

BALOCHISTAN TURMOIL CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION APPROACH

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Abstract

Since the inception of Pakistan, Balochistan remained a disturb province in different cycles of the history. The nationalists which under the influence of India and West were and are the major instrument of upheaval and chaos. No doubt the province of Balochistan is under developed region as compared to the rest of Pakistan. This sense of deprivation have been mostly exploited by the feudal lords of the province. After the initiation of mega projects, China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Government of Pakistan is pouring huge resources for the development and prosperity of the people of the Balochistan. As the development is in progress and law and order situation is in control, now the people have been emancipated by the negative propaganda of nationalists including India, Afghanistan and the West.

Keywords: Balochistan, Conflict, Strategic, Significance, Gwadar.

Introduction

Almost after seventy years of independence, rather than establishing bondage of nationalism and patriotism, lack of foresight and inapt handling of Balochistan affairs by the successive Federal governments and the exploitative attitude of local leadership (mostly tribal heads/Sardars) has antagonized the Baloch youth. This includes the negative sentiments against other federating units and their inhabitants. As a result, people with vested interests could easily garnish the support of uneducated, frustrated and deprived masses to create internal dissensions which are being exploited in the name of Baloch sub-Nationalism. Obviously, not only the local leadership, but Pakistani government and Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) are to be blamed for their neglect and mishandling the affairs.

Balochistan has very vast potential for development and economic progress. Despite having reservoirs of rich minerals and hydrocarbon resources, it is still the impoverished province of Pakistan. True potentials of the province could never be exploited in the face of conspiracy theories by internal and external forces. The province has therefore, suffered due to ongoing corruption, poor governance, weak law and order situation, tribal rivalry, poverty, deprivation and fragile political structure. Concurrently, violent activities of militants/sub nationalists in the province are

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continuing at the same scale allegedly supported by the foreign elements / intelligence agencies¹.

Balochistan historically has remained the focal point of the 'Great Game' being played by the major world powers including erstwhile USSR, India² and the US³. Efforts to stir the insurgency through similar actions is still in play and influential self-styled intellectuals, politicians, media-persons, the panelists and their loyalties are used to create upheaval in the province. Dr. Rohrabacher a US congressional member in the year 2012 tabled resolution to support the nationalists of Balochistan and further tried to internationalize the issue.

In this backdrop, one wonders that can the feelings of being deprived or provincial grievances against the Federation be addressed; or how can we overcome internal turmoil, economic disparities or social injustices? Or can we transform the conflict ridden society, may it (conflict) be inter-tribe or intra-tribes, between the province and the federation or with adjoining states (Iran or Afghanistan)? Presence of these real or perceived queries whether stemming from external sources, internal turmoil, economic disparities or social inequalities to certain coveted values of people of Balochistan warrant Transformational Approach, which will help in achieving stability in the Province.

An effort has been made in this paper, to briefly spotlight geo-strategic significance and the conflict spectrum/ dynamics of Balochistan, with a view to suggest a theoretical framework of 'Conflict Transformation' process with its practical application to achieve sustainable peace in Balochistan.

Geo Strategic Significance

Balochistan's critical importance lies in the fact that it is situated at the crossroads of Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia and the Indian Ocean⁴. Significance of the province also enhances due to bordering countries Afghanistan and Iran which share socio-ethnic ties with Balochistan. Balochistan's deep - sea port of Gwadar dominates important international trade and oil supply routes in the Indian Ocean due to its proximity to the Strait of Hormuz.⁵ Signing of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) agreement with an initial \$ 46 billion Chinese investment is a step to explore its potential of becoming a hub of international trade.

Mr. Selig H. Harrison, in his book titled "In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations"⁶ recognizes that Balochistan is at the center stage of interests of international players not only due to its strategic location but also for its potential of energy resources, reservoirs of uranium, gold and hydro-carbon. In view of its strategic location and an attractive 778 kilometers long coastline, Balochistan is also important to great powers as it occupies the shortest route for world trade, commerce and energy corridors leading to landlocked Afghanistan, resource rich Caspian Region and Central Asian states.⁷ The area lies within a system of mountains and geological structure similar to other oil-bearing areas of the world.⁸ Discovery of large quantity of Gas at Sui and Pirkoh, copper and gold at Saindak and Reko Diq in addition to

extremely promising prospects of energy sources has further enhanced the geo-economic importance of the province⁹.

Besides purely economic and commercial interests, Gwadar port has a far-greater significance for Pakistan and also for China. It offers the shortest routes from Indian Ocean to Central Asian States and to China (i.e. 2500 kms as against 14500 kms through Strait of Malacca). Proposed Rail link from Gwadar upto Kashghar will act as a corridor of opportunity for China, since it will take only 48 hours for a Chinese Oil Tanker as against almost 20 days from Middle East/Gulf to reach Xinjiang through Strait of Malacca.

Hence, significance of the Province on one hand may bring advantage to Pakistan and especially to people of Balochistan, provided, true potentials are gainfully exploited; while at the same time it makes it an area of great interests for global and regional players who continue to meddle and interfere by adding up to our persistent security concerns.

Conflict Situation – A Historical Perspective

Balochistan has witnessed insurgencies and military actions against the insurgents and anti-state elements with regular intervals. Continued disturbances in the Province (i.e. Resistance to 'One Unit Movement' in 1955, 'Dissident Movement' in 1960s and '1973 Insurgency' which continued till 1977), have not only affected the socio economic uplift of its people but have also been creating negative social perception and outlook of the society. Use of exploitative tools and resultant uncertain situation, have denied the Province and the country as a whole, the true benefit of its economic potentials and geo-strategic significance.

Surge in Balochistan crisis was intensified ironically, when the central government in 2004-5 initiated number of large projects like: Gwadar port, Coastal highways, Sabakzai and Merani dams, Kachhi canal, Saindak, Riqodik, Chamalang and Kohlu Development projects and some others¹⁰. The ongoing conflict was initiated once the militants fired rockets on former President General Pervez Musharraf in Kohlu while announcing Kohlu Development Package in December 2004. Thereafter in January 2005, the level of uprising got a sudden fillip on an alleged report of a rape of a lady doctor by an army officer in Sui. Subsequent massive retaliation, firings and large scale damage to government property by militant groups¹¹ resulted into cancellation of inauguration ceremony of first phase of Gwadar Port at the hands of Chinese Premier in March 2005. Commotions got further momentum and already disturbed law and order mosaic of the Province worsened on the killings of Nawab Akbar Bugti in a cave in 2006 during an encounter with LEAs, while the death of Balaach Marri in Afghanistan and assassination of three Baloch leaders in Turbat by unknown militants in April 2009 contributed to set the already simmering Balochistan on fire.

Prevailing Situation

The province of Balochistan remained disturbed from 2005 to 2017 due to militants and banned religious activities. However, since last two year situation is in full

control. Unstable situation in Balochistan is also attributed to the involvement of foreign hands with clear signs and claims of visible proofs¹².

While the troops and resources from Army and FC Balochistan were deployed in support of War on Terror (WOT) along the Western borders, other LEAs with the support of Army and FC were committed to safeguard the National assets, and innocent lives against the militants' actions in 2005-6 who were blowing up the Gas pipelines, blasting the electric pylons/distribution system, targeting Railway lines and even passenger trains and conducting bomb blasts in population centers. FC and Army troops were employed in three districts of Sibi, Barkhan and Kohlu to establish writ of the Government by apprehension of the culprits and removal of Ferrari/ militants' camps in Bugti and Marri tribes' areas. These operations were halted besides withdrawing the Army and other LEAs in 2008 along with announcement for release of all the captive insurgents of military operation and some major positive initiatives of politico-economic and constitutional nature. However, dissident elements continue to unleash reign of terror through attacks on Government installations, target killings of personnel from LEAs & non-Baloch settlers, and frequent bomb blasts thereby killing innocent people. To achieve their objectives, militant leadership (taking refuge/asylum in UK, Afghanistan, Switzerland, India and Karachi)¹³ duly supported by hostile agencies use innocent Baloch youth as cannon fodder to further their heinous agendas.

With continuous exploitative strategy being pursued by the sub-nationalists coupled with illicit foreign patronage, the situation is likely to remain tense and unstable in future as well. There does not appear to be any signs of an imminent halt in the insurgency like situation in Balochistan, thereby warranting a credible, sincere and implacable process to resolve the lingering crisis.

Conflict Analysis – Major Causes Fueling the Conflict Situation

There is a lot of writing available indicating inadequacies in the political structure, administrative inefficiencies, socio-economic disparities, cultural sensitivities and mismanagement/mis-governance issues. However, certain important factors which provide lead to understand the basic problems in Balochistan are either given a cursory treatment due to an oversight or even not touched upon deliberately, by most of the writers. The motive could be, not to underscore the vested interests of the political elite, the tribal chiefs and the regional as well as international players. There are many factors/ causes which are counted towards instable situation in Balochistan. These are being exploited by the militants or their supporters on one pretext or the other. Seeing from a Realist's perspective, positive initiatives from the government (from 2009-2011) which included some political and budgetary concessions, measures for the socio-economic uplift and benefits for the Baloch people (like Aghaz-e-Haqqq-e-Balochistan (A-HQ-BLN) Package and revision of NFC Award,)¹⁴ besides the issue of Provincial autonomy through 18th Constitutional Amendment (2010) and their implementation (though with certain limitations from the State) should have been hailed by the masses in Balochistan.¹⁵ But in fact there are no such positive signs. Rather, the propaganda

unleashed by dissidents continues to occupy larger space thereby having negative impact.

Notwithstanding, poor governance, mismanagement and political manipulation at the federal and provincial government levels, instability in Balochistan is characterized by exploitative tools and machinations of tribal chiefs (Nawabs, Sardars & Waderas) in subjugating the rights of common people, inter and intra-tribe disputes and unexplored/untapped rich mineral resources precluding a possibility for its utilization to alleviate peoples' sufferings/deprivations and poverty¹⁶. This indicates that there are certain pressing/core reasons, which need to be identified from a different angle and addressed, to overcome the crisis situation in Balochistan.

Fragile Political and Administrative Construct

Balochistan is just 5% of total population of Pakistan with 7.9 million people from multiethnic, multicultural and multi-lingual groups/society (comprising Baloch, Brahvis, Pashtoons, Hazaras and others). The political and administrative systems of this largest province of the country (43.5% of Pakistan)¹⁷ are marred by inefficiencies, incompetence and corruption. Balochistan remained out of mainstream functions as compared to other provinces of Pakistan; and was left as a sort of un-governed federally administered area for about 22 years¹⁸. Before acquiring status of a full-fledged Province on July 1st, 1970, bulk of the province was governed by the tribal Chiefs who traditionally enjoyed both executive and judicial powers in their respective areas. This concept of governance continued to exist even thereafter, in the form of 'B Areas'¹⁹ of the Province. So, whenever status of these areas or authority of these Sardars was challenged, they imposed stiff resistance and promoted hype of insecurity threatening the writ of Government.

Uncertain Internal Security Situation

With a persistent past record of political instability, armed resurrections, growing sense of frustration amongst the people, vested interests of the tribal heads, sectarian violence and target killings of innocents in the Province have contributed to uncertain internal security situation. Failure to control such acts of militancy and provide security to human lives is clear reflection of poor governance, inefficiency and indifferent approach of the Provincial Government and the LEAs.

Fear of becoming Minority

In view of influx of people from across the country, Balochs living in Gwadar are afraid of becoming a minority; and similar anxiety prevails in the minds of other people of the Province as well. Hence, it is because of this reason and also feeling of distress for being marginalized, that they consider other development projects and mineral explorations detrimental to the interest of people of Balochistan²⁰.

Blame Game and Sense of Deprivation

Sardars and tribal chiefs who have always been part of political dispensation process as members of Provincial Assembly, Provincial and Federal Cabinet members, besides holding the offices of Governor and Chief Minister, were not sincere in their efforts towards overall development of the province, or to boost its economy. They blame the Federal Government and Punjabis for the socio-economic inequalities and miseries of the common people. Moreso, Baloch sub-nationalism remains a favourite cry of the exploiters to garner strength from the Baloch people and black-mail the Federal government to fulfil their vested interests and that of their foreign masters. Their malicious propaganda has gradually started polluting the mind of young Baloch and uneducated masses besides creating misperceptions at the National and International levels.

Lack of Capacity and Resolve

About Rupees 134 billion were allocated to Balochistan in 2005²¹ and approximately 140 billion rupees in 2006 for Mega Projects and development,²² followed by substantial allocations in the subsequent years. Correspondingly, share of the Province in total Federal transfers in Budget 2010-11 and onwards has increased to 9.5%.²³ Since Balochistan suffers from the capacity problems due to lack of infrastructure, absence of skilled manpower, availability of experts, requisite industry/machinery and technical education, hence failure to alleviate the sufferings of masses further disillusioned the Baloch populace thereby lending credence to sub-nationalists' agenda.

Role of Political Parties and LEAs

Majority of Political elements, parties and the tribes (especially Pashtoons) are pro-federation. Unfortunately, political parties in the province neither have resolve nor the ability to play a crucial role towards the conflict in Balochistan. Similarly, the roles, mandate and jurisdiction of different security agencies and LEAs are neither clearly defined nor communicated to all. Hence, their positive initiatives and sacrifices for improvement of law and order situation and safety of citizens are also portrayed negatively. Pro-active response by intelligence agencies and LEAs including FC, well within their constitutional bounds, curtails liberty of action of the militants/dissidents and therefore is not acceptable to so-called sub-nationalists and Baloch insurgents.

Core Issues

Fundamental problems confronting Balochistan pertain to nationalists' grievances over fiscal and political autonomy, lack of representation at the national services/institutions and Baloch identity perspective supported by foreign media and articles highlighting negative perceptions which have brought Balochistan to the present level of conflict²⁴. Therefore, primarily, the *fear of expropriation, marginalization, and dispossession* (substantiated by the continuous neglect, inapt handling and non-serious approach by the Federal and Provincial Governments), become the basis of exploitation for the dissident elements²⁵ and also for Baloch

nationalists, to demand Provincial autonomy, if not for total independence. Taking advantage of the prevalent circumstances in Balochistan, the regional and extra regional forces are fuelling/ supporting the anti-government elements to fulfil their ulterior motives by exploiting the internal fault lines of Baloch nationalists,. They are providing moral and material support to the sub nationalists, both for political and militant activities.

Conflict Transformation and Peace Process in Balochistan Conceptual Argument

According to Penguin Dictionary of International Relations “Conflict” is a social condition that arises when two or more actors pursue mutually exclusive or mutually incompatible goals.²⁶ In international relations conflict is assumed to be originated, facilitated and replicated by specific social structures, and institutions in differing set of environment.²⁷ Primary objective of “Conflict Transformation” approach is to end protracted and inflexible conflicts through a process of dialogue and active participation that ultimately transforms the relationships and alters the interests of the disputant parties²⁸. It is about transforming the relationships, structures and very systems which increases injustice and violence²⁹. This approach is quite distinct from “Conflict Management” and ‘Conflict Resolution” since both suggest short term solution of “constructive management of differences”³⁰ and “addressing only the indicators of the conflict with limited involvements without addressing the underlying causes of the conflict” respectively. The Conflict Transformation process simultaneously addresses surface issues and change underlying social structures and relationship patterns. Conflict transformation theorists therefore, agree that present-day conflicts not only require more than changing the positions but also finding the win-win situations.³¹

Fighting Terrorism/Militants through Education

Another very important aspect of Indirect Approach/Strategy which contributes directly towards transformation of a society is promoting the education for lasting peace and prosperity. Addressing the root cause of militancy through education is considered as the scarlet thread. **Greg Mortenson** (a Mountaineer) came to one of the remote village (Korphe) in Northern Areas of Pakistan, had ‘three cups of tea³²’ with the villagers (a symbol for hospitality - they nursed him back to health after a mountain climbing injury - and later it became the title of his best-selling book); and in order to repay for their kindness to this isolated community in far-flung area, he built schools for their children, particularly girls. It was a one man show, and now in dozens of these formerly extremist-controlled villages, the people are rejecting extremism and embracing modernity. Similarly, in Kohlu District, the same theme “fighting terrorism through education” was manifested. Earlier, people of Kohlu were averse to education due to fear of their tribal heads or non-availability of such an opportunity. Chamalang Beneficiary Education Program had now transformed the public who were found eager to achieve a vacancy for the education of their children. So much so that even the anti-state elements/ militants started laying their arms joining those efforts and conveying their desire to induct their children in the education program.

A Theoretical Framework for Conflict Transformation in Balochistan

John Paul Lederach considered to be the promoter of Conflict Transformation theory, looks at peace building as a long term transformation of a conflict / war system into a peace system. The key dimensions of his suggested process are changes brought about over short, medium and long term in the *structural, cultural personal and relational* aspects of conflict. Thus peace building is seen as a structure process.³³ In thinking about structure, he contributes the idea of 'Pyramid' with elite leaders and decision makers at the top, respected leaders of social organizations, religion and academician in the mid-level and grass root community leaders at the base of pyramid. According to him, a comprehensive peace process simultaneously engaging and addressing complementary changes at all these levels is required for developing sustainable peace.³⁴ According to Vayrynen:

"The bulk of conflict theory regards the issues, actors and interests as given and on that basis makes effort to find a solution to mitigate or eliminate their contradictions. As a consequence of the politico-economic and social dynamics of societies, there is likely change in interests, issues and the actors".³⁵

Vayrynen's approach is mainly abstract and analytical which suggests that peace builders should consider five types of transformations (or transformers) relating to different phases of conflicts and the timings of interventions. First, the "**Context Transformation**", which implies changing the context or environment of the conflict that may alter each party or groups' perception of conflict besides their objectives. "**Structural Transformations**" entail altering the fundamental edifice of the conflict, their relationship, economy and power distribution and their issues (causes of violence) prevailing in the society to transform the conflict. "**Actor Transformations**" refer to change in their goals, approaches or even their leaders, to seek peace or to initiate a peace process. "**Issue Transformation**" means redefining or reframing positions on the contested/key issues or de-linking/re-linking issues to reach a constructive compromise/solution. "**Personal Transformation**" implies changes in the perspective or heart and mind of individual leaders or small groups who have the decisions making power. It could be very vital, that interventions from outside bring about the personal changes by directly trying to reach or contact these leaders/ groups³⁶.

Conflict management is a very complex and brain storming job. The all actors which are practically participating in the conflict are better equipped to develop the methods and techniques to continue the war. The conflict/crisis management particularly in the theoretical framework is not likely or possible by them because they are prisoner of their own perceptions. Furthermore, the warring parties/groups are always locked in the conflict, thinking about possible alternative models for conflict resolution is sometimes beyond their mental horizon/capacity. Keeping in view, table 1 on the next page explains/relates these *five types of transformations blended with Lederach's Pyramid approach* with regards to Balochistan crises/conflict and suggests

application/ measures to be adopted for Conflict Transformation (CT):-

Table – 1: Transformers of Conflict and Their Application in Balochistan

<u>Type</u>	<u>Transformers</u>	<u>Application</u>
1. Context Transformations (Regional / Global level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Change in overall environment and confidence building ▪ Changing the context in view of positive initiatives (18th amendment, 7th NFC Award, Provincial Autonomy, Aghaze-Haqooq-e Balochistan Package) & its implementation 	<p>Federal Government level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Foreign policy initiatives with Afghanistan, India, US, Russia and UN. (pro-active diplomatic moves to stop foreign interference) ▪ Protest against illicit refuge of militant leadership and request for their arrest/ deportation (Afghanistan and UK) ▪ Request closure of Indian Consulates in Afghanistan, (close to Pakistani border)
2. Structural Transformation (State/Society Level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political and fiscal autonomy of the province as a consequence of initiatives stated above ▪ Improving Province – Federation relationship ▪ Addressing grievances of the masses to remove misperceptions ▪ Redefine role of LEAs, FC and intelligence agencies 	<p>Federal / Provincial Govt Level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Composition of various bodies/committees for CT ▪ Visible Socio-Political Transformation (especially in Education, Health, provision of services, water & employment) ▪ Ensuring good Governance ▪ Capacity enhancement of LEAs to establish writ of the Govt ▪ Capacity enhancement in provision of services/ structures
3. Actor Transformation (Conflict Party or leadership levels)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Engaging leadership of all the types:- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politicians • Sardars/ Tribal chiefs • Sub tribal heads • Community leadership • Youth • Dissident elements ▪ Redefine narratives and counter narratives 	<p>Federal / Provincial Govt Level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Progressive dialogue process with Politicians, Sardars, tribal chieftains, sub tribal heads, Youth, dissident elements and groups of common people ▪ Acceptance of previous neglect and assurance to address the genuine concerns ▪ Develop new narrative & remove negative perceptions ▪ Effective use of electronic and print media including Radio

Type	Transformers	Application
4. Issue Transformation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Engaging leadership at all the levels i.e Politicians, Sardars, tribal chieftains, sub tribal heads, youth and lower level of leadership who are in direct contact with the tribes/common people on all the contentious issues ▪ Building new Narratives or redefining/ improving issues based narratives in view of recent developments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dialogue & win confidence on:- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial autonomy % or share on mineral resources (excluding rights) • Role of intelligence, LEAs/FC • Gwadar Port issue • Target Killings • Local participation in Development projects including Gwadar • Devolution plan / system • Induction of Balochis / Locals in Armed Forces • Bring sectarian harmony • Control militancy/ Terrorism • Misplaced persons' issue
5. Personal Transformation (Individual leaders/Small groups)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Direct contact with the tribes / common people ▪ Engaging individual leadership of all i.e Political parties, Tribes, sub tribal heads and lower level of leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Initiate dialogue and debates ▪ Debate & Inculcate sense of belongings / ownership ▪ Remove negative perceptions through newly developed narratives ▪ Effective use of electronic and print media including Radio

Proposed Concept for Peaceful Balochistan

The Concept

Failure of the Federal Government to acknowledge the severity of the Balochistan problem and launch a determined socio-economic development drive in far flung areas in the face of resistance by local leadership contributed to aggravate the problem out of proportion which was thus exploited by the external and internal players to suite their vested interests. The Concept thus proposes “to systematically identify and focus on the root causes of the problem, undertake transformation/ reconciliation through participatory political processes ensuring social and economic justice inter-laced with economically sustainable society-driven structural reforms/relationships thereby achieving the ultimate goal of sustainable peace”.

Implementation of the Proposed Concept

Under the auspices of Federal Government, ‘Conflict Transformation’ through participatory political processes at provincial level (in Balochistan), can at best be achieved by a ‘**Council of Elites**’ comprising of some leading professionals, credible

Baloch elders, renowned leadership of undisputed repute both from Federal and Provincial stature and influential individuals from communities in conflict (Balochs, Pashtuns, settlers and representatives of Governments) to work together to bring out the underlying causes of ongoing as well as potential conflict suggesting a framework to overcome the violence/ Conflict through a collaborative system of transformation ensuring sustainable peace and development at different tiers of society. For this purpose, the proposed 'Council of Elites' within Pakistan's Federal Framework, will have to conduct number of workshops, conferences, Seminars and meetings engaging different groups of local people, think-tanks and students/ youth from all over Balochistan. This activity could be spread over weeks and even few months to ascertain the true input and gain the confidence/ trust of these people while facilitating to construct a framework. The 'Council of Elites' will identify core issues, areas of neglect, grievances and shortcomings at the hands of both provincial as well as the Federal government and carve out a comprehensive policy and plans to tackle them one by one or a few simultaneously (Few of the suggested subjects of transformation include 'Socio-Political Transformation', 'Constitutional/Legal Transformation', 'Socio-Economic Transformation' and 'Psycho-Social/Media Transformation' Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively). Socio economic service delivery system and transparent development measures to win the hearts and minds of the common citizens will have to be promptly initiated under the control of provincial/ local managers. The areas of focus include education, health, sanitation, drinking water and infrastructure development/ improvement. Employment opportunities for local youth should also be given priority to provide direct and immediate relief to the affected community. A 'Monitoring Mechanism' and a 'Development Review Board' at Federal/Provincial and District levels including representatives from the Army (if approved by the 'Council of Elites') and technical representatives should assess the effectiveness of all development agencies and their projects according to qualitative and quantitative criteria and provide regular feedback with recommendations to scrap, strengthen or modify concerned agencies and projects etcetera. It would be fruitful to coordinate and evaluate development at District level to reach the widest population base. Sequel to the policy / plans formulated as a result of above cited 'Concept' the 'Council of Elites' will select appropriate people at the Zone/District level to form various 'Reconciliation/ Reconstruction and Implementation committees. These Committees/ teams will be given a clear mandate by the 'Council of Elites' in accordance with the circumstances and the requirement of respective areas besides supervising/ monitoring the development activities undertaken through the assistance of District, Provincial and the Federal Governments.

Conclusion

The recent political overtures with regards to selection of Chairman Senate and formulation of new political party are positive developments. However, the undulating relationship between Centre and Balochistan shows a history of political inaptitude, economic exploitation and unfulfilled promises. State, in its successive policies and measures has continuously overlooked the dynamics and peculiarities of Balochistan and harsh socio-economic and political realities due to

which people of Balochistan are suffering since last over seventy long years. Negligence of development needs, deprivation and economic disparities has made the masses more vulnerable to the nationalists' misinformation campaign.

Federal government despite its claim remains unable to formulate a systematic and practicable strategy/ mechanism to address the underlying issues of Balochistan. There remains a need to first acknowledge their problems and then adopt a holistic approach of Conflict Transformation. Initiation of Conflict Transformation process with sincerity of purpose, dedication and resolve (in accordance with application mechanism as suggested above), the desired socio-economic and political transformation of Balochistan would be an ultimate outcome. Initially, it will be a slow process requiring unwavering but constant efforts, and patronage of the successive Central as well as Provincial governments. These endeavors will have to be supplemented by positive and pro-active use of media to project the positive outcome and remove misperceptions/ negative propaganda to win over the people of Balochistan.

NOTES

- ¹ Dr Haq Noor ul, "Balochistan disturbances: Causes and Response", IPRI Journal, (Summer 2006), p71. The News (Islamabad), 22 February 2005.
- ² Confession statement of Indian RAW leader Commander IN, Kalbhoshan Yadav during the meeting with his mother and wife on 27 December, 2017, and public announcement by sitting US Secretary of State General James Mattis in September 2017 about the links between TTP and Indian agency RAW.
- ³ Muhammad Jamil, "Get out of Stupor!", Pakistan Observer, September 8, 2012; <http://pakobserver.Net/detailnews.asp?>
- ⁴ Lt Col Syed Iqbal Ahmed, 'Balochistan, Its Strategic Importance', P248.
- ⁵ Fazle – Haider Syed, "Balochistan: Challenges and Opportunities", www.syedfazlehaider.com/books/economic-development-of-Balochistan/.
- ⁶ Selig H. Harrison, "In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 1, 1982.
- ⁷ Lt Col Syed Iqbal Ahmed, 'Balochistan, Its Strategic Importance', PP248-249.
- ⁸ Syed Abdul Quddus, The Tribal Balochistan, pp-161-163
- ⁹ Ammad Hassan, 'Pakistan's Gwadar Port – Prospects of Economic Revival'.
- ¹⁰ Idrees Bakhtiar, "Mega Projects are Conspiracy to turn the Balochis into a minority in their Homeland", an interview with Sardar Attaullah Mengal, The Herald, August 2004, p51. According to Attaullah Mengal, "We would lose our identity, our language, everything. That's why we are not willing to accept these mega projects".
- ¹¹ Syed Irfan Raza and Arshad Sharif, "Troops to Protect Sui Plant: Sherpao , - Operation in the Offing – ISPR", The Dawn, Karachi, January 13, 2005.
- ¹² Zahid Gishkori, "Kabul Helped Dismantle Brahamdagh Camps: Malik", Express Tribune, March 5, 2012. Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/345631/baloch---insurgency---kabal---helped---dismantle---brahamdagh---camps---malik/>
- ¹³ Amir Mateen, "Is it more anarchy, than an insurgency," *The News*, July 26, 2010, states that this insurgency can not be equated with previous ones since Nawab Akbar Bugti's grandson Brahamdagh Bugti is hiding in Afghanistan while Baloch nationalist leader Khair Bux Marri's son Harbiyar Marri is based in London.
- ¹⁴ A-HQ-BLN package was adopted by parliament on 23 November, 2009 that included increasing subjects on concurrent list, provincial autonomy, share of development for Balochistan, utilization of oil and gas resources, shared decision-making and 5,000 jobs for educated youth. Arrears of gas revenue and share of province in divisible tax pool have been addressed through 7th NFC Award and 18th Constitutional Amendment.
- ¹⁵ IPRI, Aghaz-e-Huqooq-Balochistan. IPRI Fact File. Vol. XII No.1, 2010, p.1; Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies' (PIPS) annual security Report 2010.
- ¹⁶ Dr Haq Noor ul, "Balochistan disturbances: Causes and Response", IPRI Journal, (Summer 2006), pp 65-66.
- ¹⁷ Ibid, p56.
- ¹⁸ Interview with Dostain Khan Jamaldini, Secretary Finance Balochistan, Shahzada Zulfiqar, Quetta, September 2010.
- ¹⁹ Since British rule and till recently, except for Quetta and few other districts, the rest of Balochistan was governed according to their established Riway/customs under the overall control of respective Sardars. In 2003 as per a five years plan all the areas were to be converted to "A" areas under the direct control of government. But the decision was reversed by the Government in 2009-10.
- ²⁰ Dr Haq Noor ul, "Balochistan disturbances: Causes and Response", IPRI Journal, (Summer 2006), p66.
- ²¹ Source: Development Statistics of Balochistan (2005) by Bureau of Statistics, Planning and Development Department, Government of Balochistan, Quetta_Details attached as Annex A at the end of Paper.
- ²² Editor's note, Balochistan Today, Quetta, February 2006.
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