the present governing set-up has miserably failed in delivering to the people and drastic changes are needed to take Balochistan out of the current mess. In order to meet the ongoing and emerging challenges of the Balochistan issue,
comprehensive strategies are needed, which also include counter-terrorism strategy. Some of the important recommendations which cater for immediate, mid-term and long-term measures include:

Governance Issue

- A lot of emphasis was laid on the improvement of the system of governance in Balochistan. It was suggested that some mechanism should be evolved by which a small sized effective Cabinets could be formed, avoiding the blackmailing of various splinter groups.

- There should also be an effective oversight by the Federal Government to monitor the utilization of funds in Balochistan, so that the benefits of financial packages offered to the province must go down to the common people. The present arrangements have miserably failed and, if repeated, similar results are expected in future as well.

- Fair, free and transparent elections must be ensured in the Province, in which all parties, including nationalist parties, particularly those who bear allegiance to the state of Pakistan, should have fair opportunities. Their presence in the Assembly will bring about a marked change in the governing system of the Province, as an automatic check on the decision-makers.

Law and Order

- An effective legislation should be carried out both at Federal and Provincal levels for dealing with non-state actors and other terrorist groups. This legislation pending with the Federal Government should fill up the gaps, which may help in correct and efficient utilization
of the law enforcing agencies, including the armed forces in maintaining and upholding the writ of the government.

- All ‘B’ areas of Balochistan should be converted into ‘A’ areas, bringing them under full jurisdiction of the courts as well as the police. However, capacity building of both police and judiciary is a pre-requisite, if the desired results are to be achieved.

- Capacity building of these two organs would need considerable time; therefore, Frontier Corps must be brought in direct support of the administration to fill up the deficiencies of the police department. At no time, the militants/terrorists should remain physically and mentally free to take actions at will. They should be forced to remain on the run till the time they are either apprehended forcefully or submit willingly.

- There is no reason that the Ferarri Camps should exist. These serve as safe havens for the terrorists and have become the source of strength for them. Therefore, it is the prime responsibility of the government to eliminate such camps, as they continue to brew terrorism. ‘No go areas’ within a state should not be tolerated.

Economic Development

- A comprehensive long-term sustainable approach is needed for the rapid development of Balochistan. The Balochistan Government should work out a detailed roadmap for the developmental projects, focusing on all sectors such as education, health, fisheries, livestock, exploration of minerals, mining and agriculture.
In addition, since electricity generation has also become a provincial subject, therefore, the government should also identify and implement Wind Energy projects along the coastline, which is the most suitable site for such projects. The mega projects once initiated must be completed in time.

The experience proves that the money must not fall into the politicians’ hands. They should be asked to identify the projects which should be implemented through an independent implementing body, with an effective monitoring mechanism of the Federal Government. Involvement of the Asian Development Bank and other money lending agencies may also prove effective in creating checks and balances for proper scrutiny and accountability of the funds.

It was also concluded during the debate that without road infrastructure, economic prosperity would not be achieved. It is the road infrastructure that connects variety of economic activities in the Province and across the provinces. Unless the road network is laid out properly, the full benefit of the natural resources of Balochistan cannot be utilized. Gwadar, the economic hub, needs to be connected with Punjab, if the real benefits of this port are to be utilized. The under construction projects like Gwadar-Retodero Road needs to be completed expeditiously.

The benefits of the natural resources of Balochistan must go to the people of Balochistan first and then for the entire Pakistan, if need be.
Educational Programs

- In order to bring this Province at par with other provinces, education should be put at the top of the policy agenda. It is education which will eventually emancipate the new generation from social, economic and political bondage. Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps have done a commendable job in this regard to promote educational infrastructure in the Province. However, it is only a beginning and cannot be equated with the long term government policy on the subject.

- Generous exchange programs should be initiated for the youth of Balochistan in other provinces, in order to broaden their outlook and equip them with the requisite skills to compete with the rest of Pakistan, as there is virtually no scope for the higher education in the Province, due to poor law and order situation. But again, this could be considered as a temporary arrangement, because the other provinces are also facing serious economic crunch and, unfortunately, the education and health get the lowest share all over Pakistan and sharing the burden by other provinces for a prolonged period would be impossible. Therefore, the real progress will have to be made by the Balochistan itself, by improving the law and order situation, thus, giving the best possible friendly and conducive environment to the students.

- The capacity building of the people of Balochistan is equally important. Since, there is a scarcity of technical staff and experts in various departments, they are perforce hired from other provinces, which causes further discontentment among the locals, the unemployed youth. It is, therefore, imperative to establish Professional Colleges and Polytechnic Institutes in the
entire Province and the existing institutes be made fully functional. Till the time the requisite staff is trained and made available to these technical schools, the seconded staff from various provinces should be provided fool-proof security with sufficient incentives to stay on.

- All government and private universities of the entire Balochistan should be provided full security, so that they can freely provide education to the students in a more conducive environment.

Media

- There was a general consensus among the participants that media personnel in Balochistan operate under extreme threats from militants, therefore, their coverage lacks objectivity, balance and proportion. The aspirations of an overwhelming majority of patriotic people of Balochistan are ignored under duress of anti-state elements, as rightly pointed out by the Prime Minister of Pakistan during the Workshop. The declared anti-state elements, involved in sabotage activities and killings of innocent people should not be given undue importance and coverage.

- While the media should remain free from the coercive approach of the government, nonetheless, it should not be allowed to promote anti-state agenda. Government must engage the media managers regularly on Balochistan and briefings be arranged to keep them abreast with the developments.

Ethnic Balance

Balochistan is an amalgam and fine blend of various ethnic and religious communities. It should not be, therefore,
treated as a monolithic and homogenous social structure. Even the Baloch and Brahui are two separate distinct entities. Their identity remained so until the last census, when it was submerged deliberately for ulterior motives. All communities should have due share in all organs of the state and public service. No community should be left out and ignored. Promotion and patronization of one at the cost of others will prove counterproductive, thus, leading to instability.

Compensation to the Bereaved Families

- It was also demanded by the participants of the Workshop that the sacrifices of the Army and other law enforcing agencies, including the Frontier Corps, Police and other patriotic citizens, who lost their lives in the hands of militants, should be acknowledged and appreciated. The families of innocent victims, including the policemen and levies, must be paid reasonable compensation, as it is done in the other provinces.

- With regards to the incentives given to the Frontier Corps personnel, an excellent model exists in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which must be followed in letter and spirit, if the real output is to be achieved from them.

Commission on Balochistan

A large number of speakers and participants suggested that a high powered commission, headed by influential politicians like Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai and Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, may be constituted, which should have due representation of all stakeholders, including the Judiciary, Army, Frontier Corps and other law enforcing agencies. The Commission should prepare a comprehensive plan to address all issues of Balochistan and
may also serve as a ‘Truth and Reconciliation Forum’, in order to negotiate with the estranged Baloch elements, provided that they lay down their arms and sever contacts with foreign patrons.

Need to Organize Civil Defence

An effective civil defence system needs to be developed and activated throughout the country, particularly in Balochistan and Karachi; in order to equip the citizens with essential military training as well as personal licensed weapons, so that they can defend themselves, their families and properties against criminals and terrorists. Similarly, the erstwhile National Cadet Corps (NCC) needs to be revived in the colleges and universities. Both these systems, if activated, will augment the armed forces, in case of national level exigencies.

Foreign Policy

- The Foreign Office of Pakistan should pursue a proactive foreign policy with all neighbouring countries, regional and international powers in order to communicate the concerns of the people of Pakistan, regarding the involvement of foreign agencies in fuelling the unrest in Balochistan.

- If need be, solid evidence of the involvement of the foreign hands may be publically exposed, so as to secure a firm position at the international forum, where Pakistan is usually blamed for patronizing the terrorists.

- Foreign office should take up the case with those countries, where Pakistani fugitives have been provided shelter, to hand over these elements back to
Pakistan. Similarly, the sources of funding to non-state actors may also be tracked down and squeezed out.
NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON BALOCHISTAN SITUATION: PERCEPTIONS AND REALITIES- THE WAY FORWARD (17-18 JULY 2012)

Proceedings of Day-1 (17th July, 2012)

Inaugural Session

The Inaugural Session of the Workshop was held on July 17, 2012. The opening addresses set the pace and direction of the scholastic interaction. The Inaugural Session included welcome remarks by President National Defence University, Lieutenant General Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq, HI (M), the Inaugural Address by Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf, though it was delivered slightly later during Session-Two, because of his urgent commitments elsewhere, and Keynote Speech by Ambassador Aminullah Raisani. Salient features of the Inaugural Session are covered in succeeding paragraphs.

In his opening address, the President NDU warmly welcomed all the participants and explained that the University was working as an intellectual forum, with a mandate to conduct free, open and impartial inquiry about the challenges confronted by Pakistan as well as the opportunities available to us to make our motherland an enviable state. He said that “the University is competing with about forty four National Defence Universities, thirty four National Defence Colleges and seventeen National Defence Institutions around the globe”.

He urged that “there is a need to build bridges on all fronts and move forward, because this is the only way to make Pakistan a prosperous state. Maintaining status quo in
every situation destroys the nations and communities, and jeopardizes civil and social harmony. Being stagnant practically means to become irrelevant and that could be the biggest curse on a nation. Hence, he suggested that moving forward is the only option available to us”.

The President explained, “The emerging power politics is divided into two power blocs. The first includes Russia, China, Iran, Pakistan and the Shanghai-V. The second includes Japan and Australia, dominated by the US and India along with Indonesia. With the emergence of these two blocs, a new phase of competition has started in the world politics”.

He briefly explained the historical background and strategic importance of Balochistan and said, “For the last 300 years, Balochistan’s culture, demography and geography have evolved through different stages. Today, there are a number of forces continuously involved in a push and pull process with each other. In the coming years, the importance of Balochistan will further increase, due to the varying interests of different foreign powers. So this area is not only vital for Pakistan, but also for all those actors who will play their role at the regional level”.

The President also briefly touched upon three important dimensions of the Balochistan issue: grievances, aspirations and perceptions. Grievances are a major concern since the days of our independence. The next one is the aspirations: the aspirations of those people, who belong to the Baloch land. The third dimension is the perceptions: the perceptions of the Baloch, Brahui, Pashtuns, Afghans, and the other ethnic groups, which remain a serious concern, as they are often in conflict with each other. Therefore, we should analyze contradictions and understand the differences between perceptions and realities.
He suggested that we should try to dig out what we really want in the current scenario, because only those nations could secure the future of their generations, which had a clear sense of direction. He emphasized that there was no specific hidden agenda of the Workshop and, therefore, every opinion expressed by the participants was vital and invaluable.

At the end, he extended his profound gratitude to all the participants and said that it was, indeed, a great honour for the University to host the workshop in the National Defence University.

In his **Inaugural Speech**, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Raja Pervez Ashraf, addressed the participants and said that, indeed, it was a matter of privilege for him to be at the National Defence University, among the galaxy of intellectuals and scholars, in this important national level Workshop. He said, “in fact, it is very heartening to know that the National Defence University has taken up this vital issue for an academic discourse. We, in the government, as well as the whole nation, look up to our universities to serve as beacons of light and the torch-bearers for the movement of transformation of our society to meet the grave challenges that our country is confronted with”. He extended his deep gratitude to Lieutenant General Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq, President National Defence University and his team for this appreciable venture. He also appreciated the participants coming from Balochistan, and from elsewhere, representing a very wide spectrum of the society. **Full text of his speech is attached as Appendix-1 to the proceedings.** Important points of his speech are covered in succeeding paragraphs.

In his brief speech, he began by saying, “Balochistan is not an issue as such. We only have a law and order
problem and that too in selected areas of Balochistan. The unrest in these small pockets cannot be equated with insurgency but it may have simmering impact on other areas, if not tackled immediately. When I say, Balochistan is not an issue, it does not mean that we deny the existence of law and order problems, the sense of deprivation among the people of Balochistan or the need for rapid development of this Province. What we intend emphasizing is that the situation of Balochistan should be seen in its true perspective. In general, the people of Balochistan are peaceful and patriotic, just as the people from other provinces are, but still, the situation in Balochistan is far from being simple, because of internal and external linkages. There is not one, but in fact many fronts on which we need to fight for the cause of the people of Balochistan”.

While highlighting the core areas of concern, he said in unequivocal terms, “the turbulence in Balochistan, though foreign abetted, is an internal issue for the state and people of Pakistan to resolve. Therefore, all our friends interested in bringing about peace in this region are expected to respect the sovereignty of Pakistan. However, the state and people of Pakistan are capable of solving their problems themselves and they would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems”.

The Prime Minister admitted, “The people of Balochistan, particularly the poor, have not tasted the fruits of independence as yet. The real issue of Balochistan is the socio-economic deprivation of the common people and their powerlessness. Whatever developmental programs and projects were launched in the past in Balochistan, their effects could not trickle down to the common people”. He drew the attention of the participants towards the menace of sectarianism and religious extremism that the people of Pakistan in general and the people of Balochistan in
particular were the victims of. He also emphasised that “what we witness in Balochistan in the name of sectarian killings, must be seen in the context of geo-strategic linkages to the Balochistan issue, which are fuelling the fire that warrants vigilance at various tiers, both at the governmental as well as at the societal levels. We can clearly discern certain shades of power politics in this Province”.

During his speech, the Prime Minister highlighted all possible steps that the government had taken to eliminate the sense of deprivation of Balochistan Province in particular and other provinces in general, including the NFC Award, Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan package and the 18th Constitutional Amendment. He also referred to the progress made in communication infrastructure as well as other sectors over the past one decade, including the construction of Gwader Port, completion of Ratodero Link Road and the Katchi canal projects. “But it is just one step forward”, he said. He also appreciated the good job done by the Army and Frontier Corps in promoting and protecting national interests in Balochistan.

While addressing the participants, the Prime Minister clearly outlined the government policy concerning the issue of unrest in the Province. He said that the government would continue to reach out to the people of Balochistan and would go extra mile to alleviate their sufferings. However, he urged that a few angry youngsters involved in negative activities within the country as well as abroad, should not fall prey to the intrigues of the detractors of Pakistan. Showing the willingness of his Government to dialogue with the estranged elements, he said, “Entire Pakistan is yours, come and talk to your own government, you will not be disappointed. However, let me say in no uncertain terms that we will not talk to those who are against Pakistan’s sovereignty and who burn its flag”. He called upon all the
stakeholders “to keep the larger interest of the nation in mind, because it is yours i-e the people of Balochistan’s future which is at stake. What we want to achieve, is actually winning the hearts of our brothers through a solemn and dedicated commitment for their socio-economic uplift”. In order to do so, he urged the youth to come forward to play their role in building the cause of peace and prosperity in Balochistan.

At the end, he thanked all participants for coming there to share their thoughts on an issue of vital national interest. He assured with complete confidence that the recommendations generated here would be of immense value for the government and serve as policy guidelines for the years to come.

Ambassador Nawabzada Aminullah Raisani was the Keynote speaker at the occasion. In the beginning of his speech, he appreciated the NDU for taking an initiative that provided the participants a forum to debate a national level issue, which needed immediate attention of all concerned. He also thanked the President NDU for providing him an opportunity to contribute as a Keynote speaker towards the cause in his humble capacity. Full text of his speech is placed as Appendix-2. Important points of his speech are covered in succeeding paragraphs.

He began by saying that “the issue of Balochistan has been widely misunderstood, because most of the people here and abroad do not understand the inner dynamics, the geographical and strategic realities and the psycho-social intricacies of this largest province of our beloved country, in terms of its size and natural resources. History bears witness to the plight of the people of Balochistan caused by multiple factors, including a historical baggage of ignorance and neglect, augmented by hostile living conditions with rugged
mountains and intimidating climate. Owing to this scenario, general socio-economic development in Balochistan is still a utopian dream”.

He traced out the origin/history of the people of Balochistan and linked its origin with the Arabs. Later on, he briefly explained the pre-British and the British era. He said that in 1880, there were four princely states: Makran, Kharan, Lasbela and Kalat. In 1876, Sir Robert Sandeman concluded a treaty with the Khan and brought all these states under the British suzerainty, whereby, the Khan gave away the charge of foreign affairs and defence to the British. On 29 June 1947, the Shahi Jirga of the British Balochistan, along with the elected members of the Quetta municipality unanimously passed a resolution for the accession of Balochistan to the State of Pakistan. On July 18th, 1947, the province of British Balochistan was to become a part of Pakistan, without any other qualification or any condition. However, he pointed out that some ill-meaning miscreants have never liked this turn of events. To-date, there have been five occasions when unrest in selected parts of Balochistan was created with specific agenda.

After narrating the brief history, the Ambassador focused on the availability of natural wealth worth billions of dollars in this largest province of Pakistan. That is a fact that only adds to its geo-strategic importance. Therefore, the international powers’ bloc and influential individual countries would look with greedy eyes to have their say in Balochistan, because of their stakes involved in the region. He highlighted that the so-called ‘endgame’ in Afghanistan had its bearing on the situation in Balochistan too.

He said, “The reports of the involvement of foreign hands in Balochistan unrest are nothing new to us. All of you are well aware that a new map was drawn a few years
back by Lieutenant Colonel Peters, of the US Defence Department, isolating Balochistan from the rest of Pakistan. However, I must make a mention here that 96% to 97% population of Balochistan is thoroughbred Pakistani and would never let a few hundred militants to hijack Balochistan at the behest of foreign hands, provided the governing bodies, both in the Centre and the Province, become serious in delivering good governance to the people of Balochistan”.

He also focused on the sectarian issue and emphasised that the rise of sectarianism in the shape of the Shia-Sunni divide was completely a new phenomenon in the Province. The mindless killings of innocent people, the cases of missing persons and kidnappings for ransom have made the situation more precarious for the people of Balochistan, who already had hostile terrains and harsh climates to fight against.

He was very critical of the Provincial Government and pointed out that the provincial governing structure seemed to be collapsing, because of the careless attitude of the ruling class. He said that the policies prepared in drawing rooms, even if they were done meticulously, would yield no results, if they were not implemented in true spirit. He further said, “There is no doubt that a lot of money has gone to Balochistan but its trickle down impact is zero, because the money doled out to the political leadership of Balochistan has never reached the people, for whom it was allocated. The main problem of the people of Balochistan is lack of socio-economic development. The government needs to come up with effective and consistent policies for the socio-economic uplift of the people of Balochistan, who definitely deserve the long awaited change. They cannot be kept in the wilderness; after all they also live in the 21st Century”.
Session-1: Balochistan: Geo-Strategic Perspectives and Linkages

This was one of the most important sessions, covering Balochistan’s Pre-British, the British and Post-British history, its geo-strategic perspectives and linkages, and the real and the perceived role of the intelligence agencies in Balochistan. The Session was chaired by Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, while Dr. Rifaat Hussain acted as the Moderator. Brigadier Agha A. Gul (Retired), Mr. Akbar Hussain Durrani, Secretary Science and Technology, Government of Balochistan, Mr. Sarfaraz Bugti and Major General Ishfaq Nadeem Ahmad, Director General Military Operations (DGMO) were the key speakers. The brief summaries of their speeches, highlighting the most important areas including questions/answers are covered in the succeeding paragraphs.

Brigadier Agha A. Gul (Retired)

Brigadier Agha’s speech was focused on historical background of Balochistan. He began his speech with a statement that “the Balochistan issue has become a nationwide concern. To understand the real problem of the Province, one has to answer the following questions; what is the real issue in Balochistan; why does the socio-economic backwardness exist in the Province; what is the ethno-racial composition in the Province; what are the reasons behind their political alienation and what is the way forward”.

His well-researched and eloquent speech set the pace for subsequent deliberations. He said, “Before answering the questions posed deliberations above, one also has to consider the geographic realities of the Province; which further shape the behaviours and responses of the masses. Balochistan is the
largest province of Pakistan with the least population. The Province is a victim of the tyranny of geography. It consists of the semi-arid and arid mountainous land with scarce water. Resultantly, there is sparse agriculture and for centuries, the small tribes of the Province have lived nomadic life styles. The Province is blessed with a large coastline but this coastline is also without water. In 1986, electricity reached the Province and water mining started. Due to the absence of water and river, no town has been established in the Province and only small villages exist to date. This geographic reality is one of the major reasons behind backwardness and poverty in the Province.

The history of Balochistan can be traced from the ancient civilization of Mehrgarh in 6000 BC. After that, this area remained under Zoroastrian Rule and then under the Cyrus rule in 560 BC. Later on, Islam arrived in this region and Changhez Khan ruled this area in 1225 AD. The Baloch came to this land in between 1225AD to 1300 AD. The majority of the Balochs migrated from the present day Iran to the present day Balochistan, Sindh and Punjab. The footprints of this migration can be traced till Sahiwal city of the Punjab, where Mir Chakar Khan Rind is buried.

The first Balochistan state was established by Mir Chakar Rind in 1550 AD. In 1554 AD, Khanate of Kalat was established. At that time, Gwadar was part of Oman. Later on, the British came to this region and the first Afghan War was fought in 1839 AD, in which the British were defeated and a Peace Treaty was signed in 1854 AD. During the British era, British Balochistan was established, which included the Kalat State and the Quetta Municipality. In 1893, Durand Line was drawn and an agreement was signed between Amir Abdur Rehman and the British India.
After the independence of Pakistan, Kalat State voluntarily acceded to Pakistan. The Balochistan province was established in 1970, after the breakup of One Unit. Due to the tribal nature of this society, the Sardars are considered as the most powerful persons in the Province. These tribal heads have formulated their own small political parties and it is worth mentioning that there is not a single political party in the Province which is acceptable to all the Balochs. On the other hand, the political role of non-Baloch parties in the Pashtun-dominated area has also remained dormant. This political space has been virtually exploited by the militants and one should be mindful of the geographic realities and political vacuum”. The detailed script of Brigadier Agha Gul’s speech is placed as Appendix-3.

Mr. Akbar Hussain Durrani

Mr. Durani was asked to speak on geo-strategic perspective and its linkages with Balochistan. He opened his speech with the remarks that “Balochistan has great importance due to its geo-strategic position, as it provides an energy corridor to Central Asia. It is rich in hydro-carbon and mineral resources - a fact which further increases its importance and attracts international powers to pursue their economic and strategic interests in this region. It is also rich in its unique culture and civilization, as it is a home to the 7000-year-old Mehargarh civilization, and subsequently, other civilizations also made this area their abode. Therefore, we find footprints of the Greek, Arab, Turk, Hindu and Persian civilizations in this area. Later on, the British controlled the region in the 19th century and their area of influence extended from Kalat to Kandahar, Bandar Abbas in Iran and Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab”.

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He emphasised that “the geo-strategic location of Balochistan has brought immense importance to the region. In the West, it has a common border with the nuclear contender Iran and on the North, it has a long border of 1196 kilometres with Afghanistan. Balochistan has a coastline along the Arabian Sea in the south, which measures as long as 1129 kilometres. With reference to the hydro-carbon resources of Balochistan, Pakistan has oil reserves of approximately 300 million barrels and they are found in the Balochistan region, whereas, both on-shore and off-shore, total oil reserves are estimated to be worth six trillion barrels”. He also stated, “Pakistan has an estimated 25.1 Trillion Cubic Feet (Tcf) of proven gas reserves, 19 Tcf of which are located in Balochistan. The region also provides an across-the-country energy corridor for oil and gas pipeline projects from the Central Asian States, Iran and Qatar. The Baloch society is marked for an all-pervasive and strong sense of Baloch nationalism, which is still evolving and playing a crucial role in tribal rivalries”.

He opined that due to its immense importance, many foreign powers were interested in the region, pursuing their own interests. Balochistan had always been on the chessboard of the Great Game. In the 19th Century, it was the hub of rivalries of the Imperial Powers, including the British and the Tsarist Russia. During the Cold War, the Soviet interference also led to a prolonged Afghan War. After the incident of September 11, the region has seen a New Great Game. The main players of this game are China, Iran, India, the US and Afghanistan and some other players including Russia, UK, Israel and Gulf States.

The Chinese interest in the Balochistan region is to secure an alternate trade route for itself and to strengthen its defence along the Arabian Sea, as part of its ‘String of Pearls’ strategy. In order to accomplish its interests, China is
investing in different projects like Gwadar Project, Saindak project and the construction of Coastal Highway, linking Karachi and Gwadar at the cost of about US $ 200 million. The Iranians are interested in the region in order to reap economic dividends and for that purpose; they have developed Chah Bahar Port, as a competing port to Gwadar. Iranian intelligence is also involved in the region to have a check on Jundallah activities. Iranians also support Shiite and Hazara Communities living in and around Quetta.

The Indian interest in the region is to counter Pakistan’s actions in Kashmir. Furthermore, some reports suggest that India has been offering US $ 2000-3000 to each assassin for killing a foreigner in Pakistan. All of this is done to spoil the image of Pakistan in the eyes of the world. India is trying to pursue its strategic interests through such extremely negative tactics. Children of Baloch refugees are being offered up to US$200-300 per month, if they agree upon moving to India. India’s involvement in the region has provided support to the anti-state activities of the miscreants. At the same time, India also wishes to counter Chinese interests, which according to their perception, are a threat to the overall economic and strategic interests of the region.

Looking towards the US interests in the region, it has manoeuvred its policies and initiated operations against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Balochistan region. Under the garb of counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operations, America wishes to pursue her other interests like getting access to the oil and gas resources from the Middle East and Central Asian States and controlling the energy resources of the region. As China is fast becoming an economic giant, the US is worried about this perceived threat. It tries to restrain China from having influence in the energy market. For this purpose, America is supporting India and its involvement in
Balochistan. A few American scholars have even presented an idea of making ‘Greater Balochistan’ that would result in destabilization of both Pakistan and Iran.

Russian interests in the region are also very much significant, as they are trying their level best to take revenge from Pakistan and pursue their interests. Russia is desirous that Pakistan should pay back for its major role in the Soviet-Afghan War. Russian arms and ammunitions are being supplied to Baloch insurgents to create insurgencies in Balochistan. Israel’s interests are equally obvious, as it aims at undermining both Pakistan and Iran, by supporting the so-called cause of ‘Greater Balochistan’. It is a strategic desire of the opponents of Pakistan to get rid of Pakistan and its nuclear assets through disruption. Saudis too have interests in the region to counter the Iranian influence. Also, in the Gulf States, Gwadar is seen as a competing port to Dubai.

He explained that all regional and global stakeholders were pursuing their interests with the help of their foreign and economic policies, forming nexuses with some, to counter the interests of others. For this purpose, India is helping Iran to build Iranian port of Chah Bahar to cause a setback to Pakistan’s plans of building Gwadar, as a competitive alternative trade corridor from Central Asian Republics (CARs) to the Arabian Sea. India is also helping Iran to build roads and rail networks, linking Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics (CARs). India intends to strike a nexus with Afghanistan. This intention is clearly manifested, through provision of Indian support to Afghanistan in many developmental programs. Afghanistan has also allowed India to have an access for its products to CAS. India is being projected and supported as a counterbalance to China. This nexus favours India, in order to pressurize Pakistan, using Afghan territory.
In the end, the speaker made some recommendations by saying, “there is a dire need to improve the law and order situation in Balochistan. As a solution, it is suggested that an effective financial strategy should be prepared to reduce the economic disparities and alleviate poverty. It should be mandatory to improve the governance and accountability in the Province. A more effective role of Council of Common Interests (CCI) is also the need of the hour. The people of Balochistan should be provided with the basic amenities of life, like clean water, gas, electricity, free health care and education. Oil, gas and mineral firms should provide jobs to the Baloch youth. Government should provide training facilities to the uneducated Balochi youth, so that they are not left behind, or vulnerable to exploitation by the terrorists and other sectarian groups. Furthermore, there is a need to review the role of Frontier Corps and intelligence agencies. The Baloch youth should be adjusted and given employment in the federal departments on a priority basis”.

Mr. Sarfraz Bugti

Mr Bugti spoke on the role of intelligence agencies in Balochistan. He said that the role of state institutions had traditionally been fluctuating between king-making and virtually taking ‘a total hands-off approach’ about the issues of Balochistan. The intelligence agencies had almost no role between the eras from 1947 till 1973. It was essentially after the 1973 insurgency that intelligence agencies were brought into Balochistan. He said that during Afghanistan conflict (1979-1991), the intelligence agencies, including foreign ones, mushroomed further in the Balochistan Province, however, they remained occupied mostly alongside the border districts. But, during President Musharraf’s time, the role of intelligence agencies became more prominent. From 1999 till
the end of 2005, it was the ISI and later on the MI, which took over the lead role.

He was of the view that wherever foreign sponsored elements took up arms against the state, the agencies did play a role and in this process, sometimes advertently or inadvertently, excesses also occurred. Casting the negative aspects or varying perceptions aside, he candidly expressed that in fact, it was General Musharraf’s period in which maximum development took place in Balochistan. Nevertheless, the most unfortunate episode started, when after 18th February, 2008 elections, every one abandoned Balochistan and it was left at the mercy of terrorists. In just a week’s time, Azad Balochistan – BLA’s flag was hoisted at the Mizan Chowk in Quetta and the videos on Youtube are available, which bear testimony to this fact. It is essential to mention that the conflict in Balochistan is directed and stage-managed by the foreign intelligence services like RAW, MOSSAD, RAAM (Afghanistan) and other international players. This requires a matching response from our intelligence agencies and the irony is that it is badly missing at present.

He viewed that “there is a general trend to accuse mostly the Frontier Corps for so called brutal acts of violence in Balochistan; while on the contrary, all the pro-Pakistan elements, especially those in Dera Bugti are blaming the Frontier Corps for inaction. It may be pertinent to mention that for the last many months, Frontier Corps has not carried out even a small operation anywhere in Balochistan, particularly in the Dera Bugti area. It may also be important to point out that in 2012, Frontier Corps suffered many casualties in Balochistan, for example, 14 in Buleda, 15 in Basti Bahlol, Chamalang area, 5 in Paat Feeder area and over 20 in Mach – Pir Ismail – Narwar.
Without seeming to defend someone as a spokesperson, but to put the record straight, it would be a gross injustice to say that all those commonly known as ‘Missing Persons’ are innocent people. The whole case must be seen in the context of the entire situation on ground. Who are or were these Missing Persons? Have the self-styled separatists ever given any list of their members living in over 70 Ferrari Camps inside Balochistan and about 20 in Afghanistan. On the other hand, we must highlight the fact that the Frontier Corps has a crucial role to play in the development projects of Balochistan, however, now-a-days it is in a reactive mode, instead of being proactive and only the militants are benefitting from this policy. All Army-led operations were halted in 2006 and, thereafter, Army is only watching quietly, suffering and counting its casualties. Army’s role in the past should also be seen in the historical perspective. Its deployment in 1948 was essentially a political decision.

Talking about the presence of the militants in Balochistan, there are about four major militant groups operating in Balochistan, who are actually responsible for killing of innocent people namely: Baloch Republican Army (BRA) headed by Brahamdagh Bugti, with camps mostly in Dera Bugti Mountains and Afghanistan, Riaz Gul Bugti, Dur Khan and many like him are sitting in Spin Boldak, in front of Chamman, using Pakistani telephone numbers and V- phone wireless services. Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) is headed by Khair Bukhsh Marri and Haribyar Marri, who are sitting in London under MI-6 protection, with camps operating in Mach area, Marri Mountains and even influence in Khuzdar and Hub. Lashkar-e-Balochistan (LeB) is headed by Javed Mengal and a son-in-law of Khair Bukhsh Marri, and they operate in the urban areas of Hub and surroundings. The recent attack against a SPARCO bus in Karachi has been claimed by them. Baloch Liberation Front
(BLF) is headed by Dr. Allah Nazar Muhammad Hassani, with camps in Makran, Mashkay and Awaran. He was released by agencies as a ‘goodwill’ gesture, but he betrayed them and the State of Pakistan. How can you trust such foreign agents, who are paid hefty amounts by their patrons? There are about 2000 militants in total, which if not crushed, would multiply drastically.

If elimination of non-state actors and terrorists was a valid option in the case of Swat, despite the fact that Sufi Muhammad had not ever denounced Pakistan, then why the government is reluctant to adopt a similar policy today in the case of declared enemies of Pakistan in Balochistan. People often eulogize and propagate IRA model talks, but most of them forget about what Sri Lankans did to LTTE, and the Indians to Sikhs including Gernal Singh Bhindranwala and Indian Occupied Kashmir. Advocating IRA model in Balochistan, where 98% population consists of patriotic Pakistanis, is a ridiculous proposition. Why doesn’t anyone talk of the Srilankan Model, which is perfectly suited to our environment?

It would not be an exaggeration to highlight, that during 2010-11 and even some part of 2012, all these groups became less significant in the urban areas. However, they have launched a sensational comeback since May 2012. The killings in Quetta, prominent assassinations like Mir Muzaffar Jamali and Umar Nausherwani, killing of 18 individuals in Turbat - Khudan and killing of Swati labourers are a few recent events to mention. The most regretful aspect is that there is not much hope from the State to respond in the wake of such events. We are under the false illusion that reconciliation would reap some fruits, an illusion which could prove to be fatal. There are still people who have the courage to openly confront these militants, but due to the inconsistent policy of the State, which ends in
appeasement of these militants, the devout Pakistanis feel marginalized. You keep on greasing the palms of the so-called ‘Naraaz Balochs’ and leave them free to kill those who bear allegiance to the state of Pakistan.”

Mr. Bugti cautioned the government for the sake of record that “if this attitude persists, a time may come, when no one would be left alive to stand for Pakistan. Even the sectarian violence, due to which there is an increase in mass migration of settlers, is the violence carried out by these separatist groups, which has predominantly sent the terror wave. While a few so-called missing persons are remembered by the whole nation, the 1800 brutal murders of innocent settlers and others, and migrations of over 100,000 people, are not highlighted at all. The State agencies are blamed for all the killings, but let us ask ourselves as to who gave license to BRA, BLA, LeB and BLF to kill people? The civil society, media, military and the political leadership must understand the realities on ground and come up with valid answers.”

**Major General Ishfaq Nadeem Ahmad, DGMO**

Major General Ishfaq was also asked to dilate upon the role of intelligence agencies in Balochistan and make the audience understand the true side of the perceived picture. He began his speech with remarks that “the deteriorating law and order situation in Balochistan is our collective responsibility. The situation in Balochistan is characterized by intermittent disturbances, with long periods of insurgencies, thus, the dynamics of the Province have always remained complex. Periodically, Army has remained involved in improvement of security situation in the Province on the orders of the political government. Unfortunately, in some sections of the Province, role of the
Army is often viewed sceptically, due to either perceptual biases or lack of situational awareness. These sentiments are aggravated due to lack of socio-economic development in the Province. Regrettably, some people, with anti-Pakistan and anti-Army sentiments, are playing in the hands of foreign forces that are operating from behind the curtain in Balochistan to destabilize the Province, without realizing the fact that God forbid, if ever these foreign forces were ever to come and take over this land, most probably even their solutions would never be acceptable to them either.

Pakistan Army is a national army and it never proceeds for any operation without specific government orders and public support. Moreover, it is a unifying force of the country, with diverse ethnic composition. Pakistan Army belongs to the people of this country and it cannot survive without their support. It never operates covertly, whenever an operation starts; it is properly announced to the public. The situation in Balochistan is aggravating. There are indications that people from FATA and adjacent areas may move to the Balochistan Province. If this happens, the situation may get worsened. The situation can be averted through a timely response by the political government, as any further delays may lead to a chaotic situation in the Province.

The insurgency in Balochistan increased due to the initiation of developmental projects in the Province during President Musharraf’s era, as most of these projects were against the interests of tribal leaders. There is a need for political solution of Balochistan unrest. Army operations are conducted to gain the breathing space for the civil institutions to take over and resolve the problem. However, since 2008, Army has not conducted any operation, despite extreme provocations. Frontier Corps was deployed in the Province only when the police failed to deliver. However, it
is important to note that the Frontier Corps operates under the directives of the Ministry of Interior. It cannot operate without the permission from the Provincial Government of Balochistan and the Ministry of Interior. Pakistan Army only provides the officers to the Frontier Corps, who are rotated as per specific tenure system.”

With regards to the establishment of the new cantonments in less sensitive areas, General Nadeem was of the view that “in reality, it helps the communities in the uplift of socio-economic profiles of their regions and also helps them in dealing with natural calamities. But in the case of Balochistan, it has always been contested by the sub-nationalists. Since these were opposed by the elected Government of Balochistan, therefore, the planned construction has been done away with”. With regards to the enrolment of the Baloch youth in the Army, he said, “since 2008, 17804 individuals have been enrolled, and this number is rising every six months. Pakistan Army is also playing a supportive role in promoting development, healthcare and education in the Province, using its own meagre resources”.

He said that on account of missing persons, there were certain misperceptions. Many of the criminals were convicted by the courts and were put in jails and many of the militant groups reside in Ferrari camps in Afghanistan, they had been wrongly declared as ‘missing persons’, adventently or inadvertently. Moreover, there were incidents of impersonation, where Frontier Corps uniform was used by the criminals for abducting the people through active support of hostile foreign agencies. He concluded that Army’s deployment was always an aberration and not a rule. It was deployed when the civil institutions failed to deliver. He suggested that there was a need for the political and civil institutions to come forward and play their role in Balochistan to avert the situation effectively.
Questions/Answer Session

There was a brief Question/Answer session, focusing on the cases of kidnappings and missing persons. Although the answers to such questions were elaborately covered in the speeches, however, Major General Nadeem once again explained that there was a very complex situation in Balochistan, where foreign forces were operating through very intricately interwoven strategies of defaming FC and Pakistan Army. FC could not condone any such acts where Baloch were being tortured and killed and these were, no doubt, the anti-Pakistan forces that were operating under the garb of FC. He said, “The FC and the Pak Army certainly do not condone any brutal acts against their own people, but again it falls beyond their mandate to come to their rescue, because the two forces do not undertake any operation unless called in by the political government. Intelligence agencies are working hard in the province but the foreign elements are somehow given extensive, albeit undue media coverage, which emboldens the militants.”

While responding to a question with regards to the efficiency and effectiveness of Pakistan’s intelligence agencies, General Nadeem said, “the intelligence agencies are working hard in the Province, however, there is a need to discourage the culture of news mongering and speculative journalism in the media, where dissemination of unauthentic information for commercial gains is destroying and unjustifiably defaming the stature of state institutions”.

The Chair concluded the Session by stating that the dialogue on Balochistan issue was a necessity. There was a need to discuss this issue from various perspectives, to avoid being stuck to one point of view. The past practice of sticking to a single viewpoint, and analyzing and concluding the issue from one angle only, needs to be
discouraged. He said, “There is a need to understand that Balochistan is a political problem and only a dialogue and debate, focusing on various dimensions of the problem, can deliver in the long run. Although the situation in Balochistan is far from being ideal, but it is still not as grave as painted by some people. There is a need to view the situation positively and work together by taking all the institutions on board to work for a peaceful Balochistan.”

Session-2: Periodic Socio-Economic Development in Balochistan: Perceptions and Realities

This Session focused on Periodic Socio-Economic Developments in Balochistan: Perceptions and Realities. The Session was chaired by Mir Shahnawaz Khan Marri, Minister for Sports and Culture, Government of Balochistan, while the renowned journalist and anchor person, Mr. Saleem Safi, acted as Moderator. The key speakers for the occasion included Sardar Yar Muhammad Jamali, Dr. Abdul Malik Kassi, Former Federal Minister for Health, and Major General Muhammad Farooq (Retired), former GOC 41 Division. The brief summaries of their speeches, focusing on the most important areas including questions/answers are covered in the succeeding paragraphs.

Mr. Yar Muhammad Jamali

To begin with, Mr Jamali underlined the importance of the Workshop and said that it had been organized in time, to highlight the geographical and political importance of Balochistan. It will help the participants to hold intellectual debate on the grievances of the people of Balochistan and chalk out a suitable course of action for a better future of its people. He pointed out that “it is a bitter truth that the
Baloch psyche has never been understood either by the invaders or by other natives of the area”. It were the British who studied the Baloch psyche and were able to govern Balochistan until the independence of Pakistan in 1947. In their method of governance, they made it customary for the state orders and instructions to be passed on by the British officials residing in England, to their representatives in Balochistan and India for further action and implementation.

The speaker brought out the historical facts as to how Balochistan was acceded to the state of Pakistan. After the emergence of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam and Khan Ahmad of Kalat signed a treaty, which gave recognition and respect to the Baloch. The Grand Jirga of Balochistan, under the leadership of Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi, played a vital role in the accession of Balochistan to Pakistan. This Jirga consisted of the members from the Baloch, Pathan, Baro hi communities and the Quetta Municipality. Without the active role played by Nawab Jogezi, Balochistan’s accession to Pakistan would have been literally impossible. When Pundit Nehru came to know about the proceedings of the Jirga, he sent a telegram to Nawab Jogezi in an attempt to influence him, asking him “For how much money will you sell the dates of Makran?” in an effort to block the accession of Balochistan to Pakistan. Nehru tried his best to stall the process and even offered a blank cheque to the Nawab. However, Nawab Jogezi refused to accept any such offer. However, it is pertinent to mention here that later on, the treaty between the Quaid and Khan Ahmad Yar could not be implemented in letter and spirit, after the great Quaid’s death, which gave birth to misperceptions and misgivings among the Baloch population. Soon after, with the introduction and implementation of One Unit Policy, Balochistan started losing its importance all the more and became marginalized over the years- a trend which continues till date.
Mr. Jamali focused more on unearthing the reasons behind Balochi people’s grievances and said that the people of Balochistan had opposed the One Unit Policy since its inception - a policy, which was fundamentally against the agreement that was concluded with the Quaid at the time of Balochistan’s accession to Pakistan. Khan Ahmad Yar staged a meeting in Sheikh-Manda, against the One Unit Policy and stressed on the implementation of the agreement concluded with the Quaid-i-Azam. As a consequence of this action, the Khan was detained during the martial law period of 1958.

Mr Jamali explained that historically speaking, most of the Baloch Sardars had always been great patriots. Even then, Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali was blamed for betrayal on the allegation that he had joined Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan-an allegation that later on proved to be wrong. During Zia’s time, some foreign powers planned a conspiracy to drop paratroopers on the Pakistani soil, while India was asked to engage Pakistan on the Punjab and Sindh borders. Nawab Marri, Nawab Bugti and Mir Ghous Bux Bizenjo strictly and categorically refused to be a part of any such conspiracy.

He explained that it was a routine practice in the past that whenever an issue was raised, the sitting President of Pakistan would invite all the Baloch Sardars in Karachi and the problem was mostly solved on the table of negotiation, while according due respect and honour to the Baloch leaders. A similar approach is needed today in order to bring the Baloch back from a point of no return and cool down their heated sentiments. The Baloch population has a pervasive feeling of deprivation and mistrust against the other provinces of Punjab, Sindh and Frontier on the ground that they never tried to understand the psychology of the people of the Balochistan Province.
To alleviate any such misgivings of the Balochi people, it is suggested that the Jirga system should be revived at the earliest, as it better understands the psyche of the Baloch people. The vision of the Quaid should be carried forward and the promises he made to the Baloch people should be fulfilled. The Sardars should be consulted on all provincial matters and their inputs should be sought and duly incorporated, when contemplating any decisions. Also at the same time, the people of Balochistan should be given their due rights, regarding natural gas and should also be awarded special quota on other minerals extracted from Balochistan. Gwadar should be developed in the best possible way, to maximize its potential. The people of Balochistan need and deserve a strong and prosperous Balochistan, which is impossible without a strong and prosperous Pakistan.

Dr. Abdul Malik Kassi

Dr. Kassi focused on the core causes of the under development of Balochistan. He said that the energy resources, including oil, gas and coal, had always been a means of survival for the civilizations on one hand and on the other hand, the elements with vested interests had always been trying to exploit these resources for their own benefits. The same situation is being witnessed in the case of Balochistan, where a turf war has been started between the state and non-state actors on the issue of natural resources. He expressed that, unfortunately, the state had failed to fulfil its duty and the common people of the Province had been left to the mercy of militants.

Target killings, kidnapping, bomb blasts and attacks on government installations have become a routine matter. The process of development has been halted and everyone is
afraid for his life. Crisis in this region dates back to the early
days of Great Game in 19th century. Then it passed through
Cold War and now it is passing through the most dangerous
period of uni-polar world order. The constant war in the
region has left serious physiological impact on both the
Pashtuns and the Balochs.

He opined that Balochistan should have been better
off, because of so many development projects being initiated
for the province but ironically, none of them seems to be
working. Even, the mega projects were initiated a decade
ago to develop the Province, were left incomplete. The Chief
Minister of Balochistan has been found saying that the
Province has no capacity to undertake mega projects. Here,
the question arises who stops the Provincial Government
from building its capacity. It is worth mentioning that this
year Balochistan has Rs. 140 billion from the Federal
Government, because of NFC Award. In addition, if the
provincial authorities cannot administer the region, then,
obviously human resources from other parts of the country
have to be utilized. However, the dissident Balochs raise hue
and cry against the migration of other communities to
Balochistan. In this scenario, Dr. Kassi viewed that there is
no way in which one can find a solution that neither the
outsiders are allowed nor the Province has capacity, then,
how the Province will develop.

The educational system of the Province is also
suffering the drawbacks of the overall situation. The
universities have become the hub of arms wings of the
nationalist parties. Anti-Pakistan forces are busy in
spreading their hatred-ridden literature and propaganda.
The Vice Chancellors have lost their control and so called
student organizations are busy in polluting the minds of
youth. The Federal Government has taken a good step by
passing 18th Amendment and started so many projects in a
good faith. But, unfortunately, these projects have become the victim of prevailing corruption and nepotism. The political elite of this province has practically lost the control. The writ of state is being challenged by the miscreants. All of this has resulted in a vacuum, which is being filled by the land mafia, drug mafia and arms mafia, who have become more and more powerful in the Province.

He concluded that some of the major concerns of dissident Balochs are: resource exploitation, migration from other parts of country and fear of becoming a minority in the Province and similar other grievances. It is worth mentioning that now Pashtuns are also complaining about their own grievances, which is not a healthy sign for the northern Pashtun dominated area, that is comparatively a more peaceful region of the Province.

Major General Umar Farooq (Retired)

Major General Umar Farooq (Retired) started his speech with a question, “One might ask after all, why we have failed to evoke a favourable response for the socio-economic development of Balochistan. In this regard, major steps taken by the Federal Government include the NFC Award, the 18th Amendment and Aghaaz-e-Haqq Balochistan. Despite these steps, the hardliners and the separatists, duly aided by disproportionate and sensational media coverage, get undue advantage and encouragement to continue with their disruptive activities. Even the personal apology by the President has fallen on deaf ears. This shows that something is fundamentally wrong with the diagnosis and treatment of the issue”.

General Farooq opined that the Balochistan situation lacked skilful handling, both by the Provincial as well as
Federal Government. The handlers of policies are looking for traditional shortcuts. Their poverty of ideas and innovations leads to knee-jerk reactions, which results in either use of military instruments or apologetic actions. This is so, because the so-called champions of the Balochistan cause would raise all sorts of sensational issues and unrealistic demands but would never touch the real problems. Hence, the real problems and issues of Balochistan are: rampant poverty; hunger and disease; denial of ownership of property in tribal areas; gross violation of human rights especially women rights; denial of access to judicial and administrative system; lack of social sector development, i.e., education, healthcare, water, electricity and development of human resource, absence of proper communication infrastructure, non-generation of economic activity and resultant unemployment, tribal wars inhibiting exploration and development of mines, minerals, oil and gas, strangulating Sardari system and non-serious attitude towards creation of egalitarian society, as envisioned in our constitution.

He viewed that the successive governments followed traditional shortcuts of pampering a few of the selected ones, ignoring the problems due to which the masses suffered drastically. This amounts to criminal neglect in addressing basic issues and problems, compounded by poor governance. Thus, some of the approaches which need to be pursued in this situation are: One, defeat the Insurgency through an Indirect Approach, i.e. military force should be used as a deterrent only, as the last resort and must be limited to operations that promote peace. The main emphasis should be on addressing the real problems of the people, by making them stakeholders in the whole process of their psycho-social and politico-economic uplift, “Let the Baloch be the beneficiaries of Balochistan’s resources first.”
Two, *CBMs to Win over the Baloch Youth*, initiate large-scale economic activities and employment opportunities; develop, strengthen and demonstrate mutuality of long-term interests in peaceful co-existence, lend credence to the government’s resolve and sincerity to alleviate the sufferings of the Baloch. Benefits of developmental packages must go down directly to the local leaders and tribesmen. It will effectively negate the venomous propaganda about usurpation of mineral resources of Balochistan. The incentives must create irrefutable stakes for the masses and, especially for the militants. Winning over the tribes would lead to a purging of the insurgency-plagued areas and, thus, alienating the militants. The adopted approach must ultimately aim at kick starting a sustainable change, under which the mass mobilization campaign must be carried out to subdue the nefarious propaganda, which distorts the image and noble intent of the state.

Moreover, enhancing the credibility of the government is the essence of durable relations between the governments and the tribes. It is, thus, vital that we neither over-promise nor under-deliver. In this regard, example of the Chamalang project as a Model for Socio-Economic Development of Balochistan can be considered in which over 80,000 people are directly employed at the site. A labour township, accommodating 20,000 workers, is established, which has a 25-bedded hospital, including residential accommodation. In addition, the tangible steps include an attractive healthcare program, with huge incentives, a highly popular education program, about 7,000 tribal children of the area are studying all over Pakistan.

General Farooq opined that if Chamalang could be done in one year; the cumulative effects of 65 such grand projects since 1947 on the socio-economic and political landscape of Balochistan could be well imagined. It is never
late; we can still undertake hundreds of such projects, as God has bestowed us with immense resources. Hence, the pretext of insecurity by OGDCL and other companies for not undertaking exploration and development works is unacceptable.

In addition, the Pakistan Army’s Role and Contributions in this regard are tremendous. The overwhelming majority of tribesmen love Pakistan and Pakistan Army, because of its contributions. It is true that “No enduring peace without addressing the people’s aspirations” can be brought about. This is the lesson that the Pakistan Army has learnt from its experiences.

With regards to Pakistan Army and FC’s role, the speaker brought out impressive statistics which includes: 12-Army Schools and Colleges, 32-FC Schools and Colleges, several FG Schools and Colleges in Cantts, 7 Hostels under Army( free), 7 New Educational Projects , Quetta Institute of Medical Sciences, Military College Sui, Sui Education City, Balochistan Public School Sui, Balochistan Institute of Technical Education, Gwadar Institute of Technology, Army Institute of Mineralogy, Mining Projects, Musa Khel Coalmines Project, Duki Coalmines Project, Kassa Hills Marble Projects, in addition to the following miscellaneous services by the Pakistan Army: Free medical camps, enrolment of 17,654 recruits, Special ISSB coaching classes for Baloch youth, Panjgoor Date Farming Project, Musa Sports Complex and Garrison Sports Complex (opened to the civilians), Security and Protection Duties for oil and gas installations, including Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline, mining projects, communication infrastructure, Kachi Canal Project, educational institutions in Quetta city and other towns and so on.
This all was in addition to the following important projects initiated by the Federal Government: Dera Bugti Development Project worth Rs. 230 million, Kohlu Development Project worth Rs. 3.3 billion, Mirani Dam worth Rs. 5.8 billion, Ground Water Re-charge of Quetta, Pishin, Mastung and Mangocher Valleys Project at a cost of Rs. 1.1 billion, Kirthar Canal Balochistan Portion at Rs. 1.0 billion, Reconstruction of Bolan Dam at the cost of Rs. 605.3 million, Construction of 10 Delay Action Dams in 9 Districts at the cost of Rs. 831 million, Sabakzai Dam Project at the cost of Rs. 1.6 billion with 32,700 acre feet storage, Chaghai Water Resource Development and Management Program, Makran Coastal Highway at the cost of Rs. 21.44 billion, Kalat-Quetta-Chaman Highway at the cost of Rs. 6.7 billion, Hub-Uthal Additional Carriageway at the cost of Rs. 4.2 billion, Khanozai-Muslim Bagh Road at the cost of Rs. 1.8 billion, Muslim Bagh-Kila Saifullah Road Construction, Gwadar Deep Water Port at the cost of Rs. 16.675 billion, Makran Coastal Highway at the cost of Rs. 21.44 billion and Kalat-Quetta-Chaman Highway at the cost of Rs. 6.7 billion, and Kachi Canal – A Major Project.

Question/ Answer Session

Due the paucity of time, there was a brief question/answer session. In response to a question with regards to the Army’s role in resolving Balochistan issue as well as its role in development of the Province, General Farooq explained that “honesty; it is not the job of Pakistan Army to develop the region. Yet the Pakistani forces have paid a huge cost in the shape of casualties, injuries and armed attacks on its men and installations alike, for peace and security, and development of the Province. But everyone should be mindful of the fact that Army cannot
offer a political solution. The armed forces can only create an enabling environment, but at the end political and civil administration has to take the lead role”.

In responding to a similar question asked by a participant, the panellist added that “today Pakistan is enjoying a parliamentary democracy and no Army General is heading the country. In this situation, the government should first take initiative of dialogue with the moderate nationalist parties. Political dialogue is not the responsibility of the Army, in fact, a political process led by the political leadership of the country should have been initiated. In addition, the dialogue should not be conducted for the sake of dialogue. Rather, the state should be mindful about the aims and objectives of the dialogue. It was concluded by the panelists that dialogue with anti-Pakistan elements is not a choice.”

One of the participants also raised a question with regards to the role of national media. The panel replied that the Pakistani media was passing through a period of transition. There is an element of biased reporting among certain sections of media but after all it is media’s duty to inform the public. In this respect, the government should take a lead role in providing correct and timely information to media personnel so that natural curbs can be put on speculative journalism.
Session-3: Psychosocial and Ethno-Sectarian Issues of Balochistan

This Session focused on Psycho-Social and Ethno-Sectarian Issues of Balochistan. The Session was chaired by Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai, while Dr. Riffat acted as Moderator. The key speakers for the occasion included, Mr. Nasir Ali Shah, MNA, Dr. Muhammad Azam Tahir, Head of Department of Psychology, the University of Balochistan and Mr. Anwaar-ul Haq Kakar. **The brief summaries of their speeches focusing on the most important areas, including questions/answers, are covered in the succeeding paragraphs.**

Mr. Nasir Ali Shah, MNA

Mr Nasir began his speech with a word of appreciation that the Workshop on the Balochistan issue was great effort and it symbolized a positive gesture on the part of the establishment, who seemed to have realized the gravity of the Balochistan problem. In this context, the need of the hour is to speak the truth and it is, indeed, our responsibility to speak the truth in absolute and unequivocal terms. He viewed that such a situation as we are confronted with now, would not have come to haunt us, had we been sincere and truthful in the past. This bitter reality has hindered the prosperity and progress of Pakistan.

He opined, “in the case of Balochistan, although it is a part of Pakistan but, unfortunately, it has been denied due recognition and deprived of its legitimate rights. On the same forum, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has laid stress on dialogue with the patriotic elements among the Baloch population, but one may add here that first we have to define who is a patriot. One cannot be a patriot only
rhetorically, just because he or she happens to be a Pakistani, instead of that, he has to work with devotion, honesty and sincerity for his beloved motherland, to be a patriot”.

He also expressed, “Balochistan is an integral part of Pakistan and, therefore, it is as important as the other provinces of the country. However, it pains us to see that Balochistan has never been considered a valuable part of Pakistan. Its people have been deprived of their rights over the past decades. Therefore, the time is ripe for us to discuss and debate the Balochistan issue in detail with reference to the ground realities. It is our responsibility to come up with a variety of solutions and recommendations for the Balochistan issue.

One often hears the clichéd statement that nations learn from their history but, unfortunately, it seems that the Pakistani nation has never bothered to learn from the 65 years of its chequered history.” He candidly opined, “we are repeating the mistakes of our ancestors, which only shows the inherent rigidity in our traditional society, as no one is ready to realize and admit his mistakes. This is the single most important factor, which has turned our country’s security situation fragile and more prone to destabilization. Therefore, the first step towards finding solutions for our national issues lies in admitting our past mistakes first and, then, carving out solutions accordingly.

In the past, it was in the interest of Pakistan to avoid open confrontation with the superpowers of the world as we have gained nothing from the rivalries among the superpowers, except internal unrest and political turmoil. Our prime concerns are not and should not be Russia, Iran or Afghanistan. Taking lessons from our history, if we want a peaceful Pakistan, which is impossible without peace in the Balochistan Province then, we should not take part in other
people’s fights. We should, therefore, refrain from interfering in Afghanistan’s affairs, because the spills over effects do reach Balochistan immediately.

He viewed, “another problem confronting us in Balochistan, is the adoption of wrong policies by the civil and military establishments. The present phase of unrest in the country, especially in Balochistan, is not a matter of one day. In fact, it has taken decades to mature. Therefore, as the first step, we have to accept our faults and then take a fresh start to define our national interests and revisit our policies for the greater good of the society. Pakistan needs a national policy today, which treats all the provinces including Balochistan on merit and equality. In all matters, dialogue and negotiation between all stakeholders, are the best way forward and should serve as the key to finding solutions to our national issues. It is also required that these policy decisions are fully implemented.

We must understand that the sectarian issues, particularly in Balochistan, are not something new; they have a very old correlation with the dynamics of the local socio-political environment. The Hazara community, belonging to the Shia Sect of Islam, migrated from Afghanistan in the late nineteenth century but now they live in Balochistan, which is a part of Pakistan. They are all proud of being Pakistanis and are equally loyal and sincere to the country as their fellow brethren. It is the responsibility of the state to provide security to its citizens, and in case of any unrest in Balochistan, the onus lies the government and state. Furthermore, to resolve the sectarian issues, Pakistani authorities have to define the problem and understand the psyche of the concerned people and only then they will be able to find appropriate solutions for the burning issues.”
Lastly, the speaker suggested that “we should correct our past mistakes and make strategies to remove the socio-economic gap between the provinces. It is also mandatory to give them their rights and a secure environment. He also proposed that the authorities should talk to all the stakeholders in their language, otherwise, the issue would remain unsettled. The key point, however, is to engage in discussion and negotiation with those people who are honestly and sincerely ready to resolve the issue. Therefore, bringing socio-economic prosperity to Balochistan, is the only guaranteed solution in all scenarios. The state should understand that it is not the sectarian problems that cause chaos in Balochistan but the external powers also try to create such problems for increasing unrest and destabilization in the region. As far as the involvement of locals is concerned, rampant poverty forces the poor to get involved even in sectarian issues. Therefore, Balochistan’s economic prosperity is the only guaranteed solution in all scenarios, in order to bring it out of the current turmoil.”

Dr. Muhammad Azam Tahir

Dr. Azam Tahir, a forensic psychologist and the Head of the Department of Psychology in the University of Balochistan, presented a research paper, titled, ‘Balochistan: An Analysis of Psychological Empowerment and Well-being among Baloch and Other Ethnic Groups’. The gist of his speech is that the people of Balochistan hardly get benefits of their tremendous natural resources and they tend to believe that their resources are being ‘exploited’ by others. The obvious fact is that Balochistan is the poorest and the least developed Province of the federation of Pakistan, with the lowest literacy rate (29.81%), the fewest educational institutions, lowest Gender Parity Index (GPI) and deplorable health care facilities - all unfavourable indicators
in a stark contrast with the other provinces of Pakistan (PIPS, 2008). No wonder, there exists a strong sense of political deprivation among the Baloch, due to their general under-employment and under-representation at the federal level. Successive incompetent political regimes and inefficient administrative institutions, a weaker writ of the government and complete absence of rule of law accumulate to create significant issues of governance in the Province.

At the societal level, social and political analysts observe that processes of social change are at work in the Baloch society. For example, it is now commonly believed that the perpetual existence of the tribal system is no longer the core issue in Balochistan. Instead, the real core issue today, is the lack of socio-economic development and it is observed that the gradually increasing exposure of the Baloch society to the outside world is playing a significant role in bringing this change. Another evidence of this social change is found in the fact that the average middle class Baloch is increasingly getting empowered by education and trade (Rehman, 2011).

Dr. Azam opined that one must understand that “Balochistan is a multi-cultural province and a home to people belonging to various ethnicities, dominated by Baloch, Brahui, Pakhtun and clusters of other ethnic groups; classified on the basis of regions inhabited by them. Consequently, conflicts in this society revolve around language, ethnicity and culture. Referring to various estimates, the Baloch make up between 40-60 percent of Balochistan’s population, while Pakhtuns, the second biggest ethnic group, are believed to make up between 28-50 percent of the total population as native inhabitants. Another rising phenomenon is the considerable and increasing tolerance among the Balochs, regarding the ever-increasing presence of Pakhtun refugees from Afghanistan. The provincial
capital, Quetta, is believed to have 80,000 to 1.4 million Pakhtuns. However, presently, the Balochs have a one-third majority in the electoral constituencies of Balochistan (PIPS, 2012).

Therefore, taking due cognizance of the social change coming in this society, and after conducting a thorough literature review, the issue of empowerment among the Baloch was chosen for the purpose of empirical analysis, as ‘psychological empowerment’ has been proved to be a valid indicator of the well-being of the members of ethnic minority groups all over the world. The reason for choosing ‘empowerment’ of the Baloch, as variable for analysis, is that empowerment, as a process, has the ability to amend the problems of devalued and powerless people, through which individuals acquire mastery, efficacy (i.e., individual empowerment) and control over their own lives, and also attain a critical understanding of their own environment. Also, on a similar note, ‘Psychological Empowerment’ is the “Process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power, which allows people to take action to improve their life situations” (Gutièrrez, 1995).

The goal of this study was to investigate the relationship between psychological empowerment, and well-being among diverse ethnic groups. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the Baloch were taken as an ethnic, stigmatized minority, while the Pakhtun and other ethnic groups living in Balochistan had been designated as “Others”, to form a comparative sample. The sample was drawn, comprising 211 male and female students from the University of Balochistan, Quetta and the Balochistan University of Information and Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences (BUIITEM), Quetta.
The results of this work imply that psychological empowerment is good for the well-being of both the ‘Others’ and the Baloch. Psychological empowerment may serve as a positive coping mechanism only for members of devalued social groups. However, the levels of psychological empowerment were greater for the ‘Others’ than for the ‘Baloch’. Dr. Azam concluded, “it is only through the promotion of security and empowerment among Baloch youth that we can expect a healthy turn over from negative activities to the positive pursuits in life. At present, there are indicators which suggest that a sizable number of Baloch youth suffer from a sense of despondency and powerlessness. It is proposed that further research on the issue be launched, to gauge the extent of well-being among the Balochi people and devise ways and means to bring psychological empowerment to the deprived people.”

Mr. Anwaar-ul Haq Kakar

While speaking at the forum, Mr Kakur explained that “there are four distinct ethnic groups in Balochistan: Balochs, Brahuis, Pashtuns and Hazaras, along with the fifth group of settlers. When these groups started contesting each other as political entities, the conflict of interests emerged among them. In the last 65 years, they have even resorted to violence against each other. In the given scenario, the state has played an important role in Balochistan, both positively and negatively”.

He opined, “there is a need to define the concept of ‘State’. Who is representing the State? Is it the military, ISI, FCR, Judiciary, the civil bureaucracy, parliament, media, the civil society or a collective wisdom, known as the ‘State’? Hence, it is needless to say that a lot of confusion revolves around this concept. For the last 60 years or so, there is a
civil-military imbalance in Pakistan and two conflicting views prevailed in the society about the role of military in politics. One group of the society saw the role of military with suspicion and the other group appreciated it.

In this backdrop, unending violence is the primary challenge for Balochistan. One should not forget the fact that every community is suffering from it, so the victims are present in every community. There is an allegation levelled in the civil circles, about state-sponsored killings of Balochis. In fact, the reality is that it is not the state but a few misled Baloch groups who have killed hundreds of people of other communities, such as the Hazaras, in pursuance of their own agendas.

Usually, violence provides a common ground for reaching a consensus about the state’s response in such a situation, i-e whether the authority to use force should rest with the state or with the society? It is recommended that only the state should monopolize the use of force.

As far as good governance is concerned, accountability is an absolutely necessary element. The state’s strategy should be well defined and clear about the policies it makes and implements. For this, the State needs to revamp its role not only in Balochistan but in the whole of Pakistan. There is an all-too-obvious absence of legislation in Pakistan, in the case of missing persons. The state agencies are held responsible for the rising number of missing people and there is no legal cover for the state agencies, through which they could defend themselves against the onslaught by the ill-informed public and media.”
Question/Answer Session

Due to the shortage of time, no serious debate took place during the question/answer session. However, with the input of the participants, it was established that the sectarian issue in Balochistan could not be seen in isolation. It has domestic linkages spread across the country as well as the linkages cutting across the borders. Therefore, the issue has to be addressed, while taking all these factors into consideration.
Proceedings of Day-2 (18 July 2012)

Session-1: Governance, Grievances and Leadership
Issues of Balochistan

This was the most important and the most debated Session of the Workshop, which helped in making relevant conclusions and to a great extent, set the future course of action to be recommended. This Session was chaired by Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogeza, who was also one of the speakers, while Mr. Saleem Safi acted as Moderator. The other key speakers for the occasion included Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai, Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo and Mr. Mohabat Khan Marri. The brief summaries of their speeches, focusing on the most important areas including questions/answers, are covered in the succeeding paragraphs.

Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai

While addressing the participants, Mr Achakzai expressed that Pakistan is passing through a critical phase of its existence with a wide range of problems. In order to find solutions for these problems, there is a need to answer a few critical questions, raised to us all so often, either at home or abroad. It is a firm belief of every Pakistani, that no one will ever be able to tear this country apart. However, there is a need to think deeply about the issues and problems that we are facing today.

He praised the role played by the British, while ruling the Subcontinent. They brought socio-economic reforms and gave the inhabitants of the Subcontinent the best system of judiciary, education, armed forces, communication and
transportation. However, despite these facts, people of the Subcontinent demanded a separate homeland. So the question arises, if economic development is the only requirement for any community, then the people of the Subcontinent would not have demanded a separate homeland. Then, what exactly compelled them to fight for their independence? The answer is that they demanded separate homeland for the implementation of rule of law, justice and equality of rights. Therefore, on a similar note, we must understand that the people of Balochistan need rule of law, justice and equality too.

However, unfortunately, it is a bitter reality that after the independence our leaders simply failed to maintain the economic progress, particularly in Balochistan. But now, instead of lamenting about the mistakes of past, we need to move forward and work for a strong, democratic Federation of Pakistan, in which Baloch, Pashtoon, Saraiki, Sindhi and Punjabi brothers have equal rights and opportunities. One cannot be a fool to deny the fact that the secret intelligence agencies are the eyes and ears of a country, but then they should be more agile and competent than the foreign intelligence agencies, such as RAW, MOSSAD and CIA etc. But sadly, today, the situation has changed totally in Pakistan, as people have started feeling insecure at the hands of the government institutions like police and Army, etc. He opined that the public has lost trust in the leadership of the country and a general feeling of fear and insecurity prevails in the masses.

Mr Achakzai explained the characteristics of Baloch people and said that by nature “they are not the ones to spread hatred and violence in the society. They are peace loving and patriotic as any other Pakistani. All they want is a Pakistan where parliament holds the supreme power and rule of law prevails. They stand loyal to the country and will
not sell themselves to foreign elements for petty gains. However, unfortunately, the dilemma is that the people who are running the country are not competent enough to do so”. We need to understand that national leaders cannot be invented and imposed overnight, because leaders come from the masses. Therefore, we must allow the masses to find and choose their own leaders and respect their will.

He suggested that the government of Pakistan should try to understand the international political games and tactics, so that it could be able to meet the needs of its own people and not let its people be pushed around due to the irrational power politics. We all know that the issue of Balochistan is inter-linked with the issue of Afghanistan. Afghans are our brothers by all means and it is mainly due to our wrong policies that differences have emerged among us. We need to respect each other and live with these differences, perceptions, opinions, interests and ways of life etc.

The government should realize that there are no friends in the international politics; every state has its own interests and pursues its own objectives. The people of Balochistan love their motherland and they have not forgotten the brutality of the British. The problems created by the Forward Policy of the British that aimed not only to annex the Pashtun lands from Afghanistan, but also to keep them separated from one another, even as a part of India, are still alive in their memories, because this is what gave way to the misnomer, ‘British Balochistan’, adopted for the Pashtun districts, currently a part of Balochistan.

He briefly explained the emergence of Balochistan Agency, which was formed for the first time, on 21 February 1877, as a result of the Treaty on 8th December, 1876. Quetta was the most dominant central area of Pashtuns and was
made the Headquarters, while Major Sandeman was appointed as the Agent to the Governor General. During the second invasion of Afghanistan in the wake of Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1879-1880, the Balochistan Agency was turned into a military base, to occupy further Afghan lands. As a result of this invasion, the Gandhak Treaty of 26th May, 1879, was imposed on Afghanistan and more Afghan lands, including Sibi and Pishin, were occupied and assigned as Districts. Pashtun areas, including Quetta, were turned into an altogether separate political, national and administrative unit of the ‘Chief Commissioner’s Province’, on November 1, 1887.

Later on, more Pashtun areas were included like Loralai in 1886, Sinjawi, Musakhail and Zhob in December 1889 and in January 1890, captured Hindubagh now called Muslimbagh, Killa Saifullah and Appozai, later called ‘Fort Sandeman’, today known as ‘Zhob Town’. Therefore, all these Pashtun lands, called the ‘Chief Commissioner’s Province’ and the administered agencies were ruled by the Agent to the Governor General, functioning as the ‘Chief Commissioner’. The only Baloch land annexed later to the sole Pashtun Chief Commissioner’s Province was the Marri-Bugti tribal areas and after 12 years, the district of Nushki and after 16 years, the Niabat of Nasirabad. Hence, the ‘Chief Commissioner’s Province’ was completed.

He concluded that the solution of the Balochistan issue lies in negotiation and understanding the Baloch people’s problems. There should be justice and equal rights for all the provinces. On the same ground, the people of FATA should be given the sovereign right to decide their fate and the Army should be withdrawn from the FATA.

Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo

Mr. Bizenjo was more inclined to defend the Baloch cause. He viewed that it has become a wrong custom in Pakistan to divide the Balochs on the basis of language. The experts forget that Brahui is just a language instead of a race. He observed that if the people of both the languages have been integrated, then, what is the need to divide them on the basis of a language? It is also to be noted that the Balochs are the only race in this country who can speak almost every language of Pakistan. Therefore, it is not correct to divide Balochs on the basis of language.

He said that the Balochs are already in trouble and the scholars should not add fuel to the fire. Instead, efforts should be made to connect them with the state of Pakistan. This is also the classic example of mindset against which the Balochs are waging political struggle. Further more, the Pashtuns and the Balochs are brothers from centuries. Both started the political journey together and the Balochs have no problem with the demarcation of the Province, if it so direly needed. A democratic referendum should be held for this issue, because that is the only democratic course to settle the contentious issues.

He said that he was disappointed to hear extremely pessimist views about Balochistan, as if, God forbid, it is being snatched away from us. Everyone should be mindful
that Balochistan is neither going anywhere nor a handful of people can make it an independent country. It is virtually impossible because countries do not break on the basis of ethnicities. If Balochistan breaks on ethnic lines, then, it would be disastrous for the whole of South Asia because this wave would not stop here, as this entire region consists of multiple ethnicities. So, instead of raising hue and cry, our scholars should ponder over the real problems of the country, as to why the people of Pakistan feel a threat of disintegration.

He viewed that the most appropriate answer to this question, lies in telling truth to the people of Pakistan. Blaming each other and shifting responsibilities have remained the national policy of state and society. He suggested that we must learn to speak the truth. It is a matter of fact that state agencies are involved in extrajudicial disposal of militants and it is also true that those who were killed were involved in anti-state activities. But there should be a difference in the behaviour of the state from that of criminals. No one is, unfortunately, accepting this truth. The state blames foreign agencies for such crimes. There may be some foreign hands involved, but then what is the state doing. The Prime Minister claims that dialogue process has been started between the Balochs and Islamabad, which is again a lie. The fact is that neither Islamabad nor the Baloch dissidents are serious about any sort of dialogue. The sufferers in this situation are the common people of Balochistan.

He viewed with concern that Balochistan still lives in the state of 18th century and majority of the population lives below poverty line, but somehow, it is not a matter of concern for the government. The government has never tried to improve the educational system of the province. The authorities have also forgotten the fact that patriotism comes
from education. Solution of all these problems lies in true
democratic federation and peaceful neighbours. The
Balochistan insurgency should not be seen in isolation. It has
been connected with the Afghan war too. Therefore, peace in
Afghanistan is pivotal for peace in Balochistan. He proposed
that there is a dire need to make the neighbouring countries
the true friends of Pakistan, so that these countries may not
interfere in our internal issues.

Mir Mohabat Khan Marri

Mr. Marri began his speech by raising a question,
what actually is the real issue in Balochistan? He said, “even
more than six decades after the creation of Pakistan; we are
unable to understand the true sentiments of Baloch brethren.
Their culture, tradition, history, spirit, attitudes and thinking
are still not understood in the true essence. Moreover, the
biggest question, which remains unanswered even today, is
to why do the Baloch take up arms and resort to fighting?”
In his view, answers to these questions lie in an in-depth
analysis of Pakistan’s history and its linkages with the
current situation in Balochistan.

There is another point of grave concern, as to what
compels the state of Pakistan to initiate an army operation in
Balochistan time and again? We are aware of the perception
that the Sardars are the biggest hurdle in the development of
the Province. However, we are still amazed to see that
whenever a step is taken towards the development of
Balochistan, the government seems to be keen on reconciling
with the same Sardars. On the other hand, one finds out that
the local Baloch are still living in the Stone Age. They are not
provided with the basic necessities of life, like electricity and
Sui gas. Even in this age of advancement, the locals survive
on rain water and feed their cattle on the same too. The
infrastructure is in dilapidated condition, to say the least. There are no roads, which could connect towns and villages to each other. The health-care system suffers, owing to inadequate medical facilities and equipments in hospitals and clinics, due to which the locals die of minor diseases. The Province also has the highest rate of unemployment and poverty, with the literacy rate being the lowest among all the provinces of Pakistan. He opined that in these circumstances, the Baloch are left with no other option but to take up arms.

He candidly opined, “currently, the situation is so critical that even the literate segment of the Baloch society has joined hands with the illiterate segment in this fight, with no one still paying any heed to the situation. Everyday, there are numerous acts of violence, specifically in Quetta. In the past two months only, more than 300 Shias from the Hazara community have been killed inhumanely by target killing. In addition, the Baloch Ulema are also being assassinated indiscriminately. On the other hand, billions of rupees are being spent in the name of development without any apparent sign of improvement in the entire province. One is appalled to see that Islamabad seems to have developed an attitude of apathy and in other words; it looks, as if the situation is allowed to deteriorate deliberately.

There is a common perception among the rest of the population of Pakistan, that the Baloch are a barbaric lot, but they are completely unaware of the fact that the Baloch are the custodians of an eleven thousand years old legacy. Balochistan itself has been an epicentre of love for the adjacent cultures and traditions. Thus, we have to realize that as long as the richness of the Baloch culture is not understood, the Balochs will always be under-rated and under-estimated. The proud Baloch may compromise on any
other thing, but not on the integrity of their culture, tradition and identity”.

He brought out another common misperception that the Balochs are not interested in gaining education but as a matter of fact, the question is, are even being offered any genuine opportunities to do so? To quote a few facts, currently there are about 11,500 primary schools in Balochistan, but comparatively, there are only 850 middle schools. In such a dismal situation, where do we expect the student to go after completion of his/her primary education, even if he/she manages to attain that level of education? What actually happens as a result is that due to the shortage of middle schools, in the end, most of them are forced to abandon their urge for gaining further education. Even more shockingly, there are no educational institutions for girls and the already established ones are in a very deplorable condition. Although, the former government did take some initiatives for the youth, due to which many young Balochs are studying in various prestigious universities of the country, but currently, there is a stalemate in the education sector and no one is paying any heed to this vital area.

Above all, the irony of the situation is that in these circumstances, people talk of merit. The fact of the matter is that numerically speaking, there are only five universities in Balochistan, for which no funds are available even for giving salary to the employees. Balochistan University, being one of the oldest universities in the area, has 500 regularly employed faculty members, out of which only 60 are Balochs. In the case of students, HEC regularly gives away scholarships to students from other provinces; however, the Baloch students are still deprived of benefiting from these opportunities. This is evident from the fact that only four Baloch students from Balochistan University were sent abroad on scholarships for pursuing M.Phil and PhD
degrees recently. If this ratio had been enhanced, there would have been thousands of highly qualified Baloch scholars.

It is pertinent to mention here that although the establishment of an IT University in Quetta was a big step in this backdrop, it is probably the only university of such nature, which provides admissions entirely on merit. There is a quota system prevalent in the entire country, even in prestigious institutions like the Quaid-i-Azam University. However, this system is not applicable in the IT University, which was established purely from the Province’s own resources. HEC is required to look into this matter, and provide quota for Baloch students who are very few number in other universities.

In terms of socio-economic development, the locals are sceptical of projects like the Gwadar Port, as they were not taken into confidence, while undertaking this project. This led to suspicions in the entire community, regarding the effects of the project about the balance of their population and ethnic mix in the concerned areas. On a similar note, for example, if the companies involved in development of Reko Diq Project, had taken initiatives to select and send some local students from respective areas for higher education, it would have added immensely to the progress of the Province. Only then it would have been considered that the government is not only interested in the natural resources of Balochistan but also in its socio-economic development.

Talking of the bureaucracy, there might be a few government officials who are interested in solving the problems of the people of Balochistan. However, their efforts go waste, when the funds and all types of benefits are given to the traitors and not the patriotic Balochs. In another example, we can see that no Baloch is given an important
position in the Federal Capital. Whereas, people from other parts of the country are adjusted easily, the Balochs are not given representation in the bureaucratic set-up of the Centre. They are not given any space or a voice among the policy-making elite of the country. He said that after 60 years of independence, only 50,000 Balochs are employed in government jobs.

Similarly, the Baloch are not given opportunities to work even in NGOs, in fact most of the NGOs operating in Balochistan are headed by non-Balochs. In the past few years, the members of the Balochistan Provincial Assembly were given some incentives, but these too were given to the non-Balochs. Thus, in these circumstances, the locals are left with two options of either becoming drug addicts or picking up arms for their rights.

Thus, the reasons behind the trust deficit should be understood. At the same time, we should be mindful of the fact that it dates back to the time when the Hazaras, during their term in power, divided the entire province into three parts. Still, this did not snatch away the sense of identity from the Balochs. It’s only now that a question on their identity has been raised. This fact has become an issue of grave concern, especially in a situation where thousands of Afghan refugees are pouring into Balochistan. What everyone is overlooking is the big question, as to how will the locals survive in such a situation?

The speaker expressed that if Islamabad is sincere, it should take concrete and tangible steps to prove its honesty in dealing with the issue at hand. The Balochs should be given a share in the natural resources of Balochistan. They are supposed to be provided with the basic facilities of life, like potable water, electricity, gas, education and a strong infrastructure. If the Province is to be safeguarded from a
civil war, then the situation is to be handled sincerely, as it has become a case of now or never. We also need to give the youth of Balochistan an access to their rights; otherwise, they will surely indulge in anti-state activities; which is detrimental for the stability and the future of the entire country.

Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogeza

To begin with, Mr Jogeza applauded the effort of NDU for holding this workshop, as it had provided an opportunity to discuss the situation in the multi-ethnic Pashtun- Baloch Province of Balochistan in detail. However, he said that it was shocking to find that there was no mention of the Pashtun national conflict in this workshop, due to which he deemed it appropriate to narrate some accounts to put the historical records straight.

He viewed that before the British Raj on the Subcontinent, the whole region from Kashmir to Sumyani was historically a part of the Afghanistan Empire. Balochistan was amongst the 22 provinces of Afghanistan. The Balochs started settling in the areas of Makran, Kalat and Kachi by the end of the 15th and the middle of 16th century. The leader of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan wrote in his autobiography, that the first Baloch tribe reached the Kandhar province, in the region of Kalat, during the era of Mirza Kamran’s rule (from 1530-1552), who used this route towards Sahiwal via Kachi.

The Brahui Confederacy was ruled under the supervision of Ahmed Zia Kambrani in the middle of the 17th century in Kalat. Afterwards, Ahmed Shah Abdali handed over Kalat to Naseer Khan Noori and he took the responsibility of protecting the Afghan traders and, in case of war, providing twelve thousand officers for the purpose.
He said that the students of history must be aware that the whole of the 19th century passed through turmoil, owing to the continuous conflicts between the Afghans and the British occupation forces. During this period, the British used all their power and might to subjugate most parts of the Afghan Emirate and made them a part of the British Empire in the Indian Subcontinent, due to which from 1801 to 1893 most of the parts of the historic land of Afghanistan were brought under the control of the British Empire. During this period, they fought two deadly wars, in 1838 AD and 1878 AD respectively, against Afghanistan and imposed the ‘Treaty of Gandhak’ upon them.

In 1876, the British made a deceitful plan against Afghanistan and captured its southern pillar, Quetta. After this event, they turned Balochistan into an agency. In this way, in 1879, they occupied Pishin and Sibi, which they had earlier borrowed from Afghanistan, under the Gandhak Treaty. After establishing their firm foothold in these areas, the British converted the British Afghanistan into the British Balochistan. However, the occupied territory could not be given the name of ‘British Balochistan’, owing to the historic, geographic, linguistic and cultural facts; a reality also accepted by Olf Kairo and other distinguished Britishers on the same ground that this name was non-historic and unnatural. However, the actual plan of the British was to destroy the national identity and unity of the occupied Afghan land. The British, therefore, divided this land into three administrative units namely; North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Tribal Areas and the British Balochistan. It is, indeed, very unfortunate that even after the independence of Pakistan, the same British division of these areas is being maintained.

During the entire period of the British rule, the British Balochistan and the confederation of the princely states were
two separate administrative units for the Pashtuns and the Baloch respectively; wherein, the representatives of the princely states would reside in Kalat, and that of British Balochistan, its chief commissioner etc. in Quetta. Although the tribal area of Marri Bugti was included later in the British Balochistan, while Noshkee and Chaghi were added in 1899 and in 1903, Naseerabad was added in the British Balochistan, but the British Balochistan was essentially and mainly the province of prominent Pashtun majority population.

According to the 3rd June 1947 Plan, the Shahi Jirga of Balochistan decided to join Pakistan, and amongst the 47 members of the Jirga, only 7 were ethnic Baloch and Brahuis, while the rest of the 39 members were all Pashtuns. Similarly, in Quetta’s Municipal Committee, 3 members out of 7 were Pashtuns, while the remaining 4 were settlers. The first and the only representative from the Shahi Jirga of the British Balochistan for Pakistan’s first constitution-making committee was my great grandfather, Muhammad Khan Jogeza. Soon after, Balochistan decided to join Pakistan in March 1948, under the leadership of the Khan of Kalat.

Even after the creation of Pakistan, the Constituent Assembly accepted separate organizational units of the Balochs and the Pashtuns in the proposed scheme. Then, in 1955, once the implementation of One Unit took place, the British Balochistan with the name of Quetta Division, and the states of Balochistan, under the name of Kalat Division, were recognized as separate organizational units. However, in 1970, when the One-Unit policy was abolished by the orders of General Yahya Khan, again the name ‘Balochistan’ was imposed on the historic land of the Pashtuns with the merger of both units. Through these orders, against the will of the Pashtuns, such a province was created, which neither catered for national equality nor social, political and cultural
rights of the Pashtuns were considered. Additionally, no constitutional guarantees were provided to them. The result of this historic injustice is that today in this bi-ethnic province the Pashtuns have been marginalized and kept deprived of their political, social and cultural rights.

After 1970, the Baloch and the Brahui leaders took over the political authority in this province, which completely marginalized the Pashtuns from the political rule during the past four decades. To mention a few incidents, divisions of Quetta, Pishin districts, transfer of the Bostan Agricultural College from Bostan, illegally adding the names of the Balochs in Quetta municipal committee, increase in the Baloch-dominated divisions and districts on the basis of false population census, adding the Baloch areas in the designated areas of Sibi and Quetta, adding Lehri and Sibi, excluding the Pashtun areas of Punchpaai from Quetta, corrupting the merit quota of government services, thus, depriving the Pashtuns from the developmental activities and projects, thus, spending the whole development budget on Baloch-dominated areas.

Additionally, killing of Pashtun labour in Brahui and Baloch areas continues practically making the Brahui and Baloch highways unsafe for the Pashtuns. A long list of these and similar other anti-Pashtun decisions have created a disruption between the natural and ethnic balance of the Baloch and the Pashtuns. He proposed that in order to amend the historic wrong committed against the Pashtuns, if it is impossible to restore the status of chief commissioner’s province for the Pashtun-dominated areas, there is a need either to declare an autonomous province for them or to provide a guarantee for equal political, social and cultural rights to the Pashtuns in the bi-ethnic province of the Baloch and Pashtuns.
Question/ Answer Session

Due to the shortage of time, the question/answer session was restricted to brief debate by the participants. The penalists could not satisfy the participants on questions about allocation of funds in Balochistan. The participants remarked that billion of rupees given to the member of Provincial Assembly did not go to the right people. It was also concluded that if the current system of governance continues, one should not attach any hope for improvement in future as well. No government official could come forward and respond to the queries raised by the participants.

Session-2: Remedial Measures-The Way Forward

This was the marathon Session of the Workshop, which took more than the allocated time. This Session was chaired by Mr. Yar Muhammad Jamali, while Mr. Saleem Safi was the Moderator. The key speakers for the occasion included Mr. Shafiq-ur Rehman Mengal, Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed and Mr. Tariq Khosa, Ex-Inspector General Police Balochistan. Brief summaries of their speeches, focusing on the most important areas including questions/answers, are covered in the succeeding paragraphs.

Mr. Shafiq-ur-Rehman Mengal

Mr. Shafiq was very critical of the government’s attitude and response to the current state of Balochistan’s security. He said that the problems of Balochistan had become the most burning issue for Pakistan today. Unfortunately, after about 64 years of our existence,
Islamabad is still clueless about the actual problem in Balochistan. A critical analysis of this issue identifies three main problems, which are: the local anti-Pakistan Sardars/Nawabs; foreign elements/powers and bad governance over the past 64 years. One can confidently assert that no one can dare harm a country, if the system and government of the state fulfill their responsibilities in true spirit.

He said, “as Pakistanis, we all believe firmly in the existence and sovereignty of the state of Pakistan. However, our institutions, political parties and sub-nationalist parties have performed poorly in dealing with our country’s existential issues. That is the prime reason that the Baloch are angry with their leadership, which holds the reins of power but does not have the courage and will to speak the truth. It may not be incorrect to say that the Pakistan Army could also not solve the crisis, though it is not solely responsible for it. These factors have caused a growing frustration among the Baloch youth, because the people in power failed miserably to make them believe that they are a part of Pakistan. This all can be termed as a classic case of state failure.

The absolute truth is that there is no insurgency in Balochistan. In the last 60 years, Balochistan has been witnessing ‘militancy’- a militancy that had never been supported by the middle class or the lower middle class. Even today, the so-called ‘insurgency’ is totally fuelled by anti-Pakistan tribal warlords and Sardars in Balochistan. The tribal heads or Sardars and their families have their own private militias, which are disrupting peace in the Province. The real fight is actually going on against those very militants and the cost is being borne by innocent people, who are daily being maimed or brutally butchered. We, the people of Balochistan are giving sacrifices for our beloved
motherland but the irony is that the state never comes to the rescue of those brave men and women who are fighting its cause and paying the cost. It is due to this militancy that most of the Balochs have moved to the mountains, as the state does not offer them security nor it has brought forth any clearly defined roadmap to protect the sanctity of life and property of its people or their socio-economic uplift.”

He said, “it is because of this reason that the local people are dependent on these Sardars. The obvious absence of agreement among the policy-makers and loose-ended dubious policies of the government have added to the miseries of the ordinary citizens and, in fact, provided the militants with a tacit backing of the government in the form of complete inaction, to pursue their evil objectives. Our youth is, therefore, clueless, confused and frustrated. Taking undue advantage of this situation, the tribal warlords and Sardars are polluting the minds of our confused youth and hapless middle class through militant outfits like Balochistan Students Organization (BSO), which is the biggest militant group in Balochistan, responsible for all the anti-state and anti-Pakistan activities, including killings, kidnapping for ransom, and murdering of pro-Pakistan people. The lives of all patriotic Balochis are threatened by the local militants. Therefore, what the poor people of Balochistan need is sincerity and practical steps for their safety and security which is the responsibility of the government of Pakistan.”

He suggested, “the first step in the right direction should be, thus, to ensure that the total discontinuation of duplicitous policies by the government and to have a dialogue with patriotic citizens, which will restore confidence of the people of Balochistan. The people in the centre must realize that the militants should be dealt with iron hands and should never be approached with the purpose of reconciliation, as they are not your friends. These
militants do not believe in the Two-Nation Theory and the existence of Pakistan. The time is ripe to make a clear distinction between the ones who believe in Pakistan and those who do not believe in the very existence of our county. Let it be stated in absolute terms that there should be no dialogue with those militants, who continue to disregard and disrespect Pakistan’s national flag and anthem. Moreover, militant organizations, like the BSO, should be banned immediately by the government, as they are responsible for burning and desecrating the national flag and anthem, besides publishing hateful material and causing resentment among the masses.

To improve governance and administration in the Province, the district system should be established, in order to deal with the issues more efficiently and effectively. The natural resources of Balochistan should be utilized for the socio-economic uplift of Balochi people first. Then, the impact of the budget that is allocated to Balochistan must reach the needy masses. Many small steps can be taken in this direction, for example, making efforts to settle the population of the Province closer to the roads in small towns, in order to bring betterment in the lives of the ordinary citizens and reduce the communication gap. Another step could be to remove the communication gaps between the people and their government, the provincial and the central government immediately.

Also, the government and the Army should not accept or encourage Sardari system in Balochistan, which is forcing our confused youth towards militancy. The Province needs to be regulated under the Pakistani law and the courts should be given due power and protection to bring the culprits to book and provide speedy justice to the common people. This is the way forward for the solution of Balochistan problem, not the one which is being encouraged
to woo the so called Naraaz Balochs. They are not Naraaz Balochs, they are foreign paid mercenaries.”

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed**

Mr. Mushahid said, “It gives me immense pleasure to see that the Balochistan issue has been brought under a frank, honest and truthful debate at a military institution, which is a very promising sign that signifies the will of the men in uniform to resolve the issue through dialogue in the larger national interest. The foremost assertion here would be, to define the nature of the problem at hand. In his reckoning, “the responsibility of this problem lies collectively on both the civil and military set ups, rather it suffices to say that it is nothing but a collective failure on our part as a nation. The magnitude and extent of foreign involvement is a secondary issue by all means”.

He expressed that “right at the outset, we have to understand the dynamics of a triangle of variables in order to resolve the problems in Pakistan. The first variable is the correlation of peace in Pakistan with the situation on the western side of Pakistan that includes Balochistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). Pakistan’s foreign and internal policies have failed for both the regions in the past, which require serious revisiting. This review of policies should not reflect a repetition of the previous mistakes. The second variable is the initiation of a new great game and unfortunately, the center points of that tussle among the world powers are Pakistan and Afghanistan. He opined that America and NATO had given clear signals of their prolonged stay in Afghanistan, which is evident from the establishment of new bases in Afghanistan by the US and NATO forces. America has established a new intelligence agency with prime focus on China, Iran,
Afghanistan and Pakistan. All these facts show a clear possibility of foreign interventions to watch their own interests in the region. The third factor is the proxy war in the region, with clear linkages with Kabul and India, augmented by a tit for tat policy by all the key players of the region.

Therefore, in order to bring peace and tranquillity to the Balochistan territory; Mr Mushahid suggested that in the first place, there is a need to understand the issue of the Balochistan Province in its totality, in order to comprehend the gravity and nature of the problem. We need to change the mindsets of the Baloch population and give them their rightful privileges and power. When the provinces, including the Balochistan, are bestowed with their internal empowerment and autonomy, the federation will become stronger and stronger, because these are the essential elements that unite a nation or a country. Also, to continue this process, we should welcome new ideas and try to test those ideas for the betterment of all the provinces. This, indeed, is imperative for bringing a change in the current situation and creating stability in Pakistan, particularly by eliminating the turmoil in Balochistan.

In the past, the government of Pakistan had set up a committee on Balochistan, which comprised 38 members from all the political parties of Pakistan represented in the parliament, regardless of their strength. The committee was given the mandate of 100 days to come up with a solution. It is quite remarkable to note that this committee honored the mandate and came up with a report and the way forward that it recommended was unanimously approved. However, one would mention that during the process, the perceived rigidity of the political establishment, bureaucracy and media against giving due recognition to the small units/provinces was frequently complained about.
In a similar vein, amidst talks on the NFC awards, an effort was made to launch a dialogue between the Baloch people and the Army along with the intelligence personnel. The government has succeeded in this effort, which proves once again that negotiation is the only key solution to eliminate the violence.

In order to solve the Balochistan issue, there are some points that we must take care of. First, we should deal with criminals anywhere in the society strictly under the ambit of law. No summary disposals anywhere. Another most important key to the solution is that we should not allow anyone to use Pakistan’s territory against any other neighbouring state. Recently, even China and Iran have complained about Pakistani people crossing into their territories and working to destabilize these countries through terrorism, smuggling and other crimes.

Many scholars and politicians have talked about following some foreign model in Balochistan for conflict resolution in the Province. In all honesty, the Sri Lankan model of conflict resolution is not suitable for Balochistan, as it will only spread unrest in Asia. He suggested that in case we must follow some model, then the Irish model would be the ideal one for the purpose.

Internally, for durable peace and stability in the country, it is absolutely necessary that rule of law must prevail everywhere and the people should respect the law of the land. Provision of justice in an expeditious manner should be the basic focus of our institutions.

In the end, our prime focus should be on a dialogue within the framework of Pakistan. Amidst an observable lack of political will, there is also a dire need to re-define our concept of national security and defence. Right now, we do
not have any effective national security or counter-terrorism policy, not even one proposed by the Army or the muftis. Therefore, there is an urgent need to call a national conference, inviting all the political parties, security forces (including the ISI and the Army) and the Judiciary. These three bodies should sit together and chalk out plans to sort out the issue, to be followed by the second most important step, which is bringing out immediate results through an efficient and effective implementation. For this purpose, he suggested that a national commission, led by Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai and Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, should be set up to have a constant oversight on the process of implementation of the plan. Thus, the gist of the matter is that the real solution to the issues of Balochistan lies in political settlement, Army alone cannot possibly find any way out.”

Mr. Tariq Khosa, Former Inspector General Police Balochistan

Mr. Khosa began his speech with the word of appreciation for the NDU for holding a workshop on Balochistan. He said that, in fact, this initiative might prove to be a start of civil-military dialogue, for resolving the Balochistan problem. He appreciated the initiation of an open and frank debate on Balochistan issue by NDU. All stakeholders must encourage this good stop and continue with the option of dialogue. That is, in fact, the only option for resolving the issue on permanent basis. Furthermore, he suggested that all the recommendations which were being coined in the seminar, should be implemented by the Parliament of Pakistan.

He said that an open and honest dialogue among all the stakeholders was a good start for resolving the Balochistan crisis. The parliament should take lead role in
this regard and the social contract between the state and the society needs to be re-visited. Pakistan is a very unique case in which the state has unfortunately become weak, the 180 million population of the country are resilient. In any federation, pursuit of social justice, democracy, freedom, tolerance and good system of governance are considered as the essential elements for the progress and development of the society. To achieve these goals, a comprehensive national security policy is formulated, which includes all the civil, military, public, private, political, religious and financial institutions. But the dichotomy in Pakistan is that its national security policy means just the military policy. No one is concerned about the formulation of national strategies against various problems.

He said that the National Security Committee of the Parliament, under the chairmanship of Senator Mian Raza Rabbani, had formulated a 23-page guideline on the national security. Based on this guideline, national strategy of counter-terrorism and national strategy for counter-extremism have to be evolved, which has not been done so far. It is the need of hour that all the stakeholders should sit and draft a counter-terrorism and counter-extremism policy. Absence of these strategies and lack of implementation are the main reasons behind present day Balochistan crisis.

He viewed, “we live in the 21st century; therefore, the issues cannot be put under carpet. There is a need to establish a commission with strong commitment and support by Islamabad and Quetta for resolving the Balochistan issue. This commission should be chaired by a Baloch and a Pashtun leader from Balochistan. The names of Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo and Mehmood Khan Achakzai, suggested by Senator Mushahid Hussain, are really appropriate and credible for this task. This commission should be asked to formulate policy options for
the resolution of Balochistan crisis and all the political parties must support them.

Pakistan is not a failed state but it is the failure of the state that the situation has reached this level and also it is the failure of every institution including police, army, judiciary, state agencies, media and civil society etc. There is a need to establish the writ of the state and the state should have the sole authority to use means and instruments of social contract. For this purpose, all the stakeholders should sit together and make the institutions stronger. It is worth mentioning that the writ of state cannot be established through strengthening only one institution. Rather, efforts should be made to strengthen all the institutions. This is the only method to make the state strong. Non-state actors and groups should not be allowed to use violence. Establishing militias is dangerous practice in the society and today Pakistan is witnessing the outcome of these practices. The criminals must be brought to book, but strictly within the ambit of law. There is no dearth of laws in this regard. We only need a strong political will and an honest government to enforce laws, which can bring about discernible change in the society.

The present day Balochistan situation also depicts the missing links in Pakistani nationalism, therefore, all segments of the society, especially the academia, must join hands to revive Pakistani nationalism. It is the fifth wave of insurgency in Balochistan and it is very different in nature from the first four waves, because of the post 9/11 Afghanistan and strategic interests of the global and regional actors, in the wake of new great game. The province has never witnessed sectarian violence but recent attacks indicate a new nexus of Laskhr-e-Jhangvi, Taliban and some external forces.
For an effective law and order, a special highway policy should be raised. There is a parallel system of Police and Levis, which should be converted into one system. Also, there is a need for improving the governance structure in the Province and establishing effective district governments. It can help in delivering good governance. There is a legal method of prosecution, so the state agencies should adopt that method instead of extra-judicial summary disposals. One should understand the fact that there is no anti-Pakistan insurgency as such in Balochistan. In contrast, it is the misguided youth, which needs to be dealt with, prudence and patience. For the solution of Balochistan crisis, a cohesive national policy is needed.”

Mir Ahmadan Khan Bugti

The gist of his speech is as follows: Dera Bugti comprises of three Tehsils and six Sub-Tehsils. Bugti tribe comprises six tribes namely, Rahija, Kalpar, Shambani, Masuri, Nothani, and Peerzai. Fortunately, only one tribe resides in every Tehsil.

Other than the six tribes mentioned above, Kiyazi and Syedani tribes also reside in Dera Bugti. The people of Dera Bugti have a history of facing expatriation. Quoting a few incidents, the first episode happened when Nawab Bugti exiled Mir Ahmadan Khan Rahija, Wadera Jalal-ul-Rehman Kalpar, Mir Ghulam Qadir and Tariq Masuri groups. The government has now provided 1 billion rupees for the settlement of the people in Dera Bugti.

Second incidence of expulsion happened due to conflicts between the government and the Nawabs, which displaced people from Dera Bugti region. Afterwards, during Nawab Meher Ali’s period, the people of Union Council Sham Kalchas, including Wadera Sher Mohammad
Masuri, Wadera Yousuf Masuri and Wadera Fateh Mohammad Masuri were banished from the area. Later, many people came back and re-settled in Dera Bugti, only when the MI provided them protection. Moreover, their irrigation systems were also destroyed and still many of them are now forced to live as refugees in Punjab. The same happened to Sardar Subedar Kiyazi, who was also expelled during Mir Aali’s period, and is still residing in Punjab.

There are 1116 vacancies in the levies created in Dera Bugti, and it is suggested that 1 billion rupees should be utilized and the 1116 vacancies in Dera Bugti should be filled to expedite the process of furtherance of peace in Dera Bugti.

Unfortunately, most of the fugitives (Ferraris) are hiding in Kiyazi and Syedani area. If fugitive (Ferrari) camps are abolished in Balochistan, terrorism will die out in the whole province. However, there are only two ways of getting rid of fugitives (Ferraris):

The government can negotiate with the fugitives and they should be granted a few concessions by the government to make them surrender. If they are not willing to surrender, then force should be used to bring peace in the region, which will open new horizons of development in Balochistan and Dera Bugti. It is important to mention here, that the fugitives belong to all seven tribes and are present in all six Tehsils. A committee should be established involving all seven tribes and every tribe should be given the responsibility for bringing peace. Moreover, it should be the responsibility of the committee, for bringing the fugitives to peaceful surrender. To bring the fugitives to peaceful surrender, the following concessions should be given:

- Blood money should be given for the killings that happened between Ferraris and Bugti tribes, just like the
government of Balochistan gave it to the Marri and Launi tribes.

- The Ferraris should be taken into confidence that they would not be facing any persecution or legal proceedings against them.

- On their surrender, each one of them should be temporarily given a specific meagre amount of money (in thousands) should be allocated for their temporary expenditures. Some of the people from amongst the Ferraris should be given employment, so that they can arrange an honourable living for themselves and lead a peaceful life.

- If they are not willing to surrender on these terms, then the second option of force has to be employed. To bring an end to the phenomenon of Ferraris, an amount of Rs.1 billion that has been allocated by the government, and 1116 employment opportunities should be distributed equally among seven tribes. Moreover, from the allocated money, weapons and food should also be distributed among the seven tribes.

- Frontier Corps should be backing all the Tribes and providing them support, when operation is being carried out against the Ferraris. It needs to be acknowledged here, that after the expulsion of Ferraris from Kabul, most of them are residing in Punjab and Sindh areas now. These Ferraris need to be chased till their residences in Punjab and Sindh as well, to completely end terrorism in Balochistan and Dera Bugti.

- In case of surrender of fugitives, after giving blood money from the allocated Rs.1 billion, rest of the amount should be distributed in three instalments among displaced people.

- Or, after spending the amount on weapons, food and complete annihilation of Ferraris, the remaining amount should be distributed among the displaced people.
Questions/Answers Session

During the question-answer session, most of the questions were directed to Senator Mushahid Hussain, who was asked as to why Balochistan issue was not resolved during General Musharraf’s regime? He responded that due to misgivings in the Province about the control of politics from the political centre in Islamabad, and also because the ill-conceived policy of Use of Force was considered by the centre as the only viable option to resolve issues of political nature, which proved to be the main hindrance in resolving the issue. He suggested that currently, the regional dynamics had changed a lot and given the current scenario, a compromise had to be reached by undoing the wrongs of the past and taking the right steps on a fast track.

Mr Mushahid also responded to a question with regards to the dialogue with non-state actors. He said, “in order to bring an end to deadlocks, dialogue should be offered even to those who are considered stanch enemies of Pakistan. Dera Bugti road was blocked once and we dealt with it through negotiation, without a bullet being fired. Naik Muhammad killed our soldiers in Waziristan, even then, he was offered dialogue and we all know that he was shown on TV with the soldiers. So, dialogue is really necessary for sustainable peace and stability in the region. Therefore, we must engage all those who are currently playing in enemies’ hands, including Harbiyar Marri and Barahmdagh Bugti. There is no denying that Harbiyar is holding negotiations with our intelligence agencies. I have stated clearly, that this is a political issue and, therefore, it requires a political solution and not a military solution.” Mr. Mushahid reiterated that a commission should be set up to resolve and end all the political deadlocks.
While responding to a question as to why only Jam Yusuf, the former Chief Minister of Balochistan, was going to court in the case on Nawab Bugti’s killing, Mr. Mushahid opined, “Mr. Jam Yusuf is a good human being. Besides, he had no prior information about the Bugti Operation. It was all planned by the military high command and it is for the court to decide upon the matter at hand.”

Mr. Mushahid also responded to a query and agreed that all policy makers including the PM, COAS, DG ISI, should have attended this Workshop, however, he suggested that now at least recommendations from this National Workshop could be sent to the concerned circles of the government.

A participant, while addressing Mr. Tariq Khosa, “when we say that the constitution is supreme, this means that all its injunctions should be implemented but how come only few injunctions are being implemented and the rest are held in abeyance? Peoples’ rights are of utmost importance. So why the injunctions related to these are not being implemented?” He responded, “it is admittedly a problem of overall failure in terms of governance. Lawlessness is prevalent everywhere, not just in Balochistan, and basic rights of life which the state institutions guarantee according to the constitution of Pakistan, have not been provided to the people. Our institutions have not lived up to these guarantees. Certainly, I agree that the state institutions have failed in this sphere of providing protection to the people.”

Mr. Tariq Khosa was asked another important question by a participant who said, “everyone admitted to the state failure, as the government’s policies have failed miserably, the levies are mostly untrained, therefore, in your opinion is the induction from Army in the Police Department, particularly the Baloch officers a viable
option?” Mr. Khosa replied that there was no requirement of induction of military officers into civil departments. A few Army Officers do join superior services as per laid down criteria. There is no need to induct more. We need to develop the capacity of Police Force itself. For dispensation of true justice, specialized personnel are required. No doubt, FC has a very important and vital role here in Balochistan. However, all law enforcing agencies should be upgraded and suitable laws should be legislated. The general trend up till now is to fix the situation and not address the causes, this has brought no successes to us. He said that in his opinion, strengthening the laws is pivotal.

While responding to a suggestion of possible solution of replicating the South African Model in Balochistan, the panelists responded, “in Pakistan we have the advantage of coming up with our own home grown solutions, without looking for any other models”.

Lastly, a participant asked a question from the panelists whether they were satisfied with the corrupt democratic system? One of the panelists responded that Pakistan was transforming, weak state institutions were getting stronger and media had become much more vibrant than before and as they saw, it was a sure recipe for a better and bright future.

Closing Speech by the Chairman Senate Syed Nayyer Hussain Bokhari

The Chairman Senate began his speech with the word of appreciation for the National Defence University for holding a much-needed academic discourse on the Balochistan issue at a time, when all sorts of negative perceptions have been created among the general public by
media, largely based on unauthentic information on the situation in Balochistan. In this backdrop, he said that the most important contribution of this workshop would be to identify the way forward, in order to overcome all the problems related to the Balochistan issue. In the past, political forces were undermined and subdued, which has resulted in the present quagmire. However, the revival of democracy in Pakistan has now set the wheels of change in motion and Balochistan is being accorded top priority.

We must understand that the People of Balochistan are bruised and heart-broken by false promises and in order to resolve their impending issues, we need to win back their hearts and minds first, through a firm political stand, with mutual understanding and cooperation among all the state institutions. Majority of the people in Balochistan are all law-abiding citizens and will do anything to uphold and respect the sovereignty of the state. However, upholding the constitution and ensuring its implementation in letter and spirit is the prime responsibility of the government. Therefore, if the constitution is not implemented in its true spirit, then we cannot blame our innocent people for the dire consequences.

He said that the reality is known to all of us. Balochistan has a very important geo-political and strategic location and owing to that, the turbulent times in Balochistan are testing everything that we hold dear to us. These turbulent times are a creation of a host of both internal and external factors. “In such a scenario, only those nations, who have the courage to face the truth boldly, will succeed, while others will perish. Thus, the situation in Balochistan demands us to closely look into the issue through the prism of realism and not mere perceptions. We need to douse the discontent and bitterness boiling over decades, through re-assuring compassion and self-restraint. Apathy must give
way to sympathy, and actions should speak louder than words.

It is very encouraging for us to see that everyone has realized that there can only be a political solution to the Balochistan issue and no solution by and via use of force can attain permanent and durable peace.” He opined that the use of force by dictatorial regimes in the past, as an instrument of policy, was wrong, which led to further aggravation of the political, social and economic situation in Balochistan.

Hence, the government has already taken its decision to reach out the marginalized people of Balochistan to address their grievances. He said that President Zardari has already extended a public apology to the people of Balochistan in February 2008, which marks an important break with the past practices of brushing the issues aside. In this connection, a number of landmark initiatives have been taken by the Parliament, in order to bring Balochistan into the national mainstream and neutralize the sense of marginalization among the Baloch people. The Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package, approved by a joint sitting of the Parliament in 2009, which recommending 61 constitutional, administrative, economic and political reforms, is a positive leap forward. The 18th Constitutional Amendment, which guarantees autonomy to the provinces and control over their own resources, is also a milestone in this regard. The Senate and its Standing Committees are at the front line of these initiatives, being bastions of provincial rights, equality and national solidarity. All these measures indicate that the commitment to resolve Balochistan issue is our highest priority.

However, the Chairman acknowledged that the wrongs committed over half a century, cannot be undone
overnight. Balochistan is a national issue and we need to make concerted efforts by involving all stakeholders and pillars of the state. The executive must ensure prompt implementation of its pledges and parliamentary recommendations. The Parliament must continue an effective debate and develop a mechanism to maintain oversight on the executive to hold it accountable for its actions and inaction. The provincial government, as well as the legislature, in the aftermath of devolution of power after the 18th Constitutional Amendment, must work expeditiously towards addressing multifarious issues, ranging from socio-economic development to maintaining law and order in Balochistan. The media must play the role of a principled, conscientious and responsible watchdog, by reporting objectively.

He suggested that we should construct a united front of all political forces to address the challenges faced by this nation, because a house divided against itself can never stand on a firm ground. Let us give no opportunity to the foreign elements, at any cost, to play their games on Balochistan’s soil or catch us off-guard taking advantage of the situation.

He said that Balochistan has enormous potential to become a power house of economic and industrial growth, as it has large deposits of precious minerals and the Gwadar sea port; and also it is a possible trade corridor to the resource-rich Central Asian States.

In the end, he wholeheartedly urged all the stakeholders, especially the estranged elements, to share their opinions openly with regards to Balochistan. “We want you to come to the negotiating table and resolve differences through dialogue which is the spirit of a progressive democratic society”. He said that it had been a great
pleasure for him to interact with the participants of this workshop, especially those travelling all the way from Balochistan; and it was hoped that a pragmatic and practical way forward would come up through this prestigious forum. "I assure you that the recommendations formulated in this workshop will be placed before the members of the Senate for a thorough debate."
The Address of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Raja Pervez Ashraf, To the Participants of National Workshop on Balochistan (17-18 July 2012) at National Defence University, Islamabad

Lieutenant General Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq, President National Defence University, the Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Assalam-o-Alaikum!

It is, indeed, a matter of privilege to be at the National Defence University, among the galaxy of intellectuals and scholars, in this important national level Workshop. I am extremely grateful to the President NDU for a very warm welcome extended to me.

In fact, it is very heartening to know that the National Defence University has taken up this vital issue for an academic discourse. We, in the government, as well as the whole nation, look up to our universities to serve as beacons of light and the torch-bearers for the movement of transformation of our society to meet the grave challenges that our country is confronted with. I extend my deep gratitude to Lieutenant General Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq, President National Defence University and his team for this appreciable venture.

I am really glad to witness such an impressive gathering from Balochistan, and from elsewhere,
representing a very wide spectrum of the society. NDU team deserves full appreciation for this commendable effort.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me begin by saying that Balochistan is not an issue as such, I repeat, it is not an issue at all. We only have a law and order problem and that too in selected areas of Balochistan, which include Baloch and Brahui areas. The unrest in these small pockets cannot be equated with insurgency, but it may have simmering impact on other areas, if not tackled immediately. Therefore, while it is natural to worry about the unrest even in these small areas, we should not toe the line of foreign media, which continues to project Balochistan issue disproportionately, undermining our national solidarity and, thereby, causing anxiety and frustration among the people of Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

When I say that it is not an issue, it does not mean that I am denying the existence of law and order problems, the sense of deprivation among the people of Balochistan or the need for rapid development of this province. What I intend emphasizing is that the situation of Balochistan should be seen in its true perspective. In general, the people of Balochistan are peaceful and patriotic, just as the people of other provinces are, but still, the situation in Balochistan is far from being simple, because of internal and external linkages. There is not one, but in fact many fronts on which we need to fight for the cause of the people of Balochistan

First and foremost, ladies and gentlemen, I would say in unequivocal terms that the turbulence in Balochistan, though ‘foreign abetted’, is an internal issue for the state and people of Pakistan to resolve. All our friends interested to bring about peace in this region are expected to respect the
sovereignty of Pakistan and the aspirations of more than 95% people of Balochistan, who are as patriotic Pakistanis as the people from any other part of the country. The state and people of Pakistan are capable to solve their problems themselves and they would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

As a matter of fact, the people of Balochistan, particularly the poor, have not tasted the fruits of independence as yet. The real issue of Balochistan is the socio-economic deprivation of the common people, their powerlessness. Whatever developmental programs and projects were launched in the past in Balochistan, their effects could not trickle down to the common people. Unfortunately, this real issue receives proportionately scant attention from media. Another aspect, which I would like the learned scholars here to dilate upon, is the menace of sectarianism and religious extremism that the people of Pakistan in general and the people of Balochistan in particular are victim of. This is the area where our universities, think tanks, intellectuals and media have to play a decisive role to promote tolerance and harmony in the society. But let me emphasize here that what we witness in Balochistan in the name of sectarian killings, must be seen in the context of geo-strategic linkages to the Balochistan issue. While the sectarian issue in Balochistan may be a reality, I believe, under the garb of sectarian cover, non-state actors and foreign-sponsored groups are fuelling the fire that warrants vigilance at various tiers both at the governmental as well as at the societal levels. We can clearly discern certain shades of power politics in this province.
Ladies and Gentlemen!

Your presence here, the presence of political leaders, intellectuals, academics, community leaders and journalists should send a clear signal to all, that the people of Balochistan want peace and security, dignity and honor and a secure future for them and their coming generations. The government has taken concrete steps to take the people of Balochistan on board and Balochistan tops the agenda of the present government. We will do everything possible to eliminate the sense of deprivation among our Baloch brothers and sisters. As the first step, President Asif Ali Zardari tendered a public apology to the people of Balochistan for the wrongs done to them and has pledged to usher in a new dawn of prosperity in the province. We have practically demonstrated our willingness through 7th NFC Award, Aghaz-e-Haqooq Balochistan package and the 18th Constitutional Amendment to redress the wrongs done earlier to the people of Balochistan in particular and other provinces in general. As a consequence, besides a huge economic package, a large number of Baloch youth has been recruited both in military and civil sectors, without counting on proportionate representation.

Let me also appreciate Pakistan Army’s and Frontier Corps’ role in promoting and protecting national interests in Balochistan. Besides generating economic activities, Pakistan Army has opened a number of Public Schools and Cadet Colleges in remote areas of Balochistan. At present, in addition to other students studying in various schools inside Balochistan and in other provinces in collaboration with provincial governments, Headquarter Southern Command is taking care of 4500 students stationed at Quetta, enrolled from across Balochistan. Services rendered by the Army in the field of healthcare are also commendable. They also have a role in protecting national assets in Balochistan as well as
providing security to the common people against terrorists’
aggressive designs. Law enforcing agencies operate strictly
in accordance with the directions of Federal and Provincial
Governments.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

The progress made in communication infrastructure
over the past one decade, including the construction of
Gwadar Port is praiseworthy. Similarly, several projects
including completion of Ratodero Link Road and the Katchi
canal project are all initiated to unleash the real benefit of
Gwadar port city to transform agriculture and alleviating
poverty in Balochistan. But it is just one step forward. It does
not mean that everything has been put right. There is a need
to focus on social sector, including education and healthcare,
in which this province lags behind because of vastness of the
area and lack of resources vis-a-vis demand.

I assure the people of Balochistan that your
government will continue to reach out to the people of
Balochistan and would go extra mile to alleviate their
sufferings. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would
urge a few angry youngsters involved in negative activities
within the country as well as abroad, that they should not
fall prey to the intrigues of the detractors of Pakistan. Entire
Pakistan is yours, come and talk to your own government,
you will not be disappointed. At the same time, let me say in
no uncertain terms that we will not talk to those who are
against Pakistan’s sovereignty and who burn its flag.

Once again, I would like to reiterate the government’s
resolve that God willing, we will never allow the enemies of
Pakistan to succeed in their nefarious designs.

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Ladies and Gentlemen!

I would call upon all the stakeholders sitting among us, and elsewhere, through this forum, to keep the larger interest of the nation in mind, because it is yours i-e the people of Balochistan’s future which is at stake. An emotional speech may leave an immediate impression in the minds of people, but these are the dispassionate decisions which impact the lives of the people for a long time. Let us all rise above personal interests to empathize with our brothers and find pragmatic and practical solutions for all issues concerning the people of the province. What we want to achieve, is actually, winning the hearts of our brothers through a solemn and dedicated commitment for their socio-economic uplift. In order to do so, I would urge our youth to come forward to play their role in promoting the cause of peace and prosperity in Balochistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

This workshop on Balochistan has well articulated sessions and themes. The speakers and participants are equally well chosen. I am sure; this two days’ marathon intellectual discourse will help us arrive at correct findings and viable options to address problems of Balochistan. There might be some bitter things, some shortcomings or excesses, but all these need to be listened to, with an open heart and with an objective of moving forward.

In the end, Ladies and Gentlemen, my message for today’s Workshop is what our great Quaid said in 1948:

“We can look to the future with robust confidence, provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissensions. There was never a greater need for discipline and unity in our ranks as it is today. It is only
with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dreams into reality”.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

With these words, I thank you all, for coming here to share your thoughts on an issue of vital national interest. I assure you, with complete confidence that the recommendations generated here will be of immense value to us and would serve as policy guidelines for the government in the years to come.
Transcript of Mr. Shahnawaz Marri’s Speech

Lieutenant General, Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq, HI (M) President National Defense University and respected participants of this august gathering, Assalam-o-Alaikum.

It is a matter of great personal joy and honour for me to talk to you this morning on a subject of national importance. This kind of sharing of ideas with each other opens up for us new avenues of hope, confidence and encouragement in the nation building process. Nothing is more important to us at this critical juncture than to feel the pulse of history in our hearts and to express it openly and candidly to find a way forward for a better future. History’s path is corrugated and rough but we have to accept the black spots and move forward in search of brighter ones.

Therefore, I will try to be objective, realistic and candid in seeing the unfolding of events in Balochistan from Pre-British, through British and Post-British periods i.e. since 1947.

HISTORY OF BALOCHISTAN

I shall begin with its history first:

Pre-British History

Geography has played, perhaps, the most important role in shaping Balochistan’s political structure. The province has the famous Bolan Pass, a traditional gateway to India, similar to the Khyber-Pass in the north, but lacks natural lines of internal communication such as rivers. Until
the mid-sixteenth century, Balochistan’s history is primarily a narrative of external conquerors, briefly passing through the country en-route to India or Afghanistan. Little is known of Balochistan before the fifteenth century. Darrius, in 6th and 7th Century B.C, conquered Mekran and incorporated parts of Balochistan into his empire. Alexander the Great passed through Balochistan around 330 B.C on his retreat from India and by 323 BC, the Country was part of Secleucus Nicator’s satrapy. Much later, the invasions of Chengiz Khan and his successors (1150-1370 AD) extended into Mekran and is said to have caused much devastation.

The subsequent Timurid reign in 14th and 16th centuries controlled parts of Balochistan and strove to extend its power towards the Bolan Pass, in order to collect trade revenues. Between 1506 AD and 1747 AD, Balochistan alternately fell under nominal control of either of Safavids of Iran or the Mughals of India, due to their ambitions to control Afghanistan and Central Asia through Balochistan.

The vast mountain ranges and large mass of desert land of the Province, made it impossible to promote a productive economy and a centralized societal set-up. Some historians are of the view that prior to the Khanate of Kalat in 1666 AD, the province of Balochistan served primarily as a refuge for the wave of up-rooted Afghans, Mongols and Mughals.

Competition for scarce resources of the area began with the migration of nomadic Baloch tribes from south western Persia to the fertile plains of Kachhi.

These nomadic tribes, when moving towards Kachhi - a triangular inlet form the Indus Valley in the east of Balochistan-were non-tribal people. The tribal culture emerged subsequently, as the Jats were engaged in settled
cultivation, the Brahoi tribes mostly were engaged in sheep-breeding and small agriculture, and were of the same origin as of Baloch stock, called ‘Koch’ and the other main tribal stock being Baloch. The ‘Koch’ and ‘Baloch’ carry the same code of ethics in their daily life, like ‘Mayar-jalli’-Moral Standard, Badal (revenge), ‘Bahoti’ - protection of the weak and ‘Mehman Jalli’- honour to the guest etc ’.

Firdausi, the great Persian poet in his monumental work, Shahnama-e-Firdausi, has mentioned about ‘Koch’ and ‘Baloch’: “The Koch and Baloch in the thick of the battle fight like ferocious dogs”.

The Koch were settled in the low land areas of Balochistan in the deep mountainous ranges, and were called Low Landers, and those who were settled in plains and desert up to the mountain ranges were called High Landers. The Brahui language was spoken in the deep south, at Kalat, a distinct language different from Balochi since the time of Sewa-e-Kalat, a Hindu King who had ruled Kalat since antiquity. The Sanskrit words are still used in Brahui language, which indicates that at some time the Dravidian people have inhabited this part. But with the influx of Koch and Baloch tribes, the Baloch population settled in these areas, had adopted this language, while the Baloch stock had moved onwards to the plains of Sindh and Punjab. The Baloch were natural warriors, who had no patience for settled life, therefore, Kachhi plains were conquered by them and certain parts of Sindh and Punjab. Arand-Dajil in D.I Khan in KPK and D.G Khan in Punjab provinces were once in control of Baloch Tribes.
Emergence of Khanate of Kalat

Mir Chakar

Baloch history is incomplete without the name of Mir Chakar, the great. Like Alexander the great for Greeks and Napoleon Bonaparte for French, Mir Chakar the great occupies a very prominent place in Baloch history. The first Baloch confederacy of tribes was established down the mighty Bolan Pass in 16th century, under the able leadership of Mir Chakar the great, himself a Rind and the progeny of Mir Jalal Khan Rind who had travelled all the way from Halab, Syria, along with his 66 warrior tribes from a vast area, from Alburz mountain tops to the Caspian Sea to Sijistan and through Karman desert and had finally settled on Mekran Coast and up country. Finally, they had moved to Kachhi plains and reached the Indus River. At Sevi-Sibi the Rind tribes had established their center of power. From Sevi, they had gone up to Multan and had once conquered certain parts of Muzzafargarh. The ruins of Sevi Fort still remind us about the rule of Mir Chakar Khan the great.

During Mir Chakar’s rule, the Balochi folklore and ballads had reached their zenith. The mystical and mythical poetry of Beevergh and the love story of Shae-Murid, narrated by various poets till date, are great contributions to the Balochi literature. The Balochi literature, in the shape of ballads and epic-poetry of wars, is of immense historical value. Infact, the Baloch history was first narrated through Ballads, during Mir Chakar’s time, which is still a great source for historians on Balochistan.

Mir Chakar’s rule was smashed with his ambitions to conquer the land across Indus and internecine tribal friction and wars. The Rind-Lashar war between Baloch tribes of Rind and Lashars lasted for thirty years. Finally, Mir Chakar
abandoned Sevi and lived in Multan, where he is buried at Satgarah. Mir Chakar’s time is remembered as the era of loot and plunder, fighting and the height of ‘Balochi revenge’. Mir Chakar could not succeed in giving Balochs a settled way of life.

Nasir Khan Noori

The establishment of Ahmedzai rule in Kalat in 1666 AD was followed by territorial expansion into the south eastern parts of Kachhi, previously under the control of Sindh. Battles were fought until Kalhora rulers of Sindh allowed Nasir Khan Noori to restructure land rights in Kachhi. Tribes that participated in the battles were awarded with tracts of land.

The great increase in his estate, allowed Nasir Khan to maintain a more lavish government. With a proliferation of government officials, Kalat offered the perfect setting for elite intervention with an elaborate protocol based on tribal ranking. Baloch-Brahui difference ceased to be an issue and despite the Ahmedzis being Brahoi-speaking, the later Khans were to call themselves Khan-e-Baloch. The bureaucracy, which administered the royal estate, also increased. From 1666 AD to 1740 AD, Kalat was essentially a very porous confederacy.

In 1740 AD, the Khan allied himself with Persian conqueror Nadir Shah. The Kalat Khanate entered a phase of consolidation. Kachhi plains were once again controlled by Khan with the help of Nadir Shah. Nasir Khan Noori ruled Balochistan from 1749 AD to 1795 AD. He pursued a program that combined innovation with an elaboration of prior Khans’ policies. Nasir Khan’s reign lasted for almost fifty years and was the golden age of Kalat. He established a
relatively stable alliance with Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Durrani-Abdali in 1748 AD.

After the death of Nadir Shah, his own soldier and faithful, Ahmed Shah Durrani announced his independence from Iran and from Herat to Hindu-Kash and from Hemand to Salang pass established his kingdom. He declared himself the king of Afghanistan. He tested the nerves of Nasir Khan in Mekran, by sending his Lashkars to Panjgoor, and challenged the rule of Nasir Khan and attacked Kalat. Nasir replied back in a tit for tat manner and fought to the last. Ahmed Shah’s troops were compelled to retreat. Afterwards, a truce was signed between the two rivals and the Afghan King accepted the line between the two countries, Afghanistan and Balochistan, and then Nasir Khan helped Abdali in his Mashad expedition. When Abdali moved to Dehli in the 3rd Battle of Pani Path, the Baloch Lashkar under the leadership of Nasir Khan helped Abdali in conquering Dehli. Some troops of Baloch Lashkar were permanently stationed in Kashmir.

Nasir Khan conquered Mekran, Lesbella and Kharan and took control of several small parts of the Indian Ocean. The death of Nasir Khan in 1795 AD relegated the state into a period of crisis.

The Khanate of Kalat was a political system that included a tribal way of organization, though more elaborate than the tribe, yet something less than a State.

Had the British not intervened in Afghanistan, Kalat might have well recovered under an effective Khan. However, Kalat’s internal conflicts, combined with the movement of Russia into Central Asia, led the British to intervene and initiate policies, which in fact, ‘froze’ the ‘chiefdom’.
The British Era

After the conclusion of the first Anglo-Afghan War and the disastrous British defeat, the British-Indian government worked towards re-defining Kalat’s role in their Frontier Policy. Eventually, with the treaty of 1854 AD, the British acknowledged Kalat’s independent status and treated the Khanate at par with Afghanistan.

In subsequent years, two strategies were evolved in the corridors of power of British Raj. One school of thought advocated a ‘Closed Border Policy’ of gaining the support of local rulers without interfering in their internal affairs. The other school of thought advocated ‘Forward Policy’, urging an active engagement through establishing a net-work of friendly states.

Eventually both policies were applied alternatively during the nineteenth century. From 1872AD onwards, the British administration adopted a different policy. Fearing that the instability so close to their borders, might facilitate Russian encroachment, the British decided to adopt the ‘Forward Policy’, besides directly interfering in the internal affairs of the tribes. For this purpose, Major Robert Sandeman was deputed to carry-out the Forward Policy in Balochistan.

The supreme interest was to pacify the land, safeguard freedom of movement to secure roads and passes, and to consolidate indirect British influence without any sizeable, permanent military engagement.

Secondly the British introduced a council of tribal elders, called ‘Jirga’, to settle the issues through peaceful means. Thirdly, the British introduced a police and administrative machinery, called ‘Levy’ in the province.
However, Sandman’s Policy produced a politically fragmented Balochistan with many centers of powers, the Khan being just one of them. The permanent presence of the British and the construction of new traffic arteries brought many changes to the tribal way of life. Quetta was systematically developed into a military base, and the hub of all administrative, economic and political activities.

The Post British Era

On the independence of Pakistan on 14th August, 1947, the relations between the Federation and its units had been tense, especially in Balochistan, which had witnessed the traumas of a colonial rule. Being a land-locked area between British India and Afghanistan, Balochistan remained a transit route. Economic reforms, which were required to bring Balochistan province into the main political, administrative and economic stream, were not taken into consideration, instead an imprudent decision was taken to convert entire West Pakistan into ‘One Unit’ in 1955. The smaller provinces opposed this new set-up and demanded for the restoration of their provincial status, as envisaged in the pre-One Unit days and as per the map carved out during the British Balochistan days. The Bengali nationalism was gaining momentum on the basis of their linguistic and cultural identities and had opposed the disparities between the federating units, but soon they finally agreed to the principle of ‘Parity’ between the Provinces. The democratic movement for the restoration of democracy, carrying out the work of constitution-making and ensuring economic, educational and cultural uplift of the provinces of Pakistan, had finally compelled the government to hold general elections in the country on the basis of adult-franchise, on the principle of ‘one man, one vote’. 
The deep economic, political, social and cultural differences, which had existed between the provinces for centuries, had resulted into the split mandate in the general election in 1970. The former East Pakistan, where the majority of the people of Pakistan inhabited the land had opted in favour of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman’s Awami Leage, while in Punjab and Sindh, Bhutto’s People’s Party had won the majority seats in the western wing. But in the then NWFP, and now Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa and Balochistan, the people had voted in favour of NAP (National Awami Party). This was a clear expression of the resentment of smaller provinces, which since the birth of Pakistan in 1947 had been ignored. The people had now expressed their collective will through the power of vote, demanding democracy, social justice and reform in health, education, culture and economy. The people of the small provinces had a strong fear from the dominance of majority party, mostly supported by Punjab. After the emergence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh, the smaller provinces had become more fearful of the emerging Punjab-dominated military and bureaucratic rule in the country.

Only a constitutional guarantee could help to pacify the boiling sentiments in the smaller provinces, especially in Balochistan, where people were now looking up to the outside forces for the solution of their problems than to the forces available within the country. The delay in the constitution making, and the exploitation of the resources of the provinces had widened the gap between the provinces and the Federation.

The constitutional guarantees, as reflected in the 1973 Constitution, were a beacon of hope for the democratic forces in the country but due to the intervention of some supra-constitutional forces working behind the scenes, the constitution was trampled upon and the country remained
under the military rule for a long time. Bypassing the
general will of the people had badly tarnished Pakistan’s
image.

It is a sad fact, but let me say it openly before this
august gathering, that Pakistan had suffered the most
because of the rule of few throughout its history. Pakistan
has suffered the most. It was the military rule in 1970 when
Bangladesh came into being, and it has always been during
the martial laws that Balochistan had witnessed four-five
insurgencies in the past. Today again, we are confronted
with a low-level insurgency in Balochistan.

The geo-political situation of Balochistan is such that
we all have to take very careful and cautious decisions, for
brining Balochistan back in the national loop.

In today’s Balochistan, its youth seem to be very
disgruntled due to their economic, political and cultural
exploitation. Presently Balochistan provides the bulk of
revenues to the Federal Government, but in the NFC Award,
its share, although recently increased, is a peanut. However,
even then, if the projects are sincerely and honestly carried
out in the provinces in letter and spirit, it might bring a
social change. But unfortunately, most of the money is lost
due to corruption and a meager amount is left to bring any
change into the attitudes of the people of Balochistan. No
society can prosper without education. Other than water,
mines, and gas resources, the Gwadar deep seaport is going
to be a big source of revenue, but certain reservations of
political and administrative nature are hampering further
progress of the Gwadar Port.

The copper and gold fields of Reko-Dek in Chaghi
district are big sources of revenue, but the future of these
projects is also hanging in balance, in the hands of the ambitious investors within the country and abroad.

Similarly, the Kachhi Canal project is going to bring gigantic change in the life of the people of Balochistan, but all these treasures put together have so far failed to bring a change in the life of common man in Balochistan and still a vast majority of the people of Balochistan lives below the poverty line and 80% of the children are drop-outs, who leave their schooling after passing the primary classes. The total number of middle schools is less than seven hundred and there are only 424 high schools. The literacy rate of female education has not exceeded 27%. There are thousands of schools without proper buildings. The employment rate is at its lowest. Although, through Balochistan Package, the Federal government has employed 5000 youth, but Balochistan package appears to be a mere eye wash. The other social indicators, like poverty, poor school conditions, lack of quality education, unemployment and ever-deteriorating law and order situation portray a dismal picture.

A deadly campaign of killings in Baloch areas goes unabated till date, with the militants and separatists killing the innocent civilians and the security agencies retaliating. For last two-three years, bodies of hundreds of youth, aged between 20 and 40 have been recovered, who are either victims of the militants or of the so-called ‘kill and dump’ operations. The killings, unfortunately, result in perpetuating a climate of fear in Balochistan.

In the backdrop of this low-level insurgency, the other pro-Federation and pro-Pakistan forces have gone in the background, while the extremist forces in the shape of Baloch Republic Army (BRA), Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), Lashkar-e-Balochistan and Balochistan Liberation
Front (BLF) are playing havoc with the lives of the people and in support of these forces of insurgents, some invisible hands are backing their own groups and expanding this insurgency. The democratic tune of Balochistan National Party led by Akhtar Jan Mengal, National Party led by Dr. Malik and National Party (Awami) led by Mir Israr Zehri have almost become politically inactive in the wake of threats which they receive both by BRA, BLA, BLF and Lashkar-e-Balochistan and other like-minded groups and parties demanding ‘freedom’ from Pakistan.

The insurgency taking place in the Kohlu area is led by Harbyar Marri sitting in London, the son of Sardar Khair Bux Marri. This new phase in the decades-old insurgency of Balochistan has re-surfaced through the activities of Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) led by one, Dr. Allah Nazar Baloch, from Mashkay, Tehsil of Khuzdar. He belongs to Muhammad Hasni tribe. He had his education from Bolan Medical College and by profession is a doctor.

The Balochistan Liberation Front, which he leads, is mostly active in Mekran and on the coastline. Strangely enough, for the first time in the political history of Balochistan, a commoner is leading an insurgency, which otherwise always used to be the lot of big chiefs of Balochistan i.e. Marri, Bugti and Mengal tribes. But Allah Nazar Baloch, son of a peasant from Mashkey, is running the whole show for good or for the worst. It is not a pride for us that a peasant’s son is leading an insurgency, but it is a sad note in our history that during the past sixty six years, we have failed in addressing the issues of youth of this Province and had been mainly focusing on big Sardars or the Sardars created by our own doings. These groups of youth, who wanted to excel in their own fields of education, health, science, and engineering, arts, culture, economy and history, were ignored. According to my analysis, had we been
sincere to Pakistan, our country and our land, we would have supported the middle class in Balochistan and, especially the youth of Balochistan, who could possibly have played a more positive role in abolishing the Sardari System and creating a new Pakistan. But, perhaps, to submit our own interests, have opposed certain Sardars while supported others, all to the peril of the wretched of the earth, the common Baloch and today it is feared that possibly the day is fast approaching, when Balochistan Province would be dominated by the youth of Balochistan who are not only anti-Sardars, but also anti-establishment. The insurgency will spread in the whole society, if we ignore this class.

Baloch Republic Army is led by Brahmdagh Bugti, the grandson of late Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti, who lives in Switzerland. The wrong policies of the Federal Government, which led to the killing of Akbar Bugti, added fuel to the fire and gave his group another cause to fight for.

In fact, the rebellious tribes of Marris and Bugtis in Pre-British times have enjoyed an independent status of their own, fighting in many battles ferociously, which has became a part of their folklore and history.

Although, Marri Bugti areas have been part of the Khanate of Kalat but they have always lived independently. And during the British period they have been dealt with separately under their direct control.

Unfortunately, in the entire period of sixty six years of Pakistan’s history, no effort was made in bringing these areas, including the other tribal areas of Balochistan, into the main stream. Almost in any part of Balochistan, especially where the resistance to the provincial and federal governments have been non-existent, no progress and no reforms have taken place there. The sense of deprivation has
culminated into resentment, friction, fighting and ultimately low-level insurgency.

**The Way Forward**

Balochistan, due to its strategic location between Persian Gulf and Central Asian Countries, which are oil rich countries having the potential for catering to future energy needs of the industrialized world, is the focus of world power politics. Balochistan’s un-tapped reservoirs of oil, natural gas, gold, copper, marble, and other natural resources including its vast coastal belt, which is 1100 km long, with fish catch, oil and other sea related assets worth billions of rupees, need to be un-tapped for the prosperity of its people.

Certainly, the future of Pakistan depends on Balochistan and the exploitation of its tapped and un-tapped resources for the prosperity and betterment of its population. But to achieve these long cherished goals of prosperity certain tough and pragmatic decisions have to be made, both at the Federal and Provincial levels.

According to my own thinking, on top of everything else, certain political issues need to be addressed immediately to pacify the people of Balochistan.

a. To stop the wave of extra-judicial killings from both the sides, the security agencies should refrain from kidnapping, the anti-establishment elements and throwing their dead bodies into the open. Such elements should be arrested and dealt with according to the law of the land. All those persons kidnapped or missing should be brought to the courts and the families of those who lost their lives should be compensated for the loss of their loved ones. Without stoppage of these killings, no progress can be made
for peace and security. Peace for Balochistan means solving the problem of Balochistan, not with bullet but with negotiations.

b. The sane and democratic forces should be trusted and encouraged and through the process of election let the people choose their own representatives, without engineered polls. All those people, who have political background, and are honest and sincere should be supported, while those forces which are presently at the helm of affairs but who are corrupt should be shunted-out through a democratic process. We must trust our people, instead of trusting an individual than to trust an imaginary and abstract Pro-Pakistan element.

c. Concrete reforms should be carried out in the field of education. Education plays the most vital role in the making of nation. The disgruntled Baloch youth could only be brought in the main national current through good quality education.

d. Political reforms, along with economic reforms should be introduced in the province to give people a sense of participation. The disparity between the ‘ruler’ and the ‘ruled’ should be finished. The people should be given a chance to express their own will, while deciding about their future. The provincial Assembly elected through popular vote of the people should be accorded with respect and be empowered to take action on issues like the future of Gwadar Deep Sea Port, Reko-Dek, issuing of licenses to the parties within the country and abroad for the exploration of oil and gas.

e. Although, under the 18th Amendment more powers have been assigned to the provincial governments, but still, there is a need to ensure the supremacy of constitution by allowing the provincial government to take lead in all walks of life. Provincial autonomy is
essential for the progress and prosperity of the nation in general, and the province in particular; and there is no doubt that the 18th amendment has provided the necessary breakthrough in this regard.

f. Educational Reforms are required to ensure:-
   (1) Access
   (2) Quality
   (3) Provision of Infrastructural facilities.

g. Health is another important social sector, which needs the attention of the Federal and Provincial governments.

h. There is a need to support the commoners and the youth of Balochistan, which constitute the bulk of the population. Presently the youth support big Sardars due to the wrong policies of the Federal Government, who have always supported an ‘army of Sardars’ involved in corruption and enjoying the perks and privileges of the establishment. That is why these youth have formed various groups, who are resorting to violence against the state.

i. The important question is, who are going to be the winner and the loser in this situation. And I wish, our policy makers will give serious thought to these questions. I end my speech with John F. Kennedy’s saying: “let us not ask ourselves what this country has done for us? But let us ask ourselves what we have done for this country?”

THANK YOU,

NOTE. I am greatly indebted to the following authors, historians, columnists and scholars whose works have helped me greatly in preparing my perspective on Balochistan.


3. ‘Search lights on Balochistan and Baloch’. By Justice Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri


Appendix – 3

Transcript of Ambassador Nawabzada Aminullah Raisani’s Keynote Address

Honorable President National Defence University, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Assalam-o- Alaikum

I take it as a great honor for myself to be a part of this august gathering of intellectuals and scholars, in this important national Workshop, at the prestigious National Defence University. I thank the President NDU for the hospitality and warm welcome offered to us. I especially appreciate him for the kind words which he has uttered for me. At the same time, I commend his team who put their hearts and souls in organizing this important workshop, considering it as a national cause. I wish you all the success and hope that the workshop will achieve its desired ends by the grace of Almighty Allah.

It is, indeed, a great responsibility to deliver the keynote speech at such a forum, especially on such an issue which involves so many dimensions, perspectives and stakeholders.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Allow me to say, that the issue of Balochistan, has been widely misunderstood, because most of the people here and abroad do not understand the inner dynamics, the geographical and strategic realities and the psycho-social intricacies of this largest province of our beloved country, in terms of its size and natural resources. History bears witness
to the plight of the people of Balochistan caused by multiple factors, including a historical baggage of ignorance and neglect, exacerbated by hostile living conditions with rugged mountains and intimidating climate, where water is a rare commodity. Owing to this scenario, general socio-economic development in Balochistan is still a utopian dream.

**Ladies and Gentlemen!**

Here, one would find a unique blend of various ethnicities, all living harmoniously and peacefully together for centuries. It is the birthplace of thousand years’ old ancient civilizations of ‘Mehergarh’ and the Indus Valley. The Balochis, as we know of today, belonged to one of the two branches of the same tribe as the Kurds. Thus, the Balochis trace their ancestry to the Arabs and just like the Arabs, even today the structure of the society in Balochistan is built upon tribal system and a nomadic way of life. The ancient abode of the Balochis was the valley between Tigress and Aleppo. You will still find some of villages in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, which have common names like Maskeecha, Sohran, Dozan and Masso etc. In fact, when I was ambassador in Lebanon, the Mayor of Tripoli was a Jamali.

So, it was only around 636 AD, that the Balochs started settling permanently in this vast hinterland and turned it into ‘Balochistan’ that we know of today. The Khanate of Kalat that we hear of was established through a consensus between all tribes of the area, who declared Mir Hassan Khan Baloch as the Khan of Kalat. Later on, again through unanimous selection, Mir Ahmed Khan of the Qambrani tribe was declared as the Khan-e-Baloch-II, after the demise of Mir Hassan Khan and, thus, the Khanate came in the hands of the Ahmadzais, who adopted this name after
their Khan. Most of the Baloch tribes took oath of allegiance to the Khan of Kalat.

The Khan of Kalat was flanked on the right by Sardar Raisani, Chief of Sarawan, along with 14 tribes under him and on the left by Zarkzai Zahri, the Chief of Jhalawan, with many tribes under him. Serious tribal issues and disputes were settled through the tribal Jirgas and Qazi courts set up by the Khan, apart from having own tax collection system. In 1880 AD, there were four princely states: Makran, Kharan, Lasbela and Kalat. In 1876 AD, Sir Robert Sandeman concluded a treaty with the Khan and brought all these states under the British suzerainty, whereby, the Khan gave away the charge of foreign affairs and defence to the British. However, in 1883 AD, the British took control of Balochistan by arresting Mir Khuda-e-Dad Khan and putting Mir Mahmood Khan his son on the throne. In 1933 AD, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan took the reign of Khanship and this dynasty continues till today. Thus, the Balochistan that existed in 1947 was minus the British Balochistan, as noted above as well as minus Gwadar, which was a part of Oman. Even more importantly, these areas had been ceded legally by then Baloch rulers to other rulers and empires.

**British Era and Sandemanian System**

The Sandemanian system of administration introduced in Balochistan gave the chiefs (Sardars) complete autonomy with respect to their power over their subjects, but the Sardars themselves were given salaries and supervised by the British. The Khan of Kalat had no direct power to run the affairs of Sardars under the British system. Under the arrangement, ‘Agent to the Governor General’, known as ‘Political Agent’, appointed by the British, held absolute power and that made the Khan of Kalat a mere spectator in his own ‘free country’. The Government of
British India introduced a new Shahi Jirga, a consultative body of tribal elders, sardars and aristocrats, which had the authority to deal with the local issues. The city of Quetta, the administered capital of the British Balochistan, had the status of a municipality with its own locally elected representatives. It also had a large military cantonment, functioning as a powerful base of the British control that served as a stabilizing influence in the turbulent politics of the tribes.

The Shahi Jirga changed the character of Jirga altogether. Whereas, the Jirga used to be a communal court to dispense participatory justice in the past, this Shahi Jirga broke the last remaining institution of a purely tribal character, by having only aristocrats in it, thus, giving the British a powerful tool to control any rebellions against them. Resultantly, sardars were made responsible to ensure law and order in their jurisdiction. For this purpose, the Corps of levies was raised for which recruitment was made through Sardars.

On the other hand, the Pashtoons had their own tribal chiefs and they were not directly or indirectly under the rule of the Khan of Kalat. After the arrival of the British, the same system was introduced in the Pashtoon areas as well.

**Ladies and Gentlemen!**

On 29 June 1947, the Shahi Jirga of the British Balochistan, along with the elected members of the Quetta Municipality unanimously passed a resolution for the accession of Balochistan to the State of Pakistan. On July 18th, 1947, the province of British Balochistan was to become a part of Pakistan, without any other qualification or any provision. In the meantime, when the Partition of India was taking place, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah met the
Khan of Kalat many times and convinced him to join Pakistan and on his advice, the Khan of Kalat acceded his territory to form part of Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Many of you would not have heard about an interesting historical fact that after Balochistan was merged with Pakistan, the Khan of Kalat invited the Quaid-i-Azam and Madar-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah to Kalat at his palace. There, both were weighed in gold and that gold was given to the government of Pakistan as a gesture of goodwill by the Khan of Kalat. The Balochis have since then always proven their bravery, courage, pride, benevolence and loyalty as a nation to their beloved motherland.

However, I must point out that some ill-meaning miscreants have never liked this turn of events. To-date, there have been five occasions when unrest in a few parts of Balochistan was created with a view to developing distrust between the Khan of Kalat and the central government, starting from 1948, 1955, 1958, and 1973 and lately in 2006, after the killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Nature has endowed this largest province of Pakistan, constituting about 44% of the total land mass and just 5% population, with immense natural wealth worth billions of dollars. That is a fact that only adds to its geo-strategic importance, apart from the fact that it has common borders with Afghanistan and Iran too. While Pakistan is an energy corridor and a life-line between energy rich regions located in the West and North West of Pakistan and energy hungry regions located in East and South East of Pakistan, however, Balochistan, being a prime location connecting the two, has brought it to the limelight globally.
Thus, I feel strongly that the international powers’ bloc and influential individual countries are looking forward to have their say because of their stakes involved in the region. The so-called endgame in Afghanistan has its bearing on the situation in Balochistan too. The reports of the involvement of foreign hands in Balochistan unrest are nothing new to us. All of you are well aware that a new map was drawn a few years back by Lt Col Peters, of the US Defence Department, isolating Balochistan from the rest of Pakistan. Such conspiracy theories do have hidden motives in the long term and efforts are in hand to move in that direction. However, I must make a mention here that 96% to 97% population of Balochistan is thorough-bred Pakistani and would never let a few hundred militants to hijack Balochistan, provided the governing bodies, both in the center and province, become serious in delivering good governance to the people of Balochistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

The introduction of sectarianism in the shape of the Shia-Sunni divide is completely a new phenomenon for the province whose people are, by nature and by general societal make up, very moderate in their religious beliefs and known for their tolerance and forbearance. The mindless killings of innocent people, the cases of missing persons and kidnapping for ransom are new phenomena for the people of Balochistan, who already had hostile terrains and harsh climates to fight against.

I am of the view that unfortunately the provincial governing structure seems to be collapsing, because of the careless attitude of the ruling class. Similarly, it may also not be wrong if we say that the central government has equally neglected this province, especially over the last four years. The policies prepared in drawing rooms, even if they are
done meticulously, would yield no results, if they are not implemented in true spirit. There is no doubt that a lot of money has gone to Balochistan, but its trickle down impact is zero, because the money doled out to the political leadership of Balochistan has never reached the people, for whom it was allocated.

By any stretch of imagination, the main problem of this area was never the insurgencies or sectarianism etc. Their main problem is lack of socio-economic development, be it in terms of lack of access to healthcare, clean drinking water, exacerbated by scanty rainfalls or rising levels of poverty and illiteracy. The Northern Balochistan has severe winters and the Southern regions have severe summers. The government needs to come up with effective and consistent policies for the socio-economic uplift of the people of Balochistan, who definitely deserve the long awaited change. They cannot be kept in the wilderness; after all they also live in the 21st Century.

Thank you so much for patient hearing.
Introduction

1. Historically speaking, Pakistan emerged as a new country on the world map in 1947. Balochistan, with its present boundaries, also came into existence in 1970 only. At the time of Partition of British India, what had been known as ‘Confederation of Balochistan States’ was designated as Kalat Division and the British run Chief Commisionerate erroneously called as ‘British Balochistan’, comprising territories belonging to Afghanistan and Sindh, was designated as Quetta Division. In 1970 with the break-up of One Unit, Quetta and Kalat Divisions were merged and present Balochistan emerged with new, greatly expanded borders, ethnic and racial mix. Since 1970, besides being the newest, it's also the biggest province of Pakistan, covering 43.8% of area but has only about 5% and lately 6% of Pakistan's population.

2. While the British governed the British Balochistan efficiently, resulting into socio-economic development of the area, they allowed the Confederation of Balochistan to go on grappling with centuries old poverty and backwardness on their own, as long as they remained subservient. This grave handicap of Balochistan was ignored for decades by policy makers of Pakistan. The Baloch/Brahui Sardars were angered by sometimes genuine sometimes perceived wrongs being done to them and their areas. It created frictions and occasional unrest in Baloch/Brahui areas. The current unrest and militancy is also due to some of the aggrieved Baloch/Brahui Sardars, who developed grievances against the
Federal Government some years ago. Like always, it is restricted to ‘old Balochistan’ and Quetta only.

3. There is a nation-wide concern; what is the Balochistan issue? Why is there socio-economic backwardness? What is the ethno-racial composition of the people here? Why is there political alienation of Baloch people only in this province? How may it be resolved? These, then, are some of the questions that the speakers shall address as per their own perceptions.

4. **Aim.** For my part, I shall speak on the following only:

   a. Geography and its Impact.
   b. Brief History of Balochistan.
   c. Demography; Racial/Ethnic Spread
   During Various Epochs

5. **Sequence**

   a. **Geography - Impact**
      (1) Geographic Realities.
      (2) Impact of Geography
   b. **Historical Perspective — Pre-Partition**
      (1) Arrival of Baloch Tribes.
      (2) Political Status of Pre British Balochistan.
      (3) British Arrival in Balochistan
   c. **Post Partition Historical Perspective**
      (1) Creation of Balochistan Province -1970.
      (2) Old Balochistan's Lingering Time Warp.
      (3) Socio-Political Fragmentation.
      (4) Demographic Profile and Role of Non-Baloch.
Geography — Impact

6. **Geographical Realities.** Balochistan is a victim of the tyranny of geography. This largest province of Pakistan, with 350,000 sq km of land, is a mountainous/semi desert arid land with plateaus here and there. It barely gets 9-10 inches of annual rain, while some areas may not get any rain for several years. Monsoons barely reach the fringes of North Eastern Balochistan. There are no rivers, only seasonal rainy nullahs. Water has been so scarce that contours of land capable of holding scanty rain decided limits of tribes' pastoral rights. Agriculture was sparse and dependent upon infrequent rains and Karezes. Coastline had no water also and there was no culture of sea faring. For centuries, small tribes and sub-tribes had been living here a nomadic, pastoral life. Tribes had to stick to their pasture lands and remained inward-looking, due to the barriers of steep mountains and waterless barren deserts. Land was non-productive, weather very harsh with great variation during the day as well as in seasons. It was only after Pakistan came into being that Pat Feeder Canal started irrigating a limited area South of Dera Murad Jamali and electricity after 1986 made it possible to mine water from great depths for irrigation in some 20% of the area. It is claimed to be rich in mineral resources, but other than copper, and now dwindling reservoirs of natural gas, the claim is unsubstantiated.

7. **Impact of Harsh Geography.** There being no rivers, since ancient times, there have been no towns in Balochistan, only small villages and nomadic life could survive extreme scarcity of water. Till the British came in 1878 and decided to establish a military base at what became known as Quetta, there is no mention of any place of significance of Balochistan in history. As far back as Alexander in 350 BC, whose army certainly passed through Bolan Pass on the way to Kandahar and Bactria (Balkh)
from the coast of Arabian Sea, there is no mention of anything in Balochistan. Even the Muslim Arab Army sent to conquer eastern areas of Iran in 750 AD, returned from Panjgur considering the region ‘a wasteland, not worth anything’. The root cause of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness of old Balochistan is, indeed, steeped in centuries of living on non-productive lands. With the absence of water, they were forced to live a nomadic pastoral life, literally land locked. Every sub-tribe was endlessly trying to settle blood feuds with neighbours and eyed outsiders with suspicion. This impact of harsh geography did start to dilute, due to socio-economic development initiated after Pakistan came into being. However, it still persists in many ways.

**Historical Perspective – Pre-Partition**

8. **Arrival of Baloch Tribes in ‘Balochistan’**. Old Balochistan has been inhabited by Dravidian stock called Brahuis, since ancient times. Mehrgarh Civilization near Sibi is said to have existed in 6000 BC. The area East of Persia up to river Indus remained under Zoroastrian rule from the period of Cyrus the great in 560 BC, till the advent of Islam in about 700-800 AD. The Baloch immigrated from Syria and Persia, in the aftermath of the invasion of Chenghez Khan from 1225-1300 A.D, to areas where Brahuis were already living. Brahuis are now being accepted as ‘Baloch’ due to inter-marriages, but ethnically and racially, they are very different, being sons of the soil. Around this period, Kurds also emigrated from Western Persia and settled in areas around Bolan Pass. However, the Balochs are not limited to what we call Balochistan. Iran’s Seistan-Balochistan province also has about 60-80 miles deep belt of Baloch population. Over a period of time, Baloch immigrated further to greener pastures of Sindh and Punjab, where they are in far greater
number than in Balochistan. A large number of Baloch tribes live in both the provinces.

9. **Political Status of Pre-British Balochistan.** Since ancient times, due to its non-productivity and barren land, Balochistan never interested any serious invaders. It remained under nominal control of first Persia, then Afghans and then under Delhi, when Pashtuns and later Mughals ruled India. Name of Mir Chakar Rind, as head of the Balochs, appears in history in 1550 AD. The title 'Khan of Kalat' was awarded in 1554 AD by Ahmad Shah Durrani, the king of Kandahar to Mir Nasir Khan, a Brahui chieftain, in recognition of services rendered by him. Khan of Kalat never had a strong central government or army; he only exercised notional and moral authority over other Brahui and Baloch chieftains, first on the authority of Amir of Afghanistan, then after 1854, the British. Gwadar and adjoining coastal areas were under Sultan of Oman. Small Baloch sub-tribes lived under harsh weather and terrain conditions under their own sub-Sardars, bearing little allegiance to any central authority.

10. **British Arrival in Balochistan - 1854.** The British fought the First Afghan War in 1839 to throw out Russians from Kabul. They passed through Bolan Pass, which was then under the Khan of Kalat. After subduing Afghanistan, they went back. However, the Great Game raging in Europe between Russia and Britain threatened the British India also. In 1854 the British entered into a treaty with the Khan of Kalat and brought his territory, including the other three Princely States of Kharan, Mekran and Lasbela, under the British suzerainty for a sum of Rs. 50,000 per annum. In 1878, the Afghans destroyed the British embassy in Kabul and every British was killed there. The British attacked again and defeated Afghans, but decided to stay put this time and acquired the Bolan Pass and Quetta from Khan of Kalat. The
small village of Quetta, known as 'Shalkot', had been given to Kalat by Amir of Kandahar in a marriage gift. Quetta had no more than 6000-7000 Pashtuns living here in scattered villages, the biggest one known as Kasi Qilla. Sibi, Harnai, Loralai, Zhob and Pishin were part of Afghanistan. The British did not occupy Kalat and other 3 states; they merely placed a resident at Kalat, a major, to oversee the Khan. They allowed the Khan to look after Baloch-Brahui areas, then known as ‘Balochistan’. Bugti and Marri Baloch tribes, living on East of Bolan Pass, were never really a part of Kalat State. The newly acquired territory from Afghanistan, part of Sindh up to Sibi, as well as Marri-Bugti areas East of Bolan Pass, the British named as ‘British Balochistan’, with Quetta as the Chief Commissionerate's Capital governed by the Agent to Governor General. In 1893, through agreements, the Durand Line marking the northern border of British Balochistan was drawn, so was the boundary with Iran drawn. Afghanistan's remaining boundary was also delineated at this time through agreements with Russia. A Political Assistant was placed in Sibi to administer Marri/Bugti Agency, Kalat and other three States continued to survive in centuries old abject poverty, on their own, with no socio-economic benefits of the British rule, other than a stipend of Rs. 100,000 to defray expenses on maintaining levies to protect trade caravans.

The credit for acquiring Balochistan and creating ‘British Balochistan’, almost without a fight, goes to Col Robert Sandeman, the British Political Officer, who came here as Captain and spent some 35 years here, before passing away at Las Bella, while still serving. Let me share with you his approach described in a letter:

"To be successful in this frontier a man has to deal with the hearts and minds of the people and not only with their fears...................... To be successful required much labour."
I quote this to point out, if only the political leaders and bureaucrats of Pakistan had also followed this approach right from the outset, we would not have reached the stage where we are now. This still is the way forward.

**Post-Pakistan Historical Perspective**

11. **Creation of Province of Balochistan.** With the emergence of Pakistan in 1947, Kalat and other three States voluntarily acceded to Pakistan in March 1948, after debating it for some time, although the British Partition Plan of India did not envisage any of the 450 princely states to remain independent. The Confederation of Kalat States and the British Balochistan with a total population of about 3 million, were given the status of an Administrative Division, each designating them as Kalat and Quetta Divisions. With the break-up of One-Unit in 1970, the two Divisions were merged and given the status of a Province. Balochistan, thus, became a province for the first time in history. The special distinction between the British Balochistan and Old Balochistan was lost. The poverty and backwardness of Old Balochistan due to rigors of geography and history was not taken seriously. No one at the helm of affairs realized it and made efforts to address it. Old Balochistan and British Balochistan were treated alike, while they were not. The British did develop British Balochistan to some degree, due to their strategic compulsions. They even awarded titles of Nawab to the Bugti and Jogeizai (Pashtuns) Sardars, but they had made no effort to bring any socio-economic development in Baloch/Brahui areas.

12. **Old Balochistan's Lingering Time Warp.** Even during the British rule, the small Baloch and Brahui sub-tribes remained locked in ancient time warp, as they were
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since centuries. However, the British did enforce peace. The Baloch Sardars did not want their tribes to get educated nor did they want their areas to develop. Unfortunately, this continued even after creation of Pakistan. Many amongst them have been against building roads and exploration of minerals in their areas. While some also sent their sons for education to Lahore, they did not allow this for their tribesmen. On the contrary, in 'British Balochistan', i.e. Pashtun areas, development continued and the hold of 'Maliks' became barely nominal. Consequently, they have been progressing and are economically better off. This has been the basic reason for the lack of qualified Baloch/Brahui in the administrative machinery;

12. **Socio-Political Fragmentation.** More or less, the same status exists even today. Baloch/Brahui Sardars, now as elected MNAs/MPAs/Senators and Ministers, have become 'Sardars with full governmental authority', a very powerful status which they had never enjoyed before in history. They can get elected from their areas, without any contest from within, while no one from outside can come and challenge them. This enables them to remain 'politically-independent' or start their own party and refuse to align themselves with any main stream political party for getting re-elected. This gave birth to the so called ‘nationalist parties’, which in simple language means, ‘a small tribal/ethnic political party, headed by a tribal chieftain, who wants to be recognized by national political power, irrespective of the size of his electorate’ Accordingly, it has created a large number of small ethnic/racial sub-tribes-based political parties. There is no political party, which alone is acceptable to all the Baloch/Brahui or Pashtuns in the province.

13. **Demographic Profile of Balochistan.** Old Balochistan, as reported by the British in 1854, had a population of 250,000 comprising Baloch, Brahis, Kurds, Sindhis and Mekrani.
Mekranis were a mix of African-Slaves’ stock and Baloch/Brahuis but now all claim to be Balochs. In the British Balochistan, created in 1886, Pashtuns, Hazaras, Sindhis and Marri, Bugti Baloch lived together. Later, many other ethnic/racial groups came on invitation from the British. The Hazara tribe first migrated from central Afghanistan to Quetta in 1823. After the British arrival in 1878, more Hazaras, Punjabis, Christians, Pashtuns from Frontier and Parsis also settled in Quetta. With this racial and ethnic demographic background, those who may actually qualify to be ‘Baloch’, today, are not more than some 3 million people in Balochistan. By including Brahuis, Jamalis, Kurds, Lasis of Las Bela, former African slaves of Mekran and many small Pashtun tribes, who are now living in Baloch areas, many even speak Balochi as mother tongue, and pass for Baloch, the number could perhaps be about 4-5 million out of a total of about 7-8 million population of Balochistan. Pashtuns had boycotted the census in 1998 and, thus, their numbers were just assessed. It was believed that the Pashtuns were about 3 million, while remaining 1-2 million were Sindhis, Hazaras, and settlers. However, this is what was believed to be the count till last year. During the last year census, population of Balochistan is reported to be now 13 million with Pashtuns 6.7 million and actually a majority now, while other ethnic groups have also increased in number. Balochistan is, therefore, a multi-racial, multi-ethnic province.

14. **Political Role of Non-Balochs in Balochistan.** The Brahuis, Kurds, Jamalis, various small sub-tribes of Pashtuns and Sindhis living in Baloch areas have adopted various dialects of Balochi and have become aligned with the Baloch. They have no separate political say. The Hazaras, living in Quetta have small number, but they stick together and do have a small political clout. Punjabis, minorities and other settlers are scattered and do not have any political clout. In any case, ethnic cleansing during 2008-12 has eliminated Punjabis
from Old Balochistan. The Pashtuns, although the biggest minority and, indeed, now the majority, are politically divided in three major political parties, Jamiat-e-Ullema-e-Islam (JUI), Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) and a smaller party, National Awami Party (ANP). Pashtuns are also active in other mainstream national political parties but have a very small representation. JUI, like always, is again following a path of least resistance and has joined this provincial government as usual. However, they never raise a voice for good governance. PKMAP boycotted the election in 2008. As they did not take part in elections, they have little political voice, at least for the time being. That has brought the militant and anti-Pakistan Baloch/Brahuis to the front, giving them by default, the eminent status they have started enjoying, as there is no other major ethnic/racial group to challenge or correct their propaganda, at least as for now.

Conclusion

15. That brings me to the end of my talk. Balochistan has been and continues to suffer from the rigors of geography and history, which has kept it backward and poor. The British rule positively influenced only the British Balochistan, but the Old Balochistan was ignored and treated like the backwaters of Imperial India. The socio-economic backwardness easily lends itself to be politically exploited from within and without. It is a multi-ethnic and multi-racial province and all of it is not disturbed at all. While dealing with Balochistan situation, one needs to take into account all aspects of Balochistan issue.

Agha Ahmad Gul
There is no denying the significance of Pakistan’s geo-strategic location in the region, and within Pakistan, it is Balochistan that has the supreme geo-strategic location. The way area-wise the largest province has been handled since independence is a sorry tale, to say the least. Bad governance, wrong policies and injustices of many decades resulted in backwardness and deprivation and, then, absolute apathy by the federation towards Balochistan’s problems added fuel to the fire and brought the situation to current turmoil. The Balochistan problem is multifaceted and only one factor cannot be singled out as the root cause. There are issues from historical perspective, regional dynamics, political wranglings, tribal aspects and, then, there are governance issues as well. For clarity purpose, however, we must see through all these issues separately, especially the political issues must not be mixed with governance issues. For instance, political reconciliation and confidence building is necessary to address political issues, however, law and order and crime rate etc. are not necessarily offshoots of political problems, rather basically a
consequence of bad governance. Allowing lawlessness to go at alarming proportions in the name of political reconciliation is simply an attempt at creating delusion, to cover up unsuccessful governance.

The root cause of the problem is the vacuum left by the Federation in the Province. For instance, successive rulers have tendered apologies for past injustices with Balochistan but unfortunately, they have made little efforts to stop injustices with the Province during their own reign. Obviously, not rocket science was required to put things right. The only things required were sensible political decisions, judicious use of all available resources and funds, end to all discrimination, injustices and neglect and good governance and administration, through good officers, following the golden principle of ‘the right man at the right job’. Sadly, none of these was done and the problems faced by the province were unnecessarily made more complex. This is how hatred and resentment multiplied which has led to a full-fledged insurgency that we are facing today. At one hand, political issues were left unaddressed for too long and, on the other hand, criminal elements were left at large. The result is a complete distrust and displeasure in all political forces of the province and a complete control of criminal gangs in almost all parts. Even crime, sabotage and terrorism in the provincial capital have become a free-for-all affair and people see with disbelief, how badly things are being managed through this transition phase which is only leading to destruction from here on by the look of things.

While talking about this issue, we first need to differentiate between the government and state, and realize the indispensable reality that opposition to the government does not necessarily mean opposition to the state. This approach will give us a clear path to political reconciliation. We do realize that foreign hand is involved in creating
turbulence in Balochistan as well as in other parts of the country, but it is only our internal weaknesses that allow foreign hand to do, what it is doing. If we put our house in order, no one can do anything bad from outside.

An important aspect of good governance is full consideration of historical, cultural and social tendencies of a particular nationality or community. Balochs, for that matter, are quite unique. We see a blatant sense of freedom, an engraved conviction of not being ruled by anyone, and that’s why the Balochs never accept injustices nor keep silent on discrimination. We need to honor this inherent peculiarity and adopt policies that promote national harmony, without trespassing on the Baloch’s self-honour.

Then, we also need to keep in mind that Balochistan consists of many communities and nationalities. It is probably heir to the most ancient civilizations of the world, as evident from Mehrgarh. A number of languages are spoken in the province, Pashtu, Balochi, Brahui, Persian, Sindhi, with Brahui being one of the ancient languages of the world. Altogether, the Province closely mirrors a beautiful bouquet, with flowers of different colour and fragrance. All these communities lived peacefully for centuries and there was never a Baloch-Brahui-Pashtoon conflict in the province. It was incumbent upon the Federation to honour all communities and nationalities of the province alike without any discrimination, likes or dislikes. However, continued injustices and insensible policies have worsened the situation to the extent, where even Pashtoons of Balochistan are feeling neglected and they too have come out for their rights, and very justifiably so. Because our Federation is fond of ad-hoc arrangements, meant only to buy time. Pashtoons have also been neglected in recent past in every reform, political initiative and development programs. This
is again a very dangerous trend, which undermines the solidarity of Balochistan.

Usually, we tend to berate the dictatorial regimes, however, it is also a fact that successive democratic governments have also done very little for Balochistan. The President and Prime Ministers always undertake whirlwind visits of the Province, no one has ever stayed there for two or three successive days, held in-depth meetings with local leadership and taken stock of real issues. As a consequence, Balochistan’s deprivation and its problems have both aggravated over the time. Still, the Province is deprived of representation in top Federal bureaucracy and in the Board of Directors/Governors of national corporations, banks and DFIs. In fact, the mindset against Balochistan is so rigid that some people can’t even tolerate a Balochistani at any of these important positions. Only announcements and packages are made, but no one cares to implement those announcements in reality. Only Army has taken some concrete positive initiatives in recent past, by offering special incentives and concessions for inductions in armed forces, providing free of cost vocational and technical training to Balochistani youth and establishing cadet colleges, medical institutions in the province. These steps are appreciable, however, it goes without saying that these steps should have been taken much earlier in 60s and 70s and we would not have reached this extent of damage.

Balochistan’s particular geographical and demographic features also warrant due consideration. The province is the largest in area and the smallest in population, which is still far from crossing the 10 million mark. Any development in the Province, especially Baloch areas, therefore, carries the potential of disturbing the population equation in favour of outsiders, who may arrive to work there after that development project gets completed. This is
exactly what happened in Gwadar and let me tell you the reservations of natives are quite genuine. This makes it all the more important to take leadership and people of Balochistan on board, take them in confidence on all development programs, designed for their province otherwise, these projects would fail to achieve the desired goals, rather would create more problems. There are no two opinions that Balochistan has great potentials, but we need concrete development works to tap those potentials. Gwadar again is a classic example of poor developmental project. Gwadar Port was started with much pomp, but in reality not a single allied infrastructure project such as roads, highways, housing, education and health facilities have been built around the port to make it functional.

The situation is so worse that even clean drinking water is not provided to a population of a few thousand in Gwadar and, recently, the area faced the worst water shortages of its history and Pakistan Navy had to dispatch its water tankers in the area, but again this is only a makeshift arrangement. One wonders, if we are unable to provide clean drinking water, the most basic necessity of life to a few thousand people of Gwadar, what will we do if Gwadar really transforms into a mega city? It is high time that all announcements are implemented and negative perception of the state is removed. The Federation must show the people of Balochistan that it cares for them and is committed to solving all problems faced by them. The democratic government has indeed taken some positive steps, such as NFC Award, devolution of certain subjects to provinces, however, there is an urgent need to improve its image in the eyes of the people.

The trust deficit between the people of Balochistan and the Federation over the years and lack of mainstream political process has strengthened nationalist sentiments
there. The disgruntled elements believe that government agencies have penetrated deep into the political fraternity of the Province and, resultanty, their true leadership is denied the opportunity to represent the province. This is a highly dangerous proposition for the entire democratic set-up in the Province and Federation needs to reach out fast to first restore confidence of native population on democratic process and, then, foster their confidence through a level playing field in the electoral process. Heavens will not fall if the disgruntled leadership comes to power and has the opportunity to play direct role in resolving the issues, facing the Province, instead of just agitation for making their voices heard. For this to happen, however, the Federation will need to open its mind as well as the doors for negotiation. No matter how worse the matters may be, it is always advisable to keep the door of back channel diplomacy open and that is exactly what is required in Balochistan as well. They are our own people, not all of them have out-rightly gone on the independent chorus and there are people who can still mediate and bring them on dialogues table. Demands always start on extreme, but once negotiations are allowed to take their course, settlements acceptable to both the parties become very much a possibility.

To make environment conducive for dialogues, we need confidence building measures and settlement of burning issues in the first place. Since Supreme Court of Pakistan and Chief Justice have already taken serious and relentless notice of the issues of missing persons and mutilated bodies, all I would say, is that Federation can take the first step towards normalization of situation, by solving these issues on top priority. The state has to rise to the occasion, take all stakeholders all along and do whatever it can, to put an end to incidents of violence, forced disappearances, dumping of mutilated bodies and recover all missing persons. Even if security forces themselves are
not involved in these disappearances, it is their prime responsibility to apprehend, those who are actually involved in this practice. The state must forthwith initiate corrective measures by uncovering all criminal and foreign elements, non-state actors and bring them to justice.

Khan of Kalat enjoyed close personal relations with Quaid-i-Azam and he showed support for Pakistan from the very beginning. In 1944, when Quaid-i-Azam stayed in Kalat as personal guest of Khan of Kalat, the Khan announced his support for All India Muslim League and its demand for a separate country. In 1946, Khan of Kalat, soon after meeting Mountbatten, held a meeting with Quaid-i-Azam and the two leaders discussed at length the agreement of standstill, and the roadmap for Kalat’s joining of Pakistan. In 1948, when the accession of Kalat to Pakistan was in final stages, some bureaucratic hurdles arose which prompted Quaid-i-Azam to step up personal efforts and he negotiated the final terms and conditions with Khan of Kalat and, then, the Quaid-i-Azam personally signed the accession agreement. It is tragic that the accession agreement was not honoured in letter and spirit in the coming years.

The immediate leadership after the Quaid-i-Azam, guided by the Quaid’s vision, adopted a policy of understanding the minds, behaviors and inclinations of local population towards Balochistan. In his life, the Quaid wanted to give special status to the Khan of Kalat. Accordingly, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan formed a subject committee, which in turn, constituted a single entity of the four independent native states: Kalat, Mekran, Kharan and Lasbella, namely Balochistan States Union (BSU) in 1952, with the consent of all stakeholders. BSU was similar to a province with its separate assembly, high court and other administrative departments. To provide for the governance of BSU, a completely autonomous Council of Rulers was
constituted and Khan of Kalat was declared lifelong Chairman of the Council of Rulers. The legal structure or constitution of BSU was framed by the then Secretary Cabinet, Agha Abdul Hameed, who was also appointed as the first Prime Minister of BSU, a position with the status of a federal secretary.

Regrettably, BSU was forcefully merged in West Pakistan, when One Unit was declared in 1955, however, it was promised that whenever One Unit is dissolved, all areas would be restored in their original state. Naturally, Balochistan and other smaller provinces resented One Unit, because it was extremely difficult and arduous to reach Lahore for different official works. To make matters worse, the BSU was not revived, when One Unit was dissolved, again abruptly in 1969. As per the agreed arrangement, it was rightful to revive BSU and this would have resulted in different administrative units in Balochistan. It should be recognized that the other areas that constitute Balochistan today were actually the unit known as British Balochistan, which had a 100% vote for accession to Pakistan, courtesy the great leaders like Nawab Jogezi, who was Chairman of the Shahi Jirga, Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and other tribal leaders, including Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, who was an active and vocal member of Shahi Jirga.

Along with Shahi Jirga, it was the members of the Municipal Committee of Quetta, that were part of the Electoral College for Referendum in favour of Pakistan. In the historic 1946 elections, Nawab Jogezi was elected from Shahi Jirga as member of the Constituent Assembly of Delhi, while at the same time, Nawab Sir Assadullah Khan Raisani as member of the State Council, as representative of Baloch states, notably Kalat. I would like to clarify here that British Balochistan was different from the state of Kalat and other three states of the BSU. From the early 20th century, the
Quaid-i-Azam had advocated for political reforms and constitutional rights to the area known as British Balochistan, which was actually the Chief Commissioner’s province. So, when BSU and British Balochistan were not restored in their original state at the dissolution of One Unit, the Government of Pakistan deviated from the principled position of their founding father Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in respect of areas that fell in British Balochistan as well as the independent states of Kalat, Lasbella, Mekran and Kharan.

These initial injustices, in which the state also broke promises made by the Quaid-i-Azam, sowed the seeds of distrust and a sense of alienation, which have been further aggravated by repeated mistakes, such as abrupt and unjustified dismissal of first elected provincial government of Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal, distancing of Balochs from mainstream national politics, absence, decision making without consultation or consent of Balochs, rare representation of the province in federal bureaucracy, top management and BoG/BoD of national corporations and most importantly the worst socio economic backwardness in the Province during all these years.

Moreover, Balochistan also faced discrimination to the extent of injustice in the use of natural and mineral resources, extracted from its land. Despite illuminating the entire country with gas, extracted from Balochistan since early fifties, majority areas of the Province are still without gas facility, which, given extreme weathers and difficult terrains, makes life extremely miserable. Similarly, coals, marble, gems and precious metals extracted from the Province were never used for indigenous development within the Province that could improve the life standard of the local population. Balochistan has also been made a graveyard of so-called mega developmental projects,
because funds are neither released in time by the federal bureaucracy nor utilized by the Provincial Government efficiently. Sectors like education, health and services have always remained neglected and a large portion of the population in Balochistan still lacks even basic necessities of life.

I am very clear in my mind that all these factors combined provided breeding ground to the slogans of separation. And what if slogans of separation are raised, Balochs are our very own people and we can go and talk to them, as to what prompted them to ask for separation. Besides, the shortcomings on part of the Federation actually paved the way for foreign interference. Our state failed to give people of Balochistan the feeling of ownership, association and affiliation, we failed to give them the fruits and benefits of independence and, ultimately, we failed to use Balochistan’s geostrategic significance and its riches to the benefit of local population and the country as a whole and, then, we failed to reach out to our countrymen before the others did. Then, we also had the failure to tackle religious, political and ethnic issues in their proper perspectives. For instance, religious sentiments were exploited by international power players which led to numerous problems, but we never bothered to take timely corrective measures.

Having said that, we reach the point where we are faced with the question: Where do we go from here to recompense for wrong doings of the past. The answer to this question is quite straightforward, though requires unswerving commitment for implementation, which unfortunately has always been lacking. First and the foremost, we have to improve governance in the Province and restore government’s writ and law and order, without wasting any further time. Secondly, mindset of ruling
establishment about Balochistan has to be changed. We must realize that people of Balochistan have a different historic, cultural and traditional background and they must be treated accordingly. All their due rights, their authority, autonomy and aspirations must be respected. Their true leadership has to be taken in confidence, their voices and apprehensions calmly listened to and immediate steps taken for redress of their genuine grievances. I am asserting all these steps, because I firmly believe, we have to first set our house in order. Once we are able to do that, interference of external elements, if any, could be easily thwarted.

In conclusion, let me make it clear that security and stability are indispensable before we can even think of development and prosperity. We have to separate crimes and sabotage from political disgruntlement and treat them differently. Applying one yardstick for both these issues would result in further chaos. We have to see that a conducive environment is ensured in the Province for true representatives of the masses to get elected and play their role in addressing the issues at their own level. Good governance and visionary leadership at the provincial level is even more important than an Islamabad friendly Government in Balochistan. This would lead us to the point, where we would be in a position to think of capitalizing upon the geo strategic potentials of Balochistan and using its strategic location and linkages to the benefit of not only the Province but also the entire country. Here we should also note a very important positive aspect of the Province that despite all shortcomings and crises, we still have a constitutional setup, a democratic government, the Governor, the Chief Minister, Assembly and other components of an active democratic system working in the Province. The question arises that why despite all this democratic system law and order doesn’t improve and
grievances still go unaddressed? The fault lines, I am afraid, are known to all of us.

Secondly, we need to gear up efforts for improving perception of our Federation in the minds of the people. Intensive media interaction is the likely way forward in this respect. I am compelled to say that institutions responsible for media handling have shown very dismal performance over the years and it is their inability that has made things look worse than they actually are. Under pressure from time and multiple other factors, some non-factual things also get published or go on air in the media, but media managers of the Government rarely come up with a rebuttal, based on facts to clarify the situation and remove the uncertainty and misconception, caused by the wrong statement of facts.

But, let’s be very very clear, we need concrete, persistent and dedicated actions to reach that point. For instance, the tribal system and its heavily relied upon institution of Jirga, for amicable solution to problems can be a good example for the Federation to follow. It should be followed by bringing all stakeholders at dialogue table, through the courtesy of some respectable people, whose words are still honoured by disgruntled elements in the Province. This is the way forward, otherwise, simple talks and scholarly papers will not do any good. Let me ask you, where do we go after this Conference with all the positive things said and listened? Who will implement the findings and recommendations of this Conference? Certainly, all national institutions need to play their part in implementing all the good things that are being said here and everywhere.
Press Coverage
No insurgency: PM warns of ripple effect in Balochistan

By Zia Khan
Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

"The entire Pakistan is yours. Come and talk to your own government. You will not be disappointed," Premier Raja Pervez Ashraf.

ISLAMABAD: Amidst a debilitating tribal insurgency in Balochistan, the prime minister has issued an ominous warning: if the ‘unrest in small pockets’ is not quelled immediately, it might seep into other areas.

However, in an effort to play down the insurgency, Premier Raja Pervez Ashraf said the unrest in ‘small pockets’ could hardly be equated with an insurgency. Speaking at the military-run National Defence University in Islamabad on Tuesday, the premier vowed to eliminate a ‘handful of elements’ who were destabilising Balochistan. He said his government would do everything to restore peace in the volatile province.

Dialogue offer

The prime minister appeared unwilling to abandon his overall conciliatory posturing, as he renewed calls for disgruntled Baloch leaders to renounce violence and opt for negotiations.
“The entire Pakistan is yours. Come and talk to your own government. You will not be disappointed,” he told Baloch leaders in an address.

“The people of Pakistan will go an extra mile to redress the grievances of the people of Balochistan,” he added. Constructive dialogue and political engagement can steer the province out of its troubles. Some Baloch leaders – including Barhamdagh Bugti and Hyrbyair Marri who are living in exile in Europe – have rebuffed repeated dialogue offers from the Pakistani government.

Premier Ashraf, however, made it clear that his offer was not for those who wanted to destabilise the country. “We will not talk to those who are against Pakistan’s sovereignty and who burn its flag,” he added.

The prime minister described the unrest in Balochistan as ‘foreign abetted’ and urged ‘a few angry Baloch youngsters’ not to fall prey to the intrigues hatched by the detractors of Pakistan. The situation should be seen in its true perspective keeping in view its internal and external linkages, he said. “There are not one but many fronts on which we need to fight for the cause of the people of Balochistan.”

In a comment addressed to the international community, the premier said that those who wanted peace in the region must keep in mind the aspirations of more than 95 per cent people of Balochistan who “are as patriotic as any other Pakistani”.

Security forces lauded

However, Premier Ashraf lavished praise on the army and the paramilitary Frontier Corps for ‘promoting and protecting national interests in Balochistan’. The Frontier
Corps has repeatedly been criticised by the Supreme Court for the enforced disappearance of Baloch political workers.

**Army Denies Operation in Balochistan**

By APP  
Published: July 18, 2012

**ISLAMABAD:** The military has denied mounting any operation in the restive Balochistan province. There is no military operation in any part of Balochistan and not a single soldier is out of the barracks," Maj Gen Ishfaq Ahmed Nadeem, the director general military operation (DGMO) said on Tuesday.

Addressing a two-day national workshop at the National Defence University in Islamabad, he rebuffed as propaganda claims that a military operation was under way in Balochistan.

"I want to make it clear that there is no military operation in Balochistan and this is a wrong perception being created through well-organised propaganda which should be countered," Maj Gen Nadeem said. About the establishment of garrisons in various parts of the province, especially in Sui and Kohlu, he made it clear that the army has no plans to establish new cantonments as per the decision of the provincial government. He said public support is crucial for any army and the "army is nothing without the support of the people." Speaking about a solution to the Balochistan issue, Maj Gen Nadeem said the "army wants a political solution to the issue" and only dialogue and debate could pave the way for such a solution.
About the role of Frontier Corps (FC), he said the paramilitary force always followed the direction of the provincial government and made it clear that the FC was not involved in the missing persons issue. “Majority of the names on the missing persons’ list are in Farari camps, some of them have been jailed in Afghanistan due to their criminal activities and some others are also reportedly in Afghanistan,” he added.

**We won’t Talk to those who Disrespect Pak Flag: PM**

By Shoaib A Raja
Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

**ISLAMABAD**: Offering talks to estranged elements in Balochistan, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf on Tuesday said that the government would not let a handful of people take the patriotic people of Balochistan hostage, adding that it would also never talk to those who disrespected the national flag.

Addressing the participants of a workshop on ‘Balochistan Situation — Perception and Realities, The Way Forward’ at the National Defence University (NDU), which was attended by intellectuals, scholars and media persons, the prime minister said the people of Pakistan would go an extra mile to redress the grievances of the people of Balochistan. He said the unrest in Balochistan was an “internal issue” that would be amicably resolved by the government and the people of Pakistan through “collective wisdom” and by standing united. The prime minister described the turbulence in Balochistan as ‘foreign abetted’
and said the state and people of Pakistan were capable of solving their problems and would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems. He said the unrest in small pockets in Balochistan could not be equated with insurgency, though it could have a simmering impact on other areas if not tackled immediately.

Raja called upon all the stakeholders to keep in mind the larger interest of the nation linked to the future of Balochistan and the country indeed. He said “dispassionate” decisions could have an impact on the lives of people in the long run. He stressed rising above personal interests to empathise with Baloch brothers and find pragmatic solutions for all issues. “What we want to achieve is actually winning the hearts of our brothers through a solemn and dedicated commitment for their socio-economic uplift,” he said.

The prime minister asked the national media to refrain from towing the line of foreign media on the Balochistan issue, which he said was projecting it “disproportionately”. He said it was undermining the national solidarity and causing anxiety among the people of Pakistan. Raja termed socioeconomic deprivation as the real issue of Balochistan. He pointed out that sectarian killings in the province needed to be seen in the context of geo-strategic linkages to the Balochistan issue. He said non-state actors and foreign-sponsored groups under the sectarian cover were fuelling the fire that warranted vigilance at governmental and societal levels.

Raja said the democratic government had taken concrete steps to take the people of Balochistan on board. He mentioned President Asif Ali Zardari’s public apology to the people of Balochistan for the wrongs done to them and a
pledge to usher in a new dawn of prosperity in the province. He said the 7th National Finance Commission Award, 18th Constitutional Amendment and Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan initiative were implemented to redress the grievances of Baloch people. Besides, a large number of Baloch youth had been recruited in the military and civil sectors, he added.

The prime minister lauded the role of the Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps in promoting and protecting the national interests in Balochistan. He appreciated that the Headquarters Southern Command in collaboration with the provincial government was taking care of 4,500 students from across Balochistan stationed in Quetta.

The prime minister stressed the need for focusing on the social sector, including education and healthcare, wherein Balochistan lagged behind due to its vast area and the lack of resources vis-a-vis demand. “Balochistan tops the agenda of the present government and we will do everything possible to eliminate the sense of deprivation among our Baloch brothers and sisters,” he said. “I assure the people of Balochistan that your government will continue to reach out to you and will go an extra mile to alleviate your sufferings.”

Raja mentioned several projects, including the completion of Ratu Deru Link Road, aimed at unleashing the real benefit of Gwadar Port City and the Kachhi Canal project to transform agriculture and alleviate poverty. Earlier, NDU President Lt Gen Agha Umer Farooq greeted the prime minister on his arrival at the university.
No military operation in any part of Balochistan: DGMO

Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

ISLAMABAD: There is no military operation in any part of Balochistan and not a single soldier is out of the barracks, Director General Military Operation (DGMO) Major General Ishfaq Ahmed Nadeem said on Tuesday.

He was addressing a two-day National Workshop on “Balochistan Situation: Perceptions and Realities- The Way Forward” organized by the National Defence University (NDU) here. A number of Baloch leaders including Yar Muhammad Jamali, Deputy Chairman Senate Sabir Baloch, Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, Mehmood Khan Achakzai, Mir Ahmadan Bugti, Provincial Minister Mir Shahnawaz Mari, former Federal Minister Dr. Abdul Malik Kansi, Member National Assembly Nasir Ali Shah, Sarfraz Masuri Bugti, Munir Khan Kakar and others were present on the occasion.

Former Vice Chancellor Balochistan University, Brig. (Retd) Agha A. Gul and Secretary Science and Technology Government of Balochistan, Akbar Hussain Durrani also addressed the workshop. Earlier in his welcome address, President National Defence University (NDU), Lt General Umar Farooq said the university has organized the workshop to discuss the issue of Balochistan in detail and such events would pave way to understand the issue and find its solution. “I want to make it clear that there is no military operation in Balochistan and this is a wrong
perception being created through a well organized propaganda which should be removed”, the DGMO said. Talking about establishment of cantonments in various parts of Balochistan especially in Sui and Kohlo, the Major General made it clear that the Army has no plans to establish new cantonments as per decision of the provincial government.

He said people’s support is vital and crucial for any army and the army is nothing without the support of people. Speaking about solution of Balochistan, he said that Army wants political solution of Balochistan issue and only dialogue and debate could pave the way for solution of the issue.

Govt won’t allow some miscreants to make people hostage: PM

Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

ISLAMABAD, July 17: While offering dialogue to the ‘estranged elements’ in Balochistan, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf said here on Tuesday that the government would not allow a handful of miscreants to make the patriotic people of the province hostage.

Addressing the participants of a workshop on “Balochistan situation: perception and realities, the way forward” at the National Defence University, he said the people of other provinces would go an extra mile to help the people of Balochistan. He said the unrest in Balochistan was an ‘internal issue’ of the country which would be amicably
resolved by the government and people through collective wisdom and unity. The prime minister urged the national media to refrain from towing the line of foreign media which, he alleged, was projecting the Balochistan issue ‘disproportionately’. “The foreign media is undermining the national solidarity and causing anxiety among the people of Pakistan.” He described socio-economic deprivation as the real issue of Balochistan, but it was receiving proportionately little attention from the media. He said sectarian killings in the province needed to be seen in context of geo-strategic linkages to the Balochistan issue. He said non-state actors and foreign-sponsored groups under the garb of sectarian cover were fuelling the fire that warranted vigilance at governmental and societal levels.—APP

**PM invites disgruntled Baloch youth to talks**

Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

* Raja advises ‘few angry youngsters’ not to play in enemies’ hands
* Vows not to let few people take entire province hostage for their agenda
* Blames foreign powers for unrest in province
* Rules out talks with anti-Pakistan elements

**ISLAMABAD:** Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf on Tuesday expressed full faith in holding constructive dialogue and political engagement with disgruntled Baloch youth, which he said could steer the province and country out of its current problems.

"Entire Pakistan is yours, come and talk to your own government. You will not be disappointed," he said.
Addressing a workshop on ‘Balochistan Situation - Perception and Realities, the Way Forward’ at the National Defence University (NDU), the prime minister extended an olive branch to the estranged elements in the province, saying Pakistan is capable of resolving its issues by asserting its sovereignty. "What we want to achieve is actually winning the hearts of our brothers through a solemn and dedicated commitment for their socio-economic uplift," he said. Raja noted that sectarian killings in the province needed to be seen in context of geo-strategic linkages to the Balochistan issue and said non-state actors and foreign-sponsored groups, under the garb of sectarian cover, were fueling the fire that warranted vigilance at government and society levels.

The prime minister also commended the role of Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps in promoting and protecting national interests in Balochistan. He stressed laying focus on social sector, including education and healthcare, wherein Balochistan lagged behind due to vast area and lack of resources vis-à-vis demand.

PM Apprehensive of Balochistan Spillover

Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

ISLAMABAD - Once again reiterating the dialogue offer to the estranged elements of Balochistan, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf on Tuesday made it clear that the government would not let a handful of miscreants to make patriotic people of the province hostage. He was addressing the participants of a workshop ‘Balochistan situation -
Perception and realities, the way forward’ at the National Defence University, which was attended by intellectuals, scholars and media persons. The premier termed turbulence in Balochistan as ‘foreign abetted’ and said the state and people of Pakistan were capable of solving their problems and would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems. He stressed the need for rising above personal interests to empathise with Baloch brothers and find pragmatic solutions for all issues. The premier said the democratic government had taken concrete steps to take the people of Balochistan on-board. He mentioned President Asif Ali Zardari’s public apology to the people of Balochistan for the wrongs done to them and a pledge to usher in a new dawn of prosperity in the province. He said the 7th National Finance Commission Award, 18th Amendment and Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package were implemented to redress the grievances of Baloch people. Besides, a large number of Baloch youth had been recruited in military and civil sectors, he added. He lauded the role of Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps in promoting and protecting national interests in Balochistan. In addition to generating economic activities, he said the army had opened a number of public schools and cadet colleges in remote areas of the province. He appreciated that Headquarters Southern Command in collaboration with provincial governments was taking care of 4,500 students stationed in Quetta, enrolled from across Balochistan. The prime minister said the workshop on Balochistan with its articulated sessions through its recommendations would help the government arrive at workable solutions and viable options to address the problems of Balochistan. He said there might be some bitter things, some shortcomings or excesses, but all these need to be listened with an open heart, with an objective of moving forward.
PM says foreign elements involved in Balochistan, Govt realizes sense of deprivation among Baloch

By Sharafat Kazmi
Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

Islamabad – Prime Minister Raja Parvez Ashraf has said that the turbulence in Balochistan, though foreign abetted, is an internal issue for the state and people of Pakistan to resolve.

He was addressing participants of the workshop on Balochistan situation “Perception and Realities - the Way Forward” at the National Defence University in Islamabad on Tuesday.

The Prime Minister said all our friends interested to bring about peace in this region are expected to respect the sovereignty of Pakistan and the aspirations of more than 95% people of Balochistan, who are as patriotic Pakistanis as in any other part of the country. The state and people of Pakistan are capable to solve their problems and they would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems.

Raja Parvez Ashraf said we do recognize the sense of deprivation among the people of Balochistan and the need for rapid development of this province. However, the situation of Balochistan should be seen in its true perspective dispassionately and in a cool-headed manner.

The Prime Minister said the people of Balochistan particularly the poor have not tasted the fruits of independence and development as yet. The real issue of
Balochistan is the socio-economic deprivation of the common people. The benefits of whatever developmental programmes and projects were undertaken in the past in Balochistan, did not trickle down to the common people. Another aspect is the menace of sectarianism and religious extremism that the people of Pakistan in general and the people of Balochistan in particular are victim of. He said our universities, think tanks, intellectuals and media have to play a constructive role to promote tolerance and harmony in the society.

**Foreign Involvement in Balochistan Unrest: PM**

Published: Wednesday, July 18, 2012

**ISLAMABAD** (APP): Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf Tuesday while offering dialogue to the "estranged elements" of Balochistan, said the government would not let a handful of people take patriotic people of Balochistan hostage. The Prime Minister said the people of Pakistan will go an extra mile to redress the grievances of the people of Balochistan.

He said the situation of unrest in Balochistan was an "internal issue" that would be amicably resolved by the government and people of Pakistan, through "collective wisdom" and by standing united.

He was addressing the participants of a workshop themed 'Balochistan situation - Perception and realities, the way forward' at the National Defence University here, which was attended by intellectuals, scholars and mediapersons.
The Prime Minister linked turbulence in Balochistan as 'foreign abetted' and said "the state and people of Pakistan were capable to solve their problems and would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems."

Prime Minister Ashraf called upon all the stakeholders to keep in mind the larger interest of the nation, which is linked to the future of Balochistan and the country indeed. He said "dispassionate" decisions could have impact on the lives of people in the long run.

He stressed for rising above personal interests to empathize with Baloch brothers and find pragmatic solutions for all issues.

"What we want to achieve, is actually winning the hearts of our brothers through a solemn and dedicated commitment for their socio-economic uplift," he said. The Prime Minister asked national media to refrain from towing the line of foreign media on Balochistan issue which he said was projecting it "disproportionately". He said it was undermining the national solidarity and causing anxiety among the people of Pakistan. He termed socio-economic deprivation as the real issue of Balochistan. He regretted that this basic issue was receiving proportionately little attention from media.

He pointed that sectarian killings in the province needed to be seen in context of geo-strategic linkages to the Balochistan issue. He said non-state actors and foreign-sponsored groups under the garb of sectarian cover were fueling the fire that warranted vigilance at governmental and societal levels. Prime Minister Ashraf said the democratic government had taken concrete steps to take the people of Balochistan onboard.
Resolving Balochistan issue not simple: PM

Published: Wednesday, 18 July, 2012

ISLAMABAD - Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf has said that the situation in Balochistan was far from being simple because of internal and external linkages.

“There is not one but in fact many fronts on which the government needs to fight for the cause of the people of Balochistan,” said Ashraf while addressing participants of the workshop on Balochistan’s situation “Perception and Realities - the Way Forward” at the National Defence University in Islamabad on Tuesday.

He said, “The state and people of Pakistan were capable of solving their problems and they would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems”.

Ashraf said that they did recognise the sense of deprivation among the people of Balochistan and the need for rapid development of this province. However, the situation of Balochistan should be seen in its true perspective dispassionately and in a cool-headed manner.

The PM said the people of Balochistan, particularly the poor, have not tasted the fruits of independence and development as yet. The real issue of Balochistan was the socio-economic deprivation of the common people.

The PM said the democratic government had taken concrete steps to take the people of Balochistan on board.
ISLAMABAD - Senate Chairman Nayyer Hussain Bokhari has said that all stakeholders should be taken on board through dialogue to improve the Balochistan situation and ensure peace, progress and prosperity of the province.

He expressed these views while addressing a national workshop on ‘Balochistan Situation: Perception and Realities – The Way Forward,’ at the National Defence University on Wednesday. The chairman said, “Balochistan must be closely looked into through the prism of realism and not myths. We need to douse the discontent and bitterness boiling over decades through re-assuring compassion and self-restraint. Apathy must give way to sympathy and action speaks louder than words”.

He reiterated that there was only political solution to the Balochistan problem and no solution via use of force as was wrongly done by dictatorial regimes, which led to further aggravation of the situation in the province.

The chairman told the audience that the revival of democracy in Pakistan had set the wheels of change in motion and Balochistan had been accorded top priority by all pillars of the state, especially the parliament. “Our great leader Shaheed Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, while addressing an election rally in Dera Allahyar just seven days before her tragic assassination, said: “I have come to Balochistan with the message of peace and brotherhood. The chairman said that “The parliament must maintain an effective debate and oversight mechanism to hold executive accountable. The
The Balochistan Tangle

Published: Thursday, July 19, 2012

As the acutely disturbing situation in Balochistan fails to get any better, it arouses widespread concern across the country. Official circles, political as well as military, judicial authorities, the media and intellectuals and even the common citizens, are getting increasingly worried about the shape of things to come. Reports of a foreign hand at work, discontented chieftains stirring trouble while sitting abroad, the militants who have sought refuge from the army action in Fata and other vested interests wanting to keep the pot boiling – these are, indeed, confusing reports that demonstrate how complex the situation is. There has been a lot of talk about these challenges and the sense of deprivation of the local population being the cause of disturbances and, of course, of solutions. Yet hardly does it seem that the issue has been thought through. Beyond asserting that the problem calls for a political approach and not an armed action, nothing of substance that could really turn the corner has happened.
On Tuesday, both Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf and Director-General Military Operations Maj-General Ashfaq Nadeem Ahmad, went to the National Defence University to address the participants of a workshop on “Balochistan situation – Perceptions and realities and the way forward”. Mr Ashraf’s apprehension that the sore might spread to the country at least created the feeling that he realized the urgency with which the issue needed to be tackled. His intuition appears to be guiding him correctly as he invited the disaffected elements to come forward and talk over their grievances to the government, telling them “The entirety of Pakistan is yours.” Like quite a few other government functionaries, including former Interior Minister and now Advisor Rehman Malik, the Prime Minister also referred to the Balochistan woes as “foreign abetted”. Yet, it is evident that the government has been unable to prove or come to grips with the troublemakers. And one reason why the local rogue elements do not lend credence to the official utterances is that the previous commitments have shown little of benefit coming to the ordinary man. Be it the President’s apology, the Haqooq-e-Aghaz-Balochistan Package or the Gwadar Port, there has been no change for the better in his life. Unless radical steps are taken to give him affordable facilities of education, health, travel, etc. there is little scope of any reconciliation occurring.

The DG MO has conveniently denied that any military operation was going on in the province and advocated a political solution. At the same time, he asserted, contrary to the evidence that the Supreme Court says it possesses, that most of the missing persons were either in Ferrari camps or in Afghan jails. Before anything else this confusion, perhaps, needs to be clarified.
PM Says No Talks with those who Disrespect National Flag

By Afzal Khan
Published: Thursday, July 19, 2012

Offering talks to estranged elements in Balochistan, Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf has said that the government would not let a handful of people take the patriotic people of Balochistan hostage, adding that it would also never talk to those who disrespected the national flag.

Addressing the participants of a workshop on ‘Balochistan Situation — Perception and Realities, The Way Forward’ at the National Defence University, the prime minister said that the unrest in Balochistan was an “internal issue” that would be amicably resolved by the government and the people of Pakistan through “collective wisdom” and by standing united.

The prime minister described the turbulence in Balochistan as ‘foreign abetted’ and said the state and people of Pakistan were capable of solving their problems and would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic issues. He said the unrest in small pockets in Balochistan could not be equated with insurgency, though it could have a simmering impact on other areas if not tackled immediately. He emphasised that the situation in Balochistan should be seen in its true perspective keeping in view its internal and external linkages.
Who will Name Foreign Hands?

Published: Thursday, July 19, 2012

Even the prime minister has spoken up. He too has said that the unrest in Balochistan is "foreign-abetted". But he also has not named the foreign hands involved? Why this secrecy? Shouldn't those vile hands be identified specifically when they are playing so maliciously with the very territorial integrity of this nation and its solidarity and cohesion? Shouldn't our people know of this? Shouldn't the world be told of this? Why indeed this newly-wed damsel-like shyness to call her bridegroom by name? Is it because the names are too big that the rulers dread to name? But does anyone in Islamabad have an idea how hurtfully this stupidity of theirs is damaging Pakistan nationally and internationally?

Off and on, someone in Islamabad whispers inaudibly that the Indian intelligence agency RAW is involved. But is that all? What base does it use to infest Balochistan and fan the separatist sentiments in Balochistan? What else if not Afghanistan? And could the Indian spy agency employ our western neighbour as the springboard for its vile activities in Balochistan all surreptitiously? And could it be acting all alone? We must be kidding ourselves. It has to have the local or foreign collusion in Afghanistan to carry out from there its subversion and infestation in bordering Balochistan. Our own hierarchs could be coy and reticent to our people. But not the objective realities.
For years, the US viceroy and real effective power in Afghanistan after its US-led invasion and occupation was the American intelligence agency CIA. It indeed had conducted the invasion and was berthed by the Bush administration in Afghanistan to administer the occupied country thereon. Not a leave could flap on the security front in Afghanistan without the consent and acquiescence of CIA. For reasons known to it, the CIA at once shunted aside the Pakistani establishment, especially the ISI, and embraced alien agencies hostile to Pakistan. RAW was one of them, which had a free hand to subvert Balochistan as well as Pakistan's tribal and adjoining settled areas.

But that was not all. In one fatal "terrorist" strike, several Chinese engineers and technicians building the key Gwadar port, which the American have been eyeing covetously all along, were killed and wounded. The Pakistani investigators must have found the hands responsible for this carnage. But they did not make their finding public, while the thinking public has still been pointing the finger at the CIA for that deadly attack. In any case, contrary to the general expectation that on completion the port would be handed over to the Chinese to operate, Pervez Musharraf, then ruling the roost, contracted it out to the Singapore Port Authority at throwaway terms and conditions. This he is widely believed to have done at the behest of the Americans.

Pertinently, the Baloch dissidents, snuggled up in the warm laps of American spooks and lawmakers advocating deviously Balochistan's secession from Pakistan, have been giving out telltale utterances. When Balochistan secedes, they promise, they would not allow the gas pipeline from Iran pass through Balochistan to Pakistan. And the Gwadar port they would hand over to America. Anyway, our own spooks are still to tell the nation who were the merchants in
human loyalties, who started descending on Balochistan in the mid-2000s with bags brimming with greenbacks. They were hawking to buy every Baloch youthful loyalty at the running rate of $10,000 per head plus a lot of goodies later on. This is a widely known fact in Balochistan, even though not much spoken of for the reasons not hard to fathom.

And surely the government's ears and eyes must be knowing all about those merchants in human loyalties and their trading. Yet neither Musharraf ever dared to speak out nor our spooks have ever alluded to it, not even now. Why indeed are they so mum about something that they should have blared out at the top of the voice from the rooftop? They must take a lesson or two from the Indian establishment. With loud-mouthed surmises and allegations, it has successfully demonised the Kashmiris' palpably indigenous uprising for freedom as Pakistan-sponsored terrorism and India's own homegrown terrorism as Pakistan-abetted. And likewise the US administration officials, congressmen and intelligence community have peddled fictions so dexterously that the world has come to believe that everything is okay with Afghanistan except the Afghan insurgents' safe havens in Pakistan from where they crawl out and attack the Afghan and NATO forces.

Someone in Islamabad has to break this silence fast and cry out the home truths. A lot is at stake in Balochistan for this nation's security and stability. A lot of foreign interference is occurring there to hurt us grievously, with Afghanistan serving as the nestling place of hostile alien agencies. And it is sinful not to tell the world what actually is happening there. Both Quetta and Islamabad must speak of it, but specifically and persistently, not vaguely or generally.
Speakers Support Fulfillment of Baloch Aspirations

Published: Friday, July 20, 2012

Islamabad—The speakers and participants at a national workshop emphasized to fulfill aspirations of more than 90 per cent patriotic Baloch people who are being ignored under duress of anti-state elements. Speaking on the second day of the Workshop on Balochistan, titled as ‘Balochistan Situation: Perceptions and Realities - The Way Forward’, organized by National Defence University here, they also recommended that the declared anti-state elements, involved in sabotage activities and killing of innocent people should not be given undue importance and coverage. A large number of participants from Balochistan, including ministers, MNAs, Senators, MPAs, political and tribal leaders, academics and journalists and senior civil and military officials attended the Workshop. Chairman Senate, Nayyer Hussain Bokhari, who was the Chief Guest in the concluding session, emphasized that all political problems should be solved through dialogue and open debate.

The Speakers said that the system of governance in Balochistan needs definite improvement for which, there should be an effective mechanism to monitor the utilization of funds in Balochistan, so that the benefits of financial packages offered to the province must go down to the common people. Fair, free and transparent elections must be ensured in the province, in which all parties, including nationalist parties, particularly those who bear allegiance to
the state of Pakistan, should have fair opportunities, they added. On law and order, it was emphasized that effective legislation should be carried out both at Federal and Provincial levels for dealing with non-state actors and other terrorist groups. The legislation should also fill up the gaps which may help in correct and effective utilization of the Law Enforcing Agencies, including the Armed Forces in maintaining and upholding the government writ. Giving recommendations for economic development of the province, they said that a comprehensive and time-framed developmental program for the rapid development of Balochistan should be initiated. The politicians should be asked to identify the projects which should be implemented through an independent implementing body constituted by the federal government and there should be proper scrutiny and accountability of the funds. About natural resources of Balochistan, they recommended that these resources must be spent first for the people of Balochistan and then for the entire Pakistan, if need be. Highlighting the importance of education for Baloch people, they suggested that in order to bring this province at par with other provinces, education should be put at the top of policy agenda. It is education which will eventually emancipate the new generation from social, economic and political bondage. They also commended Pakistan Army and FC for promoting educational infrastructure in the province. The said that generous exchange programs should be initiated for the youth of Balochistan in other provinces in order to broaden their outlook and equip them with the requisite skills to compete with the rest of Pakistan. All government and private universities of the entire Balochistan should be provided full security, so that they can freely provide education to the students in a conducive environment, they said. On the role of media, they said that there was a general consensus among the participants that media personnel in Balochistan operate under extreme threats from militants,
therefore, it should emphasize on objectivity, balance and proportion during their coverage of any event. Commenting on ethnic balance.—APP

The Nation

Balochistan: The Missing Centre of Gravity
(Article)
By Khalid Iqbal
Published: Monday, July 23, 2012

Balochistan is rightfully a matter of focus in our national discourse. Various options are being debated to reach an amicable win-win solution. Unfortunately, most of the options being floated are piecemeal, have parochial biases and are being prompted by interest groups. These vary from over-simplifications to doomsday scenarios. Realism is missing from most of the analyses. No wonder, the void is filled with narratives and counter-narratives raising more questions than answering.

The key issue is to identify as to where resides the political force in Balochistan? Who is a reliable, credible and influential dialogue partner whose satisfaction would mean satisfaction of the Baloch people at large? Claimant to this status are many; hereditary feudal-tribal chieftains, Provincial Assembly and government, separatist elements, non-separatist but the angry youth etc. In the absence of identifying the credible bargaining agent on behalf of the Baloch people, the federation would continue to remain besieged and its initiatives would continue to go down the drain.

Presently, the federation is under vicious blackmail by vulture-like entities; each of these not content with
claiming proverbial “own pound of flesh”, but setting eye on the entire flesh. The nation has watched with dismay how very bold initiatives like NFC Award, Aghaz-e-Haqq-e-Balochistan, 18th Amendment, phenomenal development funds through MPAs/provincial ministers and a number of political efforts in the form of committees and commissions have not been able to jump start the dysfunctional political process in Balochistan.

The policy of appeasement has not worked, as it has been misdirected and its benefits have been hijacked by political middlemen; a common man of Balochistan is left high and dry. The government in the province consists of almost all political forces of the province, yet it is dysfunctional and least bothered about all that is happening right under its nose.

Moreover, there is a need to assess the gravity of foreign influences/interference; and employ appropriate diplomatic tools to rollback its effects. To start with, “Hands off Balochistan” should be part of the terms of reference on which the new engagement is being envisaged with America. Likewise, diplomacy should be employed to restrain others from interfering in Balochistan on America’s behest or in solo pursuits.

Against this backdrop, the National Defence University made a commendable effort by organising a two-day workshop under the caption ‘Balochistan situation: perceptions and realities - the way forward’. It was a well attended and well represented event. Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf articulated his assessment of the ground realities and what our response should be to tackle the sensitive situation in Balochistan. He extended an olive branch to the estranged people and also showed firmness in declaring that there could be no talks with those who
disrespect Pakistan’s flag. He also spoke about foreign interference. He said: “We will not talk to those who are against Pakistan’s sovereignty and who burn its flag........The people of Pakistan will go an extra mile to redress the grievances of the people of Balochistan........What we want to achieve is actually winning the hearts of our brothers through a solemn and dedicated commitment for their socioeconomic uplift.”

It is re-assuring that the Prime Minister had complete understanding of the problem. He was certainly at his best when he departed from the written text. He indeed spoke his heart out.

Most of the speakers of the workshop were from Balochistan. Unfortunately, a majority of them, especially the older ones, could not come out of their respective parochial shells; the attitude was of passing the buck, rather than owning the responsibility and accepting the challenge of resolving the issue. Yet, there were speakers and participants from Balochistan who felt its pain and had the urge to outsmart the actors responsible for the prevailing situation. These were middle level tribal elders, commoners; students, journalists, lawyers, officials, cutting across ethnic, sectarian and tribal identities; indeed, they represented the real Balochistan.

The Balochistan issue is a complex one, even if we minus the foreign interference from the setting. Going through the fifth spell of insurgency, the province warrants an innovative solution beyond patch works. The vastness of area and scarcity of communication make most of the interior Balochistan inaccessible, and hence unmanageable. The resistance by tribal chiefs to enhancing and improving communication infrastructure is all well known.
The alternative option is creating five to six sub-provinces through a constitutional process, coupled with a bicameral legislature at provincial level. The upper house may be called the house of elders having hereditary representation by all titleholders. Though theoretically, there is no “sardari” system; but in practice, it continues to reign with all its good and bad traditions. Acknowledgement of this reality would help in reaching a more practicable solution. At the same time, provincial bureaucracy needs to be revamped and kick-started to play its role and be accountable for all development projects in the province.

Unfortunately, the media has been playing a negative role. Instead of promoting harmony and unity, it has been over-projecting the secessionists. It has, indeed, been eroding the national integrity in its quest for cashing on hype and frenzy. This needs a media-led, self-regulated, course correction.

Though, only a handful of elements are engaged in subversive activities and in challenging the writ of the state, yet they have generated a sense of insecurity among the masses. Though separatists are few in number, their voice is echoing in Western capitals. Their strategy is superb; they have diverted the public hatred towards the law enforcement agencies. And under this smoke screen, they are able to carry out brutal crimes with impunity, and yet enjoy the comfort of public sympathy.

The Baloch issue is a serious one, but it is certainly not beyond us. It is neither a lost cause, nor it is close to a point of no return. What we need is ownership of the problem and an honest and concerted effort to resolve it. Mere putting across a verbal message and setting up committees and commissions has neither worked in the past, nor would it work now. Probably, predecessors of Prime Minister Raja
also fully understood the gravity of the issue. The nation is looking for a premier who could go beyond rhetoric and walk the talk.

Pak will Walk Extra Mile, PM Ashraf says over Balochistan

Last Updated: Tuesday, July 17, 2012

Islamabad: Pakistan Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf on Tuesday offered to hold talks with "estranged elements" in Balochistan but said his government would not allow a handful of persons to hold the people of the restive province hostage.

The premier made the remarks while addressing a workshop on the theme "Balochistan situation - Perception and realities, the way forward" at the National Defence University. He contended that the unrest in Balochistan was "foreign abetted" and said: "The state and people of Pakistan are capable of solving their problems and would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems." The unrest in small pockets of Balochistan could not be equated with insurgency, though it could have a "simmering impact on other areas if not tackled immediately", he said. PTI
Foreign Hand in Balochistan Unrest: PM

Last Updated: Tuesday, July 17, 2012

ISLAMABAD: Prime Minister Raja Pervaiz Ashtarf has pointed to the involvement of foreign hand in the unrest in Balochistan.

He was addressing participants of the workshop on Balochistan situation "Perception and Realities - the Way Forward" at the National Defence University in Islamabad on Tuesday. The prime minister was also critical of the foreign press and called their reporting an exaggeration of actual events in Balochistan.

PPI adds: The prime minister said all our friends interested to bring about peace in this region are expected to respect the sovereignty of Pakistan and the aspirations of more than 95% people of Balochistan, who are as patriotic Pakistanis as in any other part of the country. He reiterated the government's stance that it will do everything to restore peace and security in the province. He said we would not talk to those who are against Pakistan's sovereignty and Pakistani flag, and God willing, we will never allow the enemies of Pakistan to succeed in their nefarious designs.

The state and people of Pakistan are capable to solve their problems and they would assert their sovereign right and independence in dealing with their domestic problems.
The PM said the people of Balochistan particularly the poor have not tasted the fruits of independence and development as yet. The real issue of the province is the socio-economic deprivation of the common people. The benefits of whatever developmental programmes and projects were undertaken in the past in Balochistan, did not trickle down to the common people. Another aspect is the menace of sectarianism and religious extremism that the people of Pakistan in general and the people of Balochistan in particular are victim of.

He said our universities, think tanks, intellectuals and media have to play a constructive role to promote tolerance and harmony in the society.

He said the progress made in communication infrastructure over the past one decade including the construction of Gwadar Port is praiseworthy. But it is just one leap forward.

It does not mean that everything has been put right. There is need to focus on social sector including education and healthcare wherein this Province lags behind because of vastness of the area and lack of resources vis-à-vis demand.

He assured the people of Balochistan that the government will continue to reach out to them and would go an extra mile to alleviate their sufferings. He said completion of Ratto-Daro Link Road will unleash the real benefit of Gwadar Port for the people of the area. Katchi Canal project will help transform agriculture and will go a long way to alleviate poverty in rural areas.
صحیہ سے کے شرائط حالات مختلف انتہا پر انتہا ہو گئے تھے، فرماؤں کے رہنے والے کچھ ماہ سے پہلے نہیں کہ اس کا کسی بھی مطالعہ کیا گیا ہے، جس کی بجائے کا بکہ کے کچھ ایک بات کہنا ہے۔

فراق وریدی کی ان کے جنگلی خانے کے خلاف، میں بھی ہماری کاج کرنا چاہتا ہوں، میں بھی کرم بیجو کو خصوصی دیکھا، میں بھی اپنا کام کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

اسلام آپ (حاکم آپ) کے ہاتھ (اہمیت کے ساتھ) کہ دیکھ دیکھ، میرا پندا نہیں ہے، میرا پندا نہیں ہے۔

ملک بھر کے ان کے جنگلی خانے پر بیگم کی بدولت پہنچنا چاہتا ہوں تاکہ میرے خوشن کا پہلو چاہتا ہوں۔
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ناپہ توقیت

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National Workshop on Balochistan (17-18 July 2012)
بلوچستان کی حالات سے نہ نمتا گیاتو دوسرے علاقے بھی
ماتاربہونگے: وزیراعظم

اسلام، آپنا ٹیم کا کام کرنا ہے کہ بلوچستان کا سمند دیکھنے کے لئے علاقوں میں آپ پہلے کی حوصلہ افزائی کریں ہے، انہوں نے مفتی راحیم ایس مکمل ہے کہ پہلی کوڑ پر گزر نے تھی نہیں، لیکن ایسی کوڑ پر گزر نے تھی کہ بلوچستان کی حوالی و سرزمین کا کبھی ہی کج کے سفر بلوزان کی دوسرے علاقے بھی

درباری پروری میں، وزیراعظم کی جوابی بات ہے کہ مسلم انسانوں کو دورہ پاکستان کا سمند دیکھنے کے لئے علاقوں میں آپ پہلے کی حوصلہ افزائی کریں ہے، انہوں نے مفتی راحیم ایس مکمل ہے کہ پہلی کوڑ پر گزر نے تھی کہ بلوچستان کی حوالی و سرزمین کا کج کھیا کے سفر بلوزان کی دوسرے علاقے بھی

کس کے رنگ پر، پروری میں، وزیراعظم کی جوابی بات ہے کہ مسلم انسانوں کا سمند دیکھنے کے لئے علاقوں میں آپ پہلے کی حوصلہ افزائی کریں ہے، انہوں نے مفتی راحیم ایس مکمل ہے کہ پہلی کوڑ پر گزر نے تھی کہ بلوچستان کی حوالی و سرزمین کا کج کھیا کے سفر بلوزان کی دوسرے علاقے بھی

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Photo Gallery
National Workshop on Balochistan (17-18 July 2012)

The President NDU receives the Prime Minister of Pakistan at NDU Main Entrance

The Prime Minister calls on the President NDU in the President's Office

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The Prime Minister embraces the Veteran Baloch leader, Mr. Yar Muhammad Jamali

The Prime Minister exchanges the pleasantries with Dr. Abdul Malik Kassi, the Former Federal Minister for Health
The Prime Minister shakes hands with the Ambassador of Pakistan to Oman, Nawabzada Aminullah Raisani.

The Prime Minister in a pleasant mood with Mr. Shahnawaz Marri, the Minister of Sports and Culture, Government of Balochistan.
Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai, the head of Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party shakes hands with the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan with His Excellency Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezi and Mr. Kahar Wahdan Achakzai.
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We all owe our allegiance to the State of Pakistan-The National Anthem of Pakistan being played

The Prime Minister in an impressive gathering of the Baloch leaders
The Prime Minister addresses the participants of Workshop at NDU.

The Chairman Senate being received by Major General Ziauddin Najam, DG ISSRA and Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan, Director, ISSRA.
The Chairman Senate with Baloch leaders during the question and answer session

L-R: Dr. Masoom Yasinzai, VC Quaid-i-Azam University, Mir Ghulam Qadir Bugti, Mr. Mohabat Khan Marri, Mr. Yar Muhammad Jamali and Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezi at NDU Mess Lounge
Mir Ahmadan Bugti and Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai with the Chief of Staff NDU, Brigadier Nazir Ahmed

L-R: Dr. Rifaat Hussain, Mr. Akbar Hussain Durrani, Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, Brigadier Agba A. Gnl (Retired), Major General Ishfaq Nadeem Ahmad, DGMO and Mr. Sarfraz Bugti, answering the questions of the participants
L-R: Mr. Saleem Safi, Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo, Nawab Ayaz Khan Jogezaị, Mr. Mohabat Khan Marri and Mr. Mehmood Khan Achakzai, answering the questions of the participants

A band display at NDU after dinner hosted in the honour of the Baloch leaders
Brigadier Agha A. Gul (Retired) and Major General Obaid Ullah Khan, IGFC Balochistan, in a light mood at NDU Mess Lounge

Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed shakes hands with the band party leader after Dinner