



**To What Extent Does The Mineral Wealth in  
Balochistan Dictate The Politics of Power and  
Control?**

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# **ABSTRACT**

Balochistan is one of Pakistan's most geostrategic provinces, and a major global trade route. With its significance and worth rising with the China- Pakistan Economic Corridor and the growing need for prevalence of stability and security. The mountainous desert terrain, holds a wide array of minerals, and is home to many insurgent groups. These groups need to be controlled in order for the entire country to benefit from the development of Balochistan. Given the historical, political & social background of the region, the role of resources is put to question and the relationship between presence of minerals and the conflict in the province is analyzed.

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

Balochistan gained provincial status in 1972; 25 years after Pakistan became an independent nation. Before June 1947, there were no chances of Balochistan being a part of independent Pakistan, as the Muslim League saw one of its greater oppositions from the Baloch region. However, in June 1947 a referendum was held to help decide the future of British Balochistan, the results came out in favor of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (To the dismay of the Khan of Kalat, who was pushing to unify Baloch territory).

Mirza aptly summarizes what historically followed for Balochistan since Pakistan's independence:

*“Establishment of One Unit, inept handling of tribal leaders in post Nawab Nauroz Khan Situation and political expediencies of early 70s created deep rooted issues, where people were the ultimate victims and resultantly alienated. Deep scars of the past have seriously impacted the psyche of a common Baloch and therefore the whole provincial issue has to be seen in that context.”* (Mirza, 2013)

Balochistan's terrain is a mountainous desert area that is divided into three parts, Northern Balochistan, Western Balochistan and Eastern Balochistan. Each part rests with a different country that is Afghanistan, Iran & Pakistan and is differentiated by the Goldsmith line.

From a geographical perspective, Balochistan's location links Central Asia to its long coastal line of the Arabian Sea and the Iranian plateau to South East Asia; this is one of the many reasons that it is considered a geostrategic location.

Covering an area of 34.7 million hectares, Balochistan accounts for 44% of Pakistan's area. Despite being the largest province area-wise, it is scarcely populated and holds only 12,344,408 people, which is a mere 5.94% of Pakistan's total population (Statistics, 2017).

Balochistan's net geographical edge, the terrain, is also its curse. While Balochistan is rich with mineral deposits, the mineral extraction is impeded due to the challenging terrain. It has always been a difficult land to manage and administrate, during the age of imperialism, traders had to go through Balochistan in order to reach India or Persia, it was always on the borders of empires, which kept it from being effectively managed by external actors and it deprived it of being fully integrated, severely hindering its progress (Ispahani, 1989). The result is that even today, while Balochistan is located on peripheries of two modern states i.e. Pakistan and Iran, it still has a long way to go to become a functional province.

The mineral wealth present in Balochistan has been a much discussed topic in the past, with many researches and surveys that calculate the worth of these minerals and their classifications. The geography of the Balochistan region is a great source of curiosity, given its diverse terrains, minerals and tribal social structure. Mineral wealth is of great importance to the topic as it is said to be the greatest contributor to conflict in the region. However, despite the commotion it causes the mining sector in Balochistan contributes only 5.5% to provincial GDP. The remaining Baloch income comes from other sectors such as agriculture, transport & wholesale and manufacturing.

The 12 million people that live in Balochistan belong to tribes that co-habit the land, of which there are three great tribes: Baloch, Brahvi, Pahstoon (Research, 2017). These three tribes are further divided into a total of fifty-one sub-tribes.

While there have been several discursive efforts to analyze the political situation in Balochistan (Javaid & Jahangir, 2015), where its standing in global context has been frequently studied. Such studies historically analyzed the external & internal factors that influence the region. Recently Balochistan has gained political significance with the venture of China-Pakistan

Economic Corridor. This venture is part of China's Belt & Road initiative and aims to promote regional economic cooperation by building trade zones & improving accessibility.

With one of its major projects taking place in Balochistan's warm-water port, Gwadar, the geostrategic and geopolitical importance of Balochistan has only risen. Out of the 40 early-projects to be completed under CPEC, 16 projects are related to Balochistan. Such as, Gwadar Smart Port City Master Plan, Gwadar Free Zone, Quetta Mass Transit Project, Bostan Industrial Zone and establishment of CPEC Support Unit for projects and activities in GPA, to name a few (Research, 2017).

Given the historical, political & geographical perspectives on Balochistan, this research paper will attempt to link the recurring conflict in Balochistan to the mineral wealth present in it. With a literature review that follows similar themes, and a detailed background of all the possible perspectives.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to develop a better understanding of the different elements of the research question, the following literature has been reviewed. The following data will help instill in the reader the progress that has been made in Balochistan, academically. Over the course of this review, one will understand the geo-political significance of Balochistan, and the two schools of thoughts that emerged during the research. While there had been no clear “for and against” divisions amongst the available literature, there had been however, certain scholars who accredit the problems in Balochistan to the mineral wealth present within it. On the other hand, there are academicians who have identified the sources of conflict as things other than resources. The first few articles will describe the importance of Balochistan in global geo-politics.

In his study *Chabahar and Gwadar Agreement and Rivalry among Competitors in Balochistan*, Region draws a comparison between the Chabahar and Gwadar agreements regarding the Indian response to China-Pakistan Economic Corridor with an Indo-Iranian agreement. The publication weighs the possible advantages and disadvantages of this to all competitors. While for Pakistan & China Gwadar opens doors and allows uninterrupted access, the Indo-Iranian agreement involves higher stakes. The fact that the US might impose sanctions on Iran and given the ongoing insurgency in Iranian Balochistan India is at a great risk. And the idea that the Chabahar corridor could liberate Afghanistan from dependency on Gwadar and Karachi could prompt Pakistan to restore the Taliban to stop the project. Rising tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran, also contribute to the questionable project instigation, any Arab-Iranian conflict in the Arabian Gulf is bound to affect the project negatively (Husseinbor, 2016).

In her 1989 book *Roads and Rivals: The Politics of access in the borderlands of Asia*, author Mehnaz Z. Ispahani emphasizes on Balochistan’s geostrategic location and states that it is one of the many reasons that it should be more developed. The terrain, the international players and the wealth of resources that lie in the region, makes it one of the most difficult regions to manage. This difficulty is exacerbated by the tribes that host nationalistic parties, but also dictate the politics of power in the region (Ispahani, 1989).

The article “ *Balochistan: A key factor in global politics,*” by Umbreen Javaid & Javeria Jahangir, states that the geographical location and the mineral potential of the province of Balochistan sparks great interest among the regional and international actors and the idea of a free Balochistan is in favor of their geo-strategic interests. The continuous insurgency attempts have greatly damaged the image of Pakistan and are being viewed as a part of a separatist movement. The USA involvement in Balochistan can be explained in terms of the new “Great Power Game” that started in Central Asia after the disintegration of Soviet Empire. Support of the militants by these global powers is quite evident. The armed struggle not only creates the strategic impacts for Afghanistan, India and United States but it also exerts economic impacts on Iran, UAE, China and Central Asia. Thus any development in the area will create long lasting political, economic and strategic impacts on South and Southwest Asia (Javaid & Jahangir, 2015).

Balochistan is the only Pakistani province which shares direct borders with Iran and Afghanistan. It is a factor that can directly influence Pakistan’s foreign relations with its neighbors either in a positive or negative manner. In Zahid Ali Khan’s *Balochistan Factor in Pak-Iran Relations: Opportunities and Constraints he reports,* “The ongoing insurgency in Balochistan has badly affected the friendly relations of the two countries as the Iranian government blame Pakistan’s involvement in the Balochistan based Jundullah Organization which is a group of Baloch nationalist militants who are also creating political disturbances in Iranian areas with the active support and cooperation of USA.”

Balochistan, home to the warm water sea-port of Gwadar offers a strong competition to the Iranian port - Chabahar. Gwadar, with its strategic location is becoming a huge problem for India, which intends to connect Central Asian countries via road and rail so as to reduce Central Asia’s dependence on Pakistan and Gwadar (Khan, 2012).

In his book *Balochistan: Its Strategic Importance,* Lt Col. Syed Iqbal Ahmad, shares insight on Balochistan’s history & significance. Balochistan throughout its history has been visited by different nations and, despite its many phases of obscurity, still remains a land of geopolitical

and geostrategic importance. Its location plays an important role in determining its significance in the global arena and makes it a sensitive region for Pakistan.

Balochistan's strategic location, the immense amount of natural resources and internal conflict that are prevailing in the province provides an ideal opportunity for exploitation by hostile forces. The separatist tendencies in the province now have trans-frontier linkages. In the regional context, vulnerable to exploitation by global powers, Balochistan is Pakistan's soft belly. Presently, the Baloch people are fighting for better governance system, greater autonomy and possibly independence from Pakistan. This struggle not only impacts the security of the Baloch region but the surrounding countries as well. The Baloch insurgency further emphasizes the geostrategic importance of the province to the regional and international players and has gotten the status of common denominator for them. 'In fact no policy of any of the countries competing for power in the region could be called comprehensive and practical unless it considers Balochistan in its defense plans. The conflicting interest of the Great Powers in the region-ranging from peripheral to central, converge in Balochistan, in a way that they subject to political pressures of varying degrees at various points of time and space' (Syed Iqbal Ahmad, 1992)

Another view is presented in Dr. Umbreen Javaid's *Concerns of Balochistan: Effects and Implications on Federation of Pakistan* is that because of its strategic location Balochistan has always been able to influence local, national and international politics. Afghanistan and Iran, two very strategic neighbors of Pakistan, have Baloch majority areas. According to Javaid any kind of disruption, violent insurgency or a stronger demand for 'Greater Balochistan' in the Pakistani Baloch province will consequently involve the neighboring Baloch majority areas and cause regional instability (Javaid, 2010)

While the significance of Balochistan was a recurring theme in all the writings, the following articles were found to validate the claim that minerals resources, do indeed result in conflict. Michael T. Klare, in his book, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* looks at ethnic and sectarian issues of resource-rich countries from a very different angle. He argues that majority of these conflicts are over scarce natural resources like oil, natural gas,

water, timber and diamonds. One cannot simply ignore the sectarian or ethnic element of all these disputes but it would be naive to overlook the fact that all these secondary disputes arose from the original resource dispute. He not only talks in detail about oil, but also discusses the rising conflict over water, timber, and minerals in countries all over the globe. Most of these conflicts engulf developing or underdeveloped countries that have been blessed with enormous mineral wealth but the lack of administrative infrastructure, poor human resource, corrupt and weak governance model have transformed this blessing, into a curse.

An increasing demand for scarce assets by rapidly growing population in current times is becoming the underlying source of conflict today. An earlier section of his work sets the scene, laying out the complexities of quickly expanding requests as the world industrializes, the convergence of assets in a flimsy state and the contending cases to hand over responsibility to neighboring states. Looking carefully at the potential for struggle—over oil in the Persian Gulf, the Caspian and South China Seas, over water in the Nile Basin and other multinational waterway frameworks and over timber, diamonds and minerals from Borneo to Sierra Leone, a strong link between ever increasing resource competition and national security of countries present at the demand and supply end of this resource chain can be seen. Limited assets, raising interest and the area of assets in districts torn by ethnic and political agitation all consolidate as preconditions of war.

Resource competition has existed since time immemorial; however it was not until the start of cold war between two super powers that it was considered a strategic factor for national security. What intensifies this situation is the rate at which the world population is rising and the resources are declining, which would automatically triple-fold the strategic importance of natural resources, regardless of where they are found.

From rich soil of Nile delta to barren oil fields of Central Asia, from diamond rich land of sub-Saharan Africa to strategic shipping lanes of the South China Sea, from fertile Indus Valley to resource rich Middle East, the possibility of resource wars has a very strong impact on the defense and strategic policies of nations. Michael T. Klare strongly predicted that unlike wars



fought over ideologies in the past, new millennium wars will revolve around shrinking supplies of treasured natural resources (Klare, 2001)

Over time Balochistan has secured an exceptional position among international powers as it is the best possible marine passage in the Asian region. In order to enhance their trade, there is increased competition among the international powers to secure and dominate the trade route sea paths.

To attain global hegemony, foreign states aim to become economically more powerful which can be achieved through controlling major portion of the world's energy resources. Hence it is a requirement of time to control energy transit corridors, major maritime and land trade paths along with the ability to influence world energy resources. According to Ahmad, Balochistan has thus become the focal point of global geopolitical exploitation (Syed Iqbal Ahmad, 1992).

“Baloch separatist insurgency” that prevails in Pakistan exists since the independence of the country, but the “context” of today’s insurgency is different from all its predecessors. One major factor that sets the recent insurgency apart from the rest is the emerging importance of Baloch natural resources that make Balochistan “Asian Middle East”. Growing population, energy crisis and Balochistan’s resource rivalry has magnified the strategic and economic importance of Balochistan, both at home and internationally. This new perspective of looking at the Baloch insurgency further highlights the importance of the province in three different ways. First, it makes the entire insurgency issue more important for Islamabad. Secondly, the Baloch insurgents have a new incentive to “reclaim” the control of this province. Lastly, it also offers an incentive to the federal government of Pakistan to address this insurgency issue through negotiation and peaceful means so the entire country can benefit from the mineral wealth that Balochistan has been blessed with (Wirsing, 2008).

The economic dimensions of global conflicts, though important, are rarely highlighted. Given the current focus of the international community on “War on Terrorism”, recent interventions in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan have more to do with the geo-economic

considerations, rather than the geopolitical considerations. For instance, in his 2010 article “*The War is worth waging: Afghanistan’s vast mineral reserves of Minerals & Natural Gas*” Chossudovsky argues that the invasion of Afghanistan is a part of a more secretive agenda, “a war of economic conquest and plunder - a resource war”. Given the large untapped reserves of minerals and metals, Afghanistan along with its strategic position offers vast opportunities to the global powers. The turmoil created in the last 3 to 4 decades is a well-known fact (Chossudovsky, 2010).

Donald Horowitz, in his book *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* describes the need for external backing for an ethnic movement to gain strength and become successful. As claimed by him, “if an ethnic group has failed to obtain external support for their cause, it can contribute to the failure of the movement. External support provides material and moral backing. It includes finance, training, weapons and a safe place for militants. External factor is also important in escalating or defusing the conflict. Pakistani government has always had a firm belief in that fact that “outside hand is playing a role in Baloch insurgency”. The region is in “the eye of those powers that have ambitions to explore new energy resources for their better future” (Horowitz, 1985).

The world is progressively moving towards multi-polarity and there is an increase of military and economic powers in Asia. Balochistan due to its maritime significance and ability to connect the landlocked Asian states through port Gwadar has always remained under the effects of global geopolitics. According to *Balochistan (From Strategic Significance to US Involvement)*, an article published in the Journal of Political studies, in the next 30 to 40 years the natural resources of China and the Arab world are going to be extinguished and US will depend on Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran for its energy resources. In order to do that, it will need to cross the Baloch province of Pakistan. However, with the presence of China in Balochistan regarding the CPEC project and development of Gwadar port, it would not be possible for US to procure a dominant position. Hence, the land of Balochistan is of utmost importance for US to maintain its global hegemony (Mazhar, et al., 2012)

As stated in *Factors Leading to Insurgency in Balochistan*, America, has been blamed for supporting the Baloch insurgency in order to restrict the Chinese influence in Pakistan (Bansal, 2008). In *US Involvement in Balochistan* the author opines, “CIA’s activities in Balochistan are clear sign of US growing interest in this region. In fact, Creation of “Greater Balochistan” is the top most agenda of US, India and Israel cooperation.” As incurred from the situation, the clear objective of America is to disintegrate Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan in the interest of getting a stronger hold on the Asian region and harm the Chinese interests in Middle Eastern and African countries by creating barriers in the Gwadar project. This objective can be made possible by supporting the Nationalist uprising in Balochistan and forming an environment unfavorable for Chinese economic investment. (Hassan, 2011)

*Geostrategic Importance of Balochistan: Baloch Insurgency and the Global Politics of Energy Resources*, also looks into how Russia too is looking to score a suitable warm water corridor in the Indian Ocean. The author, Muhammad Ismail, states that the Russian federation tried to convince the Baloch to rebel against the center on the promise that they will be given full autonomy over Balochistan once the Soviets completely conquer Afghanistan. “Whether the Russians lose their interest in Afghanistan or not, interest in Balochistan and the Indian Ocean, would not die down” (Ismail, 2014).

A. B Awan’s 1985 book, *Baluchistan, Historical and Political Processes* describes the historical narrative and relates to the evolution of political processes in Balochistan of the post independent Pakistan. Since the arrival of the British, a new facet was added to the isolated border in which the East India Company was struggling to resolve its affairs over the decline of Mughal Empire from where they looked towards the north, behind the barren deserts of Balochistan, on the far side of snowbound mountains of Hindukush, in the direction of longest river of central Asia, Amu Darya, finally heading towards another colonial power, Czarist Russia which was gradually drawing near. The easiest way to reach Afghanistan and Central Asia was Balochistan but the main obstacles were the Baloch themselves. So the British did a rare administrative experiment of Sandeman-ization of Balochistan which had no effect on the Baloch social structure, but was an instrument in building up the British administrative system. Now, this area has become more strategically sensitive because of the presence of

Russia in the neighboring Afghanistan with the emergence of potent weapon of gulf oil and the turbulent developments in the neighboring Iran. In short, it seems to be the direct confrontation of the global temptation between the great powers. Keeping in mind, the Baloch adversity, a question arises that in this critical situation that can use the Baloch card or have the affairs just been overstated. These are issues of great significance for not just Balochistan, but for Pakistan as a whole, Arab states of the Persian Gulf, the non-Arab state of Iran, the entire Muslim world and for the regional powers.

Balochistan has a distinct coast, rinsed by the brazen sea which most of the explorers throughout the century have described as hostile territory. There are four characteristics division of the terrain; first one are the upper highland locally known as the Khorasan the second is the lower highland which includes the ranges of Mekhran, Kharan, and Chaghi, on the west, Pab and Khirthar range on the south and slopes of Suleiman range on the east. The plains consist of the district Kachii and Lasbela and the deserts are situated in the north-western part known as the Kharan desert. According to the Baloch legends they originally moved into their present territories from the Middle East but the modern nationalists claim that they have lived here for thousands of years. Keeping in view the records, the Baloch have been divided into several dozen tribes. At different times loose hegemony has been exercised by local princes and outside empires. In the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, chieftain of Rind tribe, Mir Chakar for a short time conquered parts of Sindh and Punjab setting down the massive Baloch migrants into those lands. In 1638, the state of Kalat was found which is considered as a historic principality by the Baloch nationalists. At the end of eighteenth century, the Mughal dynasty at Delhi was overthrown with the emergence of the British as the successors on the imperial throne. From 1835 to 1845, the British fought a fierce war with the Bugti tribe which subsequently ended in signing a treaty of friendship between British official Frontier Sir Robert Sandeman and the Khan of Kalat. This treaty gave the authority to station British troops and obliged the Khan of Kalat not to enter into negotiations with any other state without the permission of the British government. The Baloch tribesmen had their internal bloody feuds as well, and they were a constant threat to the neighboring Sindh where they plundered and looted the districts whenever they wanted. Then came the district officer or the deputy commissioner, Robert Sandeman appointed in Dera Ghazi Khan, a district of Punjab where these ruthless Baloch tribesmen were responsible for ransacking

and creating havoc near the districts' borders. He came up with a solution in which he tried to boost the lost prestige of the tribal chiefs, the *Tumandar*. It proved to be a great success as all the differences had been resolved among the tribes and competent tribe chiefs were appointed and endowed with road-building and canal-digging contracts. This is how he laid the pillars of the great system which later came to be known as Sandeman-ization. A collective tribal assembly for arbitration commonly known as *Jirgah*, came into being where the code of conduct is unwritten but universally accepted but Sandeman had been praised for adding the element of friendly informality. Before the start of second Afghan war the British troops easily marched from Jacobabad through the Bolan Pass towards Qandahar, had this been three years before it would have been impossible for the British troops to protect their lines of communication, manage their transport or bring up the supplies. But all these dangers were settled by the farsightedness of Major Sandeman. His was the forward policy approach in which there were no police, no courts. The customs were administered by the political agents through *jirgahs*, being the main instrument of frontier crime regulation. In many ways the Baloch tribal culture resembles the Pathans code of *pashtunwali* which requires the tribesmen: to take an eye for an eye, to be generous, avoid killing a woman, a Hindu, or a servant or an infant boy, not to murder a person who takes a shelter in a shrine and to sentence an adulterer. These provisions have become a source for honor killings. After a span of 50 years, the independence movement had already gained momentum in which the Muslim league had a strong hold in the provinces of Punjab, Sindh, and Bengal but the two most prominent opponents of Muslim league were Abdul Ghafar Khan from North West Frontier Province and Abdul Samad Achakzai from Balochistan, who sided with the congress and called themselves nationalist-Muslims. On 29<sup>th</sup> of June, 1947 a referendum was held in which the future of British Balochistan was to be decided. The voting college consisted of the elected members of the Quetta municipality and the *Shahi Jirga* excluding the members from the Balochistan state. The Khan of Kalat was heading for an independent Balochistan which was impossible because of the different tribal interests and the presence of other ethnicities like, Hazaras and Pashtuns, who were not in the favor of this idea. This resulted in the Jhalawan disturbances led by one of khan's Sardar, Naurouz Khan. Later he was sentenced to death by the government and the Baloch considered it a violation of trust due to which he has been immortalized as a Baloch legend.

During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan both Iranian and Pakistani Balochistan were targeted because of the two main store houses of energy and mineral wealth. Even after the withdrawal of Soviets, the Americans still have an interest in Balochistan as it provides the shortest route to the world's largest untapped mineral resources located in the Strait of Hormuz (Awan, 1985)

Lastly, articles that account for other factors as causes of conflict have been reviewed.

The roots of the Baloch grievances lie in multiple factors. The problem of autonomy and the distribution of resources have remained unresolved since the independence. The distribution of the National Finance Commission Award (NFC award) on the basis of population, gas revenue arrears, under development and the absence of recognition to Balochistan's contribution towards the energy needs of the country are the areas where Baloch leaders have raised their voices time and again. In order to fully understand the dynamics of the conflict, understanding the history of Balochistan and its political and tribal system is a pre-requisite.

*Balochistan: Conflicts & Players*, a study by the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, attempted to explain the conflict and the key factors that come into play in Balochistan. In doing so, it took a deep look into the history of the Baloch, starting from "The Sandeman System", which was a treaty that was made with the Khan of Kalat & the British Raj, with the two sides agreeing on mutual existence. Considerable autonomy regarding the internal tribal affairs was given to the Baloch Sardars by the British in return for not interfering with the military access to Afghanistan. This was recognized as the beginning of the establishment of the foundations for future conflict between the Federation of Pakistan and the Baloch people.

After the independence, in order to attain the goal of a strong centralized state, efforts were put in to reverse this governing mechanism established by the British and to convert the Baloch identity into a Pakistani identity, however, these efforts were met with armed resistance by the Baloch people and have resulted in a total of five insurgencies up till now. The State took the miscalculated decision of using the force time and again which led to the deepening of

grievances. An important thing to notice is that there is no single conflict but rather an amalgamation of multiple conflicts - separatist, religious and ethnic.

It further explains that because of its geo-strategic importance, external powers have always tried to achieve their designs by supporting the insurgents. When Russia invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, it started with supporting the nationalist elements by promising them autonomy in order to gain access to the warm water sea ports.

With the departure of Russia from Afghanistan in 1989, Americans laid their eyes on Balochistan owing to its vast energy resources and its proximity to Iran. Moreover with the growing influence of Chinese in the region, America feels its dominance in the Indian Ocean is threatened by the Chinese especially as the latter announced its interest in the development of Gwadar port as part of its strategy to consolidate its influence in Pakistan.

The study also propounds that, Iran considers the Gwadar port a rival for its Chabahar port and the efforts to create a united Balochistan, a serious threat to its territorial sovereignty. For Indians, Balochistan carries great importance because all the proposed energy pipe lines are meant to pass through Balochistan and with the increasing Chinese influence; they are trying hard to create unrest in the area. Thus understanding the Baloch conflict in the light of the role of foreign actors is very important (Pak Institute For Peace Studies, 2008)

In the article “*Challenges to international Economic development of China & Balochistan,*” emphasis is placed on the need to understand the conflict in Balochistan in a wider context. The Chinese announced the development of Gwadar port in 2001, thus initiating a possible end to the hegemony of the United States in Middle Eastern waters and the Indian Ocean. Due to Russia’s ties with the Baloch nationalists, the United States availed the opportunity and began to revive the nationalist elements in order to keep deteriorating the situation in Balochistan, making it almost impossible for the Chinese to utilize the economic potential of the province. The two main objectives being pursued by the Americans are to get control of the resources of the region and to contain China. Thus with the help of India and Afghanistan, America is trying to achieve its designs by creating unrest in the province (Jabeen, et al., 2012)

A report by Pak Institute for Peace Studies “*Conflict and Insecurities in Balochistan*” published in 2012 states that increasing financial pressures, growing economic inequality and sense of deprivation in the less developed regions are the key issues that have posed serious threat to Pakistan’s internal security and stability. Balochistan is the home to number of insurgents, religious extremist and sectarian group. A number of steps have been taken by the federal government, including the Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package, the 7<sup>th</sup> National Finance Commission Award and the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment, allocating a larger share of resources to the Province and increasing the Provincial government’s control over the natural resources of Balochistan. Baloch insurgent groups or the extent of criminal violence, smuggling and drug trafficking are the sub reasons of the Conflict in Balochistan.

PIPS study aimed to highlight the root causes for the conflict in Balochistan. The findings in this book state that the main reason of the conflict in the province is the very little autonomy vested with the provincial government and despite having a separate provincial assembly, the major political decision-making takes place with the central government, one example of this is found in the law enforcement wing, where the law and order is the responsibility of the province but the officers of the Police are transferred by the center and even the Frontier Corps (which is a strong force and is charged to control law and order situations in the province) comes under the Federal ministry of Interior. Balochistan is a resource rich land and the provincial government does not have any authority over its resources; the administration of these resources lies again with the center which further exacerbates the relations of the people of Balochistan with the center. With such little autonomy the provincial government is unable to function properly for the development of health, infrastructure and education for their people. According to the study this is the reason for the backwardness of the people and the low standards of living in the province. Another core issue is the rigid tribal structure of the Baloch society. However, education & trade have been increasingly empowering the Baloch middle class. On the one hand, there are the tribal elites trying to maintain the status quo while on the other hand there is this emerging class which is persistently pushing for positive change. Balochistan is a multicultural province divided into regions dominated by Baloch, Barohi, Pakhtun, Jat and small clusters of other ethnic minorities. Ethno-cultural factors of conflict revolve around language, culture and ethnicity. All these ethnicities have a lot of problems in between as the “Pakhtuns-Baloch”. The



Baloch made almost 60 percent of the population while Pakhtuns who are basically Afghan refugees, constitute almost 40 percent of the population. There are various tribal conflicts between these two tribes, over the coal reserves in Chamalang. Most of the Baloch settlers are Sunni-Muslims who are intolerant towards the Shia community. Thirdly, the security landscape of Balochistan is punctuated by a combination of nationalist insurgents, sectarian-related militants, and Taliban presence in the northern part of the province, politically motivated target killings, attack on NATO supplies, and activities of drug Cartels and the land mafia hand in glove with criminal syndicates.

The World Bank launched a National Trade corridor Improvement, which was an attempt to improve the Railway and road infrastructure from Gwadar to Quetta and Rattodero in Sindh, this project has been hanging in the balance for over five years. Another mega development project of the World Bank for regulatory reforms in mines and mineral sector has been on the backburner for two years due to the prevailing insecurity and governance issues in the Province. An Asian Development Bank's project related to the agricultural business could not be initiated as the Balochistan government did not fulfill the loan conditionality stipulated by the Asian Development Bank. The Bank had opened its offices in Quetta a couple of years ago but no further development have been made on that front. The Planning & Development of Balochistan is now virtually sitting idle. The second phase of Balochistan Resource Management Program is difficult to implement for the same reason, while Balochistan Rural Development Program has come to an end. The World Bank's Balochistan Education Program was also never implemented.

This PIPS study maintains that the main factors of the conflict in Balochistan are the Geographical Factors (as Balochistan lies at the cross roads of south Asia, central Asia and middle east), Political Factors (relation with the center, Governance), Economic Factors, social factors which are further divided into ethnic, cultural and religious, and lastly physical and socio cultural security. Mostly this report was a qualitative research as it was obtained by having detailed interviews of the people representing the Baloch population and the key actors involved (Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2013)

*Natural Resource Allocation in Balochistan and NWFP: Reasons for Discontent*, a publication by Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) serves as a justification to our research question as it observes that politics and power is widely dictated by resources, which in Pakistan's case are mainly land, water, forests, natural gas and minerals. Pakistan also seems to follow a pattern, with KPK and Balochistan, in terms of the nationalistic sentiments and the alienation both experience in terms of natural resources covered by their areas. For both Balochistan and NWFP, the interplay of what can be called ethnic strife with resources has led to a minority complex, whose populations feel marginalized in the political as well as development arenas. There is a general perception (and a historically apt one) that the largest province (Punjab) takes over the major share of power in the central government with help from the Sindh province, based on their large populations. According to the SDPI paper, only avoiding such stereotypes and negative depictions could lead to a sustainable accord between all four provinces (Khwaja, et al., 2009)

According to the *Balochistan Mining and Regional Integration Policy Dialogue Paper*- Balochistan, has huge numbers of the basic building blocks for a resource corridor approach. Be that as it may, what is required is duty by the Province to advancement of incorporated/composed policies and shared-utilize funds. As a component of the western Balochistan resource corridor alternative, port upgrades at Karachi as well as Gwadar and related changes to supporting street/rail/power should be taken into consideration.

Other things that will be the key to greater control in Balochistan are building capacity, institutions, infrastructure and economic linkages (The World Bank, 2013)

Abdul Rauf Iqbal's article – *Social Mobilization theory & Balochistan Crisis*, published in the ISSRA Papers 2009, studies the politics of power between the Center and the province of Balochistan. While studying the insurgencies in Balochistan, the paper concludes that while there is a significant amount of ignorance on part of the federal government, the provincial government is also to be blamed. The tribal differences and feudal politics in Balochistan are just as much a cause for its backwardness. This publication claims that external factors are supporting insurgencies due to the geo-strategic significance of the region and that they provide

conflict-specific capital to the insurgents, as the tribesmen bear low costs of involvement. Another observation is that rural, non-tribal areas are more susceptible to rebel groups and insurgents. Therefore it links the conflict to the present social structure of the province. (Iqbal, 2009)

### 3 RESEARCH GAP

Balochistan's geostrategic significance has been studied from all angles, and in much detail. For example in *Balochistan a key factor in Global Politics*, the author goes to great lengths to explain how Balochistan has developed significant influence in the international community, and is utilizing its geostrategic location to attract investors and developers to explore its vast mineral wealth.

*Roads and Rivals: The politics of access in the Borderlands of Asia* is yet another example of literature that explores Balochistan's role in global trade, as it serves as a "route".

Then there has been significant amount of research done on Balochistan's social & political structure. The book *Balochistan: Historical & Political Processes* proves to be a detailed study of how corrupt & incapable governments have historically set a precedent to aggravate the situation in Balochistan, for instance the author talks about "Sandemanization," and agreement between the British & the Khan of Kalat, which gave complete autonomy to the tribal leaders, it also allowed them to use "Jirgas" in place of a judicial system. This is believed to be one of the major factors in determining the current tribal structure of Balochistan. The Sandeman System empowered the Nawabs and Sardars and kept the public deprived of participation in the political process (Mirza, 2013).

The conflict & issues that persist in Balochistan have been explored from many perspectives, as was attempted in *Social Mobilization Theory & Balochistan Crisis*, taking a look at the center-province relation that is mostly hostile due to the center's ignorance and lack of skill in utilizing the already present structure within Balochistan for its benefit. Another example of literature on conflict is *Conflict & insecurities in Balochistan*, claims that increasing financial pressures, growing economic inequality and sense of deprivation in the less developed regions are the key issues that have posed serious threat to Pakistan's internal security and stability.

Taking into account the vast array of literature that has been reviewed for this research project, the researchers have identified a gap, that there have been no studies, directly aimed at trying to link Balochistan's mineral wealth with the conflict present there. Based on Klare's theory about resource war, that states that new millennium wars will be over control of resources.

Throughout history, there have been examples of lands rich in resources that have been invaded by greater, more developed countries. These developed countries then impose their own systems and exploit the resources. In time the invaders will move on, leaving the host nation crippled not only socially, but institutionally, economically and politically. Such has been the case with many countries on the African Continent like Cote d'Ivoire, Chad and Sudan.

The cases of Sudan and Chad are important for the purpose of this study, because insurgencies or civil wars, although did start off as ethnic clashes, eventually became a fight for control of resources (Ylönen, 2005).

Given all the available literature, the researchers have reason to believe that the conflict in Balochistan may be resource-driven, and hence will attempt to answer the question: To what extent does the mineral wealth in Balochistan dictate the politics of power and control?

## 4 MINERAL PROFILE OF BALOCHISTAN (AN OUTLOOK)

Balochistan has vast reserves of minerals both metallic and non-metallic spread throughout the province. Although, there is no disagreement regarding the presence of minerals the quantity in which they exist is a debatable topic upon which different people have conflicting views. This chapter focuses on the major minerals present in the province of Balochistan with their estimated quantities and their location.

### **Antimony:**

Antimony does occur as an independent element however mostly it exists in the form of ores. The main deposits of Antimony are present near Qila Abdullah in district Pishin of Balochistan. Recently findings have suggested the presence of antimony in the Kharan district. The quantity of the ores present is estimated around 26000 tons (Pakistan, December, 2009).

### **Copper:**

Copper is an important metal and it has huge demand owing to its extensive usage in the industries. Vast deposits of copper have been found at Saindak, Dasht-e-Kain, Kabul Koh, Koh-i-Dalil, Missi and Ziarat Pir Sultan. Hence generally speaking all these deposits are found in the Chagai district.

Moreover some deposits are also found in Lasbela and Khuzdar districts. The presence of the ores at the Saindak deposits is estimated at 111 million tons, 273 million tons and 28 million tons in the south, east and north ore bodies respectively. The estimated quantity of copper that can be obtained from these deposits is around 1.69 million tons. The Rek-o-diq reserves are said to contain more than 5 billion tones worth of reserves with 0.54% copper content (Pakistan, December, 2009).

# Metallic mineral deposits in Balochistan

- Ⓜ Antimony
- Ⓞ Chromite
- Ⓢ Copper
- Ⓛ Gold/Silver
- Iron
- Ⓞ Lead-Zinc
- Magnesite
- Ⓞ Nickle
- Ⓞ Tungsten



Source: (Jamali, January 2015)

Figure 4.1 A map depicting the location of mineral reserves in Balochistan

**Gold:**

Gold is an important and precious metal which is used in jewelry and it has certain industrial uses as well. Gold deposits are believed to be present in the Chagai Island Arc area.

**Iron:**

Iron is one of the most widely used mineral around the globe. Since the industrialization age, its importance and usage has considerably increased. Several deposits of iron are found in Dilband (Kalat), Chilghazi, Chigendik and Pachin Koh deposits (Chagai district) and Uthal Lasbela district (Pakistan, December, 2009). The total amount of iron estimated to be present in these areas is 335 million tons.

**Lead-Zinc:**

Lead and Zinc will be dealt together because of their close association. Both metals have vast industrial uses. Various deposits of lead and zinc are present in the Lasbela-Khuzdar region. 13 million tons of deposits are present at Duddar in Balochistan, the reserves present at Gunga deposit are around 10 million tons while at the Surmai area around 2.93 million tons are estimated to be present (Pakistan, December, 2009).

**Chromite:**

Chromite is an important source from which chromium is extracted. It has wide industrial uses. Zhob, Killa Saifullah, Chagai, Kharan, Khuzdar and Lasbela districts (Pakistan, December, 2009). The estimated reserves are around 1 million tonnes.

**Fluorite:**



Fluorite has certain uses ranging from being used in the steel industry as well as an extraction source of fluorine. Maran, Pad Maran, and Dilband areas of Kalat district contain reserves of fluorite (Pakistan, December, 2009). It is estimated that around 0.1 million tons of fluorite is present in Balochistan.

### **Gypsum:**

Vast reserves of Gypsum are found at Spintangi and Chamalang. The deposit estimates are around 250 million tonnes.

### **Decorative Stones:**

Large reserves of decorative stones are found in Chagai, Zhob, Kila Saifullah and Lasbela areas. These include onyx, various types of limestone and igneous rocks (Pakistan, December, 2009).

### **Coal:**

Six areas have been identified where the coal mining is in progress in Balochistan. These are Khost-Shahrig-Harnai; Sor Rang-Daghari; Pir Ismail Ziarat; Mach and Chamalang area (Pakistan, December, 2009). The total proved reserves are around 217 million tons.

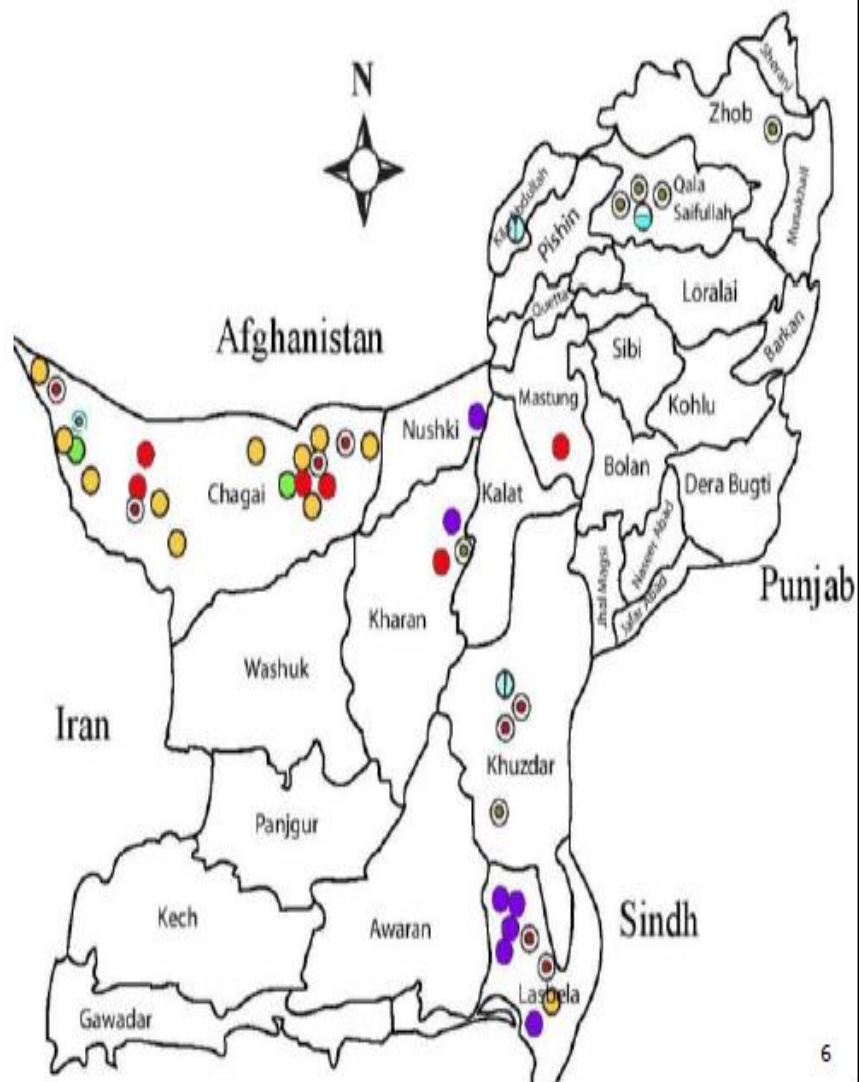
The following table offers a quick glance at the minerals that are present in Balochistan and their worth:

**Table 4.1 Amount of reserves in Balochistan**

<b>Mineral</b>	<b>Reserves (Tonnes)</b>
<b>Antimony Ore</b>	Few tons mined, annually.
<b>Barytes</b>	> 30 million
<b>Chromite Ore</b>	1 million
<b>Coal</b>	217 million
<b>Copper</b>	>4.912 billion
<b>Fluorite</b>	0.1 million
<b>Gypsum &amp; Anhydrit</b>	> 7 million
<b>Iron Ore</b>	273 million
<b>Lead-Zinc Ore</b>	>26 million
<b>Limestone</b>	-unknown
<b>Magnesite</b>	total reserves are unknown, but deposits are small
<b>Marble</b>	> 12 million

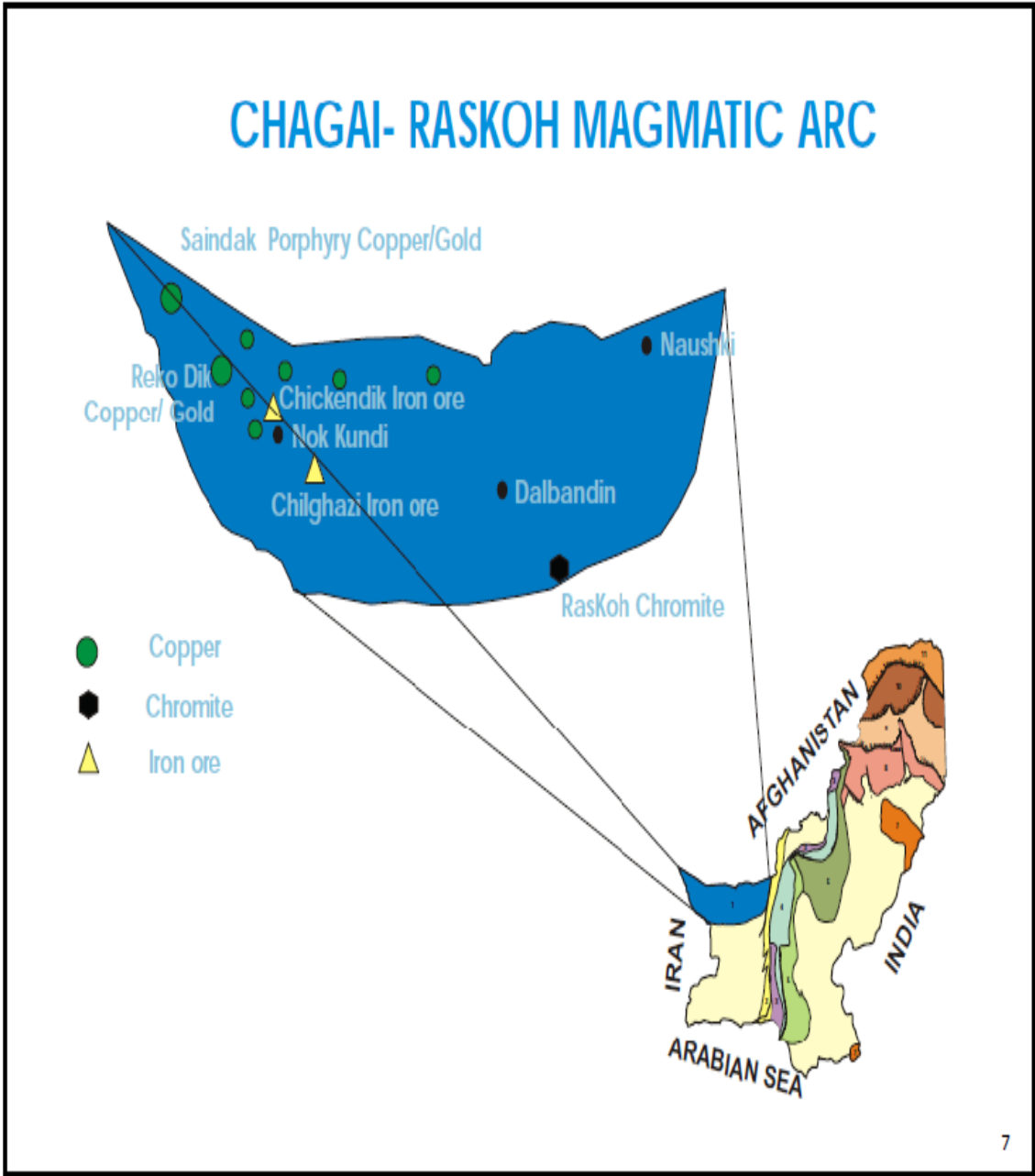
## District-wise distribution of metallic minerals

-  Antimony
-  Chromite
-  Copper
-  Gold/Silver
-  Iron
-  Lead-Zinc
-  Manganese
-  Nickel
-  Tungsten



Source: (Jamali, January 2015)

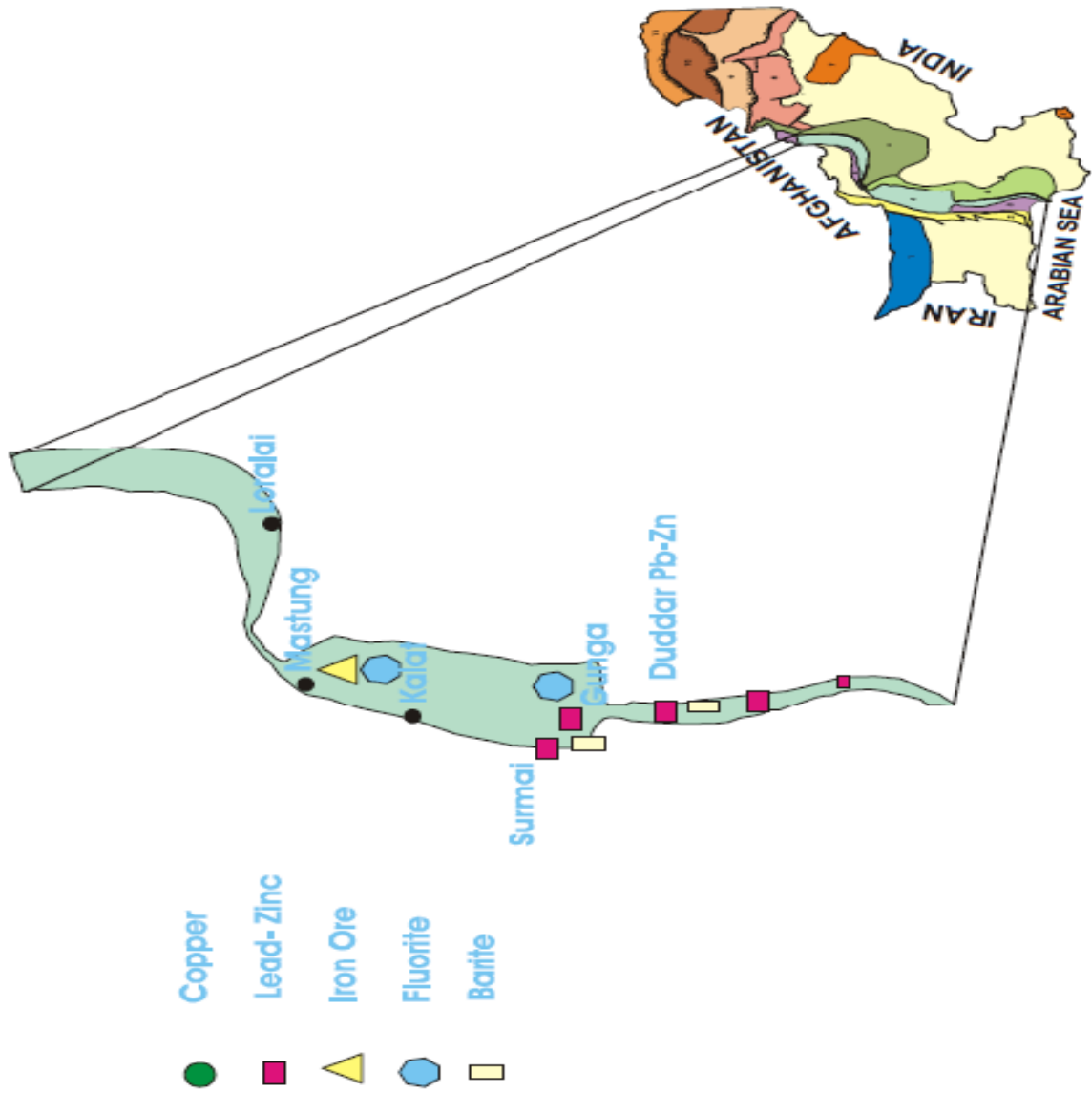
Figure 4.2 District wise distribution of mineral reserves



Source: (Jamali, January 2015)

Figure 4.3 Closer look at the Chagai-Rakosh arc

# SEDIMENT HOSTED LEAD-ZINC- BARITE- FLUORITE DEPOSITS



Source: (Jamali, January 2015)

Figure 4.4 sediment deposits in Balochistan

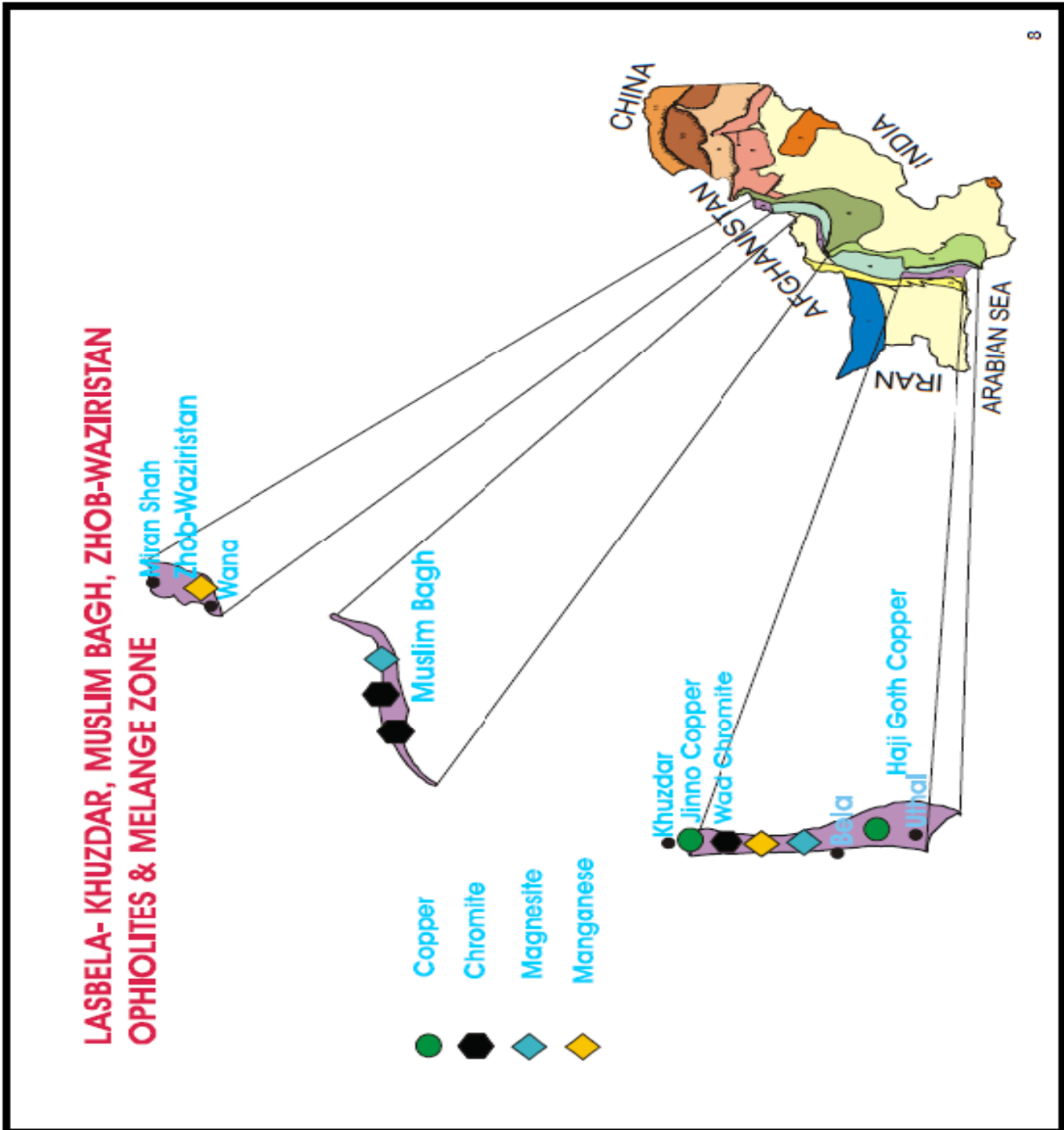


Figure 4.5 Reserves in Lasbela, Khuzdar, Muslim bagh, etc

Source: (Jamali, January 2015)

As part of data collection and exploration of the scope, researchers encountered two opposing schools of thought, when it came to the resources. There is one group that states that Balochistan is a very rich region, in terms of minerals and the impossible terrain is the only reason the profits are unattainable. The second group bases their argument, on the lack of substantial evidence that there are minerals of great worth present within Balochistan.

The importance of Balochistan cannot be understated, it is the largest province of Pakistan based on area, and has vast amounts of untapped mineral wealth. It also shares borders with Iran and Afghanistan and more often than not, the violence, terrorism and discord spillover into Balochistan. The geostrategic significance of the province, the times that Balochistan has seen, the mineral wealth present in this particular piece of land and more will be discussed in more detail, as this dissertation progresses.

## 5 THEORETICAL MODEL

### 5.1 Conflict Theory

Proposed by the renowned political theorist, economist and philosopher Karl Marx, the conflict theory explains how the finite resources of our planet and a never-ending competition for their access and control, will keep the society in a state of conflict. The theory proposes that those who control the access to the resources will try to protect and hoard them. Those who lack the access and control will try and use any measures to obtain control of these scarce resources. This also symbolizes a constant struggle between the global north and south, the developed and the developing nations, the rich and the poor.

This theory provides a distinct lens to analyze conflict and how it's natural human instinct that drives him towards it. The theory does not label conflict as good or bad, rather claims that it is an inevitable aspect of human nature and helps explain why things are the way they are. Since the beginning of 21st century, whenever there emerges the question of material as a base or a determining factor in relation to all other superstructure factors such as political, cultural, ethics etc. there has always been an implicit or explicit reference to the revolutionary work of Karl Marx. He has in a sense pioneered this relationship that has significantly contributed towards political economy of wars, conflict and instabilities. Conflict theory by Karl Marx has been used to look at violence, revolutions, wars and many other forms of social and economic injustices proving that there is a natural disparity in a society that causes these problems.



## 5.2 The Dynamic Theory of Resource Wars

The dynamic theory of resource wars is an economic theory that clarifies the conditions under which such wars can be prevented. The term “Resource Wars” made an appearance towards the end of cold-war in 1980s when United States of America’s free access to oil and minerals in Middle East and Africa respectively was threatened by the Soviets. It has been termed as ‘armed conflicts revolving to a significant degree, over the pursuit or possession of critical materials’. Control of valuable natural resources has gradually become very significant after the end of Cold War and it offers a very strong incentive for wars happening in the future (Klare, 2001).

The theory established a dynamic interaction between a resource-rich and a resource-poor country in order to study the effect of declining scarce resources. A resource-poor country A offers consumption goods in exchange for exhaustible resources like fossil fuel from a resource-rich country S. Country A has the option of invading country S for these scarce exhaustible resources but it depends on the kind of market structure that prevails in country S. If the resource is distributed by a competitive market that consists of many firms supplying to the world market, country A’s consumers purchase the resource directly from the market at the market set price. In case of war, country A would only get a part of the resources while the rest would be destroyed. In a monopolistic market structure, Country S’s government sets the price and level of production of the resource. In this case, if the country S has a “take-it-or-leave-it-price” attitude than the country A has the option of declaring open war on country S if this is considered a better alternative to accepting Country S’s offer.

In both cases, the elasticity of the demand for the resources decides how strong the incentive for war is for country A. If the resource has an inelastic demand, the value of resource rises as it is depleted with every passing day and the incentive to fight country S increase over time for country A. However if it’s an elastic demand, the incentive to fight country S will decline over time.

The extraction firms in case of competitive market also have the ability to precipitate war between country A and S. The firms in country S do not realize that their rate of extraction has a direct impact on country A's incentive for war. If the demand is inelastic, continuous extraction would make the resource even more scarce providing a stronger incentive for war to country A. The regulation of prices by a monopolistic environment can reduce the incidence of war through "inter-temporal distortions" meaning under inelastic demand, country S can slow down the rate of ex-traction so as to reduce the incentives for war and reduce country A's armament cost and incentives to declare war on country S. Ironically, under some circumstances, the same monopolistic regulation can cause war because of the presence of limited commitment. Country S cannot engage in a long-term contract with country A, country A must arm in every period, even under peace, to impose such a contract and obtain agreeable terms of trade.

Table 5.1 the dynamic theory of resource wars

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Point- Resource</b>	<b>Diffuse-Resource</b>
<b>Proximate- Resource</b>	Coup d'état /foreign intervention	Mass rebellion
<b>Distant- Resource</b>	Secession	Warlordism

Source: (Billon, 2007)

Phillip Le Billon in his essay on *Geo-political economy of 'Resource Wars'* establishes a link between “mis-governance, conflict and historical legacy of social construction and exploitation of resources by imperial economies”. The mineral wealth of a nation has tremendous capability of shaping the conflict patterns because of its historic, social and geographic characteristics. Billon has outlined the relative importance of the materiality of resources and their geography with regard to the type and direction of conflicts. It may sound ironic but the natural resources can become a source of vulnerability, negatively affecting the domestic politics, economy and foreign relations of the producing country. The link between the ‘geopolitics of resource competition, the history and political economy of resource exploitation’, is critical to the analysis of the geographies of ‘resources wars’. Billon divides resources into four broad categories according to “their relative concentration of access, expressed in terms of point or diffuse resources, and to their relative location vis-à-vis the government, expressed in terms of proximity or distance”. Point resources are concentrated in a small geographical area and their extraction requires a ‘capital intensive extraction industry’. Diffuse resources are geographically distributed over a large area and usually do not require a capital intensive industry for its extraction. Proximate resources are close and under the direct control of the central government. Distant resources are located in remote territories along porous borders. Resources located away from the central-control and close to the bordering land with foreign countries therefore more prone to looting. (Billon, 2007)

In a post-cold war world, where the international governance has made stability its focal point, many studies done on resource rich countries in global south conclude that majority of the conflicts these countries are facing are because of the natural resources (Collier & Hoeffler, 2005). A strong connection between natural resources and civil conflict has already been established in many conflict theories. The very presence of natural resources in developing countries in particular, increases the risk of violence, insurgencies and conflict (McNeish, 2010). The possibility of generating revenue from natural resource wealth creates an incentive for the dissatisfied and marginalized group as well as the international forces to capture the resource rich territory. Balochistan is not an exception here as it is home to mineral resources worth billions of dollars that tremendously increase the importance of the province for the central government, insurgent groups and the international forces alike. Highlighting the importance of the province,

Baluch politician and former Governor, Mir Ghaus Bizenjo claimed that “Baluchistan did not need Pakistan but Pakistan needed Baluchistan” (Tariq, n.d.).

There are many examples of civil conflicts fought at least in part for control over natural resources including oil and gas. Experts have found similarities between resource-rich regions in developing countries such as Myanmar, Cote d’Ivoire, Chad, Sudan and Pakistan (Baluchistan). It seems that each has a tendency to breed and support insurgencies.

Myanmar, formerly known as Burma has faced a long lasting ethnic conflict since the late 1940s. The war was ignited over the issues of sovereignty, between various ethnic groups and the government, however more recently the core has shifted to becoming a struggle for control of resources. It includes oil, gas, minerals, precious stones and timber. Contributing factors are the social constructs, for example for a period Myanmar was under military rule and now is struggling to become a democracy.

Strong links between conflict and natural wealth are also evident in countries like Cote d’Ivoire, where rebel groups fund their activities through controlling a diamond mine, worth 20 million dollars in Seguela. The diamonds are smuggled from there to Ghana and Mali where the funds generated are used in purchasing arms for rebel factions. Non serious government, corruption and poor living conditions have people compelled “they will not be allowed to enjoy the benefits of oil unless they fight” (Harsch, 2007).

In Sudan, where oil was discovered in 1978, the country was already divided in Muslim dominated north and Christian dominated-south which began with the British policy during the joint rule of UK and Egypt. A policy set in motion to prevent economic integration of the two parts and keep in check, the North’s Islamic power. With oil fields now lying in Southern parts, billions are earned from oil exports but hardly any of it was spent on social services. This new resource war triggered intense ethnic clashes, consequently reducing the resilience of the populace to political manipulation and acts of violence.

Afghanistan is another country where the conflict originated in the hue of cold war has started revolving around the recently discovered resource wealth of the region. Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was primarily motivated by the strategic location of the country. Later on, US War in Afghanistan after September 11 attacks in 2001 started a chain of actions leading to Pentagon Officials discovering vast scale of mineral wealth in the region, indicating the high probability of West knowing about the mineral wealth of the region before 2001's invasion. Invasion of Afghanistan thus not only serving the geo-political interest of the western powers but also as home to natural resources worth billions of dollars.

The region in the Asia consisting of three countries i.e. Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran has vast mineral and energy deposits and referring to this region as “triangle of resources” wouldn't be an exaggeration. Considering their mineral wealth and strategic location, gaining influence and control over these countries have always been on the top agenda of global powers. The global politics have changed considerably after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1989 putting an end to the cold-war era and a shift from a bipolar to a multi-polar world. With the emergence of China as a potential competitor to the United States being the sole Super Power and the revival of Russia (formerly Soviet Union) as a global actor has changed the rules of the game altogether. Understanding this whole development in the context of the mineral rich region consisting of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran unveils greater mysteries.

As already discussed, Afghanistan contains huge deposits of minerals whose wealth is to be estimated at around one trillion dollars. Most of the country has been mapped by the US Geological Survey recently. Vast deposits of iron, copper, gold, cobalt and lithium is present, which are enough to change the fate of this war ridden country.

Large foreign investments have started pouring in the mineral industry. Mes Aynak copper mines have been awarded to a Chinese company and the Hajijak mines have been contracted out to an Indian consortium. But the mining processes have mostly remained stalled because of the security situation of the country with the contracts being redesigned. Some experts claim that this large mineral wealth might prove to be a curse for Afghanistan considering the instability and the security situation in the country. In the absence of proper legislations and a well-structured

mining industry, the mineral potential can't be unlocked and there is still a long way to go. Officials have raised concerns regarding the smuggling of rare minerals and gemstones and this deregulated mineral industry might prove to be a substitute to the opium export for warlords. Moreover, there are chances that the present political conflict might be transformed into a resource conflict. The role of the global powers needs to be understood in this scenario. With the United States sending more troops into Afghanistan after the announcement by Trump Administration has led analysts to believe that America might be interested in the mineral wealth and this could be one of the main reasons of the American invasion of Afghanistan. China has exhibited great interest in Afghanistan and has remained actively involved in settling the political conflict because a peaceful Afghanistan serves the greater purpose of China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative.

Iran is an important player in the region and like its neighbors; it contains huge mineral wealth along with oil and gas resources. Coal, chromium, copper, iron ore, lead, manganese and zinc are the prominent minerals present in the country. The country's mineral industry is underdeveloped because of the limited role of private investors and government's control over the mines. The recent development of the Chabahar sea-port with the assistance of India has increased the importance of the country to serve as a trade corridor for Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics. India views Iran as its important ally linking her to Afghanistan. As a developing economy, India requires energy and raw materials for its industries and this route provides a promising future economic dimension for India. Moreover, India's involvement is also a part of the greater game of containing its neighbor Pakistan, with whom she has enjoyed long hostile relations since the independence.

The province of Balochistan in Pakistan has been known to contain huge reserves of minerals. Over \$1 trillion worth of mineral assets have been found in Balochistan including gold, silver, iron ore, chromite, marble and Sulphur among the others. The mineral and mining industry remains under-developed with most of the contracts given to foreign companies. Apart from the mineral wealth, the geo-strategic position of Balochistan is extremely ideal, making it the central route for trade access to Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics. The area which covers Balochistan also proves to be the central point for various energy corridors into Pakistan

and India, both of which are developing economies and are in dire need of raw materials and energy to meet their ever increasing demands. Moreover, Balochistan has an Oceanic coastline that extends alongside one of the world's most critical transportation courses i.e. the Straits of Hormuz.

The area which covers Balochistan extends into Afghanistan as well as Iran but our primary focus would be the province of Balochistan in Pakistan. The province has remained in a long power struggle with the Federation over the issue of autonomy and five insurgencies have been launched so far. Several complex issues come into play regarding the deteriorating situation of the province. Before the independence, the province enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy guaranteed by the British under a mutually beneficial treaty. With the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the province acceded to the newly created state of Pakistan. The main essence of this new state was a strong central government with relatively lower autonomy to provinces thus cultivating the roots of grievances in the Baloch Sardars. With the discovery of vast reserves of natural gas at Sui, the province attained much importance however, unfortunately it was neglected by the governments (both military and democratic alike) thus intensifying the grievances. The Baloch people have always demanded equitable distribution of resources and development and a greater share from the revenues of natural gas and other resources, both these demands have remained largely unmet.

With the discovery of vast mineral wealth in the recent years and the development of Gwadar port, the province of Balochistan has caught the attention of global powers. Several international games of dominance have been put into play which depicts the politics of global conflict and control. United States is interested not only in the mineral wealth but also the strategic location of the province and the recent domination of China with the development of CPEC has alarmed the Americans, who fear their naval dominance in the Indian Ocean being threatened. India, on the other hand has been trying her best to deteriorate the security conditions in the province to prevent it from being developed into a global trade corridor. These international players have been using the separatist elements time and again to fulfil their agendas and with the discovery of vast reserves of minerals, the situation has become more complex. On one hand, the separatist elements are trying their best to create problems in the



exploration and mining thus fulfilling the designs of the global powers and on the other hand, with a world-wide increase in demand for minerals current trends are indicating that the global conflict paradigm has been shifting into resource led wars, thus making Balochistan a locus point for potential global conflict.

## 6 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

This section first establishes the grounds for existence of insurgent elements and foreign intervention in the region of Balochistan because of its strategic location and mineral wealth and later on formulates a model that shows how these two are interlinked.

Balochistan possesses great amount of metallic and non-metallic minerals but for the purpose of simplicity the model only considers natural gas, 4.912 billion tons reserves of Gold and Copper worth more than \$ 1 trillion, along with the strategically located port of Gwadar. Major gas fields are located in District Dera-Bugti in Balochistan near Sui town. The copper and gold Reserves are specifically located in the Chagai district of the province at Saindak, Koh-i-Dalil, Dash-i-Kain, Kabul Koh, Ziarat Pir Sultan Rekodiq and numerous other places (Research, 2017). All these areas lie on the north-west corner of Balochistan bordering with Afghanistan and Iran. These reserves according to Billon's classification would be Distant Resources lying close to porous border but are also Point-resources because capital intensive industry is required for the extraction. This classification indicates high chances of insurgent activities in the region. The fixed strategic location of Gwadar port can also be treated as a point-resource. The development and functioning of the port requires heavy investment and capital intensive industry. On the other hand, unlike gold and copper reserves, the port is under direct control of the central government making it a proximate resource. This classification therefore provides a strong justification for the presence of foreign intervention in Balochistan.

**Table 6.1 Application of the dynamic theory of resource wars, to Balochistan**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Point- Resource</b>	<b>Diffuse-Resource</b>
<b>Proximate- Resource</b>	Strategic location of Gwadar  <b>(Foreign intervention)</b>	Mass rebellion
<b>Distant- Resource</b>	Gold and Copper Reserves  <b>(Secession)</b>	Warlordism

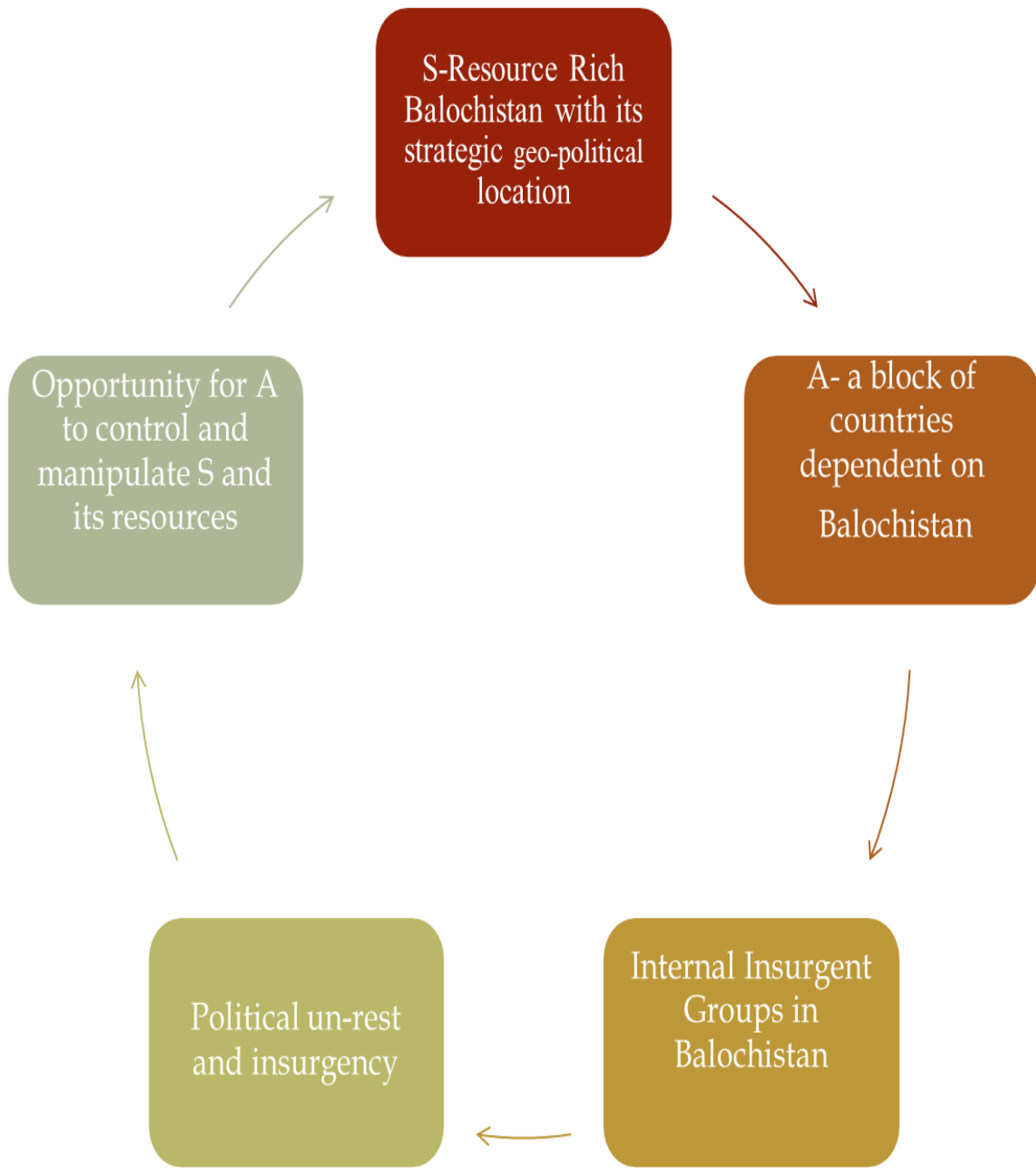


Figure 6.1 illustration of the conceptual model

The above mentioned model has been formulated by modifying the dynamic theory of resource wars in order to fit in the context of Balochistan. The dependency relationship as proposed by the theory between country S and country A is not that simple when it comes to the resource politics of Balochistan. Firstly, as already been stated in this paper, Balochistan holds significant importance both locally and internationally owing to its strategic geo-political location and tremendous natural resources, hence it is not only natural resources that are responsible for this dependency relationship. Secondly, there's not just a single country that is dependent on Balochistan's location and mineral wealth, rather the list includes United States of America, India, Afghanistan, China, Russia and Iran. These countries are divided into two blocks on the basis of their relationship with the Central Government of Pakistan. China and Pakistan since their creation have been considered allies; recently the cordial relationship between the two countries has further been strengthened by China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Russia has been given formal authorization by Pakistan to join the project (APP, 2018). Iran has also openly expressed its keen interest in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) when its Ambassador to Pakistan Mehdi Honardoost called CPEC "a project with great potential" and focused on enhancing trade ties with Pakistan (Reporter, December, 2017). Hence China, Russia and Iran seem to form a single block considering their interest and involvement in CPEC. This block has willingly been granted the access to Balochistan by the government of Pakistan. United States of America and India on the other hand seem to form a second block that opposes China-Pakistan Economic Corridor that gives China and Russia a growing influence over the warm water sea port as well as the natural resources of Balochistan. Recent international development thus show that USA and India and Afghanistan have both an incentive and means to instigate local dissatisfied insurgent groups to disrupt the stability of the region and provide this second block with a window for control and manipulation over the region.

## 7 BACKGROUND

### 7.1 History

The Baloch have been resisting the parochial and inflexible behavior of the central government of Pakistan since its accession in 1948. Some central issues which were present at the time of Pakistan's independence consequently have led to the prevailing conflict in Balochistan. These issues can be summed up as follows:

- a) Conflicting national identity perspectives of the state and Baloch nationalists;
- b) Under-representation of the Baloch at the national level;
- c) Political and fiscal autonomy, and development issues; and
- d) Hybrid manifestations of Baloch nationalism, i.e., nationalist political discourse and insurgent tendencies (Sial & Basit, 2010).

The present day secessionist movement, a transformation of the insurgencies, is actually a continuation of the guerrilla struggles in Balochistan against the center. There exists a historical context to it which is discussed in chronological order in the succeeding paragraphs.

#### **I. The issue of accession and revolt in 1948**

The people of the Princely State of Kalat were active participants in the independence movement from the British in the sub-continent. The, then head of the Balochistan state, the Khan of Kalat had provided full backing to the Muslim League leader, Quaid-e-Azam

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was also an advocate of division of sub-continent into Muslim Pakistan and Hindu led India. A Shahi Jirga or Royal Council consisting of tribal chiefs and elders was called by the Khan of Kalat at the time of partition for consent to join Pakistan. The princely states of Kharan, Makran and Lasbela acceded to Pakistan.

The Khan of Kalat, on the other hand, wanted a full sovereignty and hence declared independent status. Baglar Begi Khan assured the newly independent state of Pakistan that Kalat will function as an autonomous region but will participate in the defense and infrastructure of the country. As a result of this declaration by the Khan, Pakistani army was used to occupy the region and the Khan of Kalat was forced to sign the instrument of accession. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1948 the legal authority of Khan-e-Azam came to an end. Within 24 hours several ministers of Kalat government were exiled and arrested (Baluch, 2009). The then Governor General of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam put Balochistan under Governor General Control with a council for governance and administration. Until 1973 no elected body was formed in Balochistan. This action was the first step of direct federal authority over the province. The forcible annexation, fueled by nationalistic sentiments resulted in the First rebellion in Balochistan.

The younger brother of the Khan of Kalat, Abdul Karim Baloch, who had not surrendered, led the liberation movement from Afghanistan (Jones, 2002). Prince Abdul Karim formed a liberation force known as the “Baloch Mujahedeen” and started their guerrilla operation from the Jhalawan district.

Following a skirmish between Pakistan army and the insurgent group, Abdul Karim Khan was arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison in 1950. This confrontation between the rebels and Pakistan army divided the Baloch nationalist into two major blocs. One bloc still viewed State as an enemy and continued armed struggle against it, while the other opted for a more moderate approach that involved resolving the issue through peaceful dialogue (Kundi, 2009).

## **II. The Second Insurgency of 1958 and the One Unit Policy**

Ethnically diverse societies often face the difficult task of nation building; Pakistan also faced a similar situation. In order to guarantee equal representation to the provinces of Punjab, Balochistan, Sindh and North Western Frontier Province (NWFP), now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and to promote national unity, lead to West Pakistan being referred to as “One Unit” under the 1956 Constitution. The One Unit Policy, however, was highly unpopular amongst the provinces as it meant the dominant rule of the Punjabis. As a consequence, separatist and subnational movements protesting the Punjabi hegemony arose in all three states triumphing local language and cultures. Baloch Nationalist leaders including Abdul Karim, who had completed his time in prison, strongly condemned the merger of Balochistan into the one unit (Ziring, 2004). The Baloch leaders were arrested for leading a stringent opposition of the one unit policy and re-organizing the already existing ethno-nationalist movement. In 1958, martial law was imposed by General Ayub Khan and hence military dictatorship quashed all designs of opposition.

Moreover, the Khan of Kalat was disrobed of all privileges given by the federal authority and sent to jail, he narrates the story of his arrest in this excerpt from his autobiography;

“The 6th day of October 1958 will ever remain fresh in the memory of the people of Balochistan; for it was on this day that the forces of tyranny, oppression and bloodshed were let loose on the simple and innocent Baloch of Kalat for no fault of theirs..... I gave up myself to the army which paraded with me on the roads and streets of Kalat. I witnessed several of my men falling dead on the ground by the indiscriminate firing of the army” (Baluch, 2009).

General Ayub’s military regime initiated land reforms in the country to bring down those with large land holdings. The Baloch Sardars of Bugti, Marri and Mengal tribes, objected to the reforms as it limited their freedom and control, and rebelled against them but were taken into custody.



There were sporadic disturbances between 1959 to 1967. Most prominent of them was the armed resistance led by Mir Nauroz Khan the Sardar of Zarakzai tribe and the Nawab of Jhallawan, who was a devoted supporter of the Khan of Kalat. The Nawab presented three demands to the government, these included; i) Withdrawal of one unit plan (ii) extrication of Khan of Kalat and amnesty for his men (iii) exemption of his area from the land reforms (Axmann, 2008). In general, the Baloch Sardars demanded the release of prisoners, restoration of the Riway or the customary law, withdrawal of police and tax collectors, retention of firearms, restoration of the privileges of Sardars according to which they had the power to enlist the Baloch levies, tribal security force and the Jirga members. Along with these demands, the Sardars also wanted the promise of non-interference of the government in areas of their jurisdiction (Awan, 1985).

Talks between the army and the resurgent initiated in the early 1960's but were inconclusive. Later on, Nauroz Khan and his men were guaranteed acceptance of the demands, given that they swear an oath on The Holy book to negotiate terms with the Army. On assurance, by Sardar Doda Khan Zehri that all the Baloch demands were being accepted, the militants surrendered but were betrayed by the Pakistan Army. The Nawab was arrested along with his men and tried by a special military court where he was sentenced to life imprisonment and his son and nephews were all hanged (Rehman, 2005).

Even though the government had succeeded, the betrayal by the center enhanced the feelings of distrust among the Baloch people and fueled the Baloch nationalism into jingoism.

### **III. The Parari Resistance 1962**

General Ayub Khan instituted the program of Basic Democracies as a tool to strengthen the centralized policies. Through the introduction of this system, he was able to win the elections and establish a Presidential system in 1962. In these elections, for the first time in Baloch history, a number of Baloch Sardars were also elected. Members of prominent Baloch tribes became a part of the parliament, these included, Sardar Khair Bakhsh Murri, Ataullah Mengal and Ahmad Nawaz Bugti. However, Ayub assumed their presence in the parliament as a threat to

his personally oriented policies. As a consequence they were removed and replaced by other nominated Sardars.

After the arrest of Nawab Nauroz the Pakistan army as a precaution to avoid further resistances, started setting up new cantonments in key areas of the Baloch province. This sparked up another guerilla war. The movement came to be known as the “Parari Resistance.” Parari is a Baloch word to illustrate a person or a group whose afflictions cannot be addressed through negotiations. The network of base camps set up by the army expanded from the South of Jhalawan to the Mengal tribe in the North and the Murri and Bugti tribes. The tribes tried to distraught the forces by responding with bombarding trains, raiding military camps and ambushing convoys. The Pakistan Army counterstruck with aerial bombardments that not only killed several Sardars and their tribesmen, but also ruined agricultural fields. The fighting came to an end in 1969 when General Yahya seized power (Hashmi, 2015).

The most important development of the 70’s was Balochistan being granted the status of a province. At this point, a colonial approach was taken up by the government in Islamabad to administer the province, essentially characterized by non-existent development and resource expropriation (Khan, 2003). By this time, opposition over the lack of political participation and economic development had grown and carried over into the major insurgency that was to come in the 1970s.

#### **IV. The 1973 uprising**

The worst insurgency of Baloch history began when the democratically elected P.M, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, dismissed the Baloch provincial assembly and banned the ruling party. National Awami Party (NAP) had won majority seats in the 1970 general elections held under the martial law of General Yahya. A number of reasons have been narrated behind the new P.M’s actions, the most crucial being NAP’s demand for provincial autonomy. Bhutto wrongly perceived the Baloch governments struggle to promote the Baloch culture and to indigenize the administrative system by replacing the non-Baloch bureaucrats with Baloch ones. The provincial government also wanted a fair deal in the allocation of industries and a greater share of the

natural resources present in the province. Progressive demands and reforms such as these led to a cautious stance from Islamabad (Jetly, 2004). Apart from these factors, the ascertainment of weapons from the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad put the center in suspicion that the Baloch nationalists were conspiring against it (Jānmahmad, 1982). The Iraqi government claimed that the weapons were given to the Iranian Baloch guerrilla activists to fight against the Iranian Shah's support of Iraqi Kurds.

Meanwhile, the government of Pakistan published a white paper where it was alleged that the Murri tribesmen in possession of automatic weapons attacked dwellers mostly of Punjabi origin in the Pat Feeder canal area of district Kolachi. It was specified that the Baloch Chief Minister had replaced the Balochistan reserve force with the new police structure called, the Balochistan Dehi Mohafiz (BDM) on the grounds that it had non-Baloch officers. Only those loyal to NAP were recruited in the Dehi Mohafiz force. The government in Islamabad had started fearing the popularity of the NAP in the Baloch province especially because their own political party Pakistan People Party (PPP) had no standing in the province. The ethnic demands and reforms brought by the Baloch were perceived as a threat to the survival of Pakistan's integrity (Pakistan, 1974).

The Baloch took the central government's action to sack the provincial government as a deliberate insult to them and hence responded militarily. Under the leadership of Khair Bukhsh Murri, the Murri tribesmen and Baloch students formed the Balochistan People's Liberation Front (BPLF). They acquired their strength from the Parari guerrilla forces, which had expanded its reach, influence and number manifolds after the 1969 ceasefire. The first encounter between the army and the guerrillas was reported in April of 1973 where the militants ambushed a military convoy and then attacked. On 18<sup>th</sup> May 1973, in the Murri area of Tandoori, scouts on routine parole were abducted by tribesmen and killed. The Balochistan provincial government alleged that a foreign hand was involved in supporting the militants in the form of weapons supply. Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Khair Bukhsh Murri, and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizanjo, were arrested by the central government on the charges that they were supporting a resistance against the Pakistan Army. The arrest led to another uprising against the federation (Weaver, 2002).

The exact number of the casualties was never quoted, but it was assumed that almost 3300 of 80,000 army men along with 53000 out of 33000 Baloch guerrillas were killed (Harrison, 1979). In the four years that the insurgency took place; almost one hundred and seventy four major encounters took place between the army and the insurgents. The militants avoided direct encounters with the army but were successful in halting drillings and survey operations led by American oil companies by ambushing convoys. As a counterstrike, the Pakistan Army used gunship helicopters against the militants.

Even though a number of arrests were made, the Baloch resistance did not come to an end but rather engendered the ferocity against the center. As Mir Hazar Khan explained,

“If we can get modern weapons, it will never again be like the last time.....next time, we will choose the time and place, and we will take help where we can get it. In the beginning, the Bengalis didn't want independence, but if Pakistan continues to use force to crush us, we'll have no alternative to go that way” (Harrison, 1979).

The Baloch resistance finally came to an end in 1977 when the People's Party government was overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq. Some analysts considered the change, “a fresh attempt to rework the basis of state society relations in Pakistan” (Hewitt, 1998). General Zia's military coup calmed down the insurgency situation as he introduced his “One Pakistan” strategy under the umbrella of Islamization. Even though the civil disobedience movement still remained quite active in Balochistan, it was kept to a minimum by the military government. The Sardars of Murri and Mengal tribes were released who fled to Europe whereas Bizenjo stayed and followed the politics of reconciliation.

However, the most aggressive and fierce organization of all factions, “the Baloch Student Organization” (BSO) reorganized itself. Lieutenant General Rahimuddin Khan was appointed the new Governor and a general amnesty was announced by General Zia for all rebels. President Zia-ul-Haq even tried to appease the Baloch by increasing investment in infrastructural development. The Baloch nationalists also took part in the 1985 party-less election. This period of peace prevailed from 1989 to 1999, where there was calm in insurgent violence.

## **V. The 2005 insurgency and direction of conflict**

After around two decades, the fifth insurgency was a result of simmering tension. Along with complaints of colonization, reports of exploitation of Balochistan's natural resources by the Punjabi's were spread. In the post 80's scenario, nationalist leaders stated taking part in the political process even though many main issues were unresolved. But this time period was considered as an effective truce by many analysts (Raman and Bangalore, 2005). Many of the tribal sardars were apt to cooperate with the center even though the democratic period of the 90's remained precariously a result of confrontational politics. The Mengal and Bizenjo tribal Sardars established the Balochistan National Party (BNP) whereas Nawab Akbar Bugti formed the Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP), these parties were actively involved in making coalition governments which was a positive step forward. However, when the military regime of General Musharraf started in 1999, the Baloch nationalists rejected the government as they did not trust them.

In this phase of the resistance, Hasil Bizanjo, Balach Marri, Mir Herbyar Murri and Akhtar Mengal i.e the second generation of Baloch nationalists came together to lead the nationalist movement. The areas under the control of these sardars are considered the most sensitive as encounter between the Frontier Corps Balochistan and the insurgents is the most regular and intense here. Tensions amongst the government and the nationalist Sardars started when a number of mega development projects were announced and a series of political appointments were made on key positions from Punjab giving the Baloch a feeling of alienation from their due share of power. They viewed this influx of other ethnic groups as an effort to marginalize the Baloch in their own province. (Bansal, 2006, p.50) Even though the Musharraf government announced economical and welfare projects in the Baloch province, they had a hard stance towards the nationalists. On the announcement of development of Gwadar port by the government. The Baloch Sardars outright opposed the plan even though the project would create greater economic opportunities for the general public. The Sardars resisted such federal efforts of development because of their past experience that the development would benefit only the Punjabi's. Sardar Akhtar Mengal recorded their fear in the following way;

“If there are jobs in Gwadar, people would flock there with time, they would get the right to vote. The problem is that one Karachi in Gwadar is sufficient to turn the whole population of Balochistan into minority. We would lose our identity, our language, everything. That is why we are not willing to accept these mega projects” (Bakhtiar, August 2004).

The Nationalists advanced with the same demands of equal share in national programs and the right to self-government in the latest insurgency as well.

After the 9/11 attack, Pakistan allowed the US government to form base camps in the areas of Dalbandin, Gwadar and Jacabad. The tensions that started regarding the development of Gwadar port were further aggravated when General Musharraf, passed an autocratic decision that the army would be involved in giving security to the foreigners. With the announcement of this decision by Musharraf, the Baloch nationalists struggle further intensified and led to periodic attacks on the military bases, gas pipelines, check posts and even civilians. The new wave of insurgency that activated in the late 90's on a low scale was slowly gathering momentum. The catalyst, however, was when 32 year old Dr. Shazia Khalid, was assaulted by a gang of employees of Pakistan Petroleum Company in Sui. A large scale resistance was launched by BLA and headed by JWP's leader Nawab Akbar Bugti who felt that it was an act of impertinence against their honor. The militants took to challenge the writ of the government. A wave of attacks were launched on major military installations, army check points, gas pipelines to almost half of the population of the country and even civilians by the insurgents. The nationalists attempted to capture the Sui gas field which resulted in a four day long armed battle where Bugti supported the banned outfits. The situation took a turn for the worst when General Pervaiz Musharaff and Commander of the Paramilitary force in Balochistan were attacked separately during their visit to Kohlu Town for inauguration of a new cantonment (Ahmad, 2005). The military led government responded aggressively.

As General Pervaiz Musharraf threatened Baloch Sardars in one of his interview, he said,

“It is not the 70's and we will not climb mountains behind them, they will even not know what and from where something has come and hit them.” (Zaidi,2005)

Sardar Mengal responded in the same tone, when Zahid Hussain from News-line Magazine (2005), approached him,

“It is not the 70’s for us; it is also not the 70s for them. If there is any change, it will be for all. If we have to face severe consequences of change, then they will also not be in a comfortable position” (p.23).

Even though government officials denied using regular force against the insurgents, according to independent sources almost six brigades and paramilitary force was used to carry out the operation. (Asia Report, 2006, p.9). The Pakistani paramilitary force used combat jets, gunship helicopters and artillery to pound militant camps (Swami, 2006).

On 26<sup>th</sup> August 2006, Nawab Akbar Bugti, leader of the JWP party was killed by the military forces and the spate of violence reached its peak. The Baloch resistance flared up not only in Balochistan but across the country. The Nawab became a symbol of identity and independence for the people of Balochistan and made them more united and determined in their goal. Regardless of the fact that violence had broken out across the length and breadth of the Baloch province, the central government was adamant to establish the “writ of the government” by any means possible.

The Baloch nationalist Mir Herbyar Khan Murri (2010) has pointed out that

“Baloch is not the name of an ethnic group but they are a nation, having distinguish culture, heritage, and martyrs. So the nation cannot live under dominance. We need independence. We cannot be the slave of the slaves. (Int Dunya T.V).

The nature of conflict in the last insurgency was different from the 1973 uprising such that the latter was concluded with P.M Z.A Bhutto ousted from power and all important personalities released. This time, however, the situation remains unsolved and a challenge to the process of national integration as a clear distrust and divide is present among the two actors.

Many believe that the main reason for issues that the Baloch face is the way their society functions. History remains a witness of what despair, factionalism can bring on a people. The next section will discuss at length how deep rooted factionalism is in the Baloch society and who's the boss.

Please refer to [Appendix A](#) for more details.



## 7.2 Social Construct

### **Origin and History:**

The issues in Balochistan can be attributed to multiple factors, among which an important one is the Baloch ethnicity (Hashmi, 2015). According to the latest census of 2017, the population of Balochistan was recorded at 12.35m as compared to 6.56m in the 1998 census. However when we take into account the division among various ethnic groups, results of the new census show that the Baloch population has rather decreased from 61pc to 55.6pc in the province. The total count of Baloch people was recorded at 6.86m (excluding the districts of Quetta and Sibbi) in 2017 compared to 4m in 1998 (Khan, 2017). These statistics intensify the Baloch's grievances that with the existing course of events we are becoming a minority in our own province.

The people of Baloch origin are divided between the Pakistan's province of Balochistan, Iranian Sistan-Balochistan province and a minor portion of the southern parts of Helmund, Nimruz and Kandahar provinces of Afghanistan (Pillalamarri, 2016). Ironically little attention has been given to the study of Balochistan. The residents of the province can be categorized into three groups on the basis of language: the Baloch, the Brahui and the Pashtuns. The Brahui speaking people reside in the central Balochistan and some scholars refer them to be a different ethnic group than Baloch but generally they are believed to be of Balochi ethnicity. The Pashtuns dominate the regions of the northern Balochistan while the Baloch people dominate the central and the southern parts.

Different opinions exist about the origin of Baloch people and how they got here. The most authentic accounts refer that the Baloch people migrated from the Aleppo region of Syria and made their way to the present areas of Balochistan. This process of migration continued for centuries. Various attempts have been made to gain control of the region by the Greeks, Afghans, Persian and Sikhs owing to its geo-strategic importance but all of them failed. Later, the region remained associated with the Persian and Mughal empires for a brief period in history. Three

leaders, Mir Chakar Khan Rind, Abdullah Khan and Nasir Khan own a notable place for their contribution in bringing meaningful changes to the tribal society of Baloch (Hashmi, 2015). Mir Chakar Khan Rind laid the establishment of first Baloch Confederacy and united the Baloch tribes at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. This unification was short lived due to the rifts between various tribes and was replaced by the Kalat Confederacy which was more politically structured.

With the emergence of the Afghan war (1839-1842) British started setting their eyes on Balochistan mainly to stop Russians from reaching the warm waters. After certain tensions, a treaty was established between the British and the Khan of Kalat, allowing the British for trade and free military movement. In this way British were successful to put Balochistan under a form of indirect rule (Hashmi, 2015). The first British political agent to Balochistan, Robert Sandeman laid down the establishment of a council of chiefs and Shahi Jirga. With the Sandeman system in place, the Baloch tribal system was led to be put under a legitimized control of a Sardar or chieftain over his tribe which later created problems for the State of Pakistan when it got annexation of Balochistan and tried to establish a strong central government.

### **Understanding the Conflict:**

As stated earlier, the Baloch conflict has to be understood through a multi-faceted approach and several factors need to be taken into account. The issue of the Baloch nationalism did not start after its annexation to Pakistan but it has been there since the British tried to take control over the region. British and Baloch fought for four decades under which Baloch people had to face numerous losses before the treaty was put into place between the British and the Khan of Kalat. In the twentieth century, voices for Independent and United Balochistan started to gain momentum. Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochistan appeared on the political scene and started the movement for free Balochistan (Hashmi, 2015). Later Kalat National Party was formed which had the same objective. The initial intention of the Baloch leaders except for the Shahi Jirga and some members of the Quetta municipality were to form an independent state with a special relation to Pakistan but with the sudden merger of Kalat State into Pakistan a new era of Baloch nationalism and identity emerged in the politics of Pakistan.

The Baloch leaders and people have been continuously raising the voices for provincial autonomy since many decades. Although the status of province was granted to Balochistan in the 1970's the main grievances remain unanswered till date. The adoption of the strategy of central control by the successive military and civilian governments has given rise to the ethnic conflict (Hashmi, 2015). The Baloch are of the opinion that they are a whole distinct nation with their own territory and culture and the notion of an ethnic group is an injustice to their identity. Numerous tribes are in control of various areas of Balochistan and most of the times they do not act in cohesion with each other. Apart from their conflict with the state of Pakistan there are exist inter-tribal conflicts for the control of power.

In order to fully understand the dynamics of the Baloch struggle for rights, one has to understand the approach of two groups. The first one is the Nationalist Baloch whose struggle is dominated by the anti-state sentiments and they have been waging armed insurgencies for a "Free Balochistan". The rebel groups of the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) and Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) fall under this category. The other group consisting of the moderate approach leaders calls for the granting of maximum autonomy and rights to the province of Balochistan under the constitution of 1973. The Mengal tribe's Balochistan National Party (BNP-M), the National Party (NP) consisting of the leaders from Baloch middle class fall under this group. Moreover certain Sardars have joined the mainstream national parties including the PML-N, PPP and PTI thus diversifying the whole political scenario (Hashmi, 2015).

### **Main Players:**

The diversification of the conflict in Balochistan makes it difficult to identify the players involved and what demands do they stand for. The inclusion of religious and sectarian militant groups like Jundullah, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Taliban has made the contemporary understanding of conflict more complex. However, the primary drivers behind the successive insurgencies have always been the Baloch nationalist elements. Among the numerous tribes, the Marris, the Bugtis and the Mengals have remained active on the issue of Baloch nationalism.

### **Baloch Liberation Army (BLA):**

The Baloch Liberation Army was formed in 1974 with the major part played by the Marri tribe. The Marri tribe is based in the Kohlu district of Balochistan. Its chieftain Nawab Khair Baksh Marri has always maintained a stance of an independent Balochistan and did very little to absorb into the political affairs unlike the Bugtis (Tahir, 2008).

It has been claimed that KGB was responsible for the formation of BLA since the Marris were very close to Russia. When the Pakistani security forces crushed the insurgency of the 1970's, the Marris went into exile in Afghanistan in 1979 and from there, they controlled the affairs. During the beginning of 2000's the group reorganized under the leadership of Balach Marri and Hairbiyar Marri, both of them the sons of Nawab Khair Baksh Marri. While Balach Marri overlooked the affairs of the organization, Hairbiyar Marri shifted to Dubai to secure the finances for the funding of insurgent activities where he was said to have met Indian Intelligence officials and anti-Pakistan Afghan leaders (Pak Institute For Peace Studies, 2008). Balach Marri was killed in 2007 there exist conflicting opinions about the cause of his death.

Marri and Bugti tribes have inherited a staunch rivalry and it remains so since many decades. During the Marris exile in 1980's, Bugtis tried to take control of the Kohlu district, which is known to be the stronghold of Marris. Co-existing with their difference the tribes launched a joint struggle in 2004.

### **Baloch Liberation Army (Bugti Wing):**

The Bugti tribe is one of the most well-known tribes of Balochistan and has always been at the forefront of major political developments. The members of the tribe reside mainly in the hard mountainous region of Dera Bugti. For decades, the tribe has been dominated by the family of Nawab Akbar Bugti. The Bugti tribal family was considerably moderate as Akbar Bugti was a well-educated man and he served on certain important political positions. The rift between

Nawab Akbar Bugti and the government initiated over the problem of royalties and the ownership of gas fields (Tahir, 2008).

The Baloch Liberation Army (Bugti Wing) was formed in 2003 and was said to be getting assistance from Russia and India (Pak Institute For Peace Studies, 2008). With the increased troubles created by the militants of the Bugti tribe, Pakistan Army deployed troops in Dera Bugti and conducted an operation in 2006 which led to the killing of Nawab Bugti. The grandson of the Nawab, Brahamdagh Bugti took over the charge and was then responsible for commanding the militant group.

### **Baloch Liberation Front (BLF):**

Sardar Attaullah Mengal is said to be the founder of Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF). The BLF held joint ventures with BLA of Marri's however unlike BLA it didn't emerge as a front-line force. Atta Mengal started his career in National Awami Party (NAP) and was made the Chief Minister of Balochistan, following the elections of 1972. However he was soon removed from his position and arrested on the accounts of alleged acts of treason against the state. After his release, he went into exile in London and returned in 1990's and formed the Balochistan National Party (Tahir, 2008). His son Nawab Akhtar Mengal controls the party and plays an important role in the present day politics.

BLF was believed to be formed with the US assistance since Sardar Mengal was openly pro-US. USA wanted to have their own source of information and Sardar Mengal proved to be the perfect choice because of his anti-Taliban stance. BLF was said to be responsible for some serious attacks including the attack on Chinese engineers in Gwadar in 2004 (Pak Institute For Peace Studies, 2008). Nawab Akhtar Mengal was arrested by Musharraf in 2006 on the charges of terrorism. Nowadays, he has declared to distant himself from the armed struggle and is an active part of the Balochistan's politics.

### **Other actors:**

Sectarian violence used to be non-existent in Balochistan but post 9/11 era was dominated by religious extremism and sectarian violence. Groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and its opponent Shia militant groups like Sipah-e-Muhammad concentrated themselves in Balochistan from where they controlled their operations. Similarly, Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants were believed to be taking refuge in Balochistan especially Quetta, but Pakistani officials have denied these claims.

Once the ground realities of the Baloch society have been laid bare, the next section will further analyze the relations of the Baloch tribes with the central government.

### 7.3 GoP - Balochistan Relations

Pakistan has adopted Federalism as its form of government to run its affairs since its inception. The rationale behind opting for federalism was to unite the diverse ethno-national, cultural and linguistic population that the country had. The principle of self-rule and shared rule is exercised in which each group has a right to maintain its distinct identity. There are roughly 25 federal countries in the world where the natural and energy resources define the importance of that country. In such a state the tension between the federal government and its federating units over the conflict of ownership and management of the resources tends to be of grave concern. The failure of the state on the interchange of the valuable resources impedes the development and the economic growth of the country. In Pakistan's case, it has become a resource curse in which the benevolence of natural resources is negatively affecting the progression of the economy (Ramazan, 2013). Pakistan is a Federal Republic where the four provinces population differs by great number and there is an asymmetric division in the production of oil and gas in all the provinces.

Balochistan, among the four provinces is the least populated province in which the population has doubled since the 1998 population census. Despite occupying a vast and resourceful territory the province of Balochistan has failed to keep pace of modernity and socio-economic development compared to other federating units of Pakistan. Due to economic backwardness and political disorganization of the people of Balochistan, it is difficult for them to grab their due share from the natural resource pie.

The formation of two constituent units; West Pakistan and East Pakistan in 1955 aggravated the small national ethnic groups. The Balochi's especially resented this decision because they felt that their identity was jeopardized. Thus, the smaller provinces agitated and demanded to undo the one unit scheme and give the due shares to the provinces. This easily implies that the principles of federalism were sidelined right from the beginning of Pakistan's creation till the separation of East Pakistan. Eventually in 1970, one unit policy was abolished and for the first time Balochistan was granted the status of a proper province. The new constitution was passed

on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1973 which is the present constitution. Only two members of National assembly of Balochistan signed the constitution document while the rest refrained to do so because of their disagreement over provincial autonomy and the management of resources of the province. In the post Musharraf presidency era, instead of delegating a new political solution of the harsh military repression, the scenario was marked by adjacent political processes in which sluggish attempts were made to address the grievances of the Balochi's. Due to the killing of Akbar Bugti the national parties at the provincial level boycotted the elections of 2008, leading to huge irregularities of the ballot. According to the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), 65% of votes were bogus. Hence there was no opposition in the provincial assembly and no one questioned where all the public money was being spent. Except one member all were granted the seat of minister ship which led to unprecedented corruption in the province and all the federal government efforts to end the crisis had been wiped out (Khan & Mengal, 2017). Following the return to democracy in 2008, an immediate redress of the grievances of the smaller provinces, especially Balochistan were made where the atmosphere of alienation was becoming more evident. Before the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, the representation of elected bodies, state institutions and resource distribution were based upon population. Balochistan despite having 44% territory constitutes only 5% population of Pakistan, thus the province was not proportionately represented within the federation. The 7<sup>th</sup> National Finance Commission (NFC) award came in December 2009 and has been termed as a vital step towards strengthening the federation. This resulted in an increase in the share of resources of the province witnessing a quantum jump received by the transfers from the federation. The demand of the smaller provinces KPK, Balochistan and Sindh was accepted by diversifying the horizontal sharing formula from population to include other criterion of revenue collection, poverty/backwardness and the share of provinces in the divisible pool was enhanced by the federal government by ensuring consensus. An increase in grants of approx. Rs.83 billion were offered to Balochistan. The provincial share of Balochistan increased from 5% to 9.09% in the divisible pool whereas the other three provinces shares decreased when compared to the 1997 award. Balochistan was the only province whose share increased by 1.92 points (Ahmed & Baloch, 2017).

The Pakistan People's Party government introduced the Balochistan Package named *Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan* which was considered as a huge milestone in addressing the genuine



longstanding grievances of the province. The ruling government has also announced an *Equalization package* but there is a general perception among the locals that these packages are only to gain voter attention and are short term remedial measures due to which Balochistan has remained at par with rest of the provinces in terms of provision of basic needs and utilities.

The GDP of Balochistan primarily depends on transport/wholesale, agriculture and manufacturing sector. During the last decade these three sectors contributed to 77% of its GDP. Nevertheless, mining sector during the same time period only contributed to 5.5% of the provincial economy GDP (Finance Department-Government of Balochistan, 2016). According to Amnesty International, the most corrupt provincial government in Pakistan is of Balochistan. According to the report published by United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 71% of the Balochistan's total population lives in multi-dimensional poverty which constitutes of various factors that lead to the deprivation like lack of education, health, inadequate standard of living, unemployment, threat from violence and disempowerment etc (Anon., n.d.).

The Sui gas field which is located in district Dera Bugti was discovered by Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL) in 1952. It is one of the oldest and largest gas fields in Pakistan and the 7<sup>th</sup> largest in the world. However, majority of the Baloch districts still don't have access to Sui gas. Sui gas was a huge contributing factor of the industrial revolution in Pakistan especially in central Punjab and Karachi where oil was replaced by gas as an energy substitute. The longstanding demand of the province is to transfer the entire ownership of Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL) to the province because it has been fulfilling the entire country energy demands for the past 6 decades. The main issue regarding the energy development in Balochistan is the law and order situation. For example, during the fifth insurgency main gas plants were blown up during the clash between the Bugti tribesmen and the security forces. This led to country wide gas load-shedding in which gas shortages were faced by millions of households. According to the South Asian Terrorism portal there were a total of 232 reported attacks on gas pipeline in which 31 were injured and 16 killed from 2005 till 2018 (Anon., 2018). According to Article 158 of the constitution; *Priority of requirements of natural gas* states that "the province in which the well head of natural gas is situated shall have precedence over other parts of Pakistan in meeting that requirement from that well head, subject to the commitments and obligations as on the

commencing day” (Anon., 2012). As a matter of right the Balochistan government demands that all the districts of the province should be provided with the availability of natural gas on priority basis since 23 out of 33 districts are still deprived of this basic facility. The residents are still living in the primitive days in which they have no other choice and use wood and coal as a fuel. In this case it is Balochistan’s supreme right to use the natural gas because the production is taking place in the province. Due to lack of sustainable planning the Sui gas reserves have depleted drastically and now the majority of the gas is extracted from Sindh. The federal government is delaying the process in which it is using SROs. The Ministry of Petroleum has extended the grant for the Sui gas lease from time to time and has been calling it an interim arrangement without the consent of the Balochistan government.

According to Article 172(3), which is on the operationalization of joint ownership on oil and natural gas, the provinces producing oil and gas are entitled 50% management control and ownership of the mineral resources in their respective regions. However, there is a disagreement upon the interpretation of Article 172(3) between the Federal Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources (MPNR) and the provinces. For the extension of exploration licenses to oil and gas companies, Sindh claims that it’s there exclusive right while on the other hand Balochistan demands the overall abolition of Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources (MPNR). During the previous two years, 50 blocks were allotted for the exploration of oil and gas to both national and international oil and gas companies but the work could not begin due to lack of consensus on the framework between the respective provincial and federal petroleum ministry<sup>1</sup> (Wolkewitz, et al., April 2015). At present, only functional responsibilities have been transferred to the provinces after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment. It depends on CCI (Council of Common Interest) to resolve the inter-provincial disputes with mutual consultation and collaboration.

Looking at the endowment of mineral wealth, Balochistan is blessed with the contribution of mineral industry in the provincial economy is extremely meager. It is a land of untapped resources in which the largest deposits of copper in the world are situated. Chaghi district is considered as the land of gold and copper.

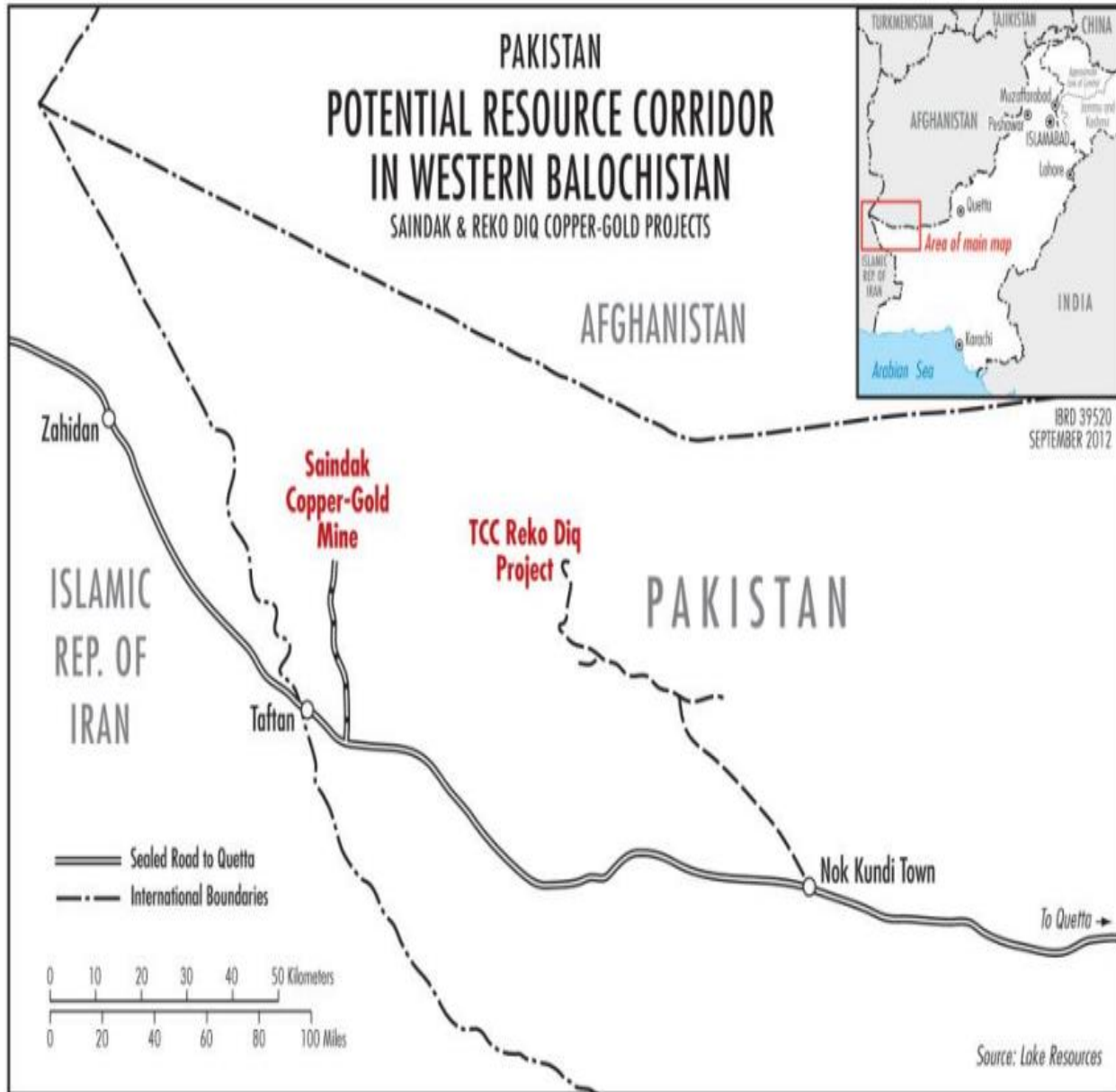
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<sup>1</sup> Development Advocate Pakistan. (2015). *Five Years of the 18th Amendment*.

The Saindak copper and gold mine is only large scale mining project initiated in district Chaghi. In 1970's the discovery of the copper deposits were made with the help of Chinese engineering firm and by 1975 the feasibility study of Saindak project had started. It is the only gold producing mine in Pakistan. After the first ever visit to the gold mine by the Standing Committee of National Assembly as well as Senate, under the Aghaaz-e-Haqooq Balochistan package, the ownership of the project has been transferred to the Balochistan government.

The Reko-Diq consists of large copper and gold deposits containing 20.9 million ounces of gold and 12.3 million tons of copper, located near the Saindak copper and gold mine. Reko-Diq is a part of Tethyan magmatic arc which comes under the mineralized belt originating from Eastern Europe, runs through Afghanistan and Iran and turns up towards Pakistan. This project had the potential to place Reko-diq, as one of the largest undeveloped copper projects where 14 mineralized porphyry bodies are known to exist.

The provincial government authorized the change of ownership from one company to two; however there was no clause in the original Chaghi Hills Joint Venture Exploration Agreement (CHEJVA) which raised serious concerns. Now, Tethyan Copper Company private Ltd (TCC) is a joint venture set up by Barrick Gold Corporation of Canada and Antofagasta Plc. of Chile. The feasibility study was completed in 2010 and the next year mining lease application was submitted to the provincial government. According to the report, the project had an estimated mine life of 56 years and it was expected to require an initial capital investment of more than \$3 billion. In 2011, the government of Balochistan refused to grant a mining lease to TCC for the Reko-Diq project (Company, n.d.).



Source: (The World Bank, 2013)

Figure 7.1 The geostrategic significance of Balochistan

According to the experts, the feasibility report was found unsatisfactory in which the provincial government alleged the company that it is deceiving the provincial government by undervaluing the worth of gold and copper. In January, 2013 the Supreme Court of Pakistan declared the agreement of Reko-diq null and void as it was in conflict with the country laws. Initially citing the breach of contract, TCC approached the World Banks, International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Pakistan's final defense against the liability was rejected by the ICSID tribunal and six years later in 2017, the verdict ruled in favor of the Tethyan copper company. Pakistan had already spent \$15.5 million on this case in the international courts. The TCC has filed damage claims of \$ 11.43 billion against the government of Pakistan. The problem aggravated due to weak legal agreement and mismanagement at various tiers of government. In order to avoid such conflicts in the future there is an urgent need of a conclusive mineral policy.

The Baloch nationalist had always felt apprehensive that influential developers will seize the development in Gwadar which is a bitter truth because 90% of the land development contracts have been awarded to the developers based in Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi while Balochistan based developers are in minority. This will have serious implications if the establishment does not ensure that the development of land in Gwadar is primarily for the welfare of people of Gwadar. Gwadar local's main source of earning livelihood is through fishing but due to the development of Gwadar deep sea port it has become a risk. Another problem that the Gwadar locals face is of water scarcity due to which internal migration is taking place in the province. This will have serious implications if the Gwadar Development Authority (GDA) does not take concrete steps to address the problems at the grass root.

The most alarming challenge in the province is the issues of missing persons. This is responsible for deepening the crisis and is a major irritant in resolving the conflicts. However, the center blames that the figures are been exaggerated by Baloch nationalists. Another acute challenge the province is facing is religious extremism. The Afghan war in the 1980s was initiated with the concept of jihad against the Soviet troops. The seeds were sown by huge number of Pashtun residents in Balochistan who actively participated in jihad giving Taliban an easy access to Afghanistan through Balochistan. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 initiated the

religious militancy crisis, an issue that didn't prevail in Balochistan before leading to increased sectarianism.

In order to boost the economic development and diversification, the provincial government with the help of federal and multilateral organization needs to frame a concept of resource corridor. The core principles of this approach should be the formation of a financial strategy which increases the revenue base of the government, enhances the private sector involvement, civil society and provincial government capacities to plan and implement the agreed development plans. This leads to an inclusive growth in which vulnerable and disadvantaged people will be given opportunities to earn a decent livelihood. The mining sector is the most important sector in Balochistan that can diversify the province's economy, create employment opportunities and raise the government revenue.

The center has to take concrete steps to overcome the trust deficit by adopting confidence building measures with a goal of addressing the grievances and resolving them on immediate basis. Rather than giving jobs to outsiders the locals should have an equal amount of representation in the development of mega projects so that they feel secure which will ultimately yield better results in the future.

## 7.4 Strategic Significance of Balochistan

An area may be strategically important for a number of reasons such as;

- Its nearness to a strategic location, like choke points on major sea routes
- Being on cross roads of Great Powers
- Nearness to mineral rich areas
- Abundance of strategic mineral reservoirs like, oil, iron, uranium ores etc.
- Large dealer of food

Great powers, in order to accomplish their policies design striking strategies and plans, and more than often use small powers for a solo role. These great powers make policies according to which they don't use their own terrains for conflict but use the small powers as 'subjects' to resolve their differences. As a result, the 'National Security Syndrome' conceptualizes because small powers are not always helpful in achieving the goals of great powers and hence become a 'Bone of Contention' amongst major powers. Sullivan (1986) writes, "Geo-politics is the study of the geography of relations between wielders of power, be they rulers of nations or of transnational bodies (O'Sullivan, 1986). The global situation today has transformed a lot from the past. Areas that earlier held strategic significance, have become insignificant and vice versa.

Balochistan, however, due to the strategic geographic location has remained a sensitive region for Pakistan and has never throughout its long history lost its significance and value. Any politico-military development in the neighboring countries of Afghanistan, Iran and the Gulf Region directly or indirectly affect the security situation of Pakistan's largest province (F.Z.Khan, 2012). Balochistan's location in the Warm Water Belt and at the possible marine

passage in the Indian Ocean of the Eastern, Central, and Western divisions of Asia has made it a region of great interest for super powers and a direct effete of global geo-politics. Securing and dominating sea paths for world trade and energy shipment has created a great competition among international powers and hence Balochistan has become a focal point for them. The province has a common border with Iran and Afghanistan, with extreme propinquity to the oil lanes of the Persian Gulf. It covers nearly the whole of the Pakistani coast with about 470 miles of the Arabian Sea including the high value sea port at Gwadar which has been completed with help from China (Mazhar, et al., 2012). The Baloch region has proven to be of importance as it forms a military route and a source for abrupt increase in influence and to supply unbeaten deployment to the Central Asia, South Asia, China, Middle East and Russia. Military bases at Gwadar can be useful in monitoring foreign activity over international choke points in the Strait of Hormuz, the Persian Gulf and the shipping trade route of the Indian Ocean (Ismail, 2014).

In recent years, Balochistan has become increasingly important in regional affairs because of its unique physical geography with the addition of discovery of natural gas reserves and other valuable minerals. In his book “In Afghanistan’s Shadow” Selig G. Harrison observes, “If it were not for the strategic location of Balochistan and the rich potential of oil, uranium, and other resources, it would be difficult to imagine anyone fighting over this bleak, desolate, and forbidding land” (Harrison, 1981). As a result, foreign investors and developers in a joint venture with the central government have launched a number of economic development projects in Balochistan. One of the prominent mega projects is the development of the deep-water port at Gwadar, which has the prospective of globalizing the region, enhancing Pakistan’s commercial activities and its connectivity with oil-rich Gulf States, Afghanistan, China, and the Central Asian Republics and with the rest of the world. Another mega project is the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) under the China One Belt One Road initiative which has further enhanced the significance of the Balochistan province.

The map (Malik, 2015) clearly shows that Gwadar, as a warm water port, can serve as an opening for the landlocked Central Asian countries because of its geostrategic position which ensures connectivity with the regional states in its North, West and East. It demonstrates the



ports potential to promote trade and commerce in the region and to bring coherence amongst the nations to contribute to the global economic order.

Presently, Balochistan is a vulnerable region where global powers can instigate their regional play by taking advantage of the political problem within the province. Nationalistic sentiments among the local tribes have been present since the time of independence but have further been intensified due to mishandling of the Baloch people by the center leading to their struggle for greater autonomy, better governance or perhaps independence from Pakistan.



Source: (Malik, 2015)

Figure 7.2 Trade routes from Balochistan

This internal strife has great impacts on not only the security situation of the province but also its surrounding regions. The Baloch insurgency has drawn attention of regional and international players towards its geo-strategic significance and has gotten the status of common denominator for them. ‘In fact no policy of any of the countries competing for power in the region could be called comprehensive and practical unless it considers Balochistan in its defense plans. The conflicting interest of the Great Powers in the region-ranging from peripheral to central, converge in Balochistan, in a way that they subject to political pressures of varying degrees at various points of time and space’ (Syed Iqbal Ahmad, 1992)

## 7.5 Political and Economic Interests of Foreign Nations in Balochistan

The United States, since the disintegration of USSR, has had a powerful position and has become the sole super power. But the world today is increasingly advocating and moving towards multi-polarity resulting in growth of economic and military powers in the Asian region. Asian states especially India and China are aiming to become economically more powerful by controlling a major portion of the world's energy resources so as to achieve global hegemony. With increase in demand for energy supply, it is a requirement for such emerging states to spread their influence and control over energy resources, transit routes, major land and maritime trade corridors. In order to fulfill this purpose, Balochistan has become a focal point for global geopolitical manipulation in the Asian region.

America has time and again emphasized on Balochistan's geostrategic and geo-political importance and supported the idea of "Greater Balochistan" which would serve the US's interests. In the next 30 to 40 years, the natural resources of China and the oil of the Arab countries is going to run out and US will eventually have to rely on Iran, Afghanistan and the Central Asian states (Mazhar, et al., 2012). For this purpose, US would have to enter Balochistan and cross its coast which might not be possible if China has a significant position in the province because of the CPEC and Gwadar projects. America might not be able to attain an influential position in the region and extend its economic hegemony for a much longer time. This can be said to be the main reason of US discontent over construction of the deep water port at Gwadar with help from China. However, the American hegemonic mindset cannot be restricted due to mere presence of China or Iran in the province. The super power is aware that if it does not maintain its economic hegemony in the Asian region, a vacuum will be formed and will eventually be filled by the Chinese. The US is already concerned with the increased Chinese influence in Pakistan "to maintain its dominant maritime power, the maritime capability and capacity, vital to the flexible projection of the US power and influence around the globe must surely be preserved" (Lou, 2012). Even though there are no such plans, US also fears that China will establish a military base in Gwadar based on reports emanating in Pakistan that Chinese Navy's ships will be positioned along with the Pakistan Navy's warships at the Gwadar port to guard it and keep the sea routes secure.

The US has found an ally in India who is equally concerned about the Chinese control over a warm water port at Gwadar. The two have joined to work against China's commercial and military influence, with the signing of a landmark agreement in 2015 known as the Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The agreement specifically mentions, "Ensuring freedom of navigation and over flight in the South China Sea, confirming their mutual commitment to maritime security and to curbing China's maritime and territorial ambitions" (Curtis, 2016).

Balochistan had a significant role in US triumph of war on terror post 9/11 period mainly because of its defensive proximity with Afghanistan. The Pakistani government had given the US army access to airspaces and airfields present within Balochistan so that it could carry out aerial bombings over Kabul to destroy the Taliban network. After the demise of the Taliban administration in Kabul, the remaining Taliban's rebellious groups crossed the Pak-Afghan border to take refuge in Balochistan and started an organized revolutionary struggle against the alienated forces in Afghanistan (Tamana, 2010). Furthermore, during the Musharraf era the Baloch nationalist insurgent groups re-emerged owing to a number of factors thus complicating the internal situation of the province. This led to Balochistan becoming a focus as a trans-border energy route for the US and obtaining an even significant geo-strategic position.

In order to counter Chinese influence in Pakistan, it is believed that America has been supporting the Baloch insurgents so that it can maintain its global hegemony. Bansal (2008) believes that CIA agents present in Afghanistan have been financially supporting the Baloch insurgents (Bansal, 2008). It is also believed that the US spy agency CIA uses the locals in Balochistan to locate members of the Taliban Shura which is a Mullah Omar led Taliban group (Alvi, 2011). The Pakistan-US relations took a downturn when in 2011 a CIA agent Raymond Davis was arrested for murdering two Pakistani's, this exposed the immoral activities of CIA in Balochistan. It is also a clear indicator of US interest in the Pakistani province. In fact, support for the creation of "Greater autonomous Balochistan" is on the top of the US, India and Israeli bloc agenda (Hassan, n.d.).

On one hand US propagates concerns of stabilizing Pakistan while at the same time is responsible for delaying economic development projects in the region that might in any way enable China to be strategically present in the region and establish itself as an emerging economy. Hence, any kind of violence in the Baloch province that reduces the possibility of development of the Iran-Pakistan oil pipeline or delays the development projects between China and Pakistan are in the American interest.

The construction of Gwadar seaport located in the southwest of Pakistan is actually China's move to secure its energy needs. China has proposed to establish railroads and oil pipelines from Kashi port in Xinjiang to Gwadar and in exchange Pakistan gets a substantial share in investment. The CPEC project is not just a 'Game Changer' for Pakistan but control over the Gwadar deep sea port would immensely benefit China as well. It will result in increased demand for China's products in the Gulf and African markets while at the same time accelerating entrepreneurship in Pakistan's underdeveloped regions from where the CPEC route passes.

Since Balochistan borders two very strategically significant countries, Iran and Afghanistan, and has a majority of its Baloch residents situated in both, any type of violence in Pakistani Balochistan will inadvertently affect the regional stability. Hence, Balochistan is an important factor that can either positively or negatively influences Pak-Iran relations. Pakistan in the past has tried to polish relations with Iran through development in economic and socio-cultural sectors. It can be said that Iran's current involvement in Balochistan has three main dimensions. Firstly, the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) Peace Pipeline, secondly, the Jandullah organization which is a Balochistan based nationalist militant group causing disturbances in Iran and lastly, the growing competition between the Chabahar and Gwadar sea ports. The peace pipeline is a 2700km long gas pipeline starting from the South Pars fields in the Persian Gulf to Pakistan's two main cities, Multan and Karachi, ending at India's largest city, Delhi. The peace pipeline is significant in the fact that it is the most convenient land route supplier to both the countries and has offered to cover 3/5<sup>th</sup> of the total construction cost (Anon., 2018). The project, however, has witnessed opposition from US who isolated Iran through imposing severe sanctions and has prevented it from achieving its dream of regional hegemony. The Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline can only be beneficial if the security condition in Balochistan subsides especially owing to the

uncontrolled insurgency situation in the province (Munir, et al., 2013). Looking at another dimension of the Iran-Pakistan relations is the emerging competition between the sea ports of both countries. The Chabahar port in Iran is essentially an India financed port with the plans of developing a transportation infrastructure to counter the Gwadar port and reduce the growing influence of China and Pakistan in the region. The ultimate goal of India was to connect the Chabahar port with the rest of Central Asian countries through a network of roads and railways bypassing Pakistan but this cannot be done so in the present scenario where China is developing the Gwadar port which is much more practical and less expensive (Khan, 2012). Hence, its strategic location makes Gwadar a regional shipping hub connecting the landlocked Afghanistan, CARs and the Xingjian region to the Arabian Sea.

According to another view Gwadar-Chabahar rivalry is nothing more than a speculation that thrives only on papers. The other side of the picture remains that Iran has also been expressing the wish to join the CPEC, with the possibility of making Chabahar a part of the grand economic corridor in the coming future. Iranian Prime Minister during the inauguration ceremony of the Chabahar port in December 2017 expressed his views favoring the developments at Gwadar indicating that the two ports are complementary to one another. Tehran is also planning to providing electricity to Gwadar and both countries seem to have proposals focusing on convergence of Chabahar and Gwadar. Competition is usually between the equals but Gwadar and Chabahar differ in many ways. Unlike Chabahar, Gwadar is located on a main trade route completely independent of any chocking areas that might cause a hindrance in the free access of the ships. Every ship that aims to reach Chabahar has to go through Gwadar first. On top of that, Gwadar is a deep-water port that enables large ships to dock there, whereas Chabahar clearly lacks this advantage. Talking about the capacity of two ports, as compared to 10-12 million tons per annum capacity of Chabahar, Gwadar's capacity will reach 300-400 million tons once its completed. Geopolitically, if Balochistan faces political unrest, so does Chabahar. The port is located in one of the most volatile regions of Iran. The recent Shia-Sunni conflict in Iran also suggests that Saudi Arabia and UAE would prefer Gwadar over Chabahar. Afghanistan using Chabahar does not seem to be happening in the near future as the country remains unstable and American forces are still required to maintain the security conditions of the region. Hence Iran is not oblivious of all these facts and its keen interest in China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a

sign that it's looking for cooperation rather than competition when it comes to Gwadar and Chabahar (Siddiqui, 2017).

As a strategy to undermine Pakistan and to counterbalance China as an emerging power, India has opted to establishing cordial relations with Pakistan's neighbors, namely Afghanistan and Iran. This was believed to be the main reason behind India financing the Chabahar port in Iran. Since China is the only power in the Asian region that can suppress Indian supremacy, New Delhi is troubled that development of Gwadar port will have serious strategic repercussions for them. In comparing India and Pakistan's naval strength India has a greater army and therefore to surpass India, Pakistan needs support from China. China's presence at the Gwadar port will help ensure a strict watch on India in the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf (Khan, 2012). It is an open secret now that India is involved in creating unrest in Balochistan. It is an unavoidable reality that India's intelligence agencies encouraged extremist and insurgent elements in FATA and Balochistan. It was also found out that terrorists projected as 'freedom fighters' were secretly assisted, trained and financed by the Indian consulate in Afghanistan (Afzal, 2015).

Russia is geographically situated between Asia and the European continent, surrounded mostly by cold waters and has always been on a lookout for access to warm waters of which nearest is the Indian Ocean. As stated by Peter the Great in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whoever had direct control over the Indian Ocean and its shipping lanes will rule the world (Anon., 2015). Russia along with America has always been interested in weakening the Pakistani state by using the Baloch region as an instrument. It is known that Russia in the past has encouraged the Secessionist Movement of Sindhu Desh, Pakhtonistan also known as 'Greater Balochistan' (Najmuddin, 1984). When Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan in 1979 it was common speculation that the Soviets would try to take control of the deep-sea-port of the Indian Ocean with help from Baloch insurgents and rebellion groups (Harrison, 1981). After gaining control in Afghanistan, Russia tried hard to convince the Baloch to revolt against the center with the assurance that they'll be given full autonomy over Balochistan once Russia conquered the whole of Afghanistan (Ismail, 2014). The Russian strategy was to take control over Kabul, make it their base and start campaigning about "Greater Balochistan" which would either be merged with



Afghanistan or made a separate country altogether under the control of Moscow. “Whether Russian loses their interest in Afghanistan, yet in Balochistan and Indian Ocean its interest would not die down” (Syed Iqbal Ahmad, 1992). Hence, disturbances in Balochistan give Moscow the hope that Trans-Afghan pipeline or any other development project will not sustain. A separate Balochistan influenced by Russia will bring the natural resources of Antarctica and the Indian Ocean under the control and direct pressure of Russia. Since the Central Asian States are dependent on Russia for their energy export, establishing a land route through the Baloch province will make the transport less timely and more economical. Therefore, Balochistan forms a source for providing economic stability to Russia.

However, in another viewpoint, there is no concrete evidence that proves that the Soviet Union was interested in capturing and controlling the warm waters of any ocean. The perception of the ‘Soviet Experts’ that the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan was an attempt to reach warm waters was false. “Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was not meant to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean as is widely believed; it was actually an attempt to pre-empt a possible US intervention in some of the CARs and Afghanistan” (Asif, 2015). Russia is now determined to pursue its economic agenda and increase its activities through the Shanghai Corporation Organization while forming alliances with the South Asian countries and the CARs. Recently, Russia-Pakistan relations have remarkably improved in comparison to the past. This can be proved through Russia’s willingness to work with China and Pakistan in order to resolve the Afghanistan conflict. As a result of improvements in bilateral ties, Russia now has a better understanding of Sino-Pak relations and the CPEC mega project. Russia has strongly supported CPEC stating that it is pivotal for Pakistan’s economy as well as for regional connectivity. According to Russia, it was working for a similar Eurasian Union as proposed in the CPEC project. Discussions are underway between the two countries to merge the two projects. This plan has great potential to undermine US interest in the region (Shah, n.d.).

Afghanistan has remained a very significant player in the politics of major world powers since a very long time now. Caught in this power struggle, the country remains in a state of war till today. A decade long war has given Afghanistan nothing but crumbling infrastructure, close to zero nation building process and a crippled economy. In addition to that, the limited

agriculture and a growing population have made country more dependent on foreign aid and food for survival. The Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline currently is one huge opportunity for Afghanistan to restore its economic infrastructure. The country would be offered a royalty of worth \$300 million, not to forget the foreign investments the pipeline would attract giving more benefits to the country and its presently weak economy. Historically Pakistan and Afghanistan did not have very cordial relationship however the two countries are dependent on one other for their survival. A politically and socially stable Afghanistan is a precondition for peace and stability in Pakistan, specifically in areas bordering Afghanistan. Afghanistan also is dependent on Pakistan for trade. Karachi and Gwadar provide Kabul an access to deep-water ports. The recent development at Gwadar port under China-Pakistan Economic Corridor would offer further gateways to wealth to Afghanistan. A peaceful-stable Balochistan and economically reliable Afghanistan are not possible unless and until these two neighbors take the route of cooperation.

There are many other countries that are or might be interested in the strategic location and mineral wealth of Balochistan; however discussing all falls outside the scope of this paper. It is safe to state at this point that Balochistan does hold a very significant position in the international politics which in turn shapes and molds the domestic politics of power and control in the province.

## **8 METHODOLOGY**

This chapter focusses on the methods and techniques which are used to study the relationship between the presence of the mineral wealth and the conflict in the province of Balochistan. Apart from that the role of certain other factors such as geo-strategic location and government policies have also been analyzed in the light of the conflict. This study can be used by strategic experts and analysts as well as academicians to further explain the dynamics of conflict with respect to Balochistan especially in this recent era when the CPEC project is underway.

### **8.1 Research Problem:**

The conflict in Balochistan is not a new thing. Since the independence, there have been numerous insurgencies, precisely five in number to this date. Each insurgency had its own underlying reasons and was directed to achieve varying outcomes. However, with the changing paradigm of conflict which depicts a shift from ideologically motivated reasons to economic warfare and domination of resources, we have directed our study to analyze the role of mineral resources and geo-strategic location of Balochistan in creating a ground for internationally driven conflict. Since the publishing of the Resource War Theory, various conflicts around the world have been justified to be based on access and control of resources. However no concrete research has been done on the province of Balochistan to study the role of the mineral wealth to be the driver of conflict. Therefore an exploratory research has been conducted to critically analyze this subject.

### **8.2 Research Objective:**

The main purpose of this research is to study the existence of any relation between the mineral wealth and the conflict in the province. This study aims to identify the importance of

Mineral Wealth in the context of Balochistan and analyze any opportunities being pursued by the International Powers in this context to instigate the conflict in the province. It focuses on the importance of Balochistan as being a critical factor in various global plans ranging from the proposed gas pipe lines to China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Moreover the history of conflict in the province has been analyzed in detail and the reasons have been identified. Apart from that, China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its importance for Balochistan has been studied. This research also proposes solutions for tackling the conflict be it internationally driven or because of the power struggle between the center and the province.

Following research questions have been designed for this purpose:

- 1. The theory of war on resources, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**
- 2. How many foreign powers have their eyes on Balochistan? What do they want?**
- 3. Is Baloch societal construct ever going to change?**
- 4. What is the best way to access the currently untouched wealth of minerals in Balochistan?**
- 5. What may be the effects of empowering the Baloch populace politically?**
- 6. What is the way forward to improve the center-province relations?**
- 7. Based on your knowledge, is there any link between the five insurgencies and the mineral resources present in Balochistan?**

The following hypothesis has been proposed for this study:

*H1: Mineral Wealth of Balochistan instigates the politics of global conflict*

*Ho: Mineral Wealth of Balochistan does not instigate the politics of global conflict*

Here the independent variables are the mineral wealth and the geo-strategic location while the dependent variable is conflict in the province. “Mineral wealth” is defined as the presence of valuable metals and minerals in vast quantities which are demanded globally. The indicators used to justify the presence of mineral wealth include quantity of minerals found and the potential demand for these minerals. “Conflict” is defined as the state of the unrest in an area which occurs due to various reasons. The indicators used to measure conflict include political instability, violent and militant attacks, insurgencies, proxy wars, sectarian and ethnic clashes and the involvement of foreign powers. We are also dealing with geo-strategic location as an extraneous variable because in the context of Balochistan, the role of geo-strategic location and the possible foreign intervention carries weight. “Geo-strategic location” refers to the critical location of a state in relation to global politics which makes it a focal point while devising strategies. The indicators to analyze the ego-strategic location includes the area’s potential for international trade routes, potential for trans-border energy corridors and area’s importance with respect to the global struggle for dominance These indicators have been carefully developed with the assistance of the indicators developed by the international experts to measure the Global Peace Index (GPI).

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
<b>Mineral Wealth</b>	Quantity of minerals found
	Potential demand for minerals found
<b>Geo-strategic Location</b>	Potential for international trade routes
	Potential for possible trans-border energy corridors
	Importance w.r.t global struggle for dominance
<b>Conflict</b>	Political Instability
	Violent and militant attacks
	Insurgencies
	Proxy wars
	Sectarian and ethnic clashes
	Involvement of foreign powers

Table 8.2.1 A list of variables and their indicators

### **8.3 Data Collection:**

This research is an exploratory study focused on establishing a relationship between the mineral wealth of Balochistan and the politics of conflict being instigated by the international powers. We have employed the use of both primary and secondary data for this research. For the collection of primary data, structured and semi-structured interviews have been conducted from a variety of experts ranging from security analysts, media analysts, government officials, military personal and politicians. The time line selected for the purpose of gathering this research was from 1<sup>st</sup> March 2018 to 1<sup>st</sup> May 2018.

Secondary data have been acquired through several books written on the history and conflict in Balochistan by international and national authors, think tank publications and newspaper and journal articles. The time line to conduct this research was from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2018 to 1<sup>st</sup> March 2018.

### **8.4 Research Design:**

This study is conducted with the purpose of presenting an in depth analysis of the conflict in the province of Balochistan and the possible role being played by the presence of mineral wealth. Role of certain other factors such as geo-strategic location has also been analyzed. Qualitative approach was used to conduct this descriptive study and the data collected from primary and secondary sources was carefully analyzed in order to establish the relationship.

### **8.5 Scope and Limitations:**

The intended study is limited to the time period between years 2000-2018 because of changing domestic and international dynamics. It looks at the history and the causes of the conflict from a multi-dimensional point of view and the analysis of various international as well as national authors have been examined. An integrated point of view of the politicians, journalists, academicians, security experts, military personnel and strategic experts have been

carefully analyzed to reach at the conclusion. Because of shortage of time, the area under analysis could not be visited in person by the researchers. For the sake of simplicity and keeping study qualitative, out of all minerals, gold, copper and natural gas have been given more importance. Moreover quantitative data techniques and analysis have not been utilized because of the complexity of the topic as only experts with vast knowledge and experience were able to reflect on the topic and due to time restraints conducting surveys targeting these experts was not a viable option.

### **8.6 Analysis and Interpretation:**

Content analysis has been used in our study to analyze and interpret the various sources of data. Conventional content analysis has been employed in order to carefully examine the applicability and relevance of the data sources to our intended study. The research questions are designed after a thorough analysis so that the responses are directed to give in depth explanation of the issues and scenarios. The aim was to study the linkage between the mineral wealth of Balochistan and the possible conflict and to reflect upon the role of other factors that come into play. The literature that we used for the analysis included books and publications from renowned authors, newspaper articles, publications of the policy institutes, articles from journals and credible electronic sources. The choice of the data sources was done quite critically in order to get a credible and complete explanation of the issue under study.



## 9 ANALYSIS

The conflict in Balochistan without any doubt is complex and multifaceted. Each insurgency that the province has witnessed to date is rooted in many causes. This section would first analyze the link between the conflict, mineral resources and the role of International actors to instigate this conflict for their personal benefit at the expense of Pakistan.

The conflict on resources has been going on for centuries. The ancient concept of war and conflict was related to glory in which you had to leave behind a legacy for the future generations to rule and follow up the strengths and weaknesses of the conquerors. Partly it was also related to the desire to explore. Then religion intertwined and the conflict was driven by the desire to convert people to a particular Faith. “Colonization process began and it set the benchmark for occupying the territory because it gave the conquerors the control and access of the resources of that area. The modern war is also about the access of the resources and from where you gain more control over these resources. Hence the territory itself is a resource and has its own strategic importance.” (Talat Hussain; a leading Pakistani journalist)

Mr. Wajid Rana, a retired bureaucrat argues that conflict and resources are quite related and world is full of examples that prove this relationship, “These include the conflicts in Congo (Copper, diamonds, mines), Nigeria (Oil), Sudan (Oil), Iraq (Oil), Syria (oil and gas), Libya (Oil), and Afghanistan (Gold, platinum, silver, copper, iron, chromite, tantalum, lithium, uranium, and aluminium), Liberia (diamonds) and Balochistan (oil, gas, and minerals).” Similarly, majority of the invasions of the subcontinent were based on resources. A former Naval officer and Chairman Pakistan Task Force on Maritime Industry, Mr. Naeem Sarfraz believes that “The Mongols and Mughals all of them were hungry chops who had nothing rare. They came here because of vast resources of the subcontinent and then they never went back and

stayed because of the resource rich territory.” In the modern terms, after the World War I the warships were changed gradually from coal to oil and in the World War II, Hitler attacked those parts of Russia first which were in abundance of natural resources. So conflict begins when you try to get access to resources, nobody wants access to people but the stake lies in those areas which are rich in resources. An analysis of international conflicts arising during the last three decades clearly indicates that there is direct link between these conflicts and capturing of resources.

In case of Balochistan, the data on the presence of mineral resources and its potential worth is estimation. One school of thought claims that these numbers are not facts but a work of “guesstimates” because Pakistan does not have the technology, skills and expertise to gather the data and there is lack of authentic, reliable and empirically established information. The multinational companies have done some remarkable ground work as they have the budget and the expertise to dig deeper in the earth. There is no other option other than to depend on the international estimates. In 1951, an American company discovered gas at Sui. After that, for 30 years there was no other discovery. Then in 1980s oil was discovered in Thatta and Badin area and finally after another 20 years they discovered some resources in KPK. The second school of thought that includes Government of Pakistan and Baloch nationalists are determined that Baluchistan has considerable amount of resources. Although Pakistan itself lacks the expertise to determine the actual worth of these resources, the companies that have come forward with an estimation hold an international reputation. It is an estimation, but one that can be relied upon.

Baloch grievances over years have been fueled by their political isolation, economic underdevelopment, use of force rather than discourse to handle conflict, long military presence and exploitation of mineral resources. The State of Pakistan on the other hand has a narrative that the current and past conflicts in Balochistan have been carried on by Baloch Sardars who oppose government’s efforts to develop the area as it loosens their grip and strong hold over Baloch society.

Balochistan has been termed socio-economically the poorest region of Pakistan where fifty eight percent of the total population is living below internationally recognized poverty line. Province with the largest geographical area and mineral wealth worth billions of dollars has ninety two percent of its total districts termed as “high deprivation”. It also fails to score high in terms of human development indicators likes health, education, sanitation and water. The district of Dera Bugti that has the country’s largest gas field at Sui, has been ranked the lowest in Human Development Index. (Aslam, 2011)

The following portion of the paper breaks down the reasons for Baloch grievances, starting with the political exclusions of Balochis in mainstream Pakistani political system.

## 9.1 Political Exclusion

People of Balochistan contend that since the creation of Pakistan, they have been kept isolated from decision making processes especially the ones that directly involved or affected Balochistan. Baloch society has been underrepresented in civil services, armed forces and police. Until recently, central government has always installed a non-Baloch leader heading the provincial government in Balochistan. After 18th amendment it can be argued that Balochistan enjoys political inclusion at least at provincial level of the government. However according to Sallah-ud-Din Mengal; Chairman Press Council of Pakistan “Till this date, no real Baloch has ever been allowed or provided the chance to come to a leadership position either in the provincial or federal assembly. The people who supposedly represent the interest of Baloch society are not in reality the true representatives”. The very recent case of chief minister Nawab Sanaullah Zehri and how his government was toppled, a few weeks before the senate election were due to be held shows the power play between Centre and Balochistan. Surprisingly, through a vote of no confidence Bizenjo, a former deputy speaker was elected as the new Chief Minister. Bizenjo, before becoming a member of the provincial assembly was not a well-known person. Him getting elected by tallying 500 votes in an environment where the election was boycotted by Baloch nationalist insurgent speaks volumes on how Baloch politics will remain hostage of bigger powers and a tool to counter insurgency campaigns.

## **9.2 Role of Armed Military Force**

Pakistani government has faced five major insurgencies in Balochistan so far, and the initial major response to each one of them has been use of “brute military force”. Over a period of six decades, five major operations have been carried out by Pakistan Army in its attempt to put an end to the insurgency. Ironically, the very response to solve the issue of conflict in Balochistan has exacerbated the situation as central government failed to identify the root cause of the issue. Just like on political front, Baloch people also lack required representation in army, which is heavily dominated by Punjabis, causing further rifts with Baloch population. This sense of alienation was further strengthened by the military coup of 1999 by General Pervez Musharraf. As the process of energy site development started after 1999 under military control, mushrooming of army cantonments and garrisons along the energy sites was viewed critically by the Baloch population because of bitter military history they have had.

### 9.3 Demographic Imbalance

“If we go through the map, Quetta the capital of Balochistan is centrally located. Half of Quetta towards Afghanistan comprises of the Pashtun area and down from Quetta is the Balochi area”- (Sallah-Ud-Din Mengal). Another major dynamic to the insecurities in Balochistan is the fact that Balochis are demographically outnumbered in their own province. Despite of being the largest ethnic group in a province that is both ethnically and linguistically fragmented, Balochis do not form the majority. According to 1998 census, after Balochis, Pashtuns were the second largest ethnic group present in Balochistan. However the new estimates point that the Pashtun population may have outnumbered Balochis in their own province. Out of thirty two districts, Balochi speakers are found in majority in only four. Similarly, the recent development in Gwadar under China Pakistan Economic Corridor is causing massive migration from other ethnic groups from rest of Pakistan to Balochistan. This would definitely alter the demographic dynamics of the province.

However, considering that Balochistan is still an underdeveloped area, it would need expertise and skills to become an economically and socially stable region of the country. According to Javed Chaudhry; a leading journalist of Pakistan “Teachers are always outsiders, take Pakistan for an example the dams we built were all built by outsider, as they taught us how to. The wheat revolution was brought to Pakistan by the Mexi-pak seed, because of which we are all able to eat wheat products”. He further stated examples where ethnically and linguistically different people have migrated to a different region which eventually had great economic benefits both for those who migrated from outside and the native population. “So saying that we can’t have people shifting to the region for fear that they might make the natives there a minority, is wrong. Balochistan can’t develop itself without help from others. Just like this, the area of Cholistan, a region in Bahawalpur, had people shifting from Punjab settling there to develop the land for agriculture. Because the area was previously undeveloped, Sindh was lagging behind as a province; however the Punjab settlers brought with them the agricultural skill set required to give the province a boost. Karachi is another example, where for business we have Indians and Gujratis setting there.”

It is interesting to look at the outnumbering of Balochis in their own province through a different angle. Farhan Siddiqui; a research expert on nationalism and ethnicity believes that it is important to first look at the underlying reason for why Balochis are decreasing in number in their own region. According to him, “Preliminary results of the census say that the Baloch population of Balochistan has gone from 62% to 56%, and that has happened because of the security conditions and people had to move out. The security concerns that arose from the activities of Laskar-e-Jhangvi and other insurgent elements, lead the people to move to Sindh, Punjab etc. So this fear of being “Red-Indianized”, has been faced by every ethnic group. So this happened with Sindhudesh, the first ever separatist movement for Sindh because of the threat felt by them because of Muhajir coming in from India.” The Baloch being minority is also relative. If today the peace and stability of the region is restored and it starts developing socio-economically, Balochis who have migrated out of their land will most probably return which would eventually solve the issue of them being outnumbered. It is important to note that these sentiments are essentially developed in Balochi population because they feel that they are denied their rightful share in resources. And this is when these arguments begin. So the Baloch will be alright if the local Baloch elite and the people get a share in whatever new project’s coming, if they don’t, then these arguments remain relevant.

#### **9.4 Natural Resource Expropriation**

Finally coming to the role of natural resources, the central theme of this dissertation, this section would analyze how natural resource exploitation by the central government forms the bedrock of Baloch insecurities and grievances. The dispute between the resource-dependent Balochistan and resource-extractive State of Pakistan arises as the right to ownership, access and control are not clearly talked about and understood.

This discussion about the natural resources of Balochistan not just takes into account the natural gas, copper and gold reserves but also considers the long coastline along the Arabian Sea. This makes Balochistan an owner to a global strategic location that provides transit routes for trade and potential gas lines from Iran and Turkmenistan. Natural gas from Balochistan accounts

for thirty six percent of the total gas production of the country. (It is interesting to note that all the major gas fields are located in conflict-ridden districts of Dera Bugti and Zarghun.). The province itself consumes only seventeen percent of the natural gas it produces while the rest is streamlined through Karachi to the rest of the country. As per Sallah-ud-Din Mengal “There are total 32 districts of Balochistan in which 24 districts still have been denied the access of gas supply. If we talk about the discovery of Sui in the early 1950s, it was provided to the whole of Pakistan which led to a tremendous economic growth and the lives of the people became easier but again fate of Dera Bugti is the same as it was fifty years ago. It is the largest and the least developed district of Pakistan. Instead of natural resource being a blessing it has become a curse for the people of Balochistan.”

Balochistan has also been blessed with metals like copper and gold in addition to other precious minerals worth at least one trillion dollars. Over the past few years, the total earning from the minerals of Balochistan has been PKR 2,500 million rupees. A total of nine mining and exploration licenses have been issued by the provincial government. Saindak; a major gold and copper mining project in Balochistan was originally given to a Chinese State owned company called Metallurgical Corporation of China (MCC). The profit distribution formula was devised as such that fifty percent of the profit went to MCC, forty percent to the Pakistani government and only two percent was reserved for the provincial government, it was later increased to five percent. “The Saindak gold project was initiated in the early sixties in which a private company of China (MCC) was given the lease for ten years. The locals allege that huge amount of gold and copper has been extracted but the administration of Saindak project has done nothing to uplift the well-being of the society. The environment is full of toxic substances in which smelter workers perform their duty and locals of Saindak have not been given any remunerations despite working for the project for the past 15 years” (Mengal, 2018). The second biggest gold and copper project is of Reko-Diq. Government of Pakistan signed an agreement with a company called Tethyan Copper Company (TCC). As per the initial agreement of the project, it was agreed that 25 percent of shares will be provided to Balochistan but due to provincial and federal government’s negligence the project stopped at the exploration stage because of lease disagreement. TCC took the matter to the International Centre for Settlements of Investment Disputes (ICISD) which gave the verdict against Pakistan, as it had breached some



provisions provided in the Bilateral Investment Treaty with TCC. Pakistan now has to face the damage claims in the Reko-Diq which is a huge set-back for the province. After 18th amendment, some issues related to resource ownership have been clarified as minerals now come directly under the domain of provincial government. Oil and gas is a federal domain but the fifty percent of profit generated would directly go to the province. Prior to the 7th national finance commission (NFC) award, federal government owed the province billion of Pakistani rupees in gas royalties. It was also claimed by the Baloch nationalists that the federal government only paid one fifth of what it paid other provinces under royalties. The major Baloch leaders were also kept outside the loop while deciding on mega development programs and projects.

Pakistani government seems to show a same pattern of doing things every time, a major investment project in Balochistan is involved especially in case of Gwadar port. The Gwadar-Saga actions highlight repeated insensitive decision taken by the federal government that have done more harm than any good to the economy, society and social values of Balochistan. In 2007, Pakistani government handed over the management and operational control of Gwadar port to a three week old company called Port of Singapore Authority (PSA) for a period of four years on lease and twenty years tax-exemption. What agitated the Baloch nationalists even more was the company bringing its own workers for the construction work, which in principle was the right of the local Baloch workers. Only one in six workers were Baloch working on daily wages. These un-justices led to security issues where at least three Chinese engineers were killed in an attack done by Baloch nationalists. Following the same steps, the democratic government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) transferred the control of the port on the basis of the same agreement to China Overseas Port Holding Company (COPHC), violating not only the Pakistan Public Procurement Rules but also the IMF's Code of Good Practice. The same pattern can be observed in recent CPEC related development projects. As per one of our Baloch interviewee "According to the estimates, sixty percent of Balochistan resources will be used for the CPEC project but the province will only get five percent of the profits." In response to flawed policies and unjust practices of the central government, nationalist groups like Baloch Liberation Army have gained more power in the region comprising of at least three thousand Baloch fighters today. There are other groups like Baloch Republican Army (BRA),

and Baloch Student Organization (BSO) that have claimed responsibility for killing hundreds of civilians in retaliation to the federal government. BLA alone has chosen its targets in resource rich areas of Gwadar, Khuzdar, Kohlu and Sui, damaging gas pipelines, government infrastructure, security posts and installations.

## 9.5 Foreign Intervention

When it comes to the roles of international players especially Nation-States in Pakistan, it is important to understand the complex nature of the borders Pakistan shares with its neighbors. On its East, Pakistan has India; the country that has never really accepted the creation of Pakistan, ex-home secretary Balochistan Akbar Durrani precisely defines India as “a country we have been fighting with since Day 1”. Then there is Afghanistan that is still facing serious political and security issues because of presence of Taliban and American forces simultaneously and it lies to the west of Pakistan. Iran lies in southwest of Pakistan. Iran faced some drastic changes after Iranian revolution against 2,500 continuous years of Persian monarchy. This was followed by a period of political instability and international sanctions on Iran. All this made Iran highly unstable from all political, economic and security perspectives. China which is an emerging economy of the 21st century lies to the north of Pakistan. It’s a threat to many world giants including United States of America. The fact that it is surrounded by countries that are socially, economically and politically hyper-active part of an international system, adds greatly to the strategic location of Pakistan. Where all this brings Pakistan to the limelight, it also has an ability to drag Pakistan into a deadly international-play it is not essentially a part of. Secondly, foreign intervention in Pakistan cannot be completely denied because of Balochistan and its considerable amount of natural resources as stated by Wajid Rana in his interview, “Balochistan has oil, gas and mineral rich. Gwadar Port in Balochistan has strategic location which can provide access to Western China, Central Asia, and West Asia. The current conflict is a manifestation of capturing its resources as well as blocking China and Russia from getting access to warm waters of Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean.” Out of all, India, Afghanistan and United States of America have repeatedly been termed as potential problem makers in Balochistan. Afghanistan has pattern for supporting the Baloch insurgents; the country provided both human resources in shape of Afghan refugees and resources (arms and money) to Baloch rebels in first three insurgencies. During 1973 insurgency, nationalists were allowed by Afghanistan to establish camps on Pakistan-Afghanistan border. This has also led to increased drug and arm trafficking in Balochistan, resources from which are directed to help insurgents. United States of America has its own interests which have already been discussed previously.

Where foreign intervention in Pakistan is undeniable, Balochistan with its strategic location and mineral wealth cannot simply be termed as a magnet that is attracting all of it. The region is a resource rich area but it is not in comparison to what surrounds it “There is Middle East coming all the way from Iran up to our border, then is Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan which has huge gas reserves. From the resources point of view we are not the main targets of the world.” said by Naeem Sarfraz. Similarly the conception of blocks is oversimplified in case of Balochistan. Chinese have an interest in which they want Afghanistan and Pakistan to be stable because they want their markets to function smoothly without any hindrance of a trouble bleeding ground. With the signing of CPEC, China’s influence in the area has increased vastly. Seeking their interest, “Chinese want to connect the undeveloped east to the port of the Gwadar thus expanding its trade. Apart from that, having presence on the Gwadar would give China a strategic position to exert its influence in the Indian Ocean where America enjoys hegemony with the support of India. Chinese oil supply passes through the Straits of Hormuz and Straits of Melaca thus China is looking forward to avoid any blockage in the times of crisis” said DG(legal) military lands and cantonment. As long as the role of America is concerned, it needs to maintain its domination in the region and wants to contain the expansion of China which is on the verge of becoming a potential Super Power. It would also like to retain some terror potential in Afghanistan so that it could generalize it towards China and Iran. India has always looked forward to promoting violence in Pakistan and Balochistan provides it with a good opportunity because of the separatist elements. On the other hand, Iranians have a sectarian problem with the Taliban because they target the shi’ites and the Hazara’s community, but when the Iranians saw that the Americans are funding the Islamic state they started supporting the Taliban. Iran is even willing to work with Pakistan on CPEC because of the economic benefits it would get out of the project. Similarly, there are cold relations between India and China related to border disputes but the bilateral agreements of trade and economic cooperation is in the best interest of both countries. “When there is a talk about blocks, there is a grey line between them and the alliances are created or dissolved on the basis of each country’s interests in a particular area.” said Talat Hussain.

## 9.6 Stance of Pakistani State

The State of Pakistan has been justifying its use of military force to subdue insurgent elements in Balochistan by claiming that the province has a very unique societal structure. Where it is politically fragmented, the loyalty to tribal sardars is what is keeping it intact. Under Pakistan's Criminal Law Ordinance of 1968, 95 percent of the Baloch community comes under the force of tribal laws and Sardars. Over years this tribal loyalty has kept Baloch people from accepting Pakistani State as a legitimate political authority. "Every region that has a greater area and a smaller population with a tribal social structure is more prone to wars and conflicts" said Javaid Chaudhary. Balochistan fits this description of a large area consisting of mountains and deserts with a small population controlled by tribal sardars, hence it is more prone to insurgencies. The government also believes there is a strong international involvement in Balochistan especially from India and United States of America because of their individual interests for supporting the Baloch movement to destabilize the country. Both these countries have obviously rejected these claims. In order to control situation in Balochistan, Army seems to be the only possible option available to the government. Javaid Chaudhary explains this narrative of government by saying that "In order to handle tribal societies, use of force is required, because tribal societies themselves are coercive, and unreasonable...The army itself is a forceful tribe and if you want to contain a problem with tribes, then you need to use force. Take FATA as an example, the problems there persisted for 65 years, until force was applied. And look how well that has worked. Similarly, in Balochistan until you introduce a large and powerful force in to their system, they will not understand. After the intervention by the Army, things have started to look up, the force isn't only using its coercive power, now they're using education and development of infrastructure like road networks. This is a necessity and if removed hastily then we might start seeing budding insurgencies."

In the light of this narrative, President General Musharraf justified heavy presence of military in Balochistan with an aim to limit the control of Baloch sardars who were preventing social and economic development of the local populace. The narrative holds weight because the societal construct of the province cannot be ignored. Sardars from different tribes have intra-tribe

clashes, having varying demands from the central government. Some tribal leaders demand separation from the country while others simply want more autonomy.

The government of Pakistan has also has a firm stance when it comes to foreign interference in Balochistan specifically from its neighboring Afghanistan and India. These countries have repeatedly been termed as motivators of insurgency and violence in Balochistan.

## 9.7 Impact of CPEC on Balochistan:

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) comes under the “One Belt One Road” initiative which stretches from Gwadar port on the south-western coast of Balochistan to Chinese western city of Kashgar. Various politicians, public officials and experts were interviewed in order to better understand the dimension and significance of this project for Pakistan. Majority of them shared similar views on this project. While some held skeptical views, others considered that it depends on multiple factors that will determine whether the socio-economic conditions of Balochistan will change due to this multi-billion dollar project.

Development alone cannot create resonance unless and until peoples’ heart and mind have bought the idea that this development is for their benefit. The British made the railroads, developed infrastructure, created the Indian civil service and devised the concept of modern state structure but still the people of the subcontinent wanted independence because a powerful idea of decolonization had emerged in which they thrived for a sense of belonging and association with their own distinct identity. There has to be social, intellectual and mental satisfaction for the people. When the general framework for CPEC was approved no one took in account the demands and the reservation of the locals. All the decisions regarding the project were devised by the Federal and Provincial ministers who tend to ignore the harsh ground realities and focus on the geo-strategic location of the province. According to the senior analyst Talat Hussain, “The development projects in Balochistan are a wild goose chase for the people of the province where the masses have been neglected since decades”. Same is the case of Gwadar port which has been termed as the corner stone of CPEC. It took more than half a decade to become operational. During the inaugural address by General Pervez Musharraf back in 2004 he assured that Gwadar population will benefit the most from the development of the port city but the living conditions of the locals have further deteriorated. Throughout the process the locals felt apprehensive of the mega projects because the development was creating more problems instead of resolving the deep rooted issues. Chronic power and water shortages have become prevalent making the lives of the locals more miserable. Due to the increased influx of businesses from other provinces of Pakistan there is a general perception that Baloch themselves will become a minority in their own province. Gwadar population earns their livelihood through fishing but

after the construction of the port city they have been displaced and fishing has been banned due to security conditions. Instead of creating new opportunities for the Gwadar residents they have been deprived of the facilities that were already present. This perspective was further reiterated by Mr. Sallahudin Mengal, who said that “CPEC will further sideline the Balochi’s as it happened in the case of Dera Bugti in which rest of the country will reap the benefits of the development projects”. Farhan Siddique also shed light on the plight of Gwadar residents by quoting, “A few years ago I had the chance to travel on the coastal highway, from Karachi to Jiwani: till Jiwani it is a perfect road, but as soon as you enter Gwadar it’s all trashed there. I hope the situation has improved now, although according to the locals, there has not been any significant improvement. This is what needs to be done in Balochistan: build roads, dams, schools, basic infrastructure and other facilities. Only then chances of the projects success are greater which will ultimately yield better results so that locals can have a sense of participation and belonging”.

Despite having a vast amount of mineral wealth the socio-economic conditions of Balochistan remain poor because the mineral extraction has always remained a contentious issue. Under the CPEC umbrella the Government of Pakistan has planned to develop 21 mineral processing zones and 29 industrial zones in all provinces of Pakistan. The proposed mineral economic zones in Balochistan which include Chaghi (chromite), Saindak (silver and gold), Lasbela (manganese), Muslim Bagh (chromite), Qilla Saifullah (antimony), Khuzdar (chromite, antimony), Kalat (iron ore), Reko-diq (gold) and Gwadar (oil refinery). The proposed sites for industrial zones in Balochistan include Dostan, Khuzdar, Quetta, Dera Murad Jamali, Uthal, Gwadar and Hub. Seven Special economic zones will be created in Balochistan which will provide more lenient tax and economic policies in contrast to general economic policies of the country (Anwar, 2018). If these proposed sites are approved by all the stakeholders especially the locals then it will be a way forward to explore the untapped resources of Balochistan because of which the mineral industry will flourish which will ultimately raise the GDP of the province. In the mineral sector, a project has been initiated in district Lasbela in the areas of Bela and Uthal for the exploration and evaluation of metallic minerals in which integrated geophysical surveys have been sorted out for large scale mining. “Geological survey of Pakistan has launched a 3D mineral survey to access mineral metallic reserves of silver, copper, gold, molybdenum and



iron. The project will be completed over a period of four years and is the first step for finding the potential mineral resources” (Durani, 2018). If this project is completed within its due time then at least we will be able to know the worth of minerals present in Balochistan. Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan who is a senior economist was optimistic about the developments related to the China Pakistan Economic Corridor in Balochistan. He commented that “there is a positive correlation between economic growth and infrastructure investment. There has been a positive impact in the socio-economic landscape with the construction of road network on the western route of CPEC. Few years ago these areas were considered inhabitable due to no road access. Now the locals have starting to set up shops, hotels and houses along the western route of CPEC.” CPEC should not be considered an exclusively distinct project as it is also a part of Pakistan economic development plan. Keeping in mind, Balochistan volatile political and security situation, the State cannot ignore low level insurgency. For the uplift of the Balochistan economy other measures are important to go hand in hand with the CPEC contributions. The construction of road networks and setting up special economic zones can play a pivotal role in creating stability in the province. This can be done only if the main stakeholders; the locals are taken into confidence and are given their due share. To bring prosperity in Balochistan, it is necessary that CPEC is backed with appropriate policy measures. For the long term progress of the province, infrastructure development is not only the key: capacity of the institutions should be strengthened along with the social developments initiatives which are the foremost requirements for stability. CPEC cannot be considered as a complete cure but can be taken as a golden opportunity to address and resolve the grievances of the Balochi’s.

## 9.8 Analysis of Indicators

Table 9.8.1

Variables	Indicators	Result
<b>Mineral Wealth</b>	Quantity of minerals found	Considerable (no agreed upon exact number)
	Potential demand for minerals found	High
<b>Geo-strategic Location</b>	Potential for international trade routes	High
	Potential for possible trans-border energy corridors	High
	Importance w.r.t global struggle for dominance	Moderate
<b>Conflict</b>	Political Instability	High
	Violent and militant attacks	Currently Moderate to low
	Insurgencies	Currently Moderate to low
	Proxy wars	Moderate
	Sectarian and ethnic clashes	High
	Involvement of foreign powers	Moderate

## 10 CONCLUSION

After an in depth analysis of the data collected, this section would present the final conclusion. It explains how the conflict in Balochistan is not primarily caused by foreign actors involvement to gain access to mineral wealth but is the result of government's own flawed policies and biased attitudes. Moreover the role of other factors such as geostrategic location cannot be neglected and thus all these factors are closely interlinked. Where foreign intervention is not entirely ruled out, it proposes that this international involvement because of mineral wealth is not the primary cause of conflict in Balochistan.

Balochistan without any doubt has been blessed with numerous natural resources, where there is disagreement regarding the worth of these resources, their occurrence is something that cannot be denied. Javaid Chaudhary expresses this by saying "There is no doubt that the resources are present, but the worth of these reserves isn't such that we can develop an entire economy based on it. If this were the case, Pakistan would have been in a very different place altogether".

Balochistan also holds significant importance in international politics because of its long and deep coastline of the Arabian Sea. Entire Jiwani coastline makes the province a central hub by making it a junction between Persian Gulf, Central and South Asia. It not only offers a deep sea port for shipping and trade but also provides access to major countries like China and Russia. Journalist Javaid Chaudhary stated his opinion on this by saying "Gwadar has been the aim for the past 200 years. And the reason behind this is that two large forces are in this region, first it was Russia, now it's China. Both of these regions can be accessed through Gwadar, and if Balochistan may be occupied and its entire coastal line on the Jiwani side. So, China has an interest in the region, and so does Russia and USA has none". China and Russia both enjoy cordial relationships with the State of Pakistan hence there is no incentive for them to instigate nationalist sentiments in Balochistan. United States and its ally Afghanistan can interfere to

reduce China's growing conflict over Gwadar but the statement seems a bit overstretched. India perceives Gwadar as a threat because of the potential economic development it can cause in Pakistan. Government of Pakistan has leased the port to Beijing for a period of 40 years. India sees the potential of this port as a Chinese naval outpost which would threaten India's energy and economic security because two thirds of India's petroleum imports pass through the area (Shah, 2017).

Looking at the conflict and particularly the five insurgencies hosted by the land of Balochistan, all of them despite their differences owe their existence to the internal dynamics of the province. Talat Hussain during his interview shed light on this issue by saying that "Each and every insurgency started off because of internal dynamics. External forces might have exploited our weaknesses but Baloch as an identity is on the verge of extinction due to extreme marginalization. It is a vast area with a highly dispersed population and the Baloch themselves are becoming a minority due to internal migration. We have been instrumental for creating our own problems for example during the 1973 uprising democratically elected government dismissed the Baloch provincial assembly and the last insurgency against the Bugti's during the Musharraf era further intensified the conflict."

Sallah-ud-Din Mengal holds similar views saying that "Marginalization of the province in all fields has been the main cause in instigating the insurgencies. The center has to constantly negotiate with the tribal elite and there is an immediate need to overcome the trust deficit among the Baloch citizens. The sense of alienation will diminish if the issue of missing persons will be resolved as it is a human right violation."

Qamar Zaman following the same line of argument says "To a large extent it is interlinked, for example when the last insurgency occurred in the Bugti tribe the first target was the sui pipe lines which were blown because the center was not giving them there due share and there was a disagreement on the amount of royalty being paid. This deprivation is responsible for adding fuel to fire and should be handled with extreme diligence."

Naeem Sarfraz, because of years of experience believes that “An area which is feeling deprived at some stage or the other rebels against that deprivation. The recent Pakhtoon Tahafuz Movement is headed by youngsters whose grievances are genuine and need to be resolved on immediate bases. The feeling of alienation will always have a reaction at some point in time.”

All these comments on the nature of conflict in Balochistan and a deep analysis of the interviews lead the conclusion of this research in a direction that is different from what was proposed in the original hypothesis. It was initially supposed that foreign intervention in case of Balochistan occurs in the form of two blocks. One block consisting of China, Russia and Iran believe that a politically stable Balochistan is best for their national interest. The other block; United States of America, India and Afghanistan cause and support Baloch insurgency. It is this second block that has both incentive and means to instigate local insurgent groups against the central government and create an opportunity window for their interference in Balochistan so they get a better access and control of Baloch resources. However after the analysis, things seem a little different. The conception of blocks is oversimplified because there are many subsystems functioning in which they are independent of the larger system. It is not this second block but the flawed and biased policies of the central government of Pakistan since 1947 that has caused political, social and economic unrest in the province. Had the government given Baloch society its due legitimate social and political rights and handled these Baloch insecurities through a politically democratic process, there might not have been any insurgencies for that matter. This research does not claim that there is not any foreign intervention at all, but this foreign intervention occurs to exploit the already present grievances because of government negligence and incompetency. Therefore this section rejects the alternative hypothesis and accepts the null hypothesis that mineral wealth of Balochistan does not instigate the politics of global conflict. In conclusion, the conflict in Balochistan owes its existence credits to natural-resource exploitation and economic deprivation of the province at the hands of central government. Nonetheless, there are many causes of the conflict which indicate the complexity of Baloch insurgency. The government needs to recognize this complexity and take steps that would ensure economic and social development of region along with bridging trust deficit between central and provincial government.



## 11 RECOMMENDATIONS

Following policy recommendations are proposed to the policy makers in order to overcome conflict in Balochistan. These recommendations have been categorized as per their relevance to the federal government, the local government and the industry.

### Recommendations for Industries:

1. The federal and provincial government should collaborate with the International mining organization in order to produce a reliable and up to date amount of resources present. It is important to know the quality and quantity of resources present before making any claims about their future use. Use of internationally recognized categorization system would help in attracting foreign investments. Mineral development departments and Geological Survey of Pakistan could play a pivotal role in translating mineral deposits to tonnage and eventually dollars.

2. For attracting investment both from domestic and foreign companies, the area requires extensive mapping of the resources which would eventually lay down the route for future discoveries and developments. Pakistan needs to formulate its own minerals databank highlighting the details of business challenges, risks involved and mitigation plans. Focusing on and developing research capabilities is a key for long term development of mining in Pakistan.

3. Developing mineral market is also very critical. First step in that direction would be to identify potential consumers and buyers specifically among neighboring countries. Making strategic partners; selling them what they need and in return buying what Pakistan needs can boost the mineral sector tremendously.

4. It is equally important for Pakistan to work in its mineral production strategies aligned with local consumption and market trends. Increased private investment would strengthen the

link between resource utilization and strong economy. The policies however must be in line with the mineral sector development strategy that encourages small scale mining and local private participation.

5. Government also needs to facilitate the small scale investors and local businesses by providing state of the art technology, programs focusing on business improvements and a sound infrastructure connecting mining areas, support cells, geological data centers and markets.

6. While the government focuses on providing an enabling environment to the businesses to flourish, it also needs to emphasize mining related environmental issues, nurturing technologically advanced mining practices to make sure that the rate of extraction is less than rate of restocking, educating and training labor force and equipping the mining law enforcement agencies.

Recommendations for the federal & local government:

7. After the 18th amendment, just like the government of KPK has introduced its mining policy of 2014, Balochistan also needs to come up with the same policy in order to avoid any future ambiguities regarding the process of ownership, management and extraction of resources. The federal government needs to provide assistance to the province in areas where it lacks resources, skills and expertise to devise such policies.

8. Balochistan is currently being run by the military. The overbearing influence of army in Balochistan will always be questioned. Any armed forces in the world cannot succeed without the support of their own people. Until and unless Baloch people are given their due political, social and economic rights and they start participating actively in the mainstream politics; any effort by the army would be short lived.

9. This leads towards the importance of reforming the governance structures and building institutional capacities both at federal and provincial level. Participatory democracy is the key to



success in case of Balochistan where the locals feel empowered with an integrated decision making process. The development initiatives by the army focus only on the short term benefits. The longer the army stay there the lesser their respect for them. It's important to trust the local wisdom and develop the local industry. Therefore it is needed to devise the short, medium and long term economic goals. Countries learn from their mistakes and then take precarious steps towards reforms. Pakistan has to adopt an inclusive approach where determination, courage and commitment can lead to effective change.

10. Tribal leaders are also responsible to greater extent for controlling the locals. They have kept the social development restricted to a small elite section not letting it reach the socially and economically deprived tier of the population. This influence of Sardars can be weakened eventually by increasing the literacy rate of the province. Government needs to realize the importance of investing in human resource. Educating youth is critical at this point.

11. Government needs to adopt a "Build a narrative" approach. Not everything can be resolved through might and force. When people understand the just rationale behind government's actions, they are more willing to accept that move and support it.

12. Education and social awareness are keys to a stable Balochistan. A socially aware Baloch would understand that seceding from Pakistan isn't a sane option because where will they go? How will they sustain? There is no infrastructure, human resource, skills and usable resources for that at this point. It is important to help citizens reach a stage where they think rationally and choose wisely.

13. For the success of any development program in Balochistan, it is critical to create a stake for the local people, help them in realizing the benefits they will attain from it. Private businesses need an environment that guarantees high returns which would not be possible without the support of local businessmen and landowners. Government needs to create a stake for them in order to ensure increased investment and development in the region.

14. Post-18th Amendment, Pakistan is no longer a hierarchical federation but has become a participative and collaborative federation. For this, four key constitutional forums include: (I) the Senate of Pakistan; (II) Council of Common Interest (III) National Economic Council (IV) National Finance Commission. The Senate represents the four provinces in equal number whereas the National Assembly is dominated by Punjab. It would be important to empower the Senate to send a signal of participation of provinces in political decision making. Likewise, the other three institutions must be strengthened and empowered to generate a sense of equal participation in political and economic decision-making and resolution of inter-provincial and federal-provincial issues

15. The center needs to realize that Balochistan comprises of a large portion of Pakistan and people of Balochistan are entitled to enjoy their rights under the constitution of Pakistan. We need to implement the 1973 Constitution in its true essence to have the basic rights of the people and the rights of the province guaranteed. No government has ever tried to cater to the root grievances of the Baloch people. Moreover the center and province need to adopt a constructive approach as compared to a competitive approach while addressing the policy problems.

16. In order to effectively resolve the discord between the center and the province, both sides have to make some compromises. The central government need to guarantee the rights of the Baloch population and should promote development in the province by creating a stake for the locals in each and every development project. At the same time Baloch leaders need to realize the fact that the solution to their grievances lies in peaceful agreements rather than violent activities. It is in the best interest of the province to work in a collaborative environment with the center.

17. Any nation in the world that is small in terms of size, population and resources, but is geo strategically significant needs the support of a larger & richer nation for survival. Pakistan is one of those nations but because of its strong location, border with Afghanistan, Iran and India. The geopolitical situation is too tumultuous for it to tread these lands alone. Initially Pakistan used USA as a supporter, especially during Ayub Khan's times. Bhutto also brought in

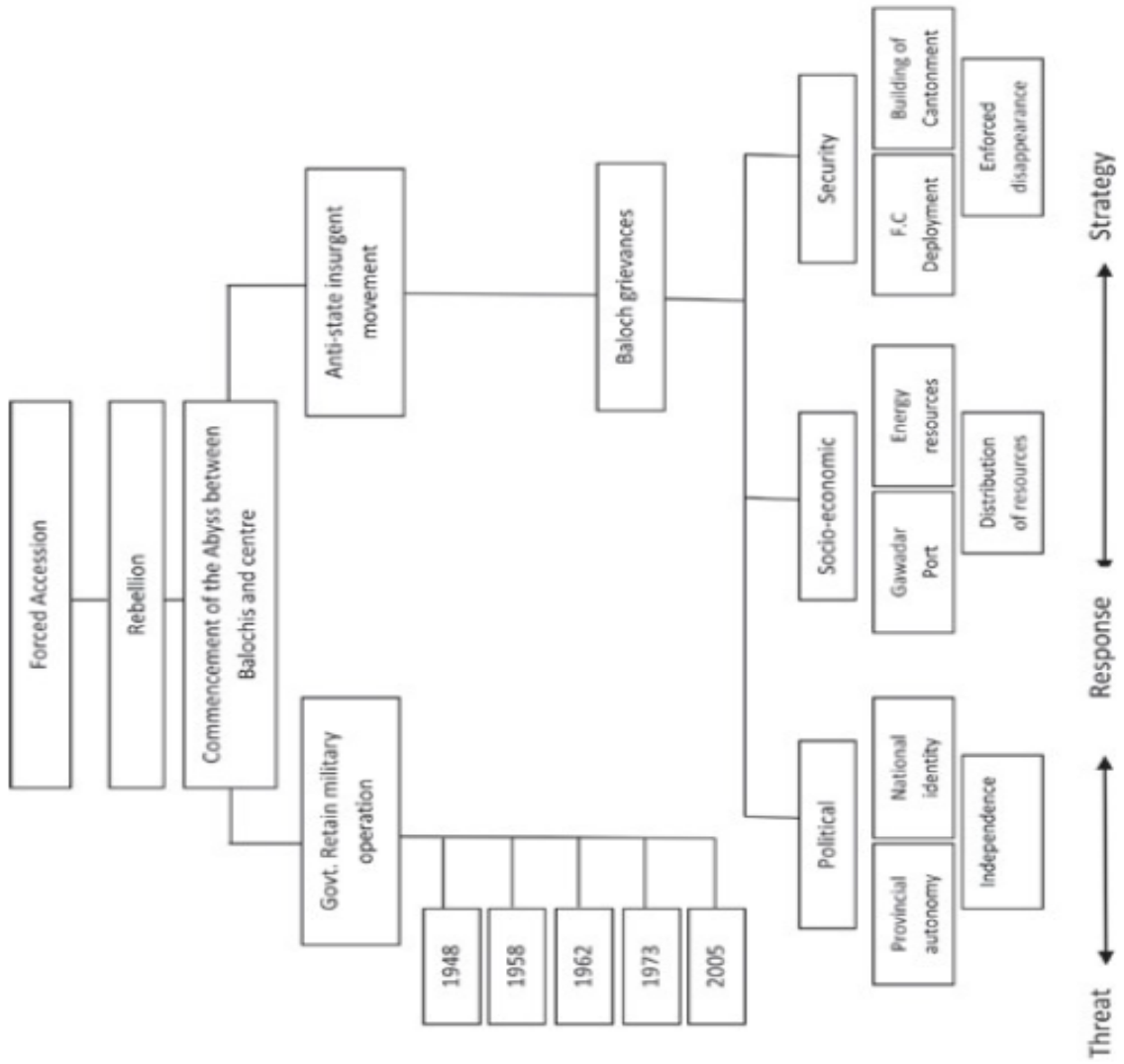
Russia which supported development in the country. Now, due to changing economic conditions, the focus has shifted to products. China being the greatest exporter needs a way to expand its market to the gulf and Africa by reducing its transport costs. It also needs some manufacturing plants on this route. CPEC suits China, and it suits Pakistan well too. Pakistan cannot cut itself off from all these countries, because that will lead to its isolation in the region, further endangering its interests. So, for now after Pakistan's unfruitful relations with the other superpowers, China is a fresh and hopeful experience. But with this Pakistan needs to empower its culture, its lines of defense needs to be strong and updated. Because if any of these things are weak, and Pakistan ever falters with any of these, the Chinese will take over.

18. Pakistan also needs to realize that there would always be foreign intervention. This is the inevitable reality of international politics today. However Pakistan can minimize the opportunities it provides to these international powers for interference in its territory by strengthening its domestic policies. It time to address Baloch grievances openly on all political, social and economic forums so that it cannot be exploited by any outsider.

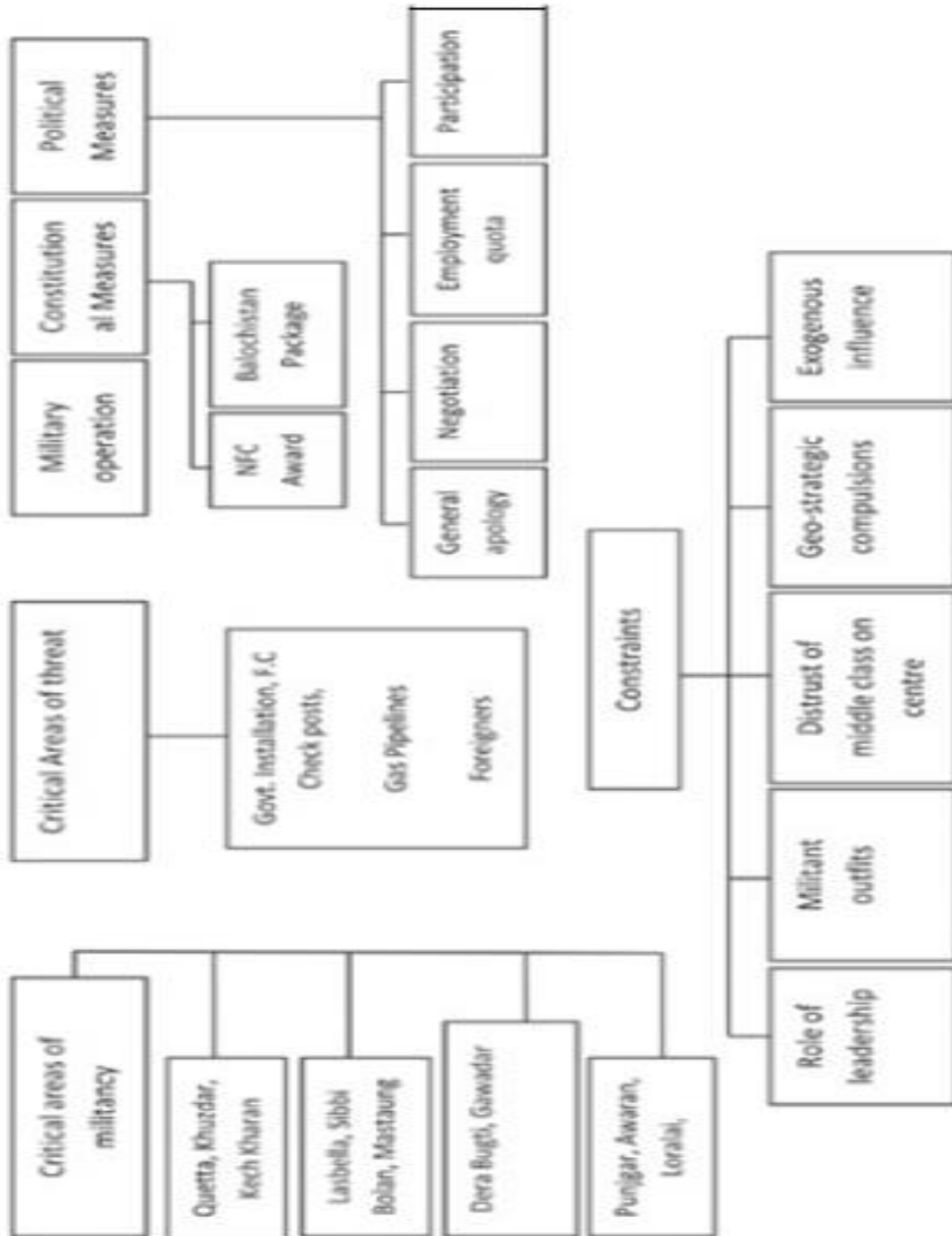
# APPENDICES

# Appendix A

Source: (Hashmi, n.d.)



Source: (Hashmi, n.d.)



# Appendix B

# Transcripts

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**Dr. Ashfaqe Hassan Khan**

Date : 1/04/2018

(Dean's office, NUST S3H)

**Since The Second Great War was a result of Germany's want for resources, what according to you are the chances of a world war happening on the resources present in Balochistan?**

Balochistan doesn't just have minerals, it has a strategic location and especially a port – Gwadar, which has high geostrategic significance. The eyes of external powers have been set on Balochistan for ages, even in the early 90s, these external powers were trying to figure out a way to get into Balochistan and control Gwadar. Hence, the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR in 79, the main aim being to get a route through Chaman because of the heard border and in turn will gain access to Gwadar. In order to stop them the entire world came together, the USA especially contributed to this fight because it too had strategic interests in the region.

Another reason for USA's interest was the spread of communism, which threatened to take over Pakistan. Pakistan too, was worried that the soviets might be able to invade till they reached the border of Balochistan. So Pakistan too fought the war for 10 years until it got too expensive and the Soviet Union had to withdraw.

So Balochistan has been in the eye of the storm of for two reasons: 1) its strategic location and 2) Mineral resources. Now, even though the war is over, but insurgencies have been instigated to keep an element of instability and to tease Pakistan. So in a way Pakistan was forced to take this route and we took the port from the Singapore port authorities and gave it to



the Chinese. Now what this does, is makes Pakistan's position more secure and if there are any problems in Balochistan, then china and Pakistan will work on countering them together. We have saved our strategic location, because if a western power were to be involved in this, Pakistan would have been in trouble. Thirdly because of the resources available, the minerals , there will always be external powers creating disturbances, this will become a permanent feature and we will have to learn to live with it and deal with some sort of low level insurgency over time. Why? because of seaport and mineral resources.

**The western powers have always gone after oil, evidence suggests, and even though there isn't much oil or gas left in Balochistan, can the same behavioral patterns be expected to follow for gold reserves present in that area?**

We've been told that there are a lot of resources in REKODEK, all sorts of minerals like – Gold, copper, coal, iron and what have you. What happens is that when the western powers get news of such minerals, they will send over a team or a think tank to study the region, and the recommendations are given based on the study, although the recommendations are more suited to the needs of whoever funds the project. So, if the think tank's studies show that there are these many minerals present in the region, then these results can be used to justify interest in that region. The problem with that is we don't do our own studies, so we just know what the outsiders tell us about our land.

But if there are minerals, then they are, but they are of little use to anyone until we explore them and put them to use. They've been down there for centuries, and we aren't getting any benefit from them, we are happy just knowing that they're there.

You see CPEC isn't just one project, it's a cluster of many projects and some of these projects are focused on mineral exploration. CPEC has 8 access points, that makeup one corridor, there are 3 routes and the entire corridor is divided into 5 functional zones- one of these zones is "The Southern Zone of Mineral Exploration" It has been decided that later on the Chinese and Pakistanis will work on the exploration of these minerals and dig these resources out. So CPEC has dedicated an entire area for mineral exploration and will be done so by 2030

**Have there been any improvements in the Centre province relations? Have we seen any benefit of all the movements?**

There isn't going to be any use of anything in Balochistan. I have dealt with these people for 11 years. They have 5-6 sardar, and any government that can buy these sardar out, will be the only ones who will see peace in their time in Balochistan.

**So no changes in the social construct can be expected?**

No, there are no chances of that happening. Let me tell you of an incident that took place not too long ago, as you know the army is usually setting up camps in far flung areas, with the intention to provide basic health facilities in areas that are far underdeveloped. So every evening the people of the village would come to the camp and ask for the "red medicine". Every evening the people would ask for it. Eventually the army doctors started wondering why this keeps happening. So one day the Major on duty, went and checked out what these people did. What he saw was that the mothers would mix the medicine with roti and feed their children. Since the medicine was sweet, the children would eat it right up. This is the level of ignorance. And that is why the conditions will not change

**What if we empower the local people?**

How are you going to do that? That's just not possible. If you kill the sardar, the people will kill you... The main tribes are Bugti, Mengal, Marri, Bizenjo and Jamali. Historically, since the one unit ended, and Balochistan became a province, no Non-Baloch has ruled there. The Sardars decide it amongst themselves who gets to be what. If chief minister is one then Bugti will be one and so the play goes on.

There was only the one time, when there were no Sardars there- Musharraf appointed Jamali in the center. Now the Jamali tribe is a lesser one, and this lead to serious opposition against Musharraf, from the larger tribes such as Bugtis. It was beneath them to be governed by a chief

from a lesser tribe. They believe that they've been ruling the region since 1971, and now these "chotay sardar" It's all politics

Bugti then started to blackmail the government. We pay royalties for the Sui gas, which initially used to go to the Bugti head around 8 million, who would then distribute the money to his followers. OGDCL cars were also provided to them and his men along with petrol and gas supply.

After that agreement ended, Bugti demanded 16 million. When the government finally came close to a settlement, Bugti declined and demanded 32 million.

One Additional Secretary of expenditure, Parvez Saleem, a friend of Bugti was sent to Balochistan as Chief Minister. He was used as medium, However this game continued, as soon as they'd come close to a settlement the Head would refuse, eventually from 8 crore the amount went up to 3 Arab rupee. These negotiations took 2- 2.5 years. At the same time, if you see the news for those days, you'd see reports on exploding pipelines and gas brisquets. All of this was to build pressure.

Eventually the government came to the realization, that it is not the money that they want. What the Bugti desire was something entirely different. All the while these Baloch, amassed and collected weapons, the equivalent of 1 army brigade

### **How did they get these weapons?**

Pakistan is such a porous region; it wasn't hard for them to get the weapons. Why wouldn't they get weapons, when the suppliers were so willing to supply. Eventually the pressure became too high, so Bugti left Dera Bugti and went into the Marri region. Started controlling the area, surrounding his cave.

People couldn't find him for days, however one day they saw a fighter plane flying over. In defense, they fired on them and realized that these were their own people living in the mountains.

Now that they were found, a convoy of 4 people, unarmed was sent to talk to Bugti. The people inside the cave were shocked to see Army men inside, and assuming that they were there to take their leader into custody, opened fire. However, due to the lighting the bullets did not find a target, and instead hit the heavily mined walls. A large explosion resulted, to which the firearms present inside the cave also contributed towards.

The whole fight was on money, and the insurgency will remain in Balochistan always. These tribes are being instrumentalized to destabilize the region, with support and funding from the external forces.

### **How are we going to handle the situation?**

We will have to live with this low level insurgency always. Mineral wealth will always remain untapped, but it is possible that with CPEC and the wings that the Pakistani army has established, with their security some mineral exploration may come to pass, The mineral wealth is one element, and the second and more important element for interest in this region is the port and its strategic location are the reasons for the prevailing instability

### **Should we trust China with it?**

In China's history, they have never invaded a country, nor have they built colonies like other superpowers did. All the older countries have had colonies, but not China.

You see in International Relations, there isn't a friend or foe. If your interest converge, you are friends if they don't you are enemies.

For Pakistan, Nationalist states are the main threat, and India, not Iran because Chabahar isn't the same as Gwadar, there is no comparison. Gwadar is a deep sea port; Chabahar isn't deep sea hence large ships won't be able to dock there. It is also Iran's most backward region and the development is only to help develop the region. India has invested close to 38 million dollars there to establish a route for trade, to better access. First, India had to take the good from Iran's port, through Afghanistan border and then transport it through Afghanistan and central Asia. His port is on the north of Afghanistan and most of its population is concentrated in South and East of Afghanistan.

This just to put psychological pressure on Pakistan, but Chabahar isn't the same as Gwadar.

Iran is just looking for investors, the foreign minister even met with the Chinese to invite them to invest there. The issue is with the Americans, because they will never leave Afghanistan. They justify their stay there, by airlifting the Islamic State from Syria to Afghanistan to fight the Taliban. So that, the state remains unstable and the need for military support continues. Everyone knows this

Behind the scenes, Russia is supporting the Afghan Taliban to prolong the turmoil in Afghanistan, and is also aware of the importance of Pakistan to Afghanistan, and China is also in the loop, bringing a very natural alliance to a bloc.

Iran has seen the changes in the USA and the deals, P-5+1 that were made with Iran are close to ending. Iran is even close to being sanctioned again. Hence Iran needs a friend, and can sense the power of the Bloc and is being drawn to it for its own interests.

Turkey has the same problem. Turkey although has been a NATO member (is one now too, but only on paper) It spent decades to try and become a member of the EU, though its efforts remain unfruitful. Now America is trying to pressurize it and started a Kurd movement, which eventually found an international affiliation with the American funded Kurds who fight in Iraq and Syria. This is why Turkey had to intervene in Syria, and they are killing the American allies.

Turkey thinks that the coup was a ploy to get rid of Erdogan and end his term, leaving Turkey also looking for a “friend”. This is all happening quite naturally.

On the other side of the axis are India, America, Japan and Australia.

### **Any recommendations?**

For this, we can't leave Balochistan to the sardar. It is not in their interest to let there be developed.

Other than that, the Baloch are in a minority in the region accounting for only 49% where 51% are non Baloch. Within this 49% made up of 6 tribes that are the major troublemakers, who when taken into account against the entire population of Pakistan are less than 1%. So these troublemakers have nothing in hand.

No matter the funding, not all Baloch are against the center. There are Rajasthanis, Jamalis, and Kathparrs (which are a cousin tribe of Bugtis, who were shunned from the region)

You can't always use the Army to solve the problem of insurgents. We've been given an opportunity to make things right, by the grace of Allah. The development of Gwadar and CPEC should be seen and the benefit be distributed to that region first and create a stake for them in this project. NUST is also trying to build a campus in Quetta, to help educate the youth and build capacity. This will also lessen the potential for conflict, because when men sleep with their stomachs full, they don't come out to fight.

Although this is also an initiative of the military and the civil government is lagging behind because it also has to take into account the international relations as well.

The army isn't the only solution, let the benefits of Gwadar and CPEC flow across the Balochistan region. This should be our priority.

## **Dr. Farhan Siddiqui**

Date : 21/04/2018

(Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad)

### **Do you really believe that the problem of resource conflict exists? Is it real?**

Yes, it is true because most ethnic conflicts and interstate wars have been about resources, so take colonialism as an example, the entire colonial era, what was it about- control of resources. Post-colonial era, the oil in Middle East and central Asia and then American Foreign policy is made, with respect to the fact that again these areas are rich in resources and are required by them. And we also know about the “resource curse”, so for countries that are rich in resources, resources become a curse, because then it starts to inhibit development in society. Because there are these elites who take all the rents that are coming in and benefits to the larger society do not come about. So, that’s one when it comes to ethnic groups, like in Balochistan, that is the entire problem. This again, is that we are holding these many resources like gold, copper and even ports- not just Gwadar but also Jiwhani and Pasni- so this entire belt is very lucrative and, that so to speak drives conflict in Balochistan. Your constitution basically says that whichever province holds the resources, the majority of royalties will go to that province. This is the driver of conflict, because Balochistan does not get the desired royalties from the central government.

### **Not even after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment?**

Not really, it’s still in a state of flux. Meaning their financial transfers have increased, so from 5% of what they used to get, now they’re getting 10% because the formula for redistribution of resources that is the 7<sup>th</sup> NFC award has been changed. Plus, the Balochistan package, it’s estimated that there are Rs. 120 million arrears, that the central government has yet to pay to the Balochistan government. And that will be paid over a period of 10 or 12 years. That is the problem with the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, that there is a lot that has been put into law, but it has

not been practiced as appropriately-education, health- it's a federal subject and there is still a lot of work to be done there.

**There's a school of thought that says, that there is an overestimation of resources, specifically copper and gold, in case of Reko Diq and Sandek, they say that there is no proof that the reserves are worth 1 Trillion, and this is just an excuse to build presence or influence in a country, used by the superpowers. Do you think this is true?**

There is nothing that should be based on hearsay and perceptions, in our political culture there is a lot of emphasis on hearsay, perceptions and conspiracy theories. What we have from the estimates that came from the Tethyan Copper Company, initially their estimates were that this is the world's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest copper reserve and the world's 4<sup>th</sup> largest gold reserve. There could be a problem in terms of actual estimation, because no such work has been carried out. But the initial work that they did for a couple of years, gave us these results. So, I believe that this is what it is, and unless we get exact numbers- which we haven't- which say that "no, the estimate is that this is the 4<sup>th</sup> largest, but it is actually the 40<sup>th</sup> largest and that this is a faulty estimate"- if this comes around from an authoritative source, I'll gladly accept it. But if they merely say it, without any backing I don't buy it.

**But take Afghanistan's case, USA has been in Afghanistan for more than 10 years, and resources in that region were why they invaded, but they haven't found anything there yet. They did the same in Iraq, so there's a pattern emerging, and it is the same belt, so isn't there a chance that these "overestimates" might just be a part of a bigger plan?**

Are you suggesting that because Balochistan has these reserves/resources USA is going to invade Balochistan? That is too farfetched an explanation. The dynamics of Balochistan you have to understand that if the Americans are in Afghanistan and they're in Iraq, there are local dynamics that impact whatever American Strategy takes place. So, give me answer to this: why were the Americans defeated in Vietnam? They were the world's foremost super power, in terms of geography, resources, military preparedness and technology, but it was defeated by a country that had a population of 15-20 million, how would you explain that?



So, there are always anomalies, paradoxes that we face when we study human societies, number one. Number 2, power always has its limitations, we are wrong when we say and think about realism, or in terms of strategic studies, that if a country is powerful it can get what it wants, it does not. So if you take up Afghanistan today, and if you take up Iraq with all the power that they had, they're still failing. Taliban are still in control of those regions. Not in complete control, but their presence is in about 50% of Afghanistan, according to a recent study. So, where is the American strategy? And this is a problem for the Americans now, and this is what Obama actually tried to do, that he tried to say "enough is enough, get out of there" and he tried to divert attention towards China- the Asia Pivot strategy. Trump comes with a different strategy and he says "no, we have to leave Afghanistan with a certain amount of perception of victory because if we don't our credibility is at stake". As far as resources are concerned oil is of course in abundance in Iraq, and the Americans are in control of that, but then again they do not have to be in direct control of Iraq to have oil resources, because they already have Saudi Arabia, Qatar and all these places where they are getting oil from. So, the reason why they went into Iraq, and the reason why they went into Afghanistan, as a non-resource based explanation, is that they wanted legitimacy to the entire new doctrine of war against terrorism. So why did they go into Afghanistan, not because of resources, but because they wanted to legitimize their interventionism and tell the world that "look, we are the good guys, these are the bad guys and we're going in there to save humanity. If you read through constructivism, Alexander Wendt says that it is not only the material power of states, the powerful states, the state also projects an ideational power, and so the Americans are also projecting an ideational power, by saying this "We're the good guys, the Taliban are the bad guys and we're going after the terrorists" so, that has to be taken into account as well.

But in the larger frame of things, going down the road, we must understand that the Americans will have to leave Afghanistan and they'll have to figure out a formula for Iraq. The War on Terror will come to an end; the cold war came to an end. People thought the cold war would go on forever, but the USSR collapsed so this will come to an end. ISIS has been defeated in Iraq, ISIS has been more or less chucked out of Syria, less the pockets. So, how can the USA tolerate these groups? Because what happens is, that the presence of these groups goes against the concept that the Americans are the most powerful nation in the world who can have certain

outcomes which are beneficial to them. So, now they have to defeat them to maintain their credibility, you understand the paradox?

So it's not part of some grand strategy, that they are there and then there and the resources now in Balochistan, they're after that and after Gwadar as well. Gwadar is with China, clear and simple. More of Balochistan will go under the Chinese influence, where will the Americans be? They'll be nowhere.

They had airbases, we removed them after the problems in Salada.

### **How will they balance China's growing influence?**

Their strategy for now, for the past couple of years is taking place more in East & South East Asia. SO they're building an alliance with Australia, Japan and all these countries- the South China Sea problem is more pivotal because it provides a more direct measure of threat of China, because there is an area which is contested for by many different countries, Japan, China, Brunei, Malaysia ,I think even Indonesia. And because of Chinese overt presence, naval and military, the other countries seem to be scared. So, the Americans come in and say "okay we'll be your saviors, we will balance power", and that works over there. Here in South Asia, the American strategy that is developing is befriending India, the seeming strategy that is coming from China is befriending Pakistan and that is how the Balance of Power Game will run here, but again there are nuances. It's not that simple, China and India have a trade of \$ 80 billion, do you think they'll just whisk it away in one instance, and say that today we end all trades and we are now enemies. These are some realities we have to be more measured about. Between India & Pakistan the Indian High Commissioner said last week, that the trade between the two countries could jump up to \$ 30 Billion. Why are you saying this if you are enemies? This tells you that in interstate relations, there are always pulls and pressures from both sides. So, seemingly some do want engage, while others don't want to engage, but this is how it runs.

So coming back to the question of resources, the Americans, and while I'm no expert on Afghanistan to be honest, I read an article a while back that said that maybe there is some strategic mineral in Afghanistan that is used in the making of missiles? I'm not sure what it was.

That is something if any references could be found, if whether the Americans are taking that mineral out of Afghan territory. It's not only resources, but larger strategic policies at play. Afghanistan and its invasion was important because In the wake of 9/11, something had to be done to justify to the Americans that we're doing something against the terrorists, and this was something that had been building up since the 90s, it didn't happen suddenly. When the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed, in 98 the Americans you know targeted Al-Qaeda camps using cruise missiles. So, that had been building up and blew out of proportion in 2000. Unless you believe in the conspiracy theory, that 9/11 was an inside job.

**Coming to the 5 insurgencies that happened in Balochistan since 1947, is there any link, or chance that these insurgencies were driven by control over resources?**

This is an interesting question, because I think the recent insurgency, the one happening now, is more resource driven, the earlier ones were less resource driven. Meaning the economic argument has always been there, that we have ports and minerals and resources. But if you look at 48, then 58 and then going up till the 60 and then you look the 1960s, and then 73-77. These conflicts were primarily shaped by political considerations, in 48 the Khan of Kalat declares independence on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1947, challenging the sovereignty of the Pakistani state. Then in March 1948, Quaid E Azam persuades the Khan of Kalaat to sign an instrument of accession, and then the entire Kalaat princely state becomes part of Pakistan, had nothing to do with the resources- it was politics. Again in 1958, an insurgency started after Martial Law had been imposed and the khan of Kalat was being accused of, I'm sure you all know this history, of working towards independence by Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan. Then Nawab Nawroz Khan stood up and said that "they have arrested our Khan," so again, it was political.

60s again, there was development of the Parari groups, and that was again political. Then in 73, Bhutto dismissed the NAP government, also political. If you see the 90s, it was Nawaz

Sharif's first government ,it started to work on developing the Gwadar port, and then you had Khair Buksh Marri making a comeback to the scene, becoming the main person driving this movement. OS, if you look at it the insurgency start in the 2000s. The BLA (Balochistan Liberation Army) which came in 2002 was preceded by some disparate groups that initiated the insurgency, where these bulldozers that were being used for construction were targeted. So, again Gwadar, resources, then Musharraf started to make his claim, then this - the present insurgency, I think is more resource driven, than the earlier ones. The economic imperative is now more important.

**So, is it the tribal leaders trying to control the resources?**

The tribal leaders wanting a share of the resources, this is what it is all about. And most of the resource conflicts are on these issues. So they're symbolically saying, that these are our resources, but any formula of the sharing of resources, has to be done between the federal and the Provincial government combined with whoever comes from outside. So with the reko-diq project, the provincial government said we are the ones who'll decide. When they were given the decision, they scrapped it and when they scrapped it we have been slapped with what – some billion dollars, arbitrated by the World Bank, to the TCC. So, any formula has to come about in agreement with the provincial elites, the tribal elites, the federal government and then whoever is coming from the outside.

**But why have failed to come up with a formula even after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, we have given the autonomy to the provinces specifically for the minerals, even though oil and gas is still 50-50.**

Although the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment is in place, even our federal and local elites don't know what's happening. So, with education the federal bureaucracy – HEC is still in control. In two provinces you have a provincial higher education Commission, in two you do not. Even in those provinces, those universities they are more dependent on HEC rather than on their provincial Higher commissions in Sindh and in Punjab.

The reason why this is happening is because for 70 years we have been a very highly centralized unitary state, so the transition is always difficult Things will not happen overnight- this is one.

Another reason - I think the PML (N) government did not push enough on the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the PPP government actually did. The formula for the 8<sup>th</sup> NFC award should have come about, but it didn't. So, it was a failure of the political, local, provincial elite not to frame a formula. Now, they are talking about the formula for the 9<sup>th</sup> NFC award, without having an agreement on the 8<sup>th</sup>. So, again these are the bottlenecks.

So, ports and shipping for example, the provincial government says this is in our domain, and the federal government in a very skeptical take says “ nonono, this is still quiet our domain”. So, they have to work it out- that is one.

And again there are problems in the sense that Pakistan is transitioning, from a state that has seen period's military rule to a more democratic era. In these transitions, wherever these take place they are always very unstable and messy, with intra-elite conflicts.

You see our chief justice, it seems like he's the Prime Minister,right? So the prime minister and political elite, try to prove that they are in control, while the Judiciary says, “No, we are in control”. And then there is your bureaucracy trying to prove that they're in control, so that is why despite the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, we do not have a decent formula.

**What's the way forward to control insurgent elements in Balochistan? Is it true that in order to move forward, we must first neutralize the internal factors present in the region? How can we control the tribal leaders?**

You see there are two aspects to it, the first is the Separatist insurgency, which is taking place, calling for secession and independence. Then you have local elites willing to negotiate

with the government, they're in a majority. Not all Baloch elites want a separate nation, majority of them are accommodationists.

I think there was this survey in 2012 or something, and it was reported in the newspaper where it said that, 30%-35% of Baloch that wanted independence. So, it's a misnomer, to start with the assumption that all Baloch want independence, they don't. So the strategy is to coopt them. Work together with the accommodationists, who are willing to become part of the government by sharing resources with them. So Mengal, Ataullah Mengal is willing to negotiate; Akhtar Mengal is willing, the entire National party is part of the political processes, it's a predominant local political party and is willing to negotiate with the government. This new political dispensation, the Balochistan Awami Party, is willing to negotiate with the government.

The only dark spots are those, Dr. Allah Nazar Baloch and Saleem Baloch and Wahid Kambal, and all these others. Their insurgency is now being confined to the awaran district. You know, 5-6 years ago it was difficult to get to the Khuzdar district and now it's very safe. Turbat & Tuhmand, the conditions 5-6 years ago were very bad, you could not travel, now it's safe. So, the state's strategy of defeating the separatists has been largely successful and their power and influence has been confined to a few districts. They aren't like the Taliban, that they are spread 50% throughout Afghanistan and then 50% -60% in Balochistan.

And the local elites, if you give them a share they'll agree to it.

**So the state has succeeded by modifying Balochistan's social structure? Can we say that?**

Well, not really, because Balochistan sadly has not been given priority by our previous governments so there isn't any basic infrastructure, as such. And we spoke about Gwadar earlier, and I read an article which included an interview of the Chairman of Gwadar Port Authority, Dostain Khan Jamali, who said that there isn't any water in Gwadar, there aren't any roads, and

you are saying that we'll build an airport or a port, and we'll have whatever facility, schooling, and housing. So "pehlay paani to laao" (bring water first)

So, a few years back I had the chance to travel on the coastal highway, from Karachi to Jiwani. And till Jiwani it's a perfect road, but as soon as you enter Gwadar it's all trashed there. I hope the situation has improved now, although according to the locals, there hasn't been any significant improvement. This is what needs to be done in Balochistan, build roads, dams, schools and other facilities, the basic infrastructure. This has to come through, and if you do this, then chances of your projects success are greater and then people can have a sense of participation, and that's the only way.

**Recent reports suggest that the Baloch population is now in minority, in the province of Balochistan and CPEC will promote migration to the region, will this result in enhanced Baloch insecurities.**

Preliminary results of the census say that the Baloch population of Balochistan has gone from 62% to 56%, and that has happened because of the security conditions and people had to move out. The security concerns that arose from the activities of Lashka-e-Jhangvi and other insurgent elements, lead the people to move to Sindh, Punjab etc So this fear of being "re-indianized", that is faced by every ethnic group ever. So this happened with Sindhudesh, the first ever separatist movement for Sindh because of the threat felt by them because of Muhajir coming in from India, Karachi, Punjabi & Saraiki, leaving Sindhis in a minority so they need a separate state. So if you look at the Muhajirs, they are using the same argument and so are the Baloch.

The important thing to understand here, is why these sentiments are developed in the first place? So these sentiments are developed because often people feel they are denied their rightful share in resources. And this is when these arguments begin. So the Baloch will be alright if the local Baloch elite & the people get a share In whatever new projects coming, if they don't, then these arguments remain relevant.

I'll always remain skeptical about the substance to this argument, though it is well used. It is not necessary that the people become a minority due to migration within the region. So let's say if the Baloch, who migrated to the region, come back in the near future. Because peace & stability has been restored. The Baloch population will again become a majority. So it's all relative.

**Considering China's growing influence in Balochistan, in light of CPEC, can it have negative consequences for Pakistan; in case of mishandling of the agreement it may backfire.**

Economic dealings are not always fair to communities, states and countries that are inferior, that are how Capitalism works. The state's formula has to be intelligent enough, to monitor this and get us what we want. We don't want to give everything away. The only substantive thing I've heard from the government is that, people saying we'll earn a lot in transit fees. I'm not so sure, Lawrencepur is now closed in Pakistan, and they are now making their clothing fabric in Xin Xiang. So if Chinese investment, local economic zones, is going to drive our local businesses to China, then this should be realized as a concern. I'm not an economist, but the government should take these factors into account.

### **Any recommendations?**

The political processes in Balochistan should be allowed to continue as they are, it gives a sense of participation within the local people. It might show them that they can have what they want from the political system rather than from the insurgents. So, we want the students who graduate to not pick up guns, rather they should get jobs. We've raised the quota to up to 6% for Balochistan. The elites have realized that their policies were not conciliatory.



Once this happens, the local provincial Baloch elites may be coopted and used as bridge between the state and the masses. If you look at Balochistan the tribes are in southern Balochistan, north doesn't have that many.

Increase quotas for them to give them opportunities, and even though the Army has an important stake there and is working there, but the importance of continuation of political processes is necessary.

## Mr. Akbar Durrani

Date: 15/04/2018

(Pakistan Secretariat, Islamabad)

Where Balochistan is concerned, it's a federating unit of Pakistan. And at the time of Pakistan's independence, despite having a different identity, Balochistan joined us.

The countries you have named have very different socioeconomic & political conditions. Their institutions were not as developed. Pakistan isn't like those countries, here the institutions are developed and I admit to the ongoing political turmoil. Its stability is owed to the Armed forces, which play a huge part in it. When Pakistan became a nuclear power, the whole world was wondering, that if this country can make a nuclear bomb with a 32% literacy rate, just imagine what would happen if they had a 100% literacy rate.

According to recent survey, Pakistan may become the next economic giant in 15-20 years, given that its resources are utilized properly. In Balochistan's context, it shares borders with 2 other countries, Afghanistan & Iran. We all already know all the problems in Afghanistan, and that with Pakistan's help the USA was able to defeat a superpower of its time.

When Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution came in Iran, it was a drastic change. A change in such a system that was considered immortal, just like the Shah of Iran himself. Despite all the changes that came towards modernization, the sanctions combined made for instability within the country.

Thirdly, we share our border with India, a country we've been fighting with since Day 1, since the day we separated. Quaid E Azam has altered the course of history through his actions, by making a separate nation for the Muslims. So the overall problems for us are that Afghanistan is still occupied, Iran has religious leaders and India is always fighting with us.

This leads us to the problem that Pakistan has to fend off on 3 fronts, for this to happen we need to strengthen our economy. In order to strengthen our economy, we need to look at our resources. We have been unfortunate in that while we did become a nuclear power, we have failed to develop those institutions that are required, neither in democratic regimes nor in military.

We think that this is to our credit that, another war on terror came about after 9/11. This war on terror saw the killing of 70,000-80,000 people and cost 120 Arab dollars. Even after all this, Pakistan sustains, the market is full, and people are going out and celebrating festivals, After imagining all this, now shift your focus to Balochistan.

Now, present in Balochistan are the most harmful resources, with Reko-diq, Sanded, gold, Onyx, gas and the largest resource, Land hair. 44% of Pakistan is Balochistan, there are countries in this world that don't have any land, and along with this we have 4 seasons, a port and diverse range of terrain and farming.

Let's analyze this are more microscopically. Port- Gwadar is a deep-sea-port that has been undeveloped for the past 70 years, despite the insistence of the people. Their argument being that Karachi port generates 70% of revenue, just imagine developing Gwadar would generate so much more.

Being a deep sea port, the ships can come close to the dock and there are no chances of them getting stuck.60-70% of the world's oil, goes through here. We should consider ourselves lucky, that despite the security situation China has chosen to invest \$ 60 Billion, even though the rest of the world was not prepared to invest so much, just to operate on port, I am not even adding the other natural resources that are worth trillions of resources. You see, KSA had oil, but they were Bedouins. When foreigners came to their land, they showed them how to extract oil, and today they are an economy that gives loans, and gets to dictate their terms, all this despite being a monarchy.

We have been unfortunate in this regard that every time we begin mineral exploration, conflicts start arising, internal as well as external. Though the situation at the borders are tense, if our researchers try harder they can complete the exploration in 5 years. As we speak there are 15 blocks where seismic survey has already begun. You carry out a seismic survey where there are mines, which are the property of the provincial government, whereas oil and gas belongs to the federal government. Now, after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, the revenue is to distribute 50% to the province and the rest 50% to the state.

The question here is does the presence of mines, create conflict in the region, it is very much possible. But only if you have your own resource personnel present and an entire system in place that carries our R&D activities. Our universities shouldn't just focus on studying; they should promote innovation & research. Research on how to improve crop yield and how to conserve water and use it to produce hydroelectricity. Just like this, we should work on oil and gas, about which research tells us that areas with oil & gas reserves are always barren. They should be surveyed and protected, take Sandeq's example for years copper has only been extracted from here and it is processed and finished in China. They take the entire goat to Afghanistan and Iran, and the meat and skin is separated and treated to make leather. Our fault is that our institutes aren't able to support or fund such researches and after this we require foreign funding & investment. So the first step that is supposed to be taken by the government is CPEC, which links us to central Asia, and hold significance to Iran, India and China.

Pakistan has used up more money than its entire budget to get the port up and running. This money could have been used elsewhere, to help bring prosperity to the people which are the end goal here. However prosperity will only come, when there is a stake for the people and the stake is built when an individual from Gwadar believes that this road is being built for him, and the buildings are being built for his betterment and everything is to his benefit.

When you come towards the main corporate sector, they believe that investment should be done in places where one may get double the returns. They don't care about the people, only about their profits. The main stake in all this is of the land owners, and they should be included

in the decision making process, then there won't ever be conflict and this the best way to end internal conflict.

External conflict is an altogether different story; it is difficult to control the external factors. You see what happens in external is that you might be building a road, and someone will come and set a bomb on it. The way to handle this is to tell your neighboring countries what benefits they can expect if economic prosperity comes to your country.

India cannot hope to prosper if terrorism continues in Pakistan, and Pakistan can't progress if there is terrorism in Afghanistan. Iran can't progress if there is terrorism in Afghanistan & Pakistan. The reason, because there will be a spillover effect. If you live in a house, where there are 4 rooms. If there is a fire in one room, then the people in the remaining 3 rooms won't be able to sleep either. The people in the 3 rooms won't be able to say that, this doesn't affect us so we won't help you put out the fire, because they are just as much at risk.

This is exactly what happened with us, we taught the world what history taught us. That these kinds of conflicts, shouldn't exist in Pakistan, and if they do they should be resolved immediately, for the sake of development. The key is to create a stake for the people, help them in realizing the benefits they attain from It all.

**What caused the insurgencies? Do the resources we talk about, even exist or are they just an excuse to enter the country?**

There is never overestimation of the worth of resources, because these figures are generated by international companies, with a reput to uphold. Now that our case is in the international court of settlements, no party can lie or make false statements, because they check & counter check. These companies have a name to uphold and they have been doing so for the past 100-150 years,

They have also mapped Afghanistan, and the surveys they conducted weren't done yesterday. This mapping takes years to compile. So it's very reliable set of information. There is no such thing as "exact estimates", there are near estimates with a +- 5% error margin. But the estimates are correct.

Currently all the wells & gas reserves are being utilized.

**“But Sindh is now the major supplier, because of depletion of the Baloch reserves”**

Yes, because we've been using those reserves since 1952 and resources do deplete, but then new ones are discovered as well. And the science of gases is different from those of liquid, because they require pressure. So it's different for them. There are phases to history, and Balochistan has had frequent phases of insurgencies, but why do these phases come around?

The Baloch had a slogan that to this day is analyzed and discussed at forums and seminars. The people asked if they could separate themselves from Pakistan, the leaders said "No". Atallah Mengal used to say they have, but one slogan "Sail aur wasael ka haq Balochistan ka ho" then came the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment.

One other problem in us, Is that we refuse to differentiate between the state and the government of Pakistan. The state is the State of Pakistan, government is different for everyone. The moment I say something against the government, you say this is against the state. That's not how it is supposed to be, the moment the Baloch stood up against the government, they became anti-state.

The biggest move against the state was, when the largest province, population wise, separated itself from the lesser province. Never had history seen such a thing, but Bangladesh was the first to make such a move. Even then the conflict was on who gets how much, with east Pakistanis being greater in number, they demanded more "food", but the government was adamant on giving the east and the west equal shares, despite the vast difference in population.

Then came the issue of language, when Urdu was proposed to be the national language, East Pakistanis claimed that it should be Bengali, as majority population used it. Official language was unanimously set to English.

And as we grew up, and studied these things more and more in detail, we figured that had these issues been talked about and handled more carefully, we wouldn't have had cessation from Bangladesh. The same exact thing is happening with the Baloch. Where they stand and shout two slogans, we throw them in jail. When asked "what was the matter?" they say that you were talking against the state. How we are against the state, when you people are the ones who won't give us the "sael aur wasael" right. 18<sup>th</sup> amendment was granted at the time. That movement vanished, and insurgency started, we caught Kulbhashan Yadav, who had 400 agents, and the Indians spent billions of dollars to bring him back. Our politicians didn't instrumentalize the situation correctly. If the Indians ever caught a Pakistan serving Colonel, they would have brought him for show and tell at the UN in a cage that this man was spreading terrorism and trying to break India. We don't play our cards right.

From all the examples, we know, it has been proven that back in the Balochistan insurgency, if the local factor was 5%, and 95% was the outer factor. And we were in the government at that time, and we came up with counter measures. Hats off to the Commander, General Nasir Janjua, and I was the home secretary at the time. So we all sat down and discussed the best possible ways to counter the situation, so we came up with the plan of "gaining control of the narrative". Provide a counter-narrative and we informed them of how we had provided education, health and once we did that, the insurgency started losing its power. Today, you can go from Quetta to Gwadar; nobody is going to stop you. Quetta- Karachi at night, is the safest route possible.

The insurgency did happen, and you should always be prepared, you should keep an eye on the troublemaker makers just like you do when you live in a mohalla. You should know which border links us to whom, and know just how your enemies and other external actors will utilize these borders to destabilize your region. It is necessary to apply the SWOT analysis to these situations and helps us make a strategy and model. We called the children from the mountains, and ensured protection and provided for them. We

witnessed and facilitated these events, those deprived people, were surprised that they were able to travel in safety. We showed the world that Pakistan is a peace-loving country, and that's how we tried to take control of the narrative.

Once Nelson Mandela was asked, what the difference between a leader and a politician is? You know what he said "A politician has his eyes set on the next election; a leader has his eyes set on the next generation." So we have to see the generation, elections will be over in the next 2 months. So for the generation it is necessary, you should defend your resources to provide for them. Second you should develop your Human resource so that they may explore them. And third, your institutions should be so strong, that they withstand instability. Winston Churchill was told that the British were going to lose the war; he said "Have our courts stopped doing justice?" "No" "then we won't lose". And you see, history proved it, they didn't lose.

The British democracy has 4 pillars; the first is "rule of law". Everybody, whether it's the queen, or Tony Blair or Margaret Thatcher, if they go to the store, they'll stand in a queue. The second pillar is "equal opportunity for all," so everyone will get a chance to do anything they like, regardless of their gender or talent. The third pillar is "self-respect", and the fourth is "service to humility", they do not show off and stay humble. If their IG retires, he may help with washing the dogs, or help out at an old age home, things like these keep them down to earth.

We are unfortunate in this that we've had a few intervals in our democracy. These intervals caused our institutions to weaken and the bureaucracy weakened too. The politicians bought the bureaucracy, even though this is not what the British left us with. If there is a law everyone must follow it, and the insurgencies that happened in those days, would always be by minorities and the major population wouldn't side with them. Once there was an explosion in a kacchi abaadi in Quetta, the explosive device was attached to one pylon of electricity. So, I went there to investigate, the next day I found out that another pylon in that area has exploded, so I asked the WAPDA men, how much it would cost to replace these pylons. They said around PKR 250,000,000, he did the calculation for me taking into account, manufacturing and transport and everything. I said, let me give you a solution, "on every 10 pylons, we appoint a security guard, for every 20 pylons we appoint a supervisor. The supervisor will get a motorcycle, and we'll



deduct PKR 100 from his salary. He will get a PKR 15,000 as salary, and the guard will get PKR 8,000, what would the total be, taking into account that we'll cut 500 from his salary for the motorcycle." I said "you should do this, and we can hire people right from here." He said "No, I can't, it's not how things are done." I told him that the main aim should be to create a stake for the people. These people living next to these pylons don't care what happens to them, because they don't even have access to the electricity. Why would they help out? Eventually he gave into my arguments and agreed to set it up as a pilot project.

We started the pilot project, and the things went just as we planned, we gave them salaries & motorcycles. Believe me, I stayed there 2 years, and there weren't any explosions anymore. The loss of pylons amounted to millions, and we managed to solve the problem with just 400,000. Moral of the story, create a stake for the people, because that is why people take care of things in their own homes. Because it is theirs and their parents worked hard for them. That's why you should create a stake at home as well as the state. Even in Islam, men are to pray at the mosque, to help create a community. On Fridays, the Khalifa would lead the prayers, and on Eid prayers, the people congregate in a large ground, the entire city. These are lessons taught by our religion, we don't adopt them. On a visit to the Vatican City, I saw that 99.9% of their women were wearing scarves why do we have a problem with hijabis then because the counter-narrative against them strengthened.

The problems that Balochistan faces, are the same problems that were in FATA and other regions, everyday there were explosions and loss. Where did it all go? A counter-narrative was developed, we didn't change the army, and we just informed the people of all the ways they were being helped. Even at home, the child, the help, everyone works because they have a stake in the household. Just like that the people of Pakistan should know that the country is theirs, and they are to make it better or worse. The problem they have is not with the state, it is with the government, and they should not get these confused.

You guys seem educated, so you might know the difference but very few other people do. I myself have been victim of insurgent attacks; they have targeted my home many times as I was home secretary there. It is difficult for me to describe the beauty of Balochistan, and all that

Allah has blessed it with. The diverse weather, the taste of fruit harvested from there. The potential in this region is limitless and bountiful. All we need is direction.

**Do you think that there is a sense of Alienation amongst the Baloch people? The threat that Baloch face of becoming a minority, due to migration to the region because of CPEC.**

This is exactly what the RAW agents narrate to create a sense of hopelessness and fear. There is a method to it, take UAE as an example, they have had double the number of people migrate to their region but it did not lessen the rights of the Arabs. The power of distribution lies in the model of governance, a good model will not infringe the rights of anyone, although one should install 2 safety valves within the system. The first, the land should be leased, and the second is right to vote. Our proposal was to modernize the fishing industry, build a cold storage in the area. Their new generation already knows how to fish. Modernizing the trade would help improve the balance of trade and would provide the youths with jobs. Everything may not be arranged locally, so the government should make the effort to bring in companies from other countries, and help from other countries. It will provide the youth with a sense of security and they will never fall prey to the narrative you mentioned. The government's job is to build a counter narrative, while knowing full well the narrative prevailing. For example we built a narrative with the help of Javed Ghamdi, using the ayah "killing one person, is like killing all of humanity." It doesn't specify any race or religion, it says person. We wrote up a narrative and sent it to ministries all over the world; their response was that "we've heard of the other ayah, we haven't heard of this one". The explosions went down, the people didn't leave we just built a different image. We implemented the rule of law, and caught and punished the people. Islam does not care for race or caste. Islam has rules in war too, and when we build our counter narrative around these the Taliban get worried that these people know more about their religion than we do. The things that will distinguish you, is your character. Everybody worships, all religions have some prayers, but the ultimate hidayah is from Allah. So when you go out there, your first aim should be to build a stake for the people.

**Is it safe for Pakistan to go with China, do we risk exploitation by trusting China so much.**

We've been part of SEATO CENTO, we've fought Russia too, we've sent forces in Middle East too, and it's all a matter of interest. Blocs do form and they should form, because they help countries make up for each other's weak points and better promote our interests. China and Pakistan both stand to benefit from this bloc. We're lucky to have been invested in by China, and we aren't an ordinary state we are a nuclear state. Pakistan has everything, a vibrant culture, topography, geography, demography, fertile lands and the potential is so underrated. The only thing we lack is quality leadership, I four leaders become like Nelson Mandela, to look after the next generation there will be no better country. I have had the chance to travel the world, and when I come back home I hear the honking of horns and vendors screaming and it all doesn't matter to me. The public which is in majority is a good people. This country has never sustained harm from the poor or the middle class; it has always been hurt by the elites. We want to strengthen the institutions and build stake for the people and educate the people. Once you succeed in all this, you'll need nothing else to set things right.

## Mr. Javed Chaudhry

Date: 10/04/2018

(Javed Chaudhry's residence, Islamabad)

The issue with Pakistan is that we as a nation work on assumptions. We are a people who work on assuming things, meaning we have assumed that Pakistan is the most corrupt nation in the world. We have also assumed that we are the most useless and unintelligent people. And just like that, we assumed that in our land, we have an abundance of everything and we just aren't able to utilize everything. If Pakistan actually had copper and gold, then the world would have already been here and all our problems would have been resolved by now. We have Reko-diq and before that Saindak, we called these companies, all the while overplaying the fact that we might have some gold and copper reserves. Eventually when the time came, the research done, we found out that there isn't much beneath the surface." *Saindak bhi phans gya, aur usske saath baqi balochistan k andar projects bhi."*

There is no doubt that the resources are present, but the worth of these reserves isn't such that we can develop an entire economy based on it. If this were the case, Pakistan would have been in a very different place altogether. We also believe that there are massive oil reserves in Balochistan, but this isn't the case. The oil wells are on the other side of the border in Iran, if it were ever in Pakistan, then we would have already extracted it. Pakistan's oil import makes up 33% of its entire import budget and extraction of the oil in Balochistan would have been a far better option. In Pakistan we have an open petroleum extraction policy, meaning that anyone can come and drill areas to look for oil and gas, however not a lot of gas reserves were discovered. Those that were found were far too deep in the ground to be economically viable. Extracting the gas would have been far too expensive.

So, it's all an over assumption, to this day there have been no proper studies conducted, not by Pakistanis and not by outsiders, to establish the fact that do these resources even exist, though

there should be. It's all based on irrationality, and that is why, we walk into such situations without knowledge, and then end up stuck there.

For example, you might remember that the Pakistani Scientist, Samar Mubarakmand, announced that he was going to use Thar coal to produce electricity that will help produce 50000MW for 500 years. Nad because he was such a renowned scientist, the Government of Pakistan thought that he must be right. Based on that, they granted him the funds for a small pilot project, to prove his theory. They took him to a site, and allocated space for him, for his coal supply. Up until that point research showed that the Pakistani coal wasn't very high grade, and that's why most of the coal projects imported coal from outside. It was low grade, meaning that when it was burnt, it didn't produce as much heat as was required, so we used imported coal. So, what Dr. Samar did was that he drilled 3-4 holes, and set the coal underneath on fire. The entire world tried to convince him that this was a bad idea, but he was set on his way. Now, if we try to put out the fire, it's going to cost us way more than the electricity we were going to produce from it and the entire project was shut down, and Pakistan became the laughing stock of the international community, people asked " how someone could be foolish enough to set fire to the coal in the earth?"

So, this is how we are always operating on assumptions, you might even remember that a man in Sukkur claimed that he had invented a car that runs on water. Dr. Abdul Qadir appreciated the man, and then the media spread the news like wildfire, and Khurshid Shah commented that "*Sindh ki dharti ka aik beta, usne bara kamaal kr diya hai*", and then experts from all over the world, introduced us to the basic law of energy, that it can neither be made nor broken and that water in itself cannot produce energy. What happened then, was that the inventor ran, and those who had commended him also ran away. Again, assumptions play too strong a role.

Bottom line being, that our perception, that Balochistan hosts a wealth of minerals and resources, is essentially an assumption. We don't have any established facts or studies to back this claim, and that's why when we go to for exploration in that province we often come back empty handed.

### **Resource War by Michael T Klare-your opinion?**

If you look at the world's history, for the last 100 years, you'll notice that right before a war is fought, a rumor is spread that this place/port is a threat to the entire planet. Everyone should work together to neutralize the threat because otherwise it will put the entire world into danger.

Alternatively, it might also be said that the region is rich in resources, and if captured will benefit the global community by so and so dollars. This theory is the one that is applied on Afghanistan, that there is lithium and 3 other minerals that will accumulate a profit of so and so trillion dollars. And today, the American Army has been in Afghanistan for the past 17 years, with very little to show for it. With USA's expenses growing, as they already spent \$2.5 trillion and \$75 billion on their army.

Similarly, the war in Iraq you might remember began, when Iraqis had alleged chemical weapons. And if these weapons aren't neutralized they will destroy the world, and once the armies reached Iraq they found nothing there. So, this is basically a war strategy.

An old theory on Balochistan is, that all the parts of Balochistan, from Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan should be consolidated into a single greater Balochistan. And this theory is based off on the assumption, that Balochistan has enough minerals and resources to sustain an independent life as a nation. These are all endowment theories, such endowment theories. All these are just rumors, or are lies spread for a greater purpose

### **Is it the strategic location of Balochistan then?**

It is Gwadar basically. Gwadar has been the aim for the past 200 years. And the reason behind this is that 2 large forces are in this region, first it was Russia, now it's China. Both of these regions can be accessed through Gwadar, and if Balochistan may be occupied and its entire coastal line on the Jiwani Side, which by the way holds a Guinness record, they may use it to their benefit. So, China has an interest in the region, and so does Russia, but the USA has none.

**China has already taken control, wouldn't they want to maintain stability in the region?**

4 international forces have had fair chances to develop Gwadar, the British got a chance before Pakistan gained independence, during WWII. Most ports were built at that time, and they had chances even after Pakistan was made.

After that the Americans kept trying to settle there, and then during Bhutto's regime and he tried to bring Russia to the region, so he set up a Russian steel mill there, and to planned to export the steel through Gwadar. Now, the Chinese are the 4<sup>th</sup> force, which has seized the opportunity. The Chinese also seem more serious than any others, because heavy investment is required here. The rest were never able to invest heavily, because they already have the Middle East. The Chinese however, need this as it will reduce their shipping time by 14 days.

Now the Baloch have been told for generations, that their land possesses many minerals and if the Baloch become an independent nation, then they'll become a superpower. Many Baloch believe that there is an abundance of gas, oil and gold, which if extracted will improve the worth of the region. So, basically these lies are being fed for the last 70-80 years, and when time comes to extract all these abundant minerals, nothing comes out.

Balochistan used to be the largest Sui gas supplier in the country, but now it's Sindh, because the reserve isn't able to maintain the pressure.

### **Social Construct of Balochistan, will it change?**

You see, every region that has a greater area and a smaller population, with a tribal social structure is more prone to wars and conflicts. Because there aren't any cities, and that means there is a smaller number of people and no development, so nobody is worried about their lives. The general perception in such a state is that because of larger land, smaller population- like in Afghanistan, where there has been a war going on for a very long time- you may drop the bombs anywhere in the desert or on the mountains, with minimal damage and loss of human lives. Because of this thinking, these regions become more prone to war. What I'm trying to say is that Balochistan is also a region with a large area, and a smaller population and their land is deserts and mountains, that's why there is a greater element of insurgency there.

A 100 years ago, the fight that was ongoing in Panipat,delhi would admit Baloch soldiers, because of their strength and temper. The Baloch had made these fights their livelihood and would send money back home after all the fighting was done. So, the Baloch have always been like this, even after Pakistan's independence.

The solution to this problem, is that they should build cities 30-40, large cities and settle people there. Once the people become civilized, they become urbanized that's when the entire dimension of the region will change. Even today, larger settlements don't face as many issues as their smaller settlements and villages do.

### **Will the tribal leaders allow it?**

The leaders influence will eventually weaken, in last 70 years it has happened. As the literacy level has improved as the quality of education has improved and how the 3G & 4G revolution has taken Pakistan, and these ventures have made quite a difference. For example, 15-20 years ago, Pakistan had a lot of problems and now these too have reduced significantly. While there is a small group that still hosts Nationalist sentiment, there is now a larger number of people who understand that seceding from Pakistan, isn't a sane option because where will we



go? How will we sustain? We don't have wheat or fruit or anything else. There is no infrastructure, no roads, and no schools. And even the resources aren't real.

There are still 2 ongoing projects on Gold, and nothing has been extracted yet and the oil reserves are depleting too. The Baloch Youth knows and understands these things, that's why they have engineering universities and more women are coming to education, and there are institutions being built to cater to these demands, like the women's university in Quetta. This has become the onset of a revolution, and 30-40 years into the future things will surely change in Balochistan. People are starting to understand the issues of education and global issues and these will hopefully generate some "lessons learnt" to be applied in Balochistan.

### **The perception of youth because of Army participation?**

In order to handle tribal societies, use of force is required, because tribal societies themselves are coercive, and unreasonable. That is why, in cities there are no tribes. And as reason declines, you find greater tribes. And tribes always understand the language of force, the larger tribe will always control the smaller tribes, because of the force they have

The army itself is a forceful tribe and if you want to contain a problem with tribes, then you need to use force. Take FATA as an example, the problems there persisted for 65 years, until force was applied. And look how well that has worked. Similarly, in Balochistan until you introduce a large and powerful force in to their system, they will not understand. After the intervention by the Army, things have started to look up, the force isn't only using its coercive power, now they're using education and development of infrastructure like road networks. This is a necessity and if removed hastily then we might start seeing budding insurgencies.

**The Baloch are already in minority in the province, and building cities in the region will attract more population, wouldn't this instill a fear of being outnumbered by the Baloch? Won't it exacerbate the situation further?**

Teachers are always outsiders, take Pakistan for an example the dams we built were all built by outsiders, as they taught us how to. The wheat revolution that brought to us the Mexipak seed, because of which we are all able to eat wheat products- there was time when Pakistan was in a fix and in danger of starvation, when a man from Mexico came and he grew this seed and went back to Mexico. Same is the case with the television and radio networks, built by the help from the Japanese. So

So saying that we can't have people shifting to the region for fear that they might make the natives there a minority, is wrong. Balochistan can't develop itself without help from others. Just like this, the area of Cholistan, a region in Bahawalpur, had people shifting from Punjab settling there to develop the land there for agriculture. Because the area was previously undeveloped, Sindh was lagging behind as a province; however the Punjab settlers brought with them the agricultural skill set required to give the province a boost. Karachi is another example, where for business we have Indians and Gujratis setting there.

So had we kicked all these people out from Cholistan, just because they would make the Sindhi's a minority, then Karachi wouldn't have been the metropolitan area it is.

Cities are built by the villagers. Bottom line, if you want to progress, you have to get help from others.

You can leave the region, and let the problems there fester until the people become extinct, but that is too extreme an option. In order to avoid this, you need to get help from others.

### **Any recommendations**

Any nation in the world, which is small in terms of size, population and resources, but is geo-strategically significant, needs the support of a larger & richer nation. They cannot survive without the support of a larger, more powerful nation. Pakistan is in minority despite having a population of 21. But because of our strong location, our border with Afghanistan, a burning

issue there. Iran, is another and India too. The geopolitical situation is too tumultuous for us to tread these lands alone. Initially Pakistan used USA as a supporter, especially during Ayub Khan's times. Bhutto also brought in Russia, and hence Russia supported development in the country.

Now, due to changing economic conditions, the focus has shifted to products. China being the greatest exporter needs a way to expand its market to the gulf and Africa. And reduce transport costs to China's existing markets. They also need some manufacturing plants on this route. It suits them, and it suits us well too. We can't cut ourselves off from all these countries, because that will lead us to isolation of the region and further endanger our interests. So, for now after our unfruitful relations with the other superpowers, for now China is a fresh and hopeful experience.

Along with this we need to empower our culture, our lines of defense need to be strong, and improve our system. Because if any of these things are weak, and if we ever falter with any of these, the Chinese will take over.

## Talat Hussain

Date: 19/04/2018

(Talat Hussain's Residence, Islamabad)

**Q1. Is there any relationship between conflict and resources? Do you think the concept of resource wars is true?**

Ans. The ancient concept of war and conflict was related to glory in which you had to leave behind a legacy for the future generations to rule and follow up the strengths and weaknesses of the conquerors. Partly it was also related to the desire to explore. Then religion intertwined and the conflict was driven by the desire to convert people to your particular faith. Colonization process set the benchmark for occupying the territory because it gave the conquerors the control and access of the resources of that area. The modern war is also about the access of the resources from where you can access the largest reservoirs of these resource in which the territory itself is a resource and has its own strategic importance.

**Q2. In case of Balochistan, do you think we are overestimating our resources?**

Ans. All the data is based on guesstimates because we do not have the technology, expertise to gather the data whereas there is no authentic, reliable and empirically established information. The multinational companies have done some remarkable ground work as they have the budget and the expertise to dig deeper in the earth. There is no other option other than to depend on the international estimates.

**Q3. Do you think the five insurgencies of Balochistan are related to the strategic location or the resources of Balochistan?**

Ans. Each and every insurgency started off because of internal dynamics. External forces might have exploited our weaknesses. Baloch as an identity is on the verge of extinction due to extreme marginalization. It is a vast area with a highly dispersed population and the Baloch themselves are becoming a minority due to internal migration. We have been instrumental for creating our own problems for example during the 1973 uprising democratically elected government dismissed the Baloch provincial assembly and the last insurgency against the Bugti's during the Musharraf era further intensified the conflict.

**Q4. Considering the societal structure of Balochistan is there any hope that their tribal system will change?**

Ans. The desire for change itself is oversimplified. The socio-economic structure of a society do not change drastically and the socio-economic structures are changed by the economic forces not the political forces. The state is not serious to resolve the conflict in which we don't recognize our own mistakes, we don't look at the historical processes and there is no deep debate and discourse about how to bring about structural reforms in the province. We have to let the local political system function through a reformed way in which you have to build the capacity of processing the governance functions. Unless and until you let the political process function over a long period of time and transfer the right kind of expertise in funding through a socio-economic grounded public representative system you will not be able to change it. If you have had invested in youth of Balochistan and created a sense of belonging and association among them, the new generation would have been progressive citizens. We need to find a more strategic way to negotiate with them. The state has made wrong decisions in not allowing the right process to evolve. Initiatives should be taken for national integration. Everybody is a stake holder in the larger system that ensures socio-economic justice and welfare. The development projects in Balochistan is a wild goose chase for the people of province, where there basic fundamental needs like health and education etc. have not been full filled since decades. The political system through which demand of the locals should be articulated has been completely choked. The political system of Pakistan is not only responsible for development process but its main responsibility is to hold a diverse nation together.

**Q5. What is the solution to counter the insurgent's elements in Balochistan?**

Ans. The foremost thing is that we have to reform the governance structures and build institutional capacities. Participatory democracy is the key to success where the locals feel empowered with an integrated decision making process. The development initiatives by the army focus only on the short term benefits. The longer the army stay there the lesser their respect for them. You have to trust the local wisdom and develop the local industry. We have to devise the short, medium and long term economic goals. Countries learn from their mistakes and then take precarious steps towards reforms. We have to adopt an inclusive approach where determination, courage and commitment can lead to effective change.

**Q6. Do you think that the emergence two blocks in accordance to their interest like US, India and Afghanistan and the second block of Russia, China and Pakistan and Iran to some extent have any significance?**

The conception of blocks is oversimplified because there are many subsystems functioning in which they are independent of the larger system. There are areas in which countries have a point of convergence and divergence of interest. It depends on how you define it. Chinese have an interest in which they want Afghanistan and Pakistan to be stable because they want their markets to function smoothly without any hindrance of a trouble bleeding ground. On the other hand, the Americans would want to retain some terror potential in Afghanistan so that they could generalize it towards China and Iran. Iranians have a sectarian problem with the Taliban because they target the shites and the Hazara's community, but when the Iranians saw that the Americans are funding the Islamic state they started supporting the Taliban. Similarly, there are cold relations between and India and China related to border disputes but the bilateral agreements of trade and economic cooperation is in the best interest of both the countries. When you talk about blocks there is a grey line between them and the alliances are created or dissolved on the basis of each countries interests in a particular area.

## Sallahudin Mengal

Date: 15/04/2018

(Press Council of Pakistan, Islamabad)

**Q1. The theory resource war, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**

Ans. Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan and rich in natural resources especially minerals. The international powers want to exploit these resources and from the past seven decades the international powers have achieved their goal in exploiting these resources. So yes, the concept of resource wars is very prevalent and the conflicts regarding the ownership and management of natural resources will be bone of contention between the federation and its federating units.

**Q2. Keeping in mind, the benevolence of minerals that Balochistan is bestowed with, is the mineral industry contributing towards the economic growth of the province?**

If we go through the map, Quetta the capital of Balochistan is centrally located. Half of Quetta towards Afghanistan comprises of the Pashtun area and down from Quetta is the Balochi area. There are three Baloch areas which are blessed with the abundance of mineral wealth; Marri, Chaghi and Kharan. Marri tribe is having a rich resource of the coal mines where the coal is present on the surface. Sui was discovered in 1952 in the Bugti area, the natural gas was extracted from Sui to main streamline it from Karachi to Peshawar and the whole country benefited from it expect the province in which under the 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment the producing province has the first right over gas. There are total 32 districts of Balochistan in which 24 districts still have been denied the access of gas supply. Similarly, the Saindak gold project was initiated in the early sixties in which a private company of China (MCC) was given

the leases for ten years. The locals allege that huge amount of gold and copper has being extracted but the administration of Saindak project has done nothing to uplift the well-being of the society. The environment is full of toxic substances in which smelter workers perform their duty and locals of Saindak have not been given any remunerations despite working for the project for the past 15 years. The second biggest project is of Reko-diq in which it was agreed that 25 percent of shares will be provided to Balochistan but due to provincial and federal government negligence the International Center for Settlements of Investment Disputes (ICISD) gave the verdict against Pakistan as it had breached some provisions provided in the Bilateral Investment Treaty. Now, Pakistan has to face the damage claims in the Reko-diq mining case marking a huge set back. In short, the potential of mineral industry is extremely important in boosting the economic growth of the province, where there is a dire need to devise an effective mineral policy so that ambiguities can addressed.

**Q3. Is it true that the Balochi's are being sidelined due to the development projects?**

If we talk about the discovery of Sui in the early 1950s, it was provided to the whole of Pakistan which led to a tremendous economic growth and the lives of the people became easier but again fate of Dera Bugti is the same as it was fifty years ago. It is the largest and the least developed district of Pakistan. Instead of natural resource being a blessing it has become a curse for the people of Balochistan. According to my point of view the same will happen with the economic corridor in which Baloch itself becomes a minority in their own province and the rest of the country will reap the benefits from the development projects. The third biggest investment is in the Gwadar project in which the real residents of the port town are the Gwadar fishermen. The main source of local resident's income comes from fishery. To make room for the deep sea port the fishermen were displaced which increased the illegal trawling of fish, adversely affecting the local fishermen industry. Despite the protest of the local fishermen no concrete action has been taken against the trawlers mafia where the protesters foremost demand is to give fishery department the authority to control, devise suitable policies and implement them. According to the estimates, sixty percent of Balochistan resources will be used for the CPEC project but the province will only get five percent of the profits.



**Q4. After the huge milestone of 18<sup>th</sup> amendment do you think that the center has been able to address the genuine grievances of the province?**

Ans. From my point of view there has been no improvements in the status of the province. The federation and the establishment are still using the Balochi's for their own greater interest where their focus is entirely upon the strategic position of Balochistan and the locals who are the real stakeholders are still living from hand to mouth. The China Pakistan Economic corridor is also aggravating the situation in which the province is not getting its due share. The KPK government had the same concerns regarding the project where the initial projects have been only started in Punjab. The process through which the federal government handed the Gwadar port to China was also not transparent. Recently, Equalization Package was announced by the present government which is just to garner votes in the upcoming elections but not to address the longstanding grievances of natives of the region.

**Q5. What is the root cause of the past five insurgencies?**

Ans. Marginalization of the province in all fields has been the main cause in instigating the insurgencies. The center has to constantly negotiate with the tribal elite and there is an immediate need to overcome the trust deficit among the Baloch citizens. The sense of alienation will diminish if the issue of missing person will be resolved as it is a human right violation.

## **Omar Zaman**

Date: 21/04/2018

(Telephone interview)

**Q1. The theory of war on resources, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**

Ans. If we talk about resource wars, the root of violent conflict lies frequently in the abundance of natural resources. We can see the example of central and western African countries in which diamonds are illegally traded to fund conflict in war torn areas commonly known as conflict diamonds. In the case of Balochistan, it is quite evident that Balochi's resentment since the inception of Pakistan is the neglect of the province huge potential of untapped resources.

**Q2. Is the Balochi's societal construct ever going to change?**

Ans. Nothing is impossible, the tribal sardars are already residing in the foreign countries and the alliances of the nationalist groups are very weak due to which a politically active middle class can emerge and fight for their rights. The Economic Corridor and the deep sea port will steadily transform the society and eventually create employment to earn the basic livelihood.

**Q3. What is the best way to access the currently untouched wealth of minerals in Balochistan?**

Ans. Firstly, the federal and provincial government should collaborate with the International mining organization in order to produce a reliable and up to date amount of resources present. Secondly, after the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, like KPK have introduced there mining policy of 2014

Balochistan should come up with the same policy in order to avoid any future ambiguities regarding the process of ownership, management and extraction of resources.

**Q4. What may be the effect of empowering the Baloch populace politically?**

Ans. From my point of view, the past grievances were to some extent genuine, but the tribal sardars manipulated the federal government for their own selfish gains due to which the citizens remained deprived of their basic fundamental rights. The locals are not against the foreign development initiative as long as they are also benefitting from it. The best example is of the housing contracts being awarded to the big tycoons of Islamabad, Karachi and Lahore which will obviously create a sense of alienation among the locals. Recently, the provincial government has shown interests in developing the mining industry with the help of China which can considerably ease the sense of alienation as a third party mediator.

**Q5. How many foreign powers have their eyes on Balochistan? What do they want?**

Ans. The strategic location of Balochistan is of utmost importance. US has its own motives, in which during the Afghan war the NATO forces passed through this route ultimately resulting in the disintegration of USSR. The two emerging Asian tigers; China and India are tough competitors in which the two ports are going side by side like Chahbhar and Gwadar.

**Q6. What is the way forward to improve the center-province relations?**

Ans. After the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, many problems have been solved but now it depends upon the capacity and willingness of the provincial government to raise their issues in the Council of Common Interests and resolve them with mutual agreement so that the management and governance of resources can be done properly. It is also very important to remove the trust deficit and bring the Baloch into the main stream politics.

**Q7. Based on your knowledge is there any link between the five insurgencies and the mineral resources present in Balochistan?**

Ans. To a large extent it is interlinked, for example when the last insurgency occurred in the Bugti tribe the first target was the sui pipe lines which were blown because the center was not giving them there due share and there was an disagreement on the amount of royalty being paid. This deprivation is responsible for adding fuel to fire and should be handled with extreme diligence.

## **Naeem Sarfaraz**

Date: 26/04/2018

(Interviewee's office, Islamabad)

**Q1. The theory resource war, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**

Ans. The conflict on resources has been going on for centuries. All the invasions of the subcontinent were based on resources. The Mongols and Mughals all of them were hungry chops who had nothing rare. They came here because of vast resources of the subcontinent and then they never went back and stayed because of the resource rich territory. In the modern terms, after the World War I the warships were changed gradually from coal to oil and in the World War II, Hitler attacked those parts of Russia first which were in abundance of natural resources. Conflict begins when you try to get access to resources, nobody wants access to people as no one is interested in conquering people but the stake lies in those areas which are rich in resources.

**Q2. Is Baloch nationalism a threat to Pakistan?**

Ans. Balochistan is geo-politically important because the Baloch are spread over a large area due to Afghanistan in the south and Iran in the east. In the current scenario there is minimal risk of agitation as the concept of Greater Balochistan has not gain its momentum and is vague because of complex internal conflict between the tribes and the sects.

**Q3. Do you think there is an overestimation of resources?**

Ans. As far as the resources of Balochistan are concerned it's been seven decades we have not been able to figure out the amount of resources present. In 1951, an American company discovered gas at Sui. After that, for 30 years there was no other discovery. Then in 1980s oil was discovered in Thatta and Badin area and finally after another 20 years they discovered some

resources in KPK. The original oil was found in the Pothohar region in Attock. So resources in all the parts of Pakistan have been discovered in various stages. There needs a lot of exploration that has not been carried out in Balochistan since the 1950s. Determining the amount and type of resources takes a lot of time and effort.

For instance, Reko-diq consist of huge reserves of copper and gold. Foreign companies have worked and spent millions of dollars in development with the exploration license but when they wanted to dig out copper, the government of Balochistan did not issued them a mining license. That went into arbitration. The tussle has been going on for ten years where Pakistan has lost its case and the Canadian company has claimed for 11.5 billion dollars damages. Here comes the point where our resources are exploited not by any foreign invader or locals of that area but only by the bad government policies made by our inexperienced policy makers. Besides oil, gas and coal there are claims of many more minerals but no definitive research has been conducted. At the moment, Sui is the only critical resource of Balochistan. The locals have general complaints about federal government policies. The problem that arises is not the non-availability of the resources but the poor government policies due to which the gas reserves have been drastically depleted in Sui field.

**Q4. How many foreign powers have their eyes on Balochistan? What do they want?**

Ans. From the international point of view, Balochistan is a resource rich area but it is not in comparison to the area around us which is all far richer. There is Middle East coming all the way from Iran up to our border then comes Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan which has huge gas reserves. From the resources point of view we are not the main targets of the world.

**Q5. What is the geo-strategic importance of Gwadar?**

Gwadar can become an industrial port with the cooperation of China. In the long term, China gains a tremendous amount by having the facility of reprocessing items over here, repackaging them and ultimately adding value to them and Pakistan will benefit side by side due

to infrastructural development. Gwadar will be important for the Chinese because of geopolitical reasons and if there is any problem in the South China Sea they can easily use the alternate route. The logical solution for Gwadar is to have its own energy center that would be a geo-political development having a huge positive impact on the socio-economic condition of the province. There are immense advantages of Gwadar but the development will take a long time which is not specifically resource based. Take the example of Saindak project where the contract has been awarded to Chinese company which is a source of constant exploitation of copper and gold. There will be no direct benefit to Pakistan as far as the natural resources are concerned.

**Q6. Based on your knowledge is there any link between the five insurgencies and the mineral resources present in Balochistan?**

Ans. An area which is feeling deprived at some stage or the other rebels against that deprivation. The recent Paktoon Tahafuz movement is headed by a youngster whose grievances are genuine and need to be resolved on immediate bases. The feeling of alienation will always have a reaction at some point in time. Balochistan is run by the military. The army overbearing influence in Balochistan will be always questioned. Any armed forces in the world cannot succeed without the support of their own people. The condition of some form of disturbance exists in Balochistan where the anti-state elements might exacerbate the situation and the insurgents will continue to play hide and seek, until and unless the native Baloch mobilize themselves and participate actively in the mainstream politics.

## **Sardar Yar Muhammad Rind**

Date: 14/04/2018

(Sorang House, Islamabad)

### **Q1. The theory of war on resources, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**

Ans. Mineral Wealth holds a great potential for the country which contains it because through utilizing it there are chances of economic upheaval to a great extent and this point of view is accepted world-view. Obviously, when mineral wealth is discovered the problem of its ownership arises from the very start and different mechanisms are in place world-wide to deal with this problem. Therefore, the presence of mineral wealth and other resources can instigate violence and conflict not only at the intra-national level but international level. With the ever increasing demand for resources and minerals and their limited supply, presence of mineral wealth gets attention of the developed countries from around the world since most of the industries whose input comes from these resources are located in developed areas.

As far as the case of Balochistan is concerned, there are huge piles of minerals especially gold, copper, silver, iron and others and many of them still remain undiscovered. The Rek-o-deq mines are spread across 50,000 acres and there are millions of unexploited acres which hold vast resources. Therefore, wherever such resources are discovered it is natural that the other countries will be attracted to them and will adopt different means of getting access to them based on their importance.

### **Q2. How many foreign powers have their eyes on Balochistan? What do they want?**

Ans. When you talk about Balochistan, the situation is complex because its location in the region holds a great potential and at the same time there are vast reserves of minerals. Therefore



it is very natural that foreign powers have laid their eyes on Balochistan. Identifying these powers and their motives is easy and difficult at the same time because several factors come at play to define this complex nexus. Talking about India, which from the day one has always tried to destabilize Pakistan and with the opportunity available to Pakistan in bringing an economic boom by using these resources would of course be unacceptable for India and therefore, it has always remained involved in creating tensions in the province especially from the Afghanistan's soil. America is interested in the area because this location is really important in order to contain China and Russia. China is developing the CPEC because the route that passes through Balochistan will open enormous trade network for China. Thus you can say that various countries are interested in Balochistan with their own motives behind.

**Q3. Is the Balochi societal construct ever going to change?**

Ans. When you look at the area of Balochistan and the geographical distribution of population, you will realize that the province is very sparsely populated and this is a positive point for Balochistan because countries in the world with small population have made substantive progress. When you use the term social construct you need to take into account the historical, cultural, social and political factors in a combined approach. People from various ethnics backgrounds form part of the Baloch population and Baloch have their own cultural distinctive identity. We need to effectively engage the Baloch population in the national process by connecting the far flung areas, promoting education and other facilities. At the same time there is an urgent need of ensuring that all the rights to the Baloch people are guaranteed.

**Q4. What is the best way to access the currently untouched wealth of minerals in Balochistan?**

Ans. There is a whole systematic way of developing a successful network that will utilize the mineral potential of Balochistan and will play role in the economic uplift of not only the province but the whole country. First of all, a correct study needs to be taken place regarding the identification and quantification of the mineral wealth. Then a proper approach of developing a mineral industry in the province should be adopted. Infrastructure needs to be laid down as it has

been recently. Baloch populace should be trained according to the requirements and the opportunity of CPEC should be utilized by involving the mineral industry in the special economic zones.

**Q5. What may be the effects of empowering the Baloch populace politically?**

Ans. The Baloch people are already politically active to a great extent however, there is a much greater need of promoting education so that they can effectively participate in the political process. The political history of Balochistan dates back to pre-partition era. Kalat State National Party and similar other efforts are very renowned. There is an urgent need of using this political process to solve the problems being faced by the Baloch population according to their wishes.

**Q6. Way forward to improving the center-province relations?**

Ans. The center needs to realize that Balochistan comprises a large portion of Pakistan and people of Balochistan are entitled to enjoy their rights under the constitution of Pakistan. We need to implement the 1973 Constitution in its true essence to have the basic rights of the people and the rights of the province guaranteed. No government has ever tried to cater to the root grievances of the Baloch people. Moreover the center and province need to adopt a constructive approach as compared to a competitive approach while addressing the policy problems.

Apart from that I recommend that education is the ideal solution to all problems and Baloch youth have great potential to be the participants in the overall development and progress of the country.

**Q7. Based on your knowledge, is there any link b/w the 5 insurgencies and the mineral resources present in Balochistan?**

Didn't answer.

## Muhammad Saleem

Date: 20/04/2018

(Rawalpindi Cantonment Board, Rawalpindi)

### **Q1. The theory of war on resources, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**

Ans. I would say that the relation between resources and conflict is very strong and there are multiple occurrences all around the world which proves this relationship. Take the example of Sudan and other African countries where civil wars have emerged because of the purpose of having control on resources. Talking about Balochistan, the presence of resources is not the only thing. When we talk about Balochistan multiple factors come into play, the most important of which is its geostrategic location. It lies at the cross points of potential trade routes and whoever has dominance in this area will be in a position to dictate its control in the region. So as far as the conflict is concerned, it is very much likely that the presence of minerals can be a reason for the involvement of international actors but it is not as important as the geostrategic location.

### **Q2. How many foreign powers have their eyes on Balochistan? What do they want?**

Ans. As already said, the geostrategic location is kind of a golden point which gives you the decisive role in the International affairs. With the signing of CPEC, China's influence in the area has increased vastly. Speaking of Chinese interests, they want to connect the undeveloped east to the port of the Gwadar thus expanding its trade. Apart from that, having presence on the Gwadar would give China a strategic position to exert its influence in the Indian Ocean where America enjoys hegemony with the support of India. Chinese oil supply passes through the Straits of Hormuz and Straits of Melaca thus China is looking forward to avoid any blockage in the times of crisis. As soon as the role of America is concerned, it needs to maintain its domination in the region and wants to contain the expansion of China which is on the verge of becoming a

potential Super Power along with USA. India has always looked forward to promoting violence in Pakistan and Balochistan provides it with a good opportunity because of the separatist elements.

**Q3. Is the Balochi societal construct ever going to change?**

Ans. When you look at the Baloch society, you will see varying patterns. In the Baloch dominated areas, education is less and the rule of Nawabs dominate although it has considerably decreased during the last few years but it still exists. In the Pashtun dominated regions, there isn't any Nawab's dominance. There a lot of inter-tribal conflicts among the Balochi tribes such as Marri and Bugti. The uneducated poor populace is led astray by the Nawabs, some of them even use them for anti-state activities. There is a dire need to change this concept of subservience to Nawabs and education is the only solution. At the same time, government needs to realize the rights of the Balochi people and remove their grievances. Development paradigm should be launched in Balochistan with special priority to educations, jobs creations, provision of basic services and infrastructure development.

**Q4. What is the best way to access the currently untouched wealth of minerals in Balochistan?**

Ans. There are vast mineral reserves in the province of Balochistan and many of them are exploited by the foreign companies. Our gold and copper has been taken away under the Rek-o-diq and Saindak projects. Government needs to build the potential of the local industry to explore and mine the minerals. Mining training and education should be launched in institutes especially in Balochistan to train the people for this industry. Government needs to direct the funds towards the development of this industry and infrastructure which is essential to sustain it.

**Q5. What may be the effects of empowering the Baloch populace politically?**

Ans. The first thing that needs to be transferred to Balochi people is education, so that they free themselves from the shackles of the tradition of being the servants to tribal chiefs. There is a dire need to empower the Baloch people politically so that they actively participate in the whole political process and elect their leaders who can put forward their demands in front of the government. The solution to the problem of the separatist elements in Balochistan lies in imparting education and the development. Thus the Baloch populace can divert this negative energy from violent activities towards participating in the development of their province.

**Q6. Way forward to improving the center-province relations?**

Ans. In order to effectively resolve the discord between the center and the province, both sides have to make some compromises. The central government need to guarantee the rights of the Baloch population and should promote development in the province. At the same time Baloch leaders need to realize the fact that the solution to their grievances lie in peaceful agreements rather than violent activities. At the same time these leaders need to do something or the Baloch populace because after the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment certain degree of autonomy has been given to the provinces however, it has been argued from the side of the central government that the Baloch leaders and politicians are involved in corruption and misuse of the public funds and they present the case to the neglected public that the central government is responsible for all of their problems.

**Q7. Based on your knowledge, is there any link b/w the 5 insurgencies and the mineral resources present in Balochistan?**

Didn't answer

## Muhammad Iqbal

Date:4/04/2018

(Petroleum House, Islamabad)

**Q1. The theory of war on resources, is true to what extent in general and with focus on Balochistan?**

Ans. The presence of resources in a certain area can have both positive and negative points. Although it is generally believed that occurrence of resources can have vast economic benefits if they are utilized however, if the parent country doesn't have the means to properly make use of these resources, then foreign countries as well as companies get attracted to them and this is very much happening in the developing countries. As far as the conflict on resources is concerned, their limited supply in relation to their vast demand answers the question that when a lot of people want the same thing and unless there is any proper mechanism is in place to distribute it, there is going to be disturbance.

**Q2. How many foreign powers have their eyes on Balochistan? What do they want?**

Ans. I think I am not in a position to answer this question. An expert in strategic affairs and international relations will be able to give you a correct analysis.

**Q3. Is the Balochi societal construct ever going to change?**

Didn't answer

**Q4. What is the best way to access the currently untouched wealth of minerals in Balochistan?**

Ans. The mineral industry in Pakistan has not properly developed as it was supposed to be. Successive governments neglected the mineral sector as a result of which we stand here today having a poorly developed mineral industry. But if we still embark upon the journey of bringing a revolution in the mineral industry and setting the course of power in the right direction, this industry can be of great economic benefit for the whole country. We need to have a well drafted minerals policy that needs to be implemented in its true sense. Government needs to develop its potential of exploration and mining and local investments should be encouraged. Moreover, infrastructure needs to be established so that we can reap the true benefits from these minerals.

**Q5. What may be the effects of empowering the Baloch populace politically?**

Didn't answer

**Q6. Way forward to improving the center-province relations?**

Didn't answer

**Q7. Based on your knowledge, is there any link b/w the 5 insurgencies and the mineral resources present in Balochistan?**

Didn't answer





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