

**NATURAL RESOURCE BASED GRIEVANCES IS A CAUSE OF
CONFLICT IN BALOCHISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF SUI GAS**



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(2022)

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MS Peace and Conflict Studies

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Thesis Acceptance Certificate

It is certified that the contents and form of the MS thesis titled "**Natural Resource Based Grievances is a Cause of Conflict in Balochistan: A Case Study of Sui Gas**" written by **Ms. Laiba Shahid (Registration No. 00000329251)** of Centre for International Peace and Stability has been vetted by the undersigned, found complete in all respects as per NUST status/regulations, is free of plagiarism, errors and mistakes and is accepted as partial fulfillment for the award of MS/MPhil Degree. It is further certified that the necessary amendments as pointed out by the GEC members of the scholars have also been incorporated in the said thesis and have been found satisfactory for the requirement of the degree.

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Author's Declaration

I, **Laiba Shahid**, hereby state that my MS thesis titled, "**Natural Resource Based Grievances is a Cause of Conflict in Balochistan: A Case Study of Sui Gas**" is my own work and has not been submitted previously by me for taking any degree from National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad, or anywhere else in the country/world.

At any time if my statement is found to be incorrect even after my Graduation, the university has the right to withdraw my MS degree.

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Date: 31st August 2022

Dedication

This research is dedicated to my father, who has been my primary source of motivation and strength all through my life. My family has always encouraged me to strive for the best results in life, so I dedicate this study to them. I dedicate this study to my mentor, who has guided and assisted me in every step of writing this research. Finally, I dedicate this study to the people of Balochistan in the hope that it will draw attention to the region's unmet needs.

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ABSTRACT

This research revolves around the idea of unjust distribution of natural resources in Balochistan. The case study of Sui gas in Balochistan is discussed, where neither Sui gas was provided for a long time nor was revenue generated by it distributed justly. This led to the protracted conflict that hindered the development in the region. This research highlights the issue of *Natural Resource Based Grievances* that escalated the conflict in Balochistan. The aim of this research is to give importance to the issue of allocation of resources in Balochistan. Consequently, Pakistan faced prolonged intrastate conflict that has affected the progress in the region. This is an exploratory, qualitative research which has seen this issue with lens of John Burton's human needs theory to support the argument. The significance of this study is to highlight the role of Sui gas and its impacts in the Balochistan conflict. It emphasizes on the central and provincial policies which bypassed or undervalued Baluchistan's progress. This research will help give importance towards the policy making that are inclusive of Balochistan and its resources especially catering the issues revolving around Sui gas.

Key words: Unjust Distribution of Natural Resources, Grievances, Intrastate Conflicts, Sui gas, Human Needs Theory.

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Chapter 01: Overview

1.1 Introduction

Conflicts over natural resources play a significant role in the political economy of the states. Global South is rich in natural resources however, the distribution of these resources is the major cause of conflict. Local communities claim the natural ownership of the resources. For example, the extractors want to materialize these resources for their own benefit whereas, locals want to claim the ownership of these resources. It is seen that the conflict between extractor and the locals cause dangerous instabilities (Maarten Bavinck et al., 2017). Underdevelopment is the major outcome of these conflicts related to natural resources. The underdevelopment of the Balochistan province has its roots in the uneven distribution of resources and policies utilizing pooled resources to promote development in other provinces except Balochistan. The limited population, political instability, lack of representation in the national policy and limited capability for revenue generation are the main reasons due to which the National Financial Commission (NFC) award formula has never favored the province of Balochistan (Ahmed et al., 2020). Moreover, this lack of representation is also seen in the political and military institutions as well.

1.1.1 Historical Background

The history of Balochistan has its roots in the colonial era of British Empire. The incursion of British Empire into the South Asian region drastically changed the political and economic dynamics of the region (Balochis of Pakistan: On the Margins of History, 2006). The rivalry between major countries in Central Asia, which eventually led to the incursion of Afghanistan, also open the door for Britishers to enter Balochistan. The Khanate of Balochistan was hesitant to assist the British because, since the reign of Nasir Khan, they had a non-interference contract with Afghanistan. It is true that British supply lines to Afghanistan could not be safeguarded unless Balochistan was under British control. As a result, on November 13, 1839, an army unit from Quetta invaded Kalat. Balochistan saw several upheavals

between 1839 and 1948. In his memorandum to the cabinet mission plan of 1946, the Khan of Kalat said unequivocally that when the British leave, they would restore to their former shape that existed before the British presence in that territory (Mendez, 2020). The majority of Shahi Jirga members who had to vote on whether or not to unite with Pakistan were opposed to the merger. However, the session of the Jirga was illegally summoned a day before it was due, as decided in the Third June Plan. Nawab Jomezai of the Pashtoon Community and a few others were awakened and proclaimed that the Shahi Jirga had voted to combine Balochistan with Pakistan, despite the fact that the other members were unaware. Following this bias, it was inferred unilaterally that the Jirga voted in favor of a union with Pakistan. It was back in 1948 when Balochistan was merged with Pakistan. Since then, the relationship between Balochistan and Pakistan has been tumultuous.

The locals of Balochistan think that the amalgamation of Balochistan with Pakistan was done unlawfully. Balochistan contributed to about 3.7% of overall population of the country. In 1955, one-unit scheme was introduced. Under this scheme, all the four western provinces were integrated into one unit aiming to foster unity and end Baloch animosity (Noormal, 2016). This initiative was vehemently opposed by the nationalist leaders. Prince Karim who was involved in the 1948 insurgency again launched a large-scale protest with the help of tribal chiefs of Balochistan. He laid the foundation of a party that instilled new wave of Baloch nationalism that out did divisions on the basis of tribes and language. In October 1958, the Pakistan army stepped in and detained Khan and his associates on the accusation of revolt. The arrest caused widespread rioting. In order to make the situation unstable, the local tribal men refused to give up weapons that created more instability.

Since very beginning, Pakistan has been biased towards the province and ultimately, the province became victim of discrimination against other provinces. This created a sense of deprivation in the Baloch people which resulted in four insurgencies in which Baloch have taken arms against the state of Pakistan (Mendez, 2020). Each of these insurgencies happened in the varied time in which the insurgents wanted the state to comply with their demands.

After the Balochistan has been deprived of major developments. There was no infrastructure, roads, communication networks and schools. The development was limited to Quetta only and in fact these developmental measures were centered on British colonialism. Balochistan was given status of province in 1970 and after 1971, some developments took place because before that Pakistan was operating under one-unit system (“Pakistan/Balochistan 1947-Present”). Under the one-unit system, West Pakistan was a single unit and major development took place in the industrial sectors such as in Punjab and Sindh. In the year 1972, the People’ Party joined hands with the National Awami Party abetted by Jamiat-e-Ulama Islam to challenge Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Balochis of Pakistan: On The Margins of History, 2006). After winning the elections, the coalition government wanted more Baloch representation and demanded more control over the development and industrialization. When Z. A Bhutto ceased power, he ousted them through the allegation of treachery. The overthrowing of the elected provincial administration instilled fourth insurgency in Balochistan that was followed by halting all the drilling activities carried out by the American and Pakistan companies. Pakistan also tried best to tackle the insurgency which lasted till 1977 and claimed lives of almost 5000 rebels and 3300 military personnel (Wiki Targeted, 2014). These insurgents formed BLF (Balochistan Liberation Front) that emphasized on the succession of Balochistan but later strove for the greater autonomy as it was only the feasible option. The province of Balochistan hitherto witnesses instability and become a safe haven to various terrorist activities.

After 2005, there were several factors that contributed to the protracted conflict in Balochistan such as killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti and other political leaders that was later followed by establishing Council for Independent Balochistan by Mir Suleiman Dawood in 2009. The situation was further intensified by various terrorist activities in the region. Pakistan has blamed India of using socially disruptive proxies to destabilize Pakistan. Although, CPEC has lessen the intensity of the threat but still the basic problem stems from a lack of political rights, the federal government's exploitation of natural resources, and the threat of being suffocated by Punjabis and

the army. Further adding fuel to the furry, they are also apprehensive of their property being portioned out to strangers and to the province's development programs.

1.1.2 Significance of Balochistan

Balochistan occupies a critical geostrategic location in the area. It is situated in the cultural, socioeconomic and geographical crossroads of the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia, with the Strait of Hormuz on the other side. With enormous private industrial investment, these potentials may turn the province into an industrial hotspot. However, for a variety of reasons, this promise has not been realized. Around 21 million barrels of crude oil move across the Strait of Hormuz every day, according to a preliminary estimate (marketwatch.com). Balochistan has a 900-kilometer border with Iran and a 1,200-kilometer border with Afghanistan, which allows access to these mineral-rich and strategically significant territories. It also serves as a gateway to the Punjab and KP, two resource-rich landlocked provinces (Siddique & Achakzai, 2022). Its geographical proximity with the resource rich Central Asian countries add to its strategic significance.

In addition to the strategic significance, Balochistan also has the potential to serve as a transit route for gas pipeline between Iran and Turkmenistan that further add importance to the province. This is important for a country like Pakistan which is facing energy crises. Furthermore, major gas fields are found in the conflict-ridden district of Dera Bugti and Zarghun. These gas fields accounts for 36% of total gas output of Pakistan. Balochistan also generates coal, oil, natural gas, and electricity, accounting for more than 40% of Pakistan's main energy. The insurgents' destruction of the energy infrastructure, on the other hand, creates a difficult climate for exploratory work, and firms prefer to invest in Sindh instead. As a result, despite having two-fifths of the initial recoverable gas reserves, the province only has one-tenth of the exploratory drilling. The province contains about 6 trillion barrels of untapped resources of natural gas and oil (Tariq, 2013).

Despite such geostrategic and geo economic resources, it is still the most undeveloped province of Pakistan with the 58% of the population survives on below the poverty line. 92% of the districts of Balochistan are classified as highly deprived province of Pakistan. The province has performed poorly in areas of development sector of education, health, infrastructure and water. The Dera Bugti district which is home to the Pakistan largest gas field was ranked as worst among the 91 districts in Human Development Index. The worsening condition of Dera Bugti district exemplifies the dichotomy of natural resource wealth and economic deprivation. The conflict in Balochistan is rooted in the alienation of the people of Balochistan from the development share. The people of Balochistan are deprived from infrastructural facilities. As described above, the conflict in Balochistan emerged because the locals are even deprived of their basic needs. This added apprehension against the state and increased the grievances of the people in Balochistan. These increasing grievances resulted in five insurgencies against the state of Pakistan.

1.2 Problem Statement

The region of Balochistan faces turmoil as it is rich in many natural resources and many claim the right over them. This not only leads to the conflict between the extractors and the regional people but also start the intra-regional conflict, that is, between the tribes owning the lands. This challenges the stability in Balochistan. The instability hinders the regional and inter-regional development. The locals are marginalized by not giving them the equal access to the resources and unequal distribution of revenues rises the grievances causing tension (Tariq, 2013).

One of the most important was the discovery of natural gas at Sui in Dera Bugti District in 1952. Within a decade, this resource reached Punjab and took few more years to reach other provinces but Balochistan itself was given the access of natural gas in mid 1970s and Sui region got the access till late 1990s (Alam, 2022). Although, the extractors were the elite residing in Punjab and Sindh, it shows the discrimination towards the locals where the natural resources should have been provided first under the constitution. Since, the discovery of natural gas at Sui, it raised the conflict over

the ownership of the land and getting the equal benefits from the revenues generated. On top of that, Sui is one of the most underdeveloped rural area that has been facing conflict since decades. This hinders the same level of development of Sui as other provinces.

This study examines the conflict situation in Balochistan over the resource of natural gas at Sui. Balochistan is facing some conflicts since the independence of Pakistan. Some of the conflicts which is the ownership of the land where natural gas was discovered, still prevail in Balochistan. The initial issues were of the identity of the Baloch people and the identity of the state. Moreover, the issues over the demand of the political and economic autonomy and development. Also, they were underrepresented in national level government institutions. These initial differences added up when the natural gas was discovered with the kind of government policies which were not benefiting the local people of the region and its development. So, this study explores whether the discovery of Sui gas and the revenues generated from it were justly distributed or not and whether this became one of the major reasons of the conflict in Balochistan.

1.2.1 Assumption

Exploitation of natural resources has impeded the development of Balochistan which created a sense of deprivation in the people of Balochistan. This deprivation has turned into grievances that is reason of conflict in the Balochistan region.

1.2.2 Research Questions

Main Research Question

- i. How the discovery of Sui gas impacted the conflict in Balochistan province?

Sub-Research Questions

- ii. How revenue generated by Sui gas impacted both, the central government and the provincial government of Balochistan?

- iii. Has the presence of Sui gas been the major cause of underdevelopment in the Balochistan region?

1.3 Research Objectives

The research aims to explore why Balochistan has remained most deprived province of Pakistan despite the rich diversity of resources exists there. It tries to describe the socio-economic causes of underdevelopment in Balochistan. Secondly, it entails how the uneven distribution of resources leads to intrastate conflict. Furthermore, this research will analyze the conflict over natural resources, in the region of Balochistan, focusing on the natural gas produced at Sui and its exploitation. This study will analyze and explore natural resource based policy measures by the central and provincial government that led to the unrest in Balochistan.

This research will not only focus on the knowledge constructed and produced on Balochistan by the national and international actors but also understanding it by the lens of human needs theory by John Burton. There is already an ample of literature present on Balochistan but it is important to identifying Sui gas as the major contributing factor of the conflict. The research is conducted under the lens of John Burton's human needs theory, by focusing on the hierarchy of needs provided by Abraham Maslow and also analyzing that direct conflict that arises from structural inequalities by viewing the Johan Galtung conflict model.

1.4 Significance of Research

Balochistan is the region in Pakistan rich in natural resources and have faced conflicts over those resources. There has been ample of literature on the inequalities and grievances of the people of Balochistan and violent conflicts, however, this research is significant because it uncovers the reasons of the conflicts residing in the region of Balochistan which is buried under the harsh feudal, conservative and other structural social problems. These social problems undermine the root cause of the conflict which this research will try to uncover.

This research is significant because by focusing on the extraction of Sui gas and its supply and the unequal distribution of the revenues. Especially the marginalization of the Baloch region in development that leads to contests between the interests of elites and people of Balochistan, hence, leading to physical conflict. This study also analyses social, political and economic aspects contributing to the differences in the region. This research is unique because by identifying the socio-economic woes of the Balochistan and analysis the conflict and explores that whether discovery of Sui gas is a source of grievance and protracted the conflict in Balochistan.

This study is conducted due to the lack of prioritizing the issues revolving around Sui gas. The purpose of this study is to help make inclusive policies for the area of Balochistan by finding out the root causes of the insecurity and conflict in the region. For this purpose, this under researched area fits well with the John Burton's Human Needs theory, by focusing on the hierarchy of needs provided by Abraham Maslow and also analyzing the direct conflict that arises from structural inequalities by viewing the Johan Galtung conflict model in case of Balochistan's Sui gas revenue distribution.

ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

This research is divided into four chapters. The first chapter is the literature review, the second chapter is the theoretical framework of human needs theory in Balochistan, the third chapter is the methodology of the research and the fourth chapter is the research analysis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The conflict over natural resources is not a new issue in the global politics. The Global South is rich with natural resources and therefore, the site of conflicts over ownership, usage, extraction and management of natural resources. Poor people depend on these resources for living and they continuously struggle to have access to these resources (Fisher, Bavinck & Amsalu, 2014, 4). Whereas, the Global North takes advantage of these resources and exploits these resources for their own advantage and deprived the global South from their share. This is the reason that up till now the Global North became more developed while the Global South is still in the phase of developing or remained under developed (Odeh, 2010, p.338). The major debate between Global North and Global South is on the environmental degradation. The Global North claims that it is basically the Global South who is responsible for the exploitation of natural environment. They are blamed for ecological and environmental problems and it is believed that developing countries cannot have luxury of protecting the nature. This is because the development coincides with exploitation of these natural resources. According to Shiva, developing countries are not to be blamed because they need these natural resources for their survival and hence, can better maintain them and reiterates that the developed countries destroyed and exploited natural resources of poor countries for their own development (1991).

The exploitation of natural resources has led to conflicts in various regions of the world. Natural resources have worked as a main catalyst in exacerbating and prolonging the conflicts, for example many countries in Africa and Asia have suffered due to the illegal extraction and unjust distribution of the natural resources (Fisher, 2018). Sometimes natural resources were the reason to start the conflicts. Armed conflicts are now also characterized by and linked to political economy of natural resources (Billon, 2001). The modernization and the liberalization of the economy have led to the alternative routes of trade such as illegal extraction and smuggling of natural resources. The exploitation of natural resources has also been used by rebel

groups to finance their rebellions and it is seen that places extensive in natural resources have been increasingly prone to violence and conflicts.

Pakistan, a country rich in resources has seen similar trend, particularly in its Balochistan province. There are abundant natural resources in the form of minerals, gas, and oil reserves along the 990-kilometer coastline that runs across the provinces of Sindh and Balochistan (Khan, 2020). Since 1952, Pakistan has been extracting resources from Balochistan; however, the province has not been able to enjoy the benefits of these resources (Voice, 2020). The issue of Balochistan has always remained a point of discussion in the politics of Pakistan. In term of area, it is the largest province covering 44% of total land area of the country. Balochistan lies in the southern part of Iranian Plateau (Encyclopedia Iranica Foundation, 2022). Nature has blessed the province with huge reserves of natural gas, copper, iron and gold. Unfortunately, the owners of these natural resources are being deprived of even basic facilities (Rathore, 2021, p. 306). These resources of Balochistan are mercilessly plundered by Pakistan governing elite.

The province has been kept backward deliberately since the time of British Raj. It all began in 1839 when the Baloch tribes refused to assist British mission in Afghanistan. Following this, the British adopted a strategy of containment aimed at keeping the state of Kalat backward (Baluch, 2014). The British deliberately promoted Sindh and Punjab and ignored Balochistan Province. While the British built industry and agriculture in Sindh, Punjab, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former N.W.F.P), they completely overlooked Balochistan. As a result, it is commonly assumed that the British lords disregarded Balochistan's economic growth (Ahsan, 2015). This is because Baloch people were considered rebels, therefore, the British Empire neglected Balochistan region for the sake of its own interests. The same colonial strategy was followed by Pakistan. Siddique Baloch (2014) cited various examples how the development projects for Balochistan were undermined or delayed intentionally by the government of Pakistan. For example, the Motorway that connects Islamabad and Lahore was erected in 10 months while the RCD highway

connecting Karachi-Quetta-Taftan has been under construction for the last 60 years (Baluch, 2014, p. 256).

To make the situation worst, the strategic location of Balochistan played a vital role. The strategic location of Balochistan has attracted International actors and development projects like CPEC. These developmental projects benefitted the Centre and the International actors but deprived the province from its rightful share. In addition, regional inequalities and repressive government policies towards Balochistan has raised the ethno-political conflict in Balochistan (Mushtaq, 2021). When one segment of the society is exploited and deprived of their rights and others are enjoying better living standard at their expense (Suleri, 2010), the chances of conflict in such unequal and repressive society are very high. To further add to these grievances, the international companies and the Centre has again left the local people out from the multimillion mega projects such as CPEC, Saindak Project and recent Reko Diq deal with Canadian mining company (Voice, 2020). These initiatives, although being hailed as game-changers for the country's economy, have failed to raise the people of Balochistan out of poverty; instead they have further marginalized the Baloch people from their share (Voice, 2020). Thus, the non-providence of the basic needs of the people of Balochistan has raised resentment and grievances exacerbating the conflict in the region.

2.1 Sui Gas – the main Resource of Balochistan

The region of Balochistan is rich in natural resources especially natural gas (Siddiqui, 1991). The richness of natural resources in Pakistan belongs to the local people as per the constitution. But the concurrent list of the constitution gives the power to the federal government to supersede the provincial autonomy over the natural resources concerning their security. The center uses it as an excuse to meddle in provincial affairs, while the locals blame the center for their underdevelopment (Jabeen et al., 2012, p.63). Since the discovery of natural gas at Sui, the discontentment among the local people have increased because they believed that they would be given a fair share in revenue but that did not happened. Sui gas accounts for 36% of Pakistan's

total gas output, although only 17% of the gas generated in the region gets delivered to Sui province. The remaining 83% is distributed throughout the country. Furthermore, Balochistan receives just 12.4% of the royalties it is owed for gas delivery. Balochistan provides more than 40% of Pakistan's basic energy requirements (natural gas, coal and electricity). The government has stated that the current gas resources has been dissipating, necessitating the need to dig deeper and conduct further exploration. According to geological scientists, Balochistan has 19 trillion cubic feet of gas and 6 trillion barrels of oil reserves. The people of Balochistan have been adamant about preventing further research and development without their permission (Balochi Linguist, 2011). Their demand is to have equitable distributions of resources and revenue along with guarantee of autonomous control of their land resources.

There is an intra-tribal economic battle over Sui royalties, in addition to the state's economic exploitation. The Kalpars¹ say that the Sui gas reserves are in their region, thus, they should be the principal benefactors of royalties, which enraged many tribal leaders of the area. According to sources, in addition to the two million rupees, Bugti² tribe got paid monthly for providing security at Pakistan Petroleum Ltd (PPL) sites and pipelines, Bugti leaders earned a royalty of 120 million rupees every year. On August 27, 2006, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, (Tribal lord of Bugti Clan) was attacked and killed on the order of the then Pakistani President (Pervez Musharraf), sparking riots across the Balochistan region. Despite the fact that there were pro- and anti-Bugti groups in the province, his death, along with the government's harsh measures united the opposition, posing a severe security threat to Pakistan's border regions (Balochi Linguist, 2011). In short, the anti-government sentiments of the people of Balochistan increased tenfold.

¹ Kalpar is a sub-tribe of Bugti tribe.

² Bugti is a Baloch tribe found in eastern Balochistan, Pakistan. As of 2008, it was estimated to comprise over 180,000 people, mostly living in the Dera Bugti region of Pakistan. They are in turn divided into the Rahija, Masori, Mondarani and Kalpar sub-tribes.

2.2 Resource Distribution Policies by the Central Government

The province of Balochistan's backwardness has been linked to Pakistan's resource allocation formula and policies for funding projects using national pooled income and financial resources, which have favored dominating provinces other than Balochistan. Due to low population, misrepresentation at national levels, backwardness, political weakness, and a limited basis for income collection, the National Financial Commission (NFC) award formula has never favored the province of Balochistan. For comparison, the province of Punjab has remained a favorable destination for project selection due to its majority seats in the National Assembly during democratic regimes and in obtaining and attracting an excessively large share of public resources during dictatorial regimes since majority seats in the National Assembly during democratic regimes. Personnel from the military and civil administration are from the same province (Ahmed and Baloch, 2015; Asim, 2007; Zaidi, 2005). Despite having a wide and abundant land, the Baloch have been unable to keep up with other regions in terms of socio-economic growth and modernity. Following Pakistan's independence and the creation of Balochistan as a federating unit of the former, the people of Balochistan were unable to force themselves inside the federation to gain prominence. According to some Baloch nationalists, small ethnicities like the Baloch, would find it difficult to integrate into the Pakistani federation due to its centralist orientation. As the resource distribution and representation to both elected bodies and state institutions are based on population, and Balochistan, despite occupying 44% of Pakistan's land, only has 5% of the country's total population, the province is not proportionately represented within the federation. Furthermore, Balochistan's geostrategic relevance is critical and it is difficult to overlook while studying the province's political economy. As a result, the same nationalist element claims that the Centre is primarily interested in exploiting the province's geostrategic and economic potential. Social and economic advancement of the Baloch has never been central government's priority (Ahmed & Baloch, 2017). Dr. Kaiser Bengali, the adviser to the former chief minister of Balochistan argues that the ongoing predicament in

Balochistan is not due to lack of resources but the problem is rooted in the uneven distribution of these resources (Azmat 2015).

2.3 Manifestation of under Development in Balochistan

Balochistan has vast mineral deposits, and its gas fields produce around 45 percent of Pakistan's total gas consumption earning \$1.4 billion in yearly income (Mezzera & Aftab, 2009). Despite the natural wealth such as chromite, fluorite, marble, gold and gas etc., the province remained the poorest and under developed province of Pakistan. This kind of marginalization has exacerbated the grievances of local population which resulted in the current conflict in Balochistan. Ahmed Naveed Noormal (Root causes of Conflict in Balochistan, 2016) has identified political instability, resource and development issues, ethnic orientation, lack of education, foreign support as major factors contributing to the conflict in Balochistan.

Dr. Kaiser Bengali (2018) in his book highlighted the issue of deprivation of Balochistan province in a well-articulated manner. Among many areas, Bengali outlines in detail how Pakistan benefited from the Sui gas field. Sui was the sole field that supplied gas to the nation from 1952 till 1969. Sui was Pakistan's greatest gas production until the late 1980s. Balochistan, on the other hand, received its first gas supply in 1982. Sui Gas had a high shadow price, but it was sold at a reduced rate to customers in other provinces, particularly fertilizer producers in Punjab. According to Bengali's calculations, Balochistan paid subsidies of Rs 7.69 trillion between 1955 and 2014. That says eloquently about Balochistan's contribution to Pakistan's economic progress, despite the fact that Balochistan has remained economically underdeveloped (Bugti, 2018). Therefore, it could be said that the unjustly allocation of the resource revenues and policies against Balochistan and its people are the main causes of under development in that region.

The presence of feudal mindset further hinders the development in Balochistan. The Central government blames the tribes and Sardars for this unrest in the region as it is believed that they have their own vested interests (Aslam, 2011, 198). The tribal

Sardars prevent the development of the region for their own interests. Although the Baloch leaders contest that they do not support foreign investment and extraction of their resources that benefits the center and other provinces (Tariq, 2013, 27). This raises the local communities' grievances related to economic benefits, protection and land rights (Fargo, 2015). As they call themselves owner of the land and create an indigenous identity which

The ownership of these resources has remained a major issue between the Pakistan's government and Baloch tribal lords. Dr. Bengali (Azmat 2015) suggested that for eliminating the feudal system in Balochistan it is necessary to make sincere efforts for the local Baloch communities. Locals have been deprived by both, the government and the Sardars. The tribal Sardars have absolute authority over the locals. Some believes that this tribal allegiance is the main cause of under development in the Balochistan region. The loyalty to the tribal chief instead of state makes it difficult for acknowledging Pakistan as an overarching political authority over Balochistan (Schmidle, 2007). However, Gregory D. Pipes (2010) argues that policies and strategies of Islamabad is the main cause of growing tension between Pakistan and Baloch people. The government of Pakistan has economically exploited the province and by doing that they have minimized the chances of the integration of people of Balochistan in to Pakistani state (Pipes 2010: 38). Further, the use of military to contain the insurgency in Balochistan has also aggravated and intensified the conflict in Balochistan. The military basically targeted the nationalist leaders which add fuel to fire in the existing grievances of the Baloch people (Pipes 2010: 40). So, the under development along with the threat to their security and the control over their land and resources becomes the contributing factors in the protracted conflict.

Balochistan has been the site of overt conflict over the past 60 years. After the killing of Akbar Bugti in 2006 by the military, the province showed resistance and has become politically polarized. The insurgency by the nationalist forces demand autonomy, they are also targeting non Baloch population. This insurgency is believed to be internally and externally assisted because insurgents are heavily armed. The marginalization of the Balochis and state failure to respond to their grievances has led

the external powers to exploit the situation (Akhtar, 2017). The insecurity in the province has also undermined the current development projects within region.

In order to describe the resource related conflicts, Charles P. David and Jean F. Gagne presented three analytical approaches to probe resource based conflicts. The first approach concerned with the environmental issues that arise from growing shortage of renewable resources. The second approach focuses on economic considerations in which greed- driven people and profit maximization intentions are the main drivers to the conflict. The third state-centric approach concentrates on political and economic flaws. Economic considerations are very important when analyzing the conflict in Balochistan (David & Gagne, 2016). According to these authors, the rebels and insurgents often capitalize the situation to pursue their interests at the expense of the local grievances. The situation in Balochistan is of no different. The Baloch insurgents are providing the similar justification for taking arms against the states. They argue that Balochistan has been deprived in term of economic revenue, political representation and development project. These insurgents claim that the state of Pakistan has looted the resources of Balochistan province so they are fighting to protect the autonomy of Balochistan from the Pakistan (Khan, 2009 p, 1081).

The above literature suggests that lack of provincial autonomy in economic and resource distribution policies, control of central government resulted in the social neglect, and unrest which resulted in the current conflict in Balochistan. Overall, this chapter put forwards some current debates on resource based grievances, highlighted unjust distribution of Sui gas between Balochistan and the other provinces and the central government unfair policies and willful neglect towards the people of Balochistan, thus undermining the development of the Balochistan region and giving rise to insurgencies and conflict.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Research

Methodology

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The modern world is still not immune to the conflicts and catastrophes. Despite greater global integration and interdependence, the globe continues to see many patterns of internal and external conflict. Conflicts arise as a result of competing interests between individuals, nations or states. Various researchers and experts have assigned various explanations for the occurrence of a dispute, ranging from unfulfilled basic human wants to a clash of personal interests. Furthermore, many social and ethnic conflicts have their roots in the obstruction of human needs.

In 1943 An American Psychologist- Abraham Maslow presented a motivational theory, 'Hierarchy of Human Needs Theory' in which he identified five different kinds of human needs, if fulfilled leads to a level of self-actualization. Abraham Maslow represented human needs in the form of Pyramid in which basic needs lie on the bottom of the pyramid and the complex needs on the top of the pyramidal shape. These needs are categorized in to five different levels such as physiological needs, social needs, love and belonging, Esteem and self –actualization. In order to achieve the higher level of self- actualization, one has to fulfill the basic needs. Once these basic needs are fulfilled one by one, it can set an individual on the way to self- esteem and self –actualization (McLeod, 2018). Similarly, conflict at the societal level has its roots in the structural problems in the society, engraved in the non-providence of basic needs. Maslow emphasized the significance of societal and individual human needs in the development of individuals and society. Other researchers used this as a foundation to expand on the findings and develop their own version of human needs theory.

John Burton has adopted 'Human Needs Theory' in explaining conflicts. According to Burton, there are certain essential human needs and if they are compromised or

violated, it can lead towards conflict (Burton, 1995). John Burton's 'Human Needs Theory' does not give a complete account for conflict resolution instead, it provides a fundamental knowledge and identification of causes that are likely to produce conflict and addressing those causes may result in diffusing the situation. A short distinguish between Maslow Hierarchy of Needs and Burton human needs theory is that Abraham Maslow provided a hierarchical list of basic needs. One has to satisfy former need in order to reach to the next level. Burton, however, does not present an explicit list or hierarchy of needs, unlike Maslow. Burton argued that human wants can be met in parallel and do not always follow a hierarchical sequence. John Burton's Human Needs Theory occupies a central place in the conflict resolution mechanism. The conflict in Balochistan can be explained under the theoretical framework of "Human Need Theory" given by John Burton (1979, 1990, and 1997).

According to Burton (1979), conflict resolution is a process of facilitation in which solutions are explored to suit the requirements of parties while evaluating the fundamental cause of the conflict. It has been claimed that Burton theory does not offer a comprehensive detail about human needs. It does not provide a hierarchical basic needs. According to him, there are some universal needs such as distributive needs, security, identity etc. However, it is widely accepted that these needs relate to ontological demands spanning from biological and physical necessities to identity and acknowledgment. In Burton's view, individuals always prioritize needs over interests, thus needs cannot be negotiated whereas interests are one's own individual aspirations and can be negotiable (Burton, 1995). When human needs are denied, it leads to conflict and addressing those needs is important for resolution of such conflicts.

Indeed, conflict resolution theorists attempt to unravel the core causes of conflict in order to discover what aspect impedes the process of cooperation and leads towards conflictual situation. Conflict resolution theorists highlight a list of sources ranging from unmet personal needs to divergent interests. The sources, nature, and dynamics of a conflict may vary from person to person and society to society. As a result, disputes in human societies remain unavoidable.

Human needs theory helps us look into the core causes of the conflict irrespective of varying political culture across the globe. It further contends that the conflicts and provocations are the outcome of incompatibility of the institutional and societal standards with that of the human needs. When the institutions or societal norms fail to achieve basic human needs, they transform into the grievances which demands satisfaction.

Considering the present situation in Balochistan, where tribal leaders have been outrageously accusing official institutions for instability, the Human Needs method can provide a clearer understanding of the issue. Thus, the conflict in Balochistan can be understood through the lens of 'Burton's 'Human Needs theory'.

Human Needs Theory and the Conflict in Balochistan

The province of Balochistan is one of the largest province of the country and is a main source of natural resources and minerals. It is also the main supplier of Sui gas to the rest of the country. Despite its wealth, Balochistan has the poorest population in the country, with the lowest per capita income and literacy rate when compared to other provinces (Dawn, 2009). Over the years, people in Balochistan have traditionally been distrustful of strangers in their province, whom they perceived as exploiters of their resources. Lack of control over vast economic resources, a shaky political order, and a lack of political will and sense of alienation and deprivation has caused a sense of discontent among the people of Balochistan. Further in order to counter the insurgencies of Balochistan, different military operations were carried out which created resentment and mistrust among the people of Balochistan towards Central government. As per the report published by Senator Sanaullah the use of offensive measures by Pakistan's government to repress the Baloch's movement for greater autonomy and control over natural resources has resulted in assassination, disappearances and coercion (Baloch S., 2007).

From the perspective of Burton's theory, the conflict in Balochistan arose because the people of Balochistan were deprived of their basic needs. Despite being the main

source of natural resources, the province and its people are deprived of its benefits. Soon after the discovery of Sui gas, it was distributed to the Karachi and Punjab whereas even after sixty years, large areas of the Balochistan are deprived of Sui gas. The failure of the state to equally distribute the resources is also a reason to the conflict.

Further, the people of Balochistan consider that the country has even deprived the province from the major development project. They have not fully integrated the province into their development sector. The people of Balochistan are deprived of socio-economic opportunities. Due to a lack of technical education and abilities, a huge number of people in Balochistan are unable to apply for job possibilities arising from high-profile development initiatives.

The literacy rate is also very low due to lack of education opportunities. The low literacy rate resulted in low economic opportunities. It has to be explored how much effort the Baloch Sardars have put in to provide educational opportunities to their subjects. The facts remain that they do not want to promote education in their areas of control because they are afraid that education would encourage independent thinking and lessen their grip on their followers. The lack of knowledge among the local population has lowered their prospects of being incorporated into the megaprojects that have been launched and may be completed by imported labor, resulting in outsider control of their resources. Regrettably, government officials have been oblivious to this critical need for the past half-century.

On the other hand, the leaders of Baloch tribe consider that the central control over the natural resources of Balochistan is illegal and illegitimate. They claim to be the sole proprietors of Balochistan's natural riches. The basis for this assertion is monetary gains, which they hope to get by taking a bigger portion of the produced income. Whether these allegations are valid or not, it poses a significant threat to Pakistan's national security. It is heartbreaking that, rather than being given good guidance, followers of Sardars are incited to use violent measures, culminating in the damage of gas pipelines. The deteriorating security situation has caused potential

investors to be concerned about the safety of life and mobility. This has contributed to the less major investments in Balochistan

The province is also deprived of major infrastructure. No doubt these conditions provide opportunity to the adversaries to capitalize the situation. In the worsening conditions, it builds an environment for terrorist activities. When the deprived people put up arms against their own states, military operations were conducted in the region which resulted in bloodshed. So, in the deteriorating condition and failure of the state to resolve the crises effectively, the people of Balochistan holds resentment and grievances against the state.

Grievances of People in Balochistan:

Balochistan is the richest province in terms of natural resources. Despite the plenty of natural resources, the people of Balochistan are living in grim conditions. In such worsening situation, the people of Balochistan has widely held grievances against the state. They claim that despite their largest contribution to the revenue, Balochistan is still the least developed province of Pakistan. The Sardars demand a bigger share of the wealth provided by the province's natural resources. The fact is that the province receives only a minuscule portion of the natural gas profits, thus alienating the province and its locals.

Another point of dispute between the federal government and the Balochistan is the port of Gwadar's commercial and geopolitical importance. The state of Pakistan sees it as a possible important economic, trade, and strategic center, while the Balochis sees it as a potential threat. Despite the fact that the they regard this initiative as providing great prospects for progress and success, they are concerned that they would be grabbed up by others owing to their lack of essential education and abilities in the sector. Unless they are given the necessary education and skills, the employment possibilities that will open up as a result of the high-profile initiatives will be out of reach.

One of the major reasons, that is not given importance and is considered as a mere contributing factor in the Balochistan conflict, is oil and gas exploration, that is another point of contention between the government and the people of Balochistan. The federal and provincial governments demonstrate their commitment to this goal by encouraging international enterprises to invest in the sector. The Balochis, on the other hand, are very concerned about outsiders. They believe that foreigners' plunder of resources would deprive them of their equal financial rights. They believe that foreign investment and labor on their natural resources will rob them of nature's gifts. It is also believed that Punjab may take advantage of the benefits arising from big construction projects, new dams and canals being built, and the province's rich natural endowments. *"They think natural resources are national assets, and we think they're Baloch assets and whomever wants to exploit them must do so via us, not by direct possession"* (Siddique, 2014). Considering these grievances, John Burton theory of human needs provides an excellent framework for conflict analysis and resolution. It will address the problems and help analyze them according to the aims and objectives of the study.

The theory of human needs and the concepts of conflict analysis and conflict resolution will help understand the conflict in Balochistan and address the problems while keeping in view the limitations of the study. This chapter will reflect on the methods used for the research on the topic " Natural Resource based Grievances is a cause of Conflict in Balochistan: A Case Study of Sui Gas".

3.2 Research Methodology:

A research methodology is a design to carry out research. It identifies the tools or procedures used to find and analyze data on a certain research topic. Thus, the research methodology implies how a researcher carries out their research to achieve valid and trustworthy data while meeting its research objectives and aims. This chapter explains the research tools used for this research along with the limitations and constraints that were encountered during this research.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

In this study, qualitative research is carried out through the use of words and textual data. It is based on both primary and secondary data that already exists. This type of method is more common in exploratory research in which initial data is collected and analyzed to explore new avenues. This type of research method aids in understanding the abstract concepts, perceptions, body language, attitudes, and even visual data. So, in this research situation in Balochistan is analyzed by using both primary and secondary data. After collecting the data through interviews, the study adopts content analysis technique for supporting its finding through secondary data. The study particularly focuses on underdevelopment of Balochistan and using 'Human needs theory' lens tries to assess if the misappropriation and misuse of valuable resources such as Sui gas by the Centre Government has widened the economic and development gap between Balochistan and the rest of the provinces. Does the deprivation and dissatisfaction regarding the resources among the local population have impacted the conflict in Balochistan? In short this research particularly focuses on the Sui gas (A valuable resource of Balochistan) and how its discovery has impacted Balochistan and its development.

Another key area this research looks into the Pakistan's government's policies on Balochistan and the utilization of its resources. What projects were initiated for the development of Balochistan and how much benefit the local achieved from them?

This is an exploratory research which has also used the technique of observation while interpreting the situation in Balochistan. Interviews were also conducted to understand the dynamics of the conflict keeping in view, the role of human needs in determining the conflict. To collect the data, tools like interviews, observation, case study and history were used.

3.2.2 Case study

Case Study method has been adopted in order to augment the research. The case study methodology helps to collect the data about the specific event at a specific area. Focus

on the one area helps in the thorough insightful research of that particular area of research. This research revolves around the discovery and use of Sui gas in Balochistan. The study aims to check the veracity of the claims that the extensive exploitation of the Sui gas has led to the deprivation of the district ‘Dera Bugti’, where this Sui gas was found. Thus, an extensive research on this particular case study provides better understanding of the matter by focusing on one major area.

‘**Human need theory**’ is used to determine the causes of conflict, it is also important because the research is using “sui Gas” as a case study. This study highlights the conflict in Balochistan through human needs theory, it shows that conflict does not emerge out of nowhere rather it builds over time when basic needs are not provided and a community is marginalized. This research interprets the conflict in Balochistan by incorporating the economic and socio-political needs of the local people, it also review the historical background of the region to understand the political dynamics that has undermine the development of the region.

3.2.3 Primary Sources

The research was carried out predominantly from the literature available on the open sources. The researcher faced restriction in term of time and monetary resources. Therefore, any form of personal visits and face to face interaction did not take place; instead primary data were gathered through zoom, WhatsApp and skype interviews. Information from published books, magazines, journals and newspaper articles were used to support and overcome the limitation of the primary data. All the published information has been analyzed using critical approach and qualitative analysis.

3.2.4 Secondary Sources

The sources use for this research was interviews, policy papers, books, articles, journals, newspapers, magazines and reports. All these sources of information greatly assisted in my research analysis. Some of the international articles and studies were very critical of the situation in Balochistan and blamed Pakistan’s forces for worsening the security conditions in the region. However, the analysis of data

gathered through interviews contradicts those claims and suggest that the situation is getting better. So due diligence and scrutiny was used in analyzing the secondary sources.

3.2.5 Sampling and Data Collection

This is an exploratory and qualitative research, relying on non-probable sampling. The sample in this research is not large; therefore the data collected through interviews is supplemented with secondary sources. For the purpose of qualitative analysis, interviewees were selected through snowball sampling is used. The main criteria for selection were that the participants should know about Balochistan in either their personal or professional capacity. The sample used in this research, although limited, encompasses political leader, public servant, Army personnel, journalist, researchers and members of the think tank. The questionnaire prepared for this research was sent to all the participants beforehand for scrutiny. The participants were asked to provide written or oral consent for the interviews. The interview was based on open ended questions, a verbal and written consent were sought from each participants. For the sake of anonymity, the data collected through the interviews will be coded.

Research Design

The interview questionnaire had 18 questions. The five questions were related to factors and root causes of the protracted instability and the conflict in the region of Balochistan. Keeping in view the delays in the meeting for the purpose of the interview and by knowing the importance of utilization of the technology, the interviews were taken via WhatsApp, Zoom and Skype. Interviews were semi-structured and open ended helping in the flexibility and wide range of responses. The interview questions were carefully designed keeping in mind the thematic underpinning of the literature review such as factors, root causes, impact of Sui gas and government policies. The questions were written with the interviewees in mind,

so that all six of them could understand and elaborate on the questions asked about the issues discussed.

Overall, this chapter laid out the research methodology adopted for this research; it also explained reasons and limitations that were considered in doing this research. The next chapter provides a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the conflict in Balochistan and highlights the areas which need to be improved for the development of Balochistan. Some policy recommendations are also suggested for achieving peace and prosperity in Balochistan.

Chapter 4 Data Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Background

This chapter has three sections, the first discusses the impact of discovery of Sui gas in the region of Balochistan by doing secondary source analyses. It highlights how the discovery of Sui gas further aggravated the conflict and alienated the people of Balochistan. The second section of this chapter will discuss the factors causing conflict in the region of Balochistan. It explores the factors responsible for the conflictual situation in Balochistan by mapping the conflict in the region in detail. The issue of lack of basic facilities is discussed in detail with respect to Balochistan and the responses of the interviewees are included. Moreover, issue of lack of political representation is discussed in detail along with the opinions of respondents to add to the argument. Furthermore, it is examined how the conflict has been prolonged by Balochistan's unequal distribution of economic resources. By analyzing the respondents' opinions, this study also explores the role of sardars in the conflict in general and control over the local people in particular.

The third section of this chapter discusses the central and provincial government policies. The gap between the government policies and people's needs is analyzed. The extractive policy in Balochistan for natural resources, especially Sui gas is explored and discussed. The respondents are also included to support the argument. Overall, this chapter discusses the findings of the above mentioned factors in the Balochistan region that impacted the conflict, through primary and secondary resources. Finding from interviews are analyzed, the interview questions are divided thematically; factors and root causes of the conflict, government policies and impact of Sui gas discovery in the region of Balochistan. Lastly, the chapter concludes by discussing whether the study assumption have been rejected or accepted.

4.2 Impact of Discovery of Sui gas in Balochistan:

Natural gas has been discovered in Sui division of Dera Bugti District in 1952. The Sui gas got its name from the place of its discovery. At that time, it became the only largest gas reserves of Pakistan. It has been ranked as the six largest gas reserves of the world. Since its discovery, Pakistan has been extracting natural gas from the Sui gas fields through Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL). It is the largest exploration company and has dominated the oil and gas reserves of Balochistan for decades. Out of total gas output of Pakistan, Sui gas fields contributed 36-45% to it (Sohail, 2017). For the first time, Sui gas field was economically exploited in the year 1955. Since then, the Sui gas field has supplied a large portion of gas to meet the energy requirements of Balochistan. The Sui gas field is very significant for the economy of Pakistan. It is the single largest source of energy for growing industries such as trade, agriculture and power generation etc.

When gas was discovered it was expected that Balochistan would lead the game in term of supplying natural gas. It was also endorsed in the constitution of Pakistan. The Article 158 entails **“A province in which a wellhead of natural gas is situated, shall have precedence over other parts of Pakistan in meeting their requirements from that wellhead”** (The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973). Contrary to the Article, Balochistan has been deprived of even their basic share from the natural gas of Balochistan. Balochistan was even being alienated from access to the natural gas for at least more than three decades. For example, in the year 1952, Natural gas was discovered. From then it was supplied to the Punjab and Sindh province to meet the requirement of growing industries but the province of Balochistan was deprived of its own wealth till 1986. It was only after 1986, a small amount of gas was supplied to limited areas of Balochistan, including Dera Bugti where Sui was discovered. It is among Pakistan's poorest regions. The Dera Bugti remains the least developed region of Balochistan even though the district supplies gas to the different parts of the country. Some part of the region even relies on the wooden sticks instead of gas to meet their daily requirement. This is the kind of

economic exploitation of which the locals are subjected to. They are deprived of their own wealth. This brought another apprehension in the locals of Balochistan.

The amount of natural gas produced at the Sui gas field adds to the country's economy as it saves amount of cash that would otherwise have been spent on energy imports if the abundant gas deposits had not been discovered. Regrettably, the province has been bereft of its natural resources. The pressure dropped to 45 bars as the use of Sui gas climbed dramatically. PPL spent millions of dollars to build a very complex compressor station. The Sui Field Gas Compressor Station now rises tall and operates at 99.9% efficiency. The Gas Purification Plant (Plant) in Sui was operationalized by Sui Southern Gas Company Limited (SSGCL) to filter gas generated from the Sui Gas Field.

Most of the interviewees admitted that Pakistan has to depend on big companies to extract the resources in Balochistan. But unfortunately, Balochistan did not get the benefits as much as they should have. Those companies got their own benefits, central government got the benefits but unfortunately, people of Balochistan did not get benefits out of it. They asserted that the central Government is also to blame because of its policies.

According to some geological surveys the gas reserves of Sui have been on verge of diminishing since 2012. This is because of the state practices of over extraction of these gas reserves to meet the growing requirements of energy needs. Balochistan's gas reserves are estimated to be up to 19 trillion cubic feet and crude oil reserves are estimated to be up to six trillion barrels, according to World Bank studies. The feudal lords of Balochistan are providing obstacles in the way of tapping the gas riches of Balochistan. They are demanding a lion's share of the revenue generated by gas reserves, as well as autonomy for the Balochistan province to handle its own financial issues (Jaffrelot, 2014).

Balochistan has been compelling the federal government to provide full control of the PPL to the province, claiming that the province's energy resources have met the

country's energy needs since independence. PPL's ownership might provide an income stream for the cash-strapped government. The strategic selling of PPL's controlling stock involves certain technological and legal challenges. The formal transfer of PPL shares to the Balochistan government was a major concern. The federal government, on the other hand, refused to accept Balochistan's desire for control of PPL. Center has adopted a policy that keeps under development in Balochistan and secure their interests. These areas of Balochistan lie on the list on highly deprived areas being the victim of illiteracy, poverty and development.

The Balochistan province is the most abundant province of Pakistan in terms of natural resources including chromite, fluorite, marble, gold, gas, iron and petroleum but remains the poorest province and least developed compared to other provinces. They were not given required representation in politics and public sector jobs, their lack of representation in army where Pashtuns and Punjabis dominated have added more rifts in grievances. There have also been development and resource issues because they claim that they have been deprived of their rights and there has been unequal resource distribution, and exploitation of their resources by other provinces which led to backwardness of Province.

Moreover, the people of Balochistan also claim that they have not been provided quality education and basic facilities. The economic disparity between Balochistan and Punjab province and infrastructure development has further exacerbated the grievances. Along with these socio-economic issues, there have also been struggling for power between Balochistan tribal lords and local government. In view of all these root causes at social, political and economic level, many groups have collectively gathered and formed insurgent groups that revolted against Pakistan government and demanded greater autonomy and control of natural resources and creation of a separate state for Baloch people.

The effects of conflict between these insurgent groups were visible outcomes when the groups attacked Pakistani military troops, police, journalists and civilian. They have been involved in target killing and criminal activities and attacked other

communities living in Balochistan like attacks on Hazara community. The government also responded back by retaliation of these groups and there have been direct confrontation between Pakistan military and insurgent groups. All resistance movements were violently suppressed, instilling anti-state sentiment among the people of Balochistan and the further exacerbation of conflict.

The respondents further added to this that the discovery of Sui gas fermented the insurgencies, it created the situation where Baloch dissidents and nationalist and some other turned into militants eventually thought that if our resources are being taken away from us and there will not be any trickle-down effect of those resources on our population and Punjabi elite will take the chunk of those resources then it will be difficult to work with the federation so, this proportionate exploitation of resources is the contributing factor to the current situation of Balochistan.

Since the discovery of natural gas at Sui in the area of Dera Bugti in 1952, the extraction of natural gas has been the major source of Baloch concerns. Furthermore, the study of Balochistan's economic progress supports the narrative of long-term neglect and justifies their frustrations. The province has lowest per Capita Income and the Growth Regional Product (GRP) was also lowest as compared to the other three provinces of Pakistan (Bugti, 2018).

Hence, impact of sui gas that its provision has not been given to the people in the shape of sui gas, subsidies, development funds then they carry out blasts at various pipelines at far flung areas. It not only affects Balochistan but the supply of the sui gas to other parts of Pakistan. This all creates unrest in the region and affects the image of Pakistan at international forums, as per one of the interviewee who argued on the supply of Sui gas and other resources in Balochistan.

4.3 Factors causing the Conflict in the Region of Balochistan

Balochistan is known for its huge natural resource wealth. It is also known as the “heart of Asia” because it provides a way to the rich resources of Central Asian

countries. The discovery of enormous amounts of natural gas, as well as other rich minerals, has piqued the interest of foreign investors and developers in the region. Balochistan's geography also makes it an ideal site for the construction of highways, trains, and pipelines linking the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. To complement this progress, the construction of a deep-water port at Gwadar has the potential to accelerate globalization in the region. The people in Balochistan, whose ongoing insurgencies have produced an unstable environment, stand in the way of this progress and expansion.

The conflict in Balochistan is rooted in the alienation of the people of Balochistan from the development share. The people of Balochistan are deprived from infrastructural facilities. As described above, the conflict in Balochistan emerged because the locals are even deprived of their basic needs. This added apprehension against the state and increased the grievances of the people in Balochistan. These increasing grievances resulted in five insurgencies against the state of Pakistan.

Therefore, this section is to examine and discuss how the discovery of Sui gas in Balochistan resulted in the continuous conflict in the region. Ultimately, the analysis of the data gathered will help the policy makers to develop the policies to tackle the issues around Sui gas production, supply and revenue distribution on priority basis that will help promote peace in the region.

The factors of the conflict can be taken into account by Conflict Mapping of the Balochistan conflict. It is very important to find out the root causes of the conflict. According to Burton's Human Needs theory, what were the basic needs that were not provided on the region that led to the grievances and hence, conflict.

4.3.1 Conflict Mapping of Balochistan Conflict

The protracted nature of the conflict in Balochistan lies in the part of state because the state failed to respond to the grievances of the people of Balochistan. The long protracted conflict resulted in increasing demand for a greater Balochistan. If the

situation remains grim, then it would have severe consequences for Pakistan just as it happened in 1971. Following are the major causes of the conflict in Balochistan.

Lack of Basic Facilities

The people of Balochistan are deprived of their basic facilities. In terms of education, health, sanitation or water and security, the people of Balochistan are deprived of these basic necessities. It is quite a fact that in this globalized era, the illiterate population cannot perform well in the socio-economic development. Similar case is with Balochistan which is still entangled in the tribal system that impedes its development. It has the lowest literacy rate i.e., 44% among all other provinces. Out of 29 districts, people from only two districts acquire decent education. In educational sector, Punjab outnumbers them in literacy ratio. There are limited universities in Balochistan.

Apart from educational sector, the situation of Health sector is also excruciating. There are lack of health facilities such as clinics, medical colleges. Most of the health facilities are concentrated in urban areas whereas, rural population is deprived of such facilities. According to the UNICEF report, around 60% population of Balochistan do not have access to health care facilities. It means that out of ten, one woman dies during pregnancy because of the lack of health care facilities (Daily Times, 2016). In addition, Balochistan also scores low on Human Development Index (HDI) and Youth Development Index (YDI) that represent low quality of life there. Although, certain developments have been made to improve the living conditions but still Balochistan falls behind other provinces in terms of basic facilities. The relative lower life expectancy in Balochistan as compared to other regions of the state is due to regional variations in the education system, particularly for girls' education, poor earnings, and restricted availability of potable water (Mushtaq & Mirza, 2021, p. 224-226).

According to the respondents, the province suffers from bad economic conditions, high illiteracy rate, lack of development projects, lack of health care facilities and many more. The people of Balochistan held grievances against the state. The state

failed to provide basic necessities to its people in Balochistan. It takes little time to transform the grievances into insurgency and same happened in Balochistan. When state failed to provide basic needs to the people of Balochistan, the people of that province stood against the state.

The issue that was highlighted in the interviews and was discussed in almost every answer to question was that of non-providence of basic facilities in Balochistan. They were of the opinion that the state could not even provide the basic facilities in seventy years even after looting their treasures in the form of natural resources. These unmet needs were the basic reasons for the grievances in the region. Almost every respondent focused on the lack of infrastructure, health and education facilities. This is also the reason that Balochistan is ranked one of the lowest in many indicators of the Human Development Index.

Lack of Political Representation

The people of Balochistan are subjected to political exclusion. Political exclusion refers to those people who are excluded from decision making process because they acquire a marginalized position in a society or a state. One of the basic grievances of the people of Balochistan is the growing dissatisfaction because of their exclusion from the basic power structures of the state. While assessing the under development of Balochistan in terms of political aspects. It is quite evident that there has been a political squabble between the province and the center. Since independence, the relations between Islamabad and Balochistan has been frayed which resulted in paying a huge cost for meager resource provision (Ahmed & Baloch, 2017, p. 1031) and lack of political representation in the federal institutions of the country.

The reason behind the lack of political representation of Balochistan is because of the fact that resource allocation and political representation in state institutions are based on population. Being the lowest populated province that make up only 5% of the country population put Balochistan in a disadvantageous position. Consequently, the province is under-represented in the main institutions of the country. The under-

representation of Balochistan can be estimated that has ever a candidate from Balochistan became the president of Pakistan that enjoys constitutional powers. This is still a key flaw in Pakistan's political system. Despite Pakistan's parliamentary system, the 8th and 17th Constitutional Amendments gave the President's office significant constitutional powers. This level of political exclusion can also be evident in other institutions such as diplomatic institutions. Therefore, political exclusion is also one of the major cause of instability in Balochistan (Mushtaq & Mirza, 2021, p. 224-226).

Interviewees are also of the opinion that government of Pakistan failed to include the people of Balochistan politically therefore, they could not enjoy inclusive policies that could provide them with their share of resources. It is natural that when people are deprived from their own natural resources they will fight back.

One of the respondent argued that when Sui gas was discovered in 1952, it was the biggest gas reserve at that time in the world and people of Balochistan should have gotten benefits but they did not, even the people of Sui did not get the benefits. For a long period of time Sui did not have a gas connection but now they have.

Another respondent expressed his views that it is very unfortunate that whole country benefitted from the gas but the place from where it was extracted they were deprived from it. Government policies were not inclusive of the locals of Balochistan. This happened only because of the lack of political representation of the People of Balochistan who could voice out their opinions and concerns.

So, from the above findings it can be concluded that non-inclusiveness of the people of Balochistan in the decision making process at the government level, and lack of representation in the national level is one of the main reasons of the grievances in the people of Balochistan.

Uneven distribution of Economic Resources

The growing economic disparities between Balochistan and other provinces have resulted in economic imbalance that add miseries to the lives of Balochistan's people. From the past decades, this province has attracted little investments that impeded the economic prosperity. It is evident that the province has high poverty and unemployment ratio. The increasing poverty ratio along with the increasing employment opportunities has worsen the situation. In order to cope with the economic woes of the province, Pakistan came up with development projects to appease the Baloch population. But still the problem of resource exploitation and unequal distribution from the federation continue to dominate Baloch discourse. Above all, the district of Dera Bugti which is known as highly deprived province became the victim of policies of the center.

This uneven distribution of resources is one of the cause of the grievances of people of Balochistan. Balochistan is blessed with rich mineral resources, coal mines, natural gas reserves. But unjust distribution of resources plays a huge role in triggering conflict in Balochistan. Despite the largest province, it has the lowest share and disproportionate attention paid by the Pakistani government on the PSTP which is funding for development programs in the province. Resources have been taken away from the province and utilized in the center especially among the Punjabi elite which has contributed to unrest and agitation.

One of the respondents explained the uneven distribution of resources that the discovery of the Sui gas in the Balochistan is the evident example of the exploitation of natural gas. Sui gas and its discovery fermented the insurgency, it created the situation where Baloch dissidents and nationalist and others turned into militants. If their resources are taken away from them and there will not be any trickle-down effect of those resources on the population then it will be difficult to work with the federation so, this proportionate exploitation of resources is the contributing factor to the current situation of Balochistan.

In the interviews with other respondents have similar views are expressed that Sui gas was given to other parts of Pakistan except Balochistan. The gas reserves were already shrinking when it was finally provided to the province. There was no development a t Sui uplift the people, a lot of money was earned and it was a major game for the country but Balochistan completely lost because of this and that resentment is very much there. The revenue generated from the gas reserves was distributed to the Punjab and Sindh province. The people of Baluchistan were deprived of their benefits. This sense of deprivation trigger resentment and grievances against the state. The reason was that people of Balochistan was deprived of education, development, healthcare facilities and many socio-economic developments that were indispensable for the people of Baluchistan.

So, while the discovery of gas from Sui benefitted the rest of Pakistan, Balochistan itself remained the far end of the recipients and it also bred the sense of deprivation and injustice because they were the last ones to get it.

Role of Tribal System

One of the major reason that played a vital role in the under-development and conflict in Balochistan is its association with tribes. In such a society where there is a strong tribal hold, the loyalty of the people is more towards their tribes rather than their state. This tendency has hampered the establishment and development of true leadership capable of steering the province toward progress. Even in cases when the provincial leadership is given authority, the social structure is set up in such a way that a strong tribal hierarchy obstructs the region's multi-dimensional growth. Tribal chieftains, who wield enormous authority over their sphere of influence, are major players in Balochistan. If a development project does not meet the demands of these stakeholders, it is often abandoned. Having access to the water resources, transportation, education, and social services all depends on the discretion of tribal chiefs.

It has also been argued that the role of Tribal system in the internal matters of the province is the root cause of problem in Balochistan. Even the blame of the insurgency is put on these tribal leaders. It is being argued that the separatist tendencies in the country are being instigated by these tribal leaders who do not want the province to flourish. This is because the awareness and consciousness that will come as a result of education and development is seen as a threat to their internal power hierarchy. Any attempt to implement reforms, progress in a tribal society like Balochistan has always met with opposition. The tribal structure has long prohibited ordinary people from participating in the province's political and economic concerns.

Furthermore, the Sardars are opposed to the establishment of schools in regions under their control. Hence, the federal government should be condemned for marginalizing and alienating Balochistan but equally the tribal chiefs who wield huge authority in their tribal and provincial administrations, bear responsibility for increasing inequalities in the province. As a result, it may be deduced that the federation has never been concerned with bringing Balochistan's growth up to pace with that of other provinces. This was complemented by the bad socio-economic conditions that made the local elites all-powerful and unaccountable for obstructing the development process in Balochistan (Ahmed & Baloch, 2017, p. 1031).

There were two kind of responses from the interviewees; one who said that Sardars have no role to play in the conflict and now have not much influence on the people and other that Sardars are the main criminals to instigate conflict in Balochistan. Interviewees were of the view that they played a role in not only perpetuating the conflict becoming increasingly dependent on federal government for the political patronage that has resulted in complete lack of understanding that what Baloch dynamics are all about. So, the Sardars are not the road block to resolving the conflict but they definitely not a good force either so, tribal structure is how the system works in Balochistan.

Respondents also argued that Sardars have no role in the conflict in fact they are quite powerless. They are content with power they are given in political arena they become

chief ministers and get ministries, they have never done anything for their people and they will not do it in future. And they have no role to play in the conflict. the Sardar system is the representative of the Baloch people, it means that would never be a party to the conflict which would jeopardize federal projects and Balochistan's prosperity.

While another respondent argued that conflict is very much controlled by the army on both ends. Sardars have been bribed into positions and chief minister ships, governorships and they were not asked by the government to do anything. On the other hand, the Baloch Sardars in particular have been the beneficiaries of the conflict as the state has always approached them to settle the disputes by appeasing them through monetary or political benefits. The multiple Sardars have taken benefits from the state but have been unable to transfer the benefits to the lower masses.

Thus, it is evident that common people do not matter as long as this nexus between the Sardars and the central government remains intact.

4.3.2 Discussion

As result of the above findings, it can be argued that Balochistan's huge reserves of natural resources have been exploited that benefitted the whole country at the expense of this region itself. Balochistan had huge potential to develop in every area whether, political, economic, social or human, after the discovery of natural resources particularly Sui gas. The region still can develop if the resources and revenues generated by them are distributed justly. People f Balochistan expected to be their voices heard and included in the national policy but the results cannot be seen practically in the province. It is still lagging behind other provinces due to which people feel marginalized and they stand up against the state using violent means. The province was already underdeveloped but this direct violence and conflict further hindered the development in the region and it got stuck in the vicious cycle. So, the Sui gas reserves are already declining and it is high time to start initiating the development in the region that directly includes the locals otherwise, further neglect

of these issues are not just a threat for the security of the region of Balochistan and Pakistan but also for the regional security.

4.4 Pakistan Policy towards Balochistan Conflict:

The state of Pakistan has initially adopted a narrative that supported its use of military force. Initially, Pakistan resorted to peacekeepers by employing the military in Balochistan to tackle the insurgency. Later on, it was realized that the grievances are rooted in the socio-economic structure of the province. Whatever policy Pakistan adopted, it has to face strong resistance from the people of Balochistan. The reason is that there is a strong tribal affiliation in Balochistan. For example, when Pakistan endorsed Criminal Law Ordinance in 1968, 95% of the people of Balochistan were under the influence of Tribal law. This tribal affiliation is so strong that it is one of the impediments in the way of accepting Pakistan as a legitimate political authority. The 'Sardars' of these tribesmen have a strong hold over the justice system, sources of revenue, and the properties of their people. When Pervez Musharraf came to power, he realized that the Sardars of these tribes are responsible for not empowering their people so they could hold their power.

Pakistan has also blamed the interference of Afghanistan and India in the Balochistan Insurgency. Pakistan claimed that India and Afghanistan are employing various socially disruptive proxies in Balochistan to disrupt the stability of the country. One of the respondent was also of the opinion that Sardars are the main criminals of the conflict in Balochistan and external actors like India, Afghanistan made use of the situation on Balochistan to inculcate separatists' movement in the region. Sardars do not want the region to develop and they do not let their people to get education so that people remain their servants without question.

During the PPP government, several measures were taken to address the Baloch grievances. President Asif Ali Zardari delivered an official apology to the people of Balochistan for past injustices and introduced the **Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan package**. In 2010, the government of Pakistan gave provincial autonomy through 18th

Amendment. Under the 18th Amendment, subjects such as education and other socio economic development projects were allotted to the province. The provinces were allowed for obtaining funds to satisfy their expenditure demands while remaining dependent on central earnings. It has also been made essential for the federal government to confer with the provincial governments before the building of hydroelectric power plants and to guarantee that the provincial governments' future income share does not fall below the required shares under the present NFC award. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution and the **7th National Financial Commission** (NFC) Award were also significant steps in reducing the gap that exists between Pakistan and Balochistan (Tariq, 2014). However, the extent to which these steps have had a practical impact in terms of execution is questionable.

In 2007, the Committee on Provincial autonomy submitted two reports following extensive dialogues. Finally, in 2009, the government announced The Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package which pledged political and economic reforms in Balochistan along with halting all military operations. It further announced a judicial probing for the killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti and other leaders. It promised the creation of jobs for the locals and to replace the army with Frontier Constabulary at Sui. The package also included the payment of Rs. 120 billion in unpaid gas royalties and the sale of a stake in the Saindak project to Balochistan (Tariq, 2014). Even though the changes aimed to address the root causes of the conflict, worries about their execution have dominated. Later on, an evaluation committee also discovered that Balochistan Assembly members received between Rs. 250 and Rs. 300 million without any oversight or responsibility. The 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award of 2009 was a significant step toward allowing more financial autonomy to provinces and addressed long-standing Baloch complaints over income sharing. The NFC award governs the division of financial resources across the four provinces yearly. However, by using population as the primary distribution criterion, the prize was heavily criticized. This strategy was especially troublesome in the case of Balochistan. Despite having over 45% of its people living below the poverty line and a large geographical area, Balochistan receives just around 5% of the divisible pool

resources due to its small population (Tariq, 2014). Under the new NFC award, the share of Balochistan's was increased by cutting the budget of Punjab province. While the new grants undoubtedly indicate an increase in federal cash flowing into Balochistan over the specified period, questions regarding accountability and poor financial management persist. Concerns have been raised about the federal government's inefficiency in dealing with revenues, as well as its failure to reach income objectives. The issue of royalties has long been a source of resentment among the Baloch, contributing to their sense of exploitation and isolation. Balochistan has previously received only 12.4% of its rightful revenues. Despite such weakness, the government of Pakistan continues its efforts to address the concerns of Balochistan. CPEC is also one of the landmark agreements in this context. It was signed China Pakistan Economic Corridor with China for Infrastructural development. Although, there are certain reservations regarding CPEC it will bring socio-economic development to the people of Balochistan. Reko-Diq Deal was also signed with the Canadian multinational company. These projects if implemented in true letter and Spirit will bring significant development to Balochistan and might limit the grievances of Baloch people.

Despite such policies, the socio-economic condition of Balochistan remains unabated. The Balochistan government has announced \$613 billion of budget this year (Dawn, 2022). But there is a little probability of improving social condition of people in Balochistan. This can easily be anticipated through the announcement of 7th NFC awards took into consideration population, backwardness and revenue generation and it increased the share of Balochistan from 3.86% in 1974 to 9.09 in 2009 (Ministry of Finance, 2009). As opposed to its expectations, the change could not be translated into visible socio-economic development of the Balochistan. Furthermore, Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan could not be materialized in its true sense because the PML-N had been blamed for not continuing their predecessor policies. So many of the times, such policies became the victim of political game in Pakistan (Dawn, 2011).

NFC Awards have been signed, the last one having been signed in Gwadar in year 2009. In all the earlier six awards, the singly criteria for distribution of the resources

were population. However, in the seventh award, to cause benefit to Balochistan in view of its backwardness, the distribution was based upon the following factors (Ministry of Finance, 2009); Population 82.0%, Poverty/backwardness 10.3%, Revenue collection/generation 5.0%, Inverse Population Density (IPD) 2.7%. Due to change of the criteria, the share of Balochistan increased from 3.86% in 1974 to 9.09 in 2009. This appears to be a substantial improvement in terms of quantum of the funds, however, this change could not translate in to a visible socio-economic development across the province.

There are many impediments in its way towards integration of people of Balochistan into country development. One of the reason was rightly stated by Chief Minister of Balochistan in White Paper of 2020. He claimed that over the years, the distribution of scarce public resources has been a key concern in Balochistan. For many reasons, the design of PSDP and the efficient execution of PSDP projects has long been a source of concern. Historically, the biggest chunk of provincial resources has been spent on non-development activities such as pay, pension, law and order, and other government operating tasks. It is commonly understood that non-development expenditures must be reduced in order to allow for meaningful growth and development on the development side, allowing the government to implement projects that benefit vast segments of the people (Balochistan Budget White Paper, 2019-2020). Secondly, the accumulation of the resources by the Sardars in Balochistan. In order to improve the situation, there is a need to relocate those resources to the common man. State must ensure that common man has the access to those resources through proper strategies and greater vigilance.

Similarly, some of the respondents are concerned about the international funded projects while some acknowledge their importance for the development of the region. There are many projects that exists only on paper. A number of literature exists about the potential of CPEC for improving the socio economic conditions of Balochistan. The point is that there is a need to implement such developmental project in true letter and spirit. Otherwise history is full of such examples when people are deprived of their needs, they continue to put on arms against the state. There is dire need to realize

the seriousness of situation in Balochistan and they should come up with such developmental projects and strategies beyond politics.

Taking into account the interviewees opinion, it is important to make people centric policies and refrain from militarizing the entire province. The government has to realize that without stabilizing Balochistan, the rest of Pakistan could not be developed as the civil unrest will have a domino effect. So, you have to first identify legitimate stakeholders in Balochistan, acknowledge that Balochistan is not merely consisted of Baloch, have a serious will to address the long term grievances of the people and this could only be done if the state institutions are able to revive their trust with respect to the people of Balochistan. No government has really addressed the fundamental issues. Issues like health, education, employment, citizens of Balochistan have not been treated equally by the civilian government or the military. There is indifference to the issues and then total disregard for the need to include all these people of Balochistan into mainstream decision making, has been largely responsible for this. This is largely because they could not prioritize the fundamental rights of people of Balochistan as the equal citizens.

The lack of fundamental economic and social infrastructure investment to the province has resulted in low levels of economic activity and insufficient budgetary resources. In the contemporary situation, CPEC which aims to bring investment and development of Gwadar port seems to be game changer for the socio-economic development of Balochistan. It remains to be seen whether the proposed plan will result in any economic or social development for underdeveloped Balochistan. There is a suspicion that the real motivation behind megaprojects like CPEC is the federation's continued exploitation of provincial resources.

As per interviews people of Balochistan are concerned that the job opportunities created by this project will go to non-locals or people from outside the province rather than people from Balochistan and they will again become the victims of the socio-economic challenges raised by the unequal and unjust employment opportunities which will arise with the help of these mega projects.

4.4.1 Discussion

There is gap between government policies and the people's needs. Politicians do not reach the far flung areas, they do not know how people are living there and in which conditions. There are gaps between the needs and the supply of projects, gap between policies and people's needs and this is because the local Sardars get benefits the most through their alliance with the federal government and by doing so they enrich themselves and simply disregard and ignore the people in their constituency and that is why Balochistan has remained backward. Moreover, gap mostly lies at the implementation level and less on the policy level. Inclusion of development policies and encouraging policy makers to adopt policies which are community centric, so, every single population could be included.

The state of Pakistan fails to take into account the conflict resolution mechanism to solve the conflict in Pakistan. Although some projects were being carried out but they fail to improve the situation in Balochistan. Based on the data collected from the interviews, it is being suggested that in order to resolve the conflict, it is essential to take into account the Balochistan people. The government is not reaching out to the Balochistan people. It is a dire need to take the view point of these people who are deprived. It is necessary to make such policies that will first benefit the people of Balochistan. As the government held talks to the TTP regardless of the fact that they claimed many innocent lives. Why not it is possible to hold talks with the insurgents of Balochistan. It is a high time for the state to think on these lines. Further there is a need to increase debates in universities and think tank so that they will come up with the research based solutions. Avoiding the situation especially such protracted conflict will not help in the betterment of the Balochistan.

Conclusion

It is concluded from the study that conflict in Balochistan is directly linked to natural resources. The presence of natural resources in Balochistan has culminated the conflict in the region and led to nationalist and separatist's movements resulting in violence. This study has emphasized on role of Sui gas in the region that whether unjust distribution of the resource and its revenues are main causes of the conflict and the role of the national and the provincial government and their policies that exacerbated the conflict instead of addressing it. This study also highlights the long held grievances of the people of Balochistan that turned into violent conflict. They resorted to violence in order to get their rights. It can be ascribed that the lack of the political will to address these issues decades had engraved the resentment in the people of Balochistan compelling them to resort to violence and conflict in the province.

Furthermore, the dynamics of the conflict in Balochistan are not so simple, these dynamics have the consequences that effect the economic development in the region. For this purpose, this research has focused on conflict analysis by the lens of John Burtons Human needs theory that it needs of the people are not fulfil they try to get them through violence further deteriorating their economic conditions. In the context of Balochistan, the situation is much like many other countries, where social and political disputes have created restless situation across the region.

This research found out that in case of Balochistan, natural resources act as a direct source of conflict. The discovery of the natural resources was the hope for the people of Balochistan but when they did not get any economic benefits out of it as expected they choose violence to get their rightful share. It started the nationalist movement and the insurgencies.

Lastly, this thesis wants to turn the direction of the policy makers to focus on the region of Balochistan. They need to address the grievances of the locals so that they

can enjoy a better living and should not again to the violence and conflict in the region.

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Appendix

Interview Questionnaire

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.
2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?
3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province?
(ask further questions related to the 'factors' mentioned by the interviewee)
4. How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?
5. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?
6. How did the discovery of Sui gas effect Balochistan? (ask further question after listening to their response)
7. Why Balochi people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?
8. Did Balochistan get real benefits of its natural resources before other provinces as claimed in the constitution? What economic and developmental policies were made by the provincial and federal government for Balochistan? How effective they were for the local people?
9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?
11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?
12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?
13. What particular factors, you think, contributed towards the escalation of tension in Balochistan?
14. How do you see the presence of Army in Balochistan?
15. In your opinion, what are the root causes of Balochistan's current situation?
16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?
17. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan?
18. Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?
19. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

Interview Transcript

Hamza Rifaat Hussain (Assistant research associate at IPRI)

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.

He is an ethnic Punjabi. He visited Balochistan in late May and early June, he also visited Quetta for the project assigned by RCC (Research Coordination Cell) to conduct research on province, its dynamics and reasons for insurgency in Balochistan.

2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?

Situation there is quite fragile. There is spike in attacks by Baloch militants or can be attributed to Baloch militants on Chinese workers, Karachi university attack which was extremely horrendous, so the situation is not improving.

3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province? How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?

There are many factors, political, economic, military factors. Political factors include lack of accommodation from the center, most of the policies tend to be Islamabad centric, there is little to no effort to reach out to Baloch nationalist parties e.g.; BNP Akhtar Mengal party. Economically, Balochistan is the most impoverish province in the country, very little access to basic facilities, education, sanitation, water, dry desert like landscape so, it become very difficult for the people from outside Quetta to benefit from some facilities in the province which is the federal as well as provincial government responsibility. Militancy grew in the 1990s when there was a lot of opposition to centralized policy making especially with regard to military leadership, the insurgency grew significantly in the Musharraf era because there was a view that Baloch political participation or the participation of the nationalist parties in the political setup of Pakistan was running very smooth in 1970s but in late 1990s after civilian government was overthrown, many Baloch nationalist became militants

and it became extremely difficult for e.g.; Kher Bakhs Mari became militant, known to be a nationalist. He flew to Europe and died there. He assumed this character of violent agitation or implying violence to send a message to wider target audience which in this case was a Pakistani state.

Pakistan's role in improving the problem is that it is very important to listen to the people, take them on board, try to accommodate them politically, economically and even militarily. Try and refrain from militarizing the entire province because the more the check post are erected the more the violence that is going to be implied and this will alienate the population. Youth is extremely upset about that even capital Quetta has the check posts everywhere so, it is important to demilitarize the province and initiate political dialogue, take all the stakeholders on board, try to reach out to Baloch nationalists and also reach to Baloch dissidents as well, that is the kind of role that Pakistani state should play.

4. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?

Unjust distribution of resources has a huge role to play because being the largest province, it has the lowest share and disproportionate attention paid by the Pakistani government on the PSTP which is funding for development programs in the province. Resources have been taken away from the province and utilized in the center especially among the Punjabi elite which has contributed to unrest and agitation. It is blessed with rich mineral resources, coal mines, natural gas reserves.

5. How did the discovery of Sui gas affect Balochistan?

Sui gas discovery fermented the insurgency, it created the situation where Baloch dissidents and nationalist and some other turned into militants eventually thought that if our resources are being taken away from us and there will not be any trickle-down effect of those resources on our population and Punjabi elite will take the chunk of those resources then it will be difficult to work with the federation so, this

proportionate exploitation of resources is the contributing factor to the current situation of Balochistan.

6. Why Balochi people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?

They claim the rights because it comes from their province. Sui gas when extracted should benefit Pakistan as a whole not only one province but the problem is that it largely benefits Punjab and upper Sindh or lower Sindh and do not see the trickle-down effect on the Baloch population and that leads to people claiming their rights to natural resources which are being eroded.

7. Did Balochistan get real benefits of its natural resources before other provinces as claimed in the constitution?

Balochistan did not get the benefits before other provinces. It has been the recipient of NFC award national financial commission award and Balochistan package during the People's party government was offered otherwise did not get the real benefits of the natural resources.

8. What economic and developmental policies were made by the provincial and federal government for Balochistan? How effective they were for the local people?

Problem of corruption is endemic in Pakistan. Economic development policies, provincial government tried hard but there is this view among the Baloch population that most of the governance has too come about and most of that representing the people are not true representatives of the people, they are the representatives of the Islamabad establishment and that has resulted in the policy making that has not benefitted the Baloch population. It is ethnically diverse Baloch Pashtoons tribes so it's important to have people centric policy making that can only come about with very strong local government system, strong union councils and people are elected from that population than there is greater ownership of resources and federation of Pakistan as well. In federal government the democratic parties have tried to accommodate Balochistan to promote the development there e.g.; CPEC extends into

the province and there is this belief that CPEC could be a game changer for Pakistan and Balochistan but its entire route is controversial. Baloch students and activists and politicians were extremely upset about that way too much attention is paid on the eastern route which shows that Balochistan is not being accommodated as part of the project. There is the view that any government project from the federation will not result in the Balochistan problems being addressed. Provincial government also suffers from corruption and nepotism and cronyism. Federal government, most of the policies are not people centric and that has resulted in the alienation of the local population.

9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

Not familiar with any project that is benefiting the locals. The problem is that most of the federal sponsored projects are not benefiting the locals that is resulted in the alienation of the large chunk of population.

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?

There is definitely a gap.

11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?

Diversity should be a strength not a liability. It depends on how much you invest on diversity. It is not an impediment or road block to greater inclusion of development policies in fact it should encourage policy makers to adopt policies which are community centric or ethnicity centric so every single population are not sidelined by developmental policies e.g., there is development project the employment should go to Baloch Pashtoons immigrants from other provinces which have intermarried with Baloch population so, ethnic diversity will always going to be a strength that how much center wields it has a strength.

12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?

The Sardar system is the representative of the Baloch people, it means that would never be a party to the conflict which would jeopardize federal projects and Balochistan's prosperity. They played a role in not only perpetuating the conflict becoming increasingly dependent on federal government for the political patronage that has resulted in complete lack of understanding that what Baloch dynamics are all about. So, the Sardars are not the road block to resolving the conflict but they definitely not a good force either so, tribal structure is how the system works there, one is identified based upon your tribe, it all depends on the tribal structure.

13. What particular factors, you think, contributed towards the escalation of tension in Balochistan?

After the nuclear tests anti-Islamabad anti-establishment sentiments taking hold of Balochistan. but there were some policies that Baloch felt that they were being imposed on them. CPEC as project is really good, it provides with infrastructure, energy, avenues for regional connectivity it needs but it is viewed as not as people centric enough and that is impose things on people they will not accept it. Alienation, policy making and the mindset whether political, military, civilian regarding Balochistan to accommodate them and treat them as equals as for pursuing developmental projects.

14. How do you see the presence of Army in Balochistan?

Presence of Army works both ways, it is there to protect Baloch people but the problem is that Baloch people really view army presence with skepticism and great animosity. They don't like that check posts are erected in province, forced disappearances are taking place. Army is viewed as federal machinery which is being imposed on the Baloch people and its presence is contributing to instill anger among the society. Although, army presence is to safe guard national security is not viewed favorably among the Baloch population.

15. In your opinion, what are the root causes of Balochistan's current situation?

Causes are historical in nature, especially the policy making process so lob sided with regard to Balochistan. We constantly view Balochistan with a particular lens. We have not really come up with a vision that represents the people that has been the historical cause of the conflict. 1998 nuclear tests, Baloch believe that there was immense amount of political participation, many Baloch nationalists and Pakistani nationalists tried their level best for countries prosperity and political stability. But the problem is that military coups has taken place and policy making became increasingly centralized and then local departments and local infrastructure was eroded that contributed towards Balochistan's current situation. There has been historical neglect towards the needs of the Baloch people. Punjab generates 60% of our GDP bit Balochistan is the most resource rich, it tells a lot about the developmental priorities of the Pakistani state. Causes are based upon inability to accommodate the different ethnicities and tribes and Sardars together.

16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?

Most important issue is the political aspect of the issue, need to initiate the dialogue with the Baloch people and the only way is to include Baloch nationalists, stake holders, civil society, students and militants. Initiating dialogue with TTP which is considered as a terrorist organization and held responsible for the APS attack then why not initiate dialogue with Baloch militants. This is the strategy that the establishment and government should really work on. If there is political stability, investments would flow in, there will little opposition to CPEC, federal government policies. Representing the people is very important, inclusive policy. If you get all the stake holders on board then militants can easily be isolated. Political leadership that takes the locals seriously and the locals should also feel that political leadership is taking them seriously.

16. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan? Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?

CPEC is worth 62 billion dollars (initially 42) but the problem is that unless you politically resolve the conflict in Balochistan, CPEC's effects would be extremely limited. If the Baloch militants can attack Chinese workers, they will be more inclined towards to attack Chinese projects. Political dialogue with stake holders then isolate the militants. Initiate the military operation against the militants that the Pakistan's army has been doing very successfully. CPEC will adversely affect the youth unless you do not accommodate the locals in it. Baloch population should be employed at that project and this is the policy recommendation that it is not limited to the Chinese. So, CPEC will only change the situation of Balochistan if it is the inclusive project. So far it is viewed as a state sponsored project and that is problematic.

18. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

The genesis of the militancy, history where we went wrong as far as treating the Balochistan project is concerned. Military operation we might be able to convince the people that we are doing the good job in short term but in the long run there are so many contributing factors in history that has contributed in the current conflict in Balochistan. Be historically sensible to get the root cause of the problem and then make policies.

Ayesha Wadood (Head of provincial office UN Women)

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.

I belong to Balochistan and was born in Quetta.

2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?

Current situation has improved a lot; the conflict was worse 2-3 years back. There are still some conflicts in the pocket that can be managed.

3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province? How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?

This was case of the completely mishandled situation in Balochistan. People were rest less because there were no resources allocated, no education, we are being controlled by people that are not from Balochistan. There was poor handling, no efforts for conflict resolution. There were no peace processes, no peace missions that were there with the insurgents and the people there became anti state. We did not hear about any measures taken by the politicians, no political solution sought at any stage even last 15 years. The political governments remained aloof, they were kept at a distance and army controlled the situation and intervened and the situation deteriorated due to the mishandling of the issue. A complete trust deficit between the stake holders on both sides and the political governments have played no role. They have not been allowed. Politicians neither have a say nor they are given any importance in managing the conflict in Balochistan.

4. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?

There is lack of resources, not developed, no single two-way highway, no motorways, no development has been done. This why we feel deprived and feel resentment which is the root cause of many conflicts. It becomes very easy for the anti-state elements to instigate this element of deprivation within any person or nation.

5. How did the discovery of Sui gas effect Balochistan?

Discovery of sui gas was the major thing in Balochistan and got nothing out of it. Until 1960s to 1980s there was nothing, no part ever received Sui gas, it was given to Punjab, Islamabad, it was all over Pakistan but no gas in Balochistan and when it did come the gas reserves were already shrunk and also there was no development done at Sui level. Literacy level, infrastructure etc. nothing was done there. A lot of money

was earned and it was a major game for the country but Balochistan completely lost because of this and that resentment is very much there.

6. Why Balochi people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?

Baloch and Pakistani have the right and share in Sui gas that they claim and any resources that are there and the national government never gave the ownership to the people of Balochistan.

7. Did Balochistan get real benefits of its natural resources before other provinces as claimed in the constitution?

There were not many benefits given to the people of the Balochistan from the resources that were extracted

8. What economic and developmental policies were made by the provincial and federal government for Balochistan? How effective they were for the local people?

9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

No major economic development is done. No social projects even in Sui. Everything is under control of the army and common people are not allowed to visit the Dera Bugti or Sui gas fields and all this created resentment

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?

There is the huge gap between the people's aspirations and how the national government thinks. We are not part of any national planning. National government is interested in developing Gwadar but they are not interested in developing the people of Gwadar or Balochistan. Gwadar is a no go territory. All the time monitored by the army people. Federal government have never planned anything for Balochistan and

they are still not doing so. Even CPEC projects that got completed is the orange train in Lahore, rest are under construction or nowhere to be seen in Gwadar. This raises many questions at political and governments level.

11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?

I do not think the diversity in culture is a reason for discrimination. No, because Pakistan is a diverse country with lot of ethnicities. It just that Baloch is a minority and few people and the majority Pashtoons and Punjabis are not willing to let go of any kind of thing. We do not have any representation at federal level. how many people are there at NUST university? and other national level institutions from Balochistan. This creates resentment.

12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?

Sardars have no role in the conflict in fact they are quite powerless. They are content with power they are given in political arena they become chief ministers and get ministries, they have never done anything for their people and they will not do it in future. And they have no role to play in the conflict. Conflict is very much controlled by the army on both ends. Sardars are also not against any development. Because they think that the prime responsibility to develop the country is state's responsibility. The state mobilizes the local people which was not done in Balochistan. They have been bribed into positions and chief minister ships, governorships and they were not asked by the government to do anything.

13. What particular factors, you think, contributed towards the escalation of tension in Balochistan?

There is no more escalation of the conflict, it was worse many years back. There is this impression that insurgents are being instigated by our neighboring enemies but

other than that there are no other escalating factors. People know that army is more powerful in Balochistan so, there no conflict escalation or conflict in Balochistan.

15. In your opinion, what are the root causes of Balochistan's current situation?

Lack of education, no exposure, no roads, lot of load shedding. We are not visible in the national media. There are so many talk shows no one talks about Balochistan. We are not part of any national political narrative, debate. We are not visible in the federal government; all these reasons leads to resentment.

16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?

Situation can improve immensely if we seek political solutions. There are no army led solutions. We need to have a political face, conflict resolution is never done by armed forces, its neither their mandate nor they are good at it, they should go back to the barracks and leave the things to politicians or the tribal influential.

17. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan? Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?

CPEC, if not handled properly, it will lead to trust deficit and resentment in province. So far all the money and projects are given to Punjab and very little has come to Balochistan. Even Gwadar is completely taken over by the army and common people have no access to anything, even the local people at Gwadar, their situation is as miserable as ever. No, CPEC is not going to be a game changer in fact the political solution sought to this will lead the CPEC to be successful.

18. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

Engage academically, we need to have these debates in the universities, Balochistan is seen as the conflict area that it is not. Balochistan is so big and there

are just very small pockets where there is conflict and it is exaggerated so much and it's not the case and the students who conduct their thesis, they must visit Balochistan.

Dr. Zafar Khan

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.

I have been a student of nationalism, conflict and conflict resolution for over 10 years and have been studying and working on the Baloch conflict and Baloch nationalism in the province of Balochistan since 2011. I have a book to my credit with a title of “Balochistan Conundrum - The Real Perspective “. Since 2019 I am living in Quetta as I am married here.

2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?

Territorially speaking, Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan with an area of 43% while it only houses less than 6% of country's population which is scattered across the province that is mostly arid or semi-arid. It is a multiethnic and multicultural province and hence you cannot really define the situation of Balochistan from a single perspective. You have to see the situation from the lens of Hazaras, Shias, Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Parsis and then also take into account that multiple ethnic groups are living here for centuries. The situation is quite complex and has to be understood from a broader perspective. The economic, social and political environment is marred with complexities and can't be understood without a multilateral approach.

3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province? How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?

If you are talking about the Baloch unrest - you will have to take into account multiple factors. The roots of this unrest are rooted in the identity. Then comes the non-acknowledgment of this identity by state and state institutions. Then comes the negligence and non-serious attitude of the civil military bureaucracy to address the genuine socio-political and economic issues of the Baloch. Then comes the use of force.

The government has to realize that without stabilizing Balochistan - you can't really develop the rest of Pakistan as the civil unrest will have a domino effect. So you have to first identify legitimate stakeholders in Balochistan, acknowledge that Balochistan is not merely consisted of Baloch, have a serious will to address the long term grievances of the people. This could only be done if the state institutions are able to revive their trust with respect to the people of Balochistan.

4. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?

That is arguable. Because of its scarce and widely scattered population, it is difficult to provide the general public with the civic amenities such as electricity and especially gas (that was discovered in Balochistan). Moreover, the Baloch claim they are not given due share in jobs and returns of projects such as Rekodik, Saindak or CPEC. The state having a greater responsibility towards its people should develop the human resource in Balochistan so that can benefit from the local development projects and have stakes in such projects.

6. Why Baloch people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?

They claim the right because it was discovered in the area of Sui, Dera Bugti and it is a Baloch populated area where mostly Bugti clan is residing.

7. Did Balochistan get real benefits of its natural resources before other provinces as claimed in the constitution?

I am not aware of any such clause in the 1973 constitution that says Balochistan got benefits of its resources before other provinces.

8. What economic and developmental policies were made by the provincial and federal government for Balochistan? How effective they were for the local people?

I am sure there are many, how effective they are or what are the details could be accessed from the policy makers. I can't comment on this as this is not directly under my area of research.

At the federal level, the 18th amendment to the constitution, the revised formula of the 7th NFC Award and the Haqooq-e-Balochistan package was undertaken to strengthen the position of Balochistan in the federal structure of the country.

9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

I am not the right person to comment on that.

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?

The gap mostly lies at the implementation level and less on the policy level.

11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?

Diversity is not the reason for discrimination. The (mis)perception about different ethnic and lingual groups is the main reason behind that. We have not been able to create a single identity as a Pakistani and are rather divided on ethnic, religious, sectarian lines.

12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?

They are the key figures who exercise influence and play an important role in creating of perceptions. The Baloch Sardars in particular have been the beneficiaries of the conflict as the state has always approached them to settle the disputes by appeasing them through monetary or political benefits. The multiple Sardars have taken benefits from the state but have been unable to transfer the benefits to the lower masses.

13. What particular factors, you think, contributed towards the escalation of tension in Balochistan?

There are multiple - socio, economic as well as political. The strategic significance of Balochistan also a factor now given the tug of war between the great powers in the region.

14. How do you see the presence of Army in Balochistan?

Balochistan shares border with Iran and Afghanistan and FC's presence in greater numbers is required to monitor the borders. Moreover, the law and order situation also requires them to be frequently involved. However, the armed forces can only manage the conflict they are not trained to resolve or transform the conflict. So basically, we need to move towards police and levies to deal with the law and order situation in Balochistan by training them how to deal with the masses by keeping their cultural values intact.

15. In your opinion, what are the root causes of Balochistan's current situation?

I have answered this under Q3.

16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?

First of all, the human rights violations at hands of state needs to be stopped immediately and some confidence building measures need to be taken in order to lessen the trust deficit that exists between masses and the state.

17. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan? Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?

CPEC can only be a game changer if the locals including the Baloch population of the province is taken on board regarding the management and running of the development projects under this mega project.

Even if it has not adversely affected the Baloch, they perceive it as a threat to their identity so their perception is important and the issues needs to be tackled accordingly as CPEC is not only important for Balochistan but for the entire country.

18. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

We need to put the element of human security back into the equation of tackling the issue of Balochistan. Unless we understand the grievances of the people and how they perceive the injustices that they claim have been committed against them, we can't really analyze the issue in an objective manner.

Moreover, the geographical realities, historical account of Balochistan and the people inhabiting the province, the role of state, local tribal and political elite, agendas and interests of foreign powers should be taken in to account.

Ahmad Waqas (HR head of mineral resource company of Balochistan posted in Quetta)

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.

Lived in Balochistan since generations, nor Baloch neither Pathan but Punjabi but local of Balochistan

2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?

In late 90s, Balochistan was very peaceful region. But now there is unjust environment, internal and external factors, borders with Iran, Afghanistan. When things got worse in Afghanistan during Gen. Zia, Taliban migrated and got safe heavens in Balochistan. As they have no stake and saw that the situations are not in their favor to live here, as they were living in poor conditions and have no employment opportunities. They started to steal. And law and order was effected that led to major things and post 9/11 horrendous conditions in Balochistan, ethnic, linguistic, sect based violence, target killings started. 2005-2012 there were extreme poor conditions, but after army intervined things got better but at the same time some issues arose. But overall law and order situation got better.

3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province? How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?

Due to borders of Iran and Afghanistan with Balochistan, external factors have the chance to intervene. Cultural system. Tribal system, their relations with people in Afghanistan so, they easily meet each other. Now there are strict policies and but before border were also open, smuggling occurred weapons and drugs. Initial factor in unrest.

Anti-state factors like separatists' movements, nationalist movements, BLA created unrest. People were targeted and killed locals were killed to give an impression that it's a not safe place to live but these kind of situations give benefit to external parties.

4. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?

Balochistan is the most mineral rich province of Pakistan. Mineral exploration is very costly, so when minerals are explored heavy machinery and a lot of resources are required so big companies can do that only, or economic powerful countries can do that. Here also, when big companies explored the minerals here so they also have their own interests so, Balochistan did not get the benefits as much as they should have. Those companies got their own benefits, central government got the benefits but unfortunately, people of Balochistan did not get benefits out of it. Government is also to blame because of its policies.

5. How did the discovery of Sui gas effect Balochistan?

Sui gas was discovered in 1952 by PPL. It was very biggest gas reserve at that time in the world. It has been used ever since. And people should have gotten benefits but they did not even people of sui did not get the benefits. And for a long period of time sui did not have a gas connection but now they have. It's very unfortunate that whole country is benefitting from the gas but the pace from where it is extracted. This government policy was really bad. It's obvious that when they will not get what they need, they will get rebellious.

6. Why Balochi people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?

They should claim the right because the gas is being extracted from their region. Who should claim then. If you are getting billions of revenue from that gas, the region should get the benefits also, facilitate them. Are they guilty that the gas is in region and they should not be given any right? At least, they have the right to have a due share in the profit gained by the government and companies.

7. Did Balochistan get real benefits of its natural resources before other provinces as claimed in the constitution?

As per constitution those areas have not been given any benefits and rights, those are very backward areas. If they have been given the right, then Balochistan might not have been facing these problems. They were not even given basic rights.

8. What economic and developmental policies were made by the provincial and federal government for Balochistan? How effective they were for the local people?

If development policies were made, they were not effective much, nor implemented. Law and orders situation is not good in Balochistan so people from development sectors and NGOs were targeted and also killed, abducted, people from government were abused. Due to these conditions in interior Balochistan development sector could not go there and work. Actually the situation has been made this way intentionally but ultimately it affected people of Balochistan. External actors do not want it to develop because its rich in resources so some kind of unrest happens and is created intentionally to worsen the situation due to which development could not occur in Balochistan.

9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

As sui gas was explored by PPL so it opened one school that is active there and good teachers are there from Pakistan and providing good education. One hospital was made there with help of PPL and one with help of PPL and government of Balochistan. It is a good hospital with good facilities. And now a cadet college is made in Dera Bugti and that is a good college directly monitored by army and locals are given the education there.

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?

There is huge gap between people needs and government policies. Because locals did not get it. No government interest is evident to give benefits to locals.

11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?

Diversity is the advantage for province. It is accepted and appreciated and diversity is freely practiced like intercultural marriages, this multicultural factor is also negatively used setting them against each other. They feel deprived and discriminated politically also. But locals like to live in this multicultural society but the image is otherwise externally.

12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?

Sardars and tribal leaders do have influence on people. But now the influence is not much strong as it used to be. Nawab Aslam Raisani, CM Balochistan previously. Sardar Yar Muhammad, Sardar Abdulrehman Khetran. But they do not have that influence. Due to feudal culture Sardars also does not want their region to develop that much. But it was also not countered as such. Ruling class is all over Pakistan so it just should not be associated with Balochistan.

14. How do you see the presence of Army in Balochistan?

Army always influenced Balochistan but it should be in war zone areas. If it will interfere everywhere of course it will not end well. Balochistan has a lot of FC and army check posts and they check and ask identity. And these things hurt the self-respect. To control the situation in Balochistan army should be there but with as much evident influence as it shows everywhere in Balochistan. This rise anti army sentiments. There should be intelligence but not personnel everywhere. There should be a limit role of army.

15. In your opinion, what are the root causes of Balochistan's current situation?

Situation is better. If Balochistan gets the due right from the revenues generated by its resources, then situation might get better.

16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?

There should be concrete policies on stopping the external influences in Balochistan and giving them their due rights can better the situation.

17. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan? Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?

CPEC is the big project, important strategically and if implemented properly will have good long run effect not only for Balochistan but whole Pakistan. And if the locals did not get the benefits as per past history. Development of the country means that their people should be well off but if they are not then that country cannot developed.

18. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

Internal factors, anti-Pakistan movements, BLA, separatists' movements create the unrest in Balochistan but these can be controlled. So many development projects can be started where there is no population at all like factories as soil is not rich for agriculture so, industries can be implanted. But the will of government is required.

Imtiaz Gul (Journalist voice of Germany 1995, also associated with CNN, wrote for Friday times for about 20 years covering Afghanistan, India, Kashmir etc.)

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.

No direct affiliation with Balochistan.

2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?

Current situation of Balochistan flows from the long history of deprivation of injustices and indifference of national leaders, Islamabad, military towards the fundamental issues of Balochistan because it is divided among so many Sardars, Nawabs so, it is about 75 big fiefdoms in Balochistan. And these Sardars and Nawabs are averse to each other not very friendly so, that is why Balochistan is divided and then divided house has been exploited by both the military, civil leadership that is why there a trans tribal leaders could not emerge other than Nawab Akbar Bugti. He was also restricted to his affiliated area more. So, a long story of deprivations.

3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province? How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?

No government has really addressed the fundamental issues. Issues like health, education, employment, citizens of Balochistan have not been treated equally by the civilian government or the military. There is indifference to the issues and then total disregard for the need to include all these people of Balochistan into mainstream decision making, has been largely responsible for this. There are vested interest among the politicians and those who wield power in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. This is largely because they could not prioritize the fundamental rights of people of Balochistan as the equal citizens.

4. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?

5. How did the discovery of Sui gas effect Balochistan?

The largest resource we got from Balochistan was Sui gas. The rest of Pakistan was benefited from this gas but in Balochistan they could get the connections only about 20-25 years ago. The contracts like Saindak copper projects, the Balochistan government was not consulted so, it was the federal government which negotiated with Chinese. Similarly, the Gwadar port, the provincial government has not much to do with that. So, while the discovery of gas from Sui benefitted the rest of Pakistan,

Balochistan itself remained the far end of the recipients and it also bred the sense of deprivation and injustice because they were the last ones to get it.

6. Why Balochi people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?

The people of Balochistan has the absolute right over the resources coming from Balochistan and have the right to benefit from that. Nawab Akbar Bugti family largely benefitted from it. Bugti family has been pocketing a lot of money in the form of ghost workers then fake contracts that they sign with the PPL, (with OGDCL,) which has been responsible for extracting gas from Sui. So, it has been the Bugti family that benefitted the most from the gas and this was the disadvantage for the people at large most of whom still live in medieval ages in poor deprived citizens of these areas.

9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

Only after 2010 some development started there along with some educational institutions opened by the military as well in Dera Bugti.

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?

There are gaps between the needs and the supply of projects, gap between policies and people's needs and this is because the local Sardars get benefits the most through their alliance with the federal government and by doing so they enrich themselves and simply disregard, ignore the people in their constituency and that is why Balochistan has remained backwards.

11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?

I do not think it is the big reason for deprivation or backwardness of the Baloch people. It is largely because of them misplace priorities by the center as well as by the

Sardars of the Nawabs who lord over the area and have little or no sympathy for their people.

12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?

They are the linchpins of the entire tribal system of Balochistan so, as long as they are happy, the rulers in Islamabad feel at ease because that is mutually beneficial because as long as they keep the Sardars, the tribal chief happy, the army, the civilian leaders do not really have to worry about what is happening in Balochistan. Common people do not matter as long as this nexus between the Sardars and the Islamabad elite remains intact.

13. What particular factors, you think, contributed towards the escalation of tension in Balochistan?

Escalation of tensions in Balochistan rose after 2006 August when Akbar Bugti had been forced to live in a cave and then eventually was killed. The Baloch people claimed the he was killed whereas, the army sources said that basically an explosion took place inside the cave which also killed three or four army people who got into the cave to negotiate with him and request him to come out to come back to Quetta. So, killing of Akbar Bugti was the major driving factor in driving people away from the center and driving them towards three or four major separatist groups.

14. How do you see the presence of Army in Balochistan?

Presence of the army in Balochistan is the eye sore for a lot of local people for both Pashtoons as well as Baloch because they have seen army as a predator and deprived them of the rights through collusion with the local Sardars, young educated people who are disenchanted, frustrated towards the center and that is why they joined this organization and they also do not view army as favorite.

16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?

How to break the hold of Nawab and the Sardars in order to provide some services to the people and that will happen only when the overall public procurement system changes and secondly the government is run efficiently without the help of the tribal Sardars because most of the money go the members of parliament in Balochistan as well as into the pockets of ministers and that is why Balochistan has remained very backward despite the astronomical increase in the annual development funds that go from Islamabad to Balochistan. In 2010 it used to be 45 billion Rs. in annual development plan but now it's more than double about 140 billion Rs. per year but development there has been minimal.

17. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan? Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?

CPEC also remain hostage to the overall situation. People generally are not happy they welcomed CPEC initially but they perceived that it is only benefitting Islamabad and the military which was able to raise a southern especial division for the security of the CPEC related projects so, CPEC could have brought about a lot of prosperity could have helped in inclusive decision making but again the vested interest within the civilian military bureaucracy and the certain politicians have prevented inclusive decisions making and governance and it has not really been able to address small issues even in Gwadar issues of fishermen have been lingering on for quite some time. No water, electricity. Although, work on CPEC started in 2015. So that is one big example of, microcosm of the problem of Balochistan.

18. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

Primarily, federal government should give importance to the governance model in Balochistan. It shall have to deal with it on priority basis, inclusive governance and also create more transparency in public sector funding because of corruption. That's

why local people think that federal government are not giving enough attention to Balochistan. Regardless, its CPEC, Balochistan government, until the perception on ground changes and people can see that their issues are being addressed, it would be very difficult to create a conducive environment for CPEC project. Allow the people to get benefit from the CPEC in a more constructive way. All CPEC projects were initially signed with the Chinese, without consulting Balochistan government so, it was quite a strange scenario that Balochistan and KPK were left out of the initial decision making and contracts and that is why resentment built in locals. They want to see Gwadar as a jewel in the crown but the people Gwadar were not attended to or consulted and that is why Gwadar CPEC could not really get attraction among people in that region. They view it as skepticism that it will benefit only china, Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

Col. Amjad Malik (served in army for almost 35 years, served in many areas in Pakistan, from KPK Abbottabad)

1. Please introduce yourself and explain a little bit about your affiliation with the Province of Balochistan.

Services include all the provinces especially Balochistan, went there as lieutenant and captain for a course, recently, I served for two years in Khusdar, Balochistan.

2. How do you see the current situation of Balochistan?

Current situation in not very good. There was a time when we were in late 90s 1989 and 1990, I was there for different courses, it was very peaceful area, we used to roam around, there was no as such factor of Taliban or terrorism we are facing now. Late at night was also safe. At the moment, the situation is not very good because of many reasons. Our adversaries, India, America, Israel and all those countries who are

against the existence of Pakistan, they playing havoc in this area by sending their agents which we know but not the civilians. They are to create unrest and people are not educated so they get behind them. Illiteracy is also the factor. Feudalism has not let them grow as far as the society and citizens are concerned. They have made sure that people do not get good education, facilities. Living in poor conditions. Feudal lords want them to be suppressed. Political situation is not very good. Security is not good. Although, Pakistan army is trying the best to maintain it and there are many operations that are carried out. Many people from the intelligence are also doing their best for peace in the area.

3. What factors do you think are responsible for creating this unrest in this province? How do you see the role of Pakistani government in addressing the issues of Balochistan?

Main factors that played a pivotal role in the unrest in Balochistan are political system, educational level, awareness of people for their basic rights. Feudals do not let people get education. Poverty is prevailing, no means of communication to play the role in the construction of people. Adversaries among people. Small little assembly of Balochistan has a number of ministries. Balochistan is full of minerals, gold, gases, there are so many gas fields that belongs to the people of Balochistan that belongs to the people of Pakistan. But the locals are not enjoying these facilities. No gas connections, no subsidies are given.

4. Do you think the unjust use and distribution of resources have anything to do with the current situation of Balochistan?

This is fact that unrest in Balochistan is because of unjust distribution of resources. Example, sui gas is being used by the entire country but Balochistan, the enemy also exploits the situation and make people against government, against the law of the land and creates people who are against Pakistan, army and they carry suicide missions, place IEDs, create Talibans, organizations which are against the existence of Pakistan, they carry out attacks on government officials, army soldiers. Other resources are also

distributed unjustly. Example Saindak gold, Gwadar revenues controlled by the center. Development funds are mostly utilized on Punjab and Sindh. And very few in Balochistan for development, education, infrastructure is used.

5. How did the discovery of Sui gas effect Balochistan?

Impact of sui gas is that its provision has not been given to the people in the shape of sui gas, subsidies, development funds then they carry out blasts at various pipelines at far flung areas. It not only effects Balochistan but the supply of the sui gas to other parts of Pakistan. Creates unrest, effects the international image making Pakistan look bad.

6. Why Balochi people claim the rights over their natural resources especially Sui gas?

They are the residents of the area. Locals have the first rights on these resources. If center deny this right then they will stand against center, law.

7. Did Balochistan get real benefits of its natural resources before other provinces as claimed in the constitution?

Balochistan did not get the benefits of these resources. They should have been given rights in different shapes like development.

8. What economic and developmental policies were made by the provincial and federal government for Balochistan? How effective they were for the local people?

No political, economic development in Balochistan. Every political party are doing for their own political interests. And of the Balochistan is suffering without facilities. No development for the locals to gets benefits from.

9. Are you familiar with any projects going on at Sui or Dera Bugti district for the benefit of the locals?

Sui project is there at Sui, Loti gas field in Dera Bugti, Pir Koh gas field are projects, they are giving the people benefits in the shape of labor and nothing else. Feudals collect the money in the name of projects and give very less to the labors and keep the rest with them.

10. Do you think that there is a gap between government (both provincial and federal) policies and people's needs?

There is gap between government policies and the people's needs. Politicians do not reach the far flung areas, they do not know how people are living there, in which conditions. They know their problems. All businesses are controlled by the Feudals.

11. Do you think the diversity in culture and language is another reason for the discrimination against the Baloch people?

First important issue is of education. No good education or education at all in some areas. Language barrier is the issue; they do not know how to speak Urdu. Importance to one language should have been focused on.

12. What is the role of tribes and Sardars in the current conflict in Balochistan?

Basic criminals are these Sardars, tribal lords who do not want their people to grow physically and mentally. They do not want them to study and to learn languages. They want them as their servants.

13. What particular factors, you think, contributed towards the escalation of tension in Balochistan?

Awareness of your rights is very important, so that you can get them.

14. How do you see the presence of Army in Balochistan?

Presence of army in Balochistan is holding this area, safeguarding this area from getting more poison from the existence of the spies of India, Russia, America, Israel

etc. Had there been no army, Balochistan would have been the other debacle of Pakistan on the shape to Bangladesh.

15. In your opinion, what are the root causes of Balochistan's current situation?

Main factor, education, unequal distribution of resources, not given the rights, devoid of basic facilities. Politicians do not work for the people; they work for the vote. Injustice towards the people of Balochistan by the government of Pakistan by not giving them equal share of resources.

16. Which issue you think is the most pressing one that needs to be resolved or handled on priority basis?

Pressing issue is the providence of rights. Confidence building measure to make them understand and must giving them all facilities that other citizens of Pakistan are enjoying.

17. What role CPEC can play in the development of Balochistan? Do you think that the CPEC project has adversely affected the local Baloch?

CPEC can play a very positive role in the development of Pakistan. Gwadar is very beautiful and these areas can be developed into beautiful tourist sites and then should benefit Balochistan in development. CPEC is the turning point for the entire country especially Balochistan.

18. Which factors & actors we need to look into for the analysis of current conflict in Balochistan?

People of Balochistan feel the injustice towards them in many things, basic human rights, development funds, education, health facilities. They need to be given all facilities as the equal citizen of Pakistan. They should feel the part of their own

country that is Pakistan and should not become part of the propagandas to destroy Pakistan.