

Developing Dimensions of Pakistani Baloch Nationalism

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze various developing dimensions of Pakistani Baloch Nationalism, which in present day regional and global circumstances, became pertinent. The Baloch people are a unique ethno-linguistic group spread between Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. The ethnic nationalism of Pakistani Baloch is different in two aspects: One, they are distinct in biological, cultural, and linguistic spirit in which the ethnic group develops a distinctive value system and language and it may evolve a structural identity by developing a particular type of joint relationship. Secondly, it is distinct from the politics of ethnicity in advanced societies, where it is somewhat luxurious and gave relative importance to other basic political issues. Over the decades, the Balochi environment, which has molded the character of the Baloch as individuals, has also shaped their destiny as a people. Therefore, it is very important to analyze the present situation of Baloch nationalism, as their behavior is one of the important factors in the future stability and security not only of the Baloch-inhabited countries but also of the entire region. The Baloch people have awakened to a sense of nationhood rather belatedly, it is important to know the Baloch and to understand their alarms, their political orientation, and the course they are likely to pursue.

Key words: Ethnicity; Nationalism; Insurgency; Pakistan Government and Alienation

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INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is a feeling of protection of interests of a nation and national state. But the ethnic nationalism is more than nationalism. It defines the nation in terms of ethnicity that always includes some elements of descent from previous generations. The state derives political legitimacy from its status as homeland of the ethnic group, and from its function to protect the national group and facilitate its cultural and social life, as a group. In the context Pakistan is an ethno-nationalist state in the post colonial era. Being an independent state Pakistan largely ignored the social diversity and economic disparities of its people along with interests of ethnic and regional minorities. It gave Pakistani Baloch nationalism to diversify in different dimensions and now it shifted from seeking advantage within the state to move beyond into the realm of ethno-nationalism rather than reverting to the former position. Pakistan is a multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society and constitution of the country provides equal rights and opportunity to all nationalities and ethnic groups in all walks of life. Suppression of diversity in the name of Islam, national unity or strong centre proved counter-productive in the years following the independence of the country.

The development of a Baloch national identity stretches back to the pre colonial era but the tribal nature of Baloch society prevented a unified nationalist movement from forming in the lead up to the creation of Pakistan in 1947 which led to the province's annexation. Even in the time some Baloch leaders scrambled to form a sense of common ethnic identity by calling for an independent Balochistan (Khan, 2003). The day after the partition of India and Pakistan, the Punjabis remain in domination of the civil and military bureaucracies of the state and alienation of Baloch people continued. Pattern of economic oppression led Balochistan to become the poorest and the least developed of all Pakistan's provinces and since 1970s its share of the country's Gross Domestic

Product (GDP) had dropped from 4.9% to 3.7% (Jetly, 2009). Colonial era alike the Baloch-Pashtun divide developed in later years as Pashtuns in the north of Baluchistan have achieved greater economic progress than the Baloch despite the fact that Baluchistan is Pakistan's most abundant province in natural gas reserves. Thus, from the beginning the Baloch people had always felt underrepresented in politics and the military establishment despite their massive population.

From the day of its accession to Pakistan (March 27, 1948) with which oppressive methods and measures of Pakistan commenced, in line, over the years Baloch people obtained their several sympathizers/moral supporters in the comity of nations. Today, a host of countries including, Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Israel, Soviet Union, United States of America, and various human rights organizations are critic of Pakistan's attitude towards Balochi people.

As a result, not open but with tacit favors, the Baloch conflict could potentially lead to the balkanization of Pakistan. It may spread to other provinces such as Sindh, which also has a history of ethno-nationalism and compel Pakistan to lose vast swaths of territory. In recent decades, globalization and its concomitant cultural complexity make the very existence of national cultures and nation states problematic (Richmond, 1984). The transnational forces such as multi-national corporations, global telecommunication and transport systems, and international migration, are profoundly challenging the previous notions of national-political and cultural boundaries. The technological basis for this new phase is the information revolution and the latest example of this development is European Union.

1. OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

This research is about the developing dimensions of Pakistani Baloch nationalism in reference to country's overall situation along with formation, feature and its different impacts, which further pave the Baloch nationalism to growth and diversity in various directions. It is a test-case study of the hypothesis that the ethnic nationalism of Baloch and its handling tact of the Pakistani ruling class from the beginning and even today, the situation had become bad to worse. Especially, un-democratic forces of Pakistan had made the situation a critical one and the world opinion is widely going in favor of Baloch. It poses a serious threat to Pakistan's national unity and integrity. In this respect, the study will deal with the following:

- To discuss the basic elements of ethnicity, ethnic nationalism with its difference to civil nationalism.
- To analyze the ethnic nationalism of Pakistan and initial response of the ruler.
- To evaluate the origin and development of ethnic nationalism in Pakistan.

- To analyze the insurgency in Pakistan and role of military rulers with focus on General Pervez Musharraf.
- To analyze different dimensions of Pakistani Baloch in globalization, its impacts on Pakistan and in the region as a whole.

At the end conclusion and recommendations will be drawn with focus on gradual development of Baloch ethnic nationalism in Pakistan especially after its annexation to Pakistani State in March 1948. Side by side it would attempt to examine impacts of state's "oppressions" on Baloch nationalism, which in larger context, poses a direct threat not only to the federal structure of Pakistan but to all federal governments of the region as a whole.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research methodology in this paper is to explain the entire context of Baloch ethnic nationalism in reference to Pakistan. The existing material on ethnicity, nationalism and their different dimensions is mostly descriptive and theoretically ambiguous. Thus, the study used secondary sources such as books, journal, and newspapers, at times quantitatively to explain and analyze events leading to Baloch nationalism in Pakistan. In addition, primary sources such as different reports published from time to time have been used for quantitative analysis. The study relied mainly on data/materials collected because it would help to test the hypothesis. The questionnaire that was built for this purpose shall analyze the problem with the help of theoretical frameworks on different aspects.

Finally, in the course of the study main focus remained on different dimensions of Baloch nationalism in Pakistan and therefore the work has excluded otherwise very useful narrations of other contexts to concentrate solely on study themes. The paper through study is intended to explain the problem that has not been dealt with the way the present study does.

3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The history of the Baloch people includes colonial subjugation, forcible annexation, the refusal of sub-state ethnic claims, interference in local affairs, and the inability of Islamabad to deliver genuine development. On the other, tribalism and factional conflict have kept the Baloch from advocating a coherent set of demands. However, more important, initially, is the historical context and the political environment in which the Baloch nationalism is rooted and evolved in that part of the country. Eastern Balochistan, which is now a province of Pakistan, was the centre of the Rind-Lashari tribal Confederacy in the late 15th century and later the Khanate of Kalat which ruled over the whole Baloch country, included the Iranian

Balochistan since the 17th century up to the British advent in mid-19th century (Ahmadzai, Vol.4). The beginning of the British era in Balochistan can be tied to the unavoidable competition between Russia and England and, therefore, early works about the Baloch belong to the British spies. In this respect Henry Pottinger's book, *Travels in Balochistan and Sindh* (1816), published in the West, is the most important. He wrote in detail about the geography, history, and the politics of Balochistan in the early 19th century. Equally important, however, are the historical information collected by the two other British spies, N. P. Grant (1809) and Hajee Abun-Nabee of Kabul (1844). The three above mentioned works not only give us a picture of Balochs' socio-political life before the British advent but also their foreign relations with neighboring countries such as Persia, Afghanistan, and India.

In line, the contribution of philologists and memoirs of the British officials who served in the region are important. The philologist, Longworth Dames in his work, *The Baloch Race* (1904) and *Popular Poetiv of the Baloches* (1907) classified Balochi as an Iranian language, which later became an important ground for discussion on the Baloch ethnic group and history by many scholars. Likewise, Charles Masson's *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, the Punjab* (1844); Hughes, *The Country of Balochistan* (1877); G. P. Talte, *Frontiers of Baluchistan* (1909); R. E. Dyer, *The Raiders of Sarhad* (1921) also provide important information about the history and politics of Balochistan in the early 20th century. The memoirs of British officials who served in different capacities put their knowledge in the form of books, essays and luncheon speeches. Conrad Corfield's contribution, *The Princely India I Knew: From Reading to Mountbatten* (1975) and Edward Wakefield's *Past Imperative: My Life in India 1927-1947* (1966) are the good accounts of chapters on Balochistan and the Khanate of Kalat which provide basic materials for an understanding of British "indirect rule" in the region.

On the history of nationalism and national movement there are Baloch and Western sources. Among the Baloch Gul Khan Nasir's *Tarikh-e-Balochistan (1952/1954)* in two volumes and M. Sordar Khan *Baluch's Baluch a Nation* (1947) and *History of Baloch Race and Baluchistan* (1958) with Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri's *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan* (1947) contain a good account of Baloch history and origin and development of Baloch nationalism. These books are the best authentic sources of events, activities and personalities. Among writers most of them were leaders of Baloch national movement, ideologues of Baloch nationalism during the 1930s and 1940s and hold various government posts. In the West, some authentic researches have been undertaken on the Balochi language, history and nationalism especially after 1960s. It includes Ph.D. dissertations, books and journals, investigative reports etc.. In the early 20th century Brian Spooner (1989)

and Reccardo Redaelli (1997) have contributed a lot on understanding the Baloch question.

In the context, it would be impossible not to mention the two most intriguing scholars of the Baloch political history and nationalism. Inayatullah Baloch and Selig S. Harrison, through their painstaking studies and credible scholarship maintained the nationalism methodology-Baloch in nationalist history and Harrison in modern Baloch nationalism. Baloch in his book, *The Problem of Greater Baluchistan* (1987), he introduced Western methodology and models approach to the Baloch history and historiography. His contribution to the consolidation of nationalist beliefs in Balochistan was central to his work. Another person of prominence on the topic is Selig S. Harrison, who remained in close contact with the Baloch national movement leaders in 1970s and access to rare and invaluable documents, relating to history and politics. In his famous work, *In Afghanistan's Shadow* (1981) he analyses the Baloch nationalist movement of the 1970s, which led to armed conflict during 1973-77.

In contrast to the writings and sentiments to the Baloch nation and nationalism by scholars, there are others, most of the Pakistani and Iranian scholars who, in their contributions denied the right of self-determination, specially on the forced merger of Baluchistan into Iran (1928) and Pakistan (1948). For example, in Feroz Ahmed's edited book, *Focus on Baluchistan and Pakistan Question* (1975), and *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan* (1998). Feroz argued on the point:

The people of African origin, because of exclusive emphasis on paterfial heritage, are considered Baloch - on the other he adds, any person of the Baloch "race" who may have culturally, economically and politically assimilated into Sindhis or Punjabis, is still regarded as Baloch and expected to support nationalism. (Ahmad, 1998)

Similarly, rejecting the ethnic characteristics of the Baloch nation, the Iranian nationalist scholar, Hamid Ahmadi in his book, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Iran: From myth to reality* (1999) emphasized that the Baloch are of Iranian origin (Ahmadi, 1999). According to him, Western orient lists especially the British as propagated the idea of nationalism in early 20th century to divide Iran. Thus, ignoring all the salient features, namely, historical experiences, common ethnic bond, common language, religious beliefs, distinct territory, socio-economic structure, and psychological make up of the Baloch nation, these Iranian and Pakistani writers blame the external factors. However, they both, along with others, condemn the brutal policies of their central governments and acknowledge the fact that Baloch are being neglected economically and politically (Ahmad, 1998).

In order to review the literature, the study has relied upon secondary sources which helped a lot in terms of explaining the historical background of Baloch nationalism with its various developing dimensions

over the decades. These endeavors helped me to get some information and insight on the Baloch nationalist movement and politics to explain research problem.

4. ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM

Earlier to this much has been said and written about the history, facts and legitimacy of ethnic question including the dimensions of Pakistani Baloch nationalism. Here, to make the study more systematic, dynamic and problem-centered we will only highlight the basic elements relating to the problem.

4.1 Ethnicity

In common, unlike other social groups such as wealth, age and hobbies, ethnicity is often an inherited status based on the society one lives, but it can also be adopted when one moves into another society. An ethnic group or ethnicity is a category of people who identify with each other on similarities, such as common language, ancestral, social, cultural or national experiences (Garrick, 2010). In this context membership of an ethnic group tends to be defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, origin, myth, history homeland, language and other symbolic systems. But groups and group loyalty can take many forms and hardly constitute or explain nationalism by themselves. And so, in modern research, groups bound together by consciousness of common ancestry, religion, language, territory or historical traditions—striving for the specific interest of their members—are conceptualized as ethnic entities. In classical Greek, the term “ethnic” took on a meaning comparable to the concept now expressed by “ethnic group” mostly translated as nation, and people. Further in the 19th century, the term came to be used in the sense of “peculiar to race, people or nation”, in return to the original Greek meaning. It now meant of an ethnic character, first recorded in 1935 and entered the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1972 (Ronald, 1978). Thus, depending on the context that is used, the term nationality may either be used synonymously with ethnicity, or synonymously with citizenship, in a sovereign state. In a democracy ethnicity not only comprises a potential force of mobilization, but it has become the most significant manifestation of seeking identity through shared descent in the late 20th century. Gradually, the term “ethnicity” moved to a variety of nationalism in which the leaders “seek make their fellow constituents conscious of a shared attribute” and to persuade those constituents that the attribute is more important than the group members previously realized (Banton, 1986).

In regard to the origins of ethnicity, two major thoughts have been developed—those emphasizing primordialists and those laying stress on situational and contextual factors. The primordialists consider the ethnic identity as given because of primordial affinities deriving from race, skin, color, tribe, caste, language, religion and other such

factors. Others are called instrumentalists, who point out the situational nature of the ethnic identity. Although the word “identity” itself is multi-dimensional containing more than one objective marker and enables a rather flexible adjustment to concrete situation (Smith, 1986). In a nutshell, the national identities are based on two elements: an ethnic element, which stems from cultural - historical legacies and a civic-territorial element, which stems from modernity. However, in true sense of the term both are complementary to each other and in spite of tensions between these two principles both of them are necessary for the shaping of a fully-fledged national identity. In order to be a nation, an ethnic community must establish a civil society based on political citizenship and a territorial nation relies on myth of descent and historical memories for distinguishing itself from its neighbors.

4.2 Ethnic Nationalism

Ethnic nationalism defines the nation in terms of ethnicity which always includes some element of descent from previous generations. It also includes ideas of a culture shared between members of the group and with their ancestors, and usually a shared language. The state derives political legitimacy from its status as homeland of the ethnic group, and from its duty to protect the national group facilitates its family and social life, as a group. This is the pure and old ideas of ethnicity, however, it has changed over the centuries and as theorist Anthony D. Smith, in modern age, uses the term “ethnic nationalism” for non-Western concepts of nationalism as opposed to Western views of a nation defined by its geographical territory. In short “ethnic nationalism” is more generic term and used for nationalists who hold these beliefs in an informal, distinctive, or unsystematic way.

Often combined with ethnic nationalism is civic nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizenry, from the degree to which it represents the will of the people. Thus modern ethnic nationalism comprises two complimentary elements as (Renan, 1990) wrote:

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one is in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present day consent, the desire to live together.

4.3 Baloch Nationalism in Pakistan

The Baloch nationalism as we see in today’s Pakistan, is primarily a nationalism that emerged in a tribal set-up well before the partition of India and was also opposed to Balochistan’s accession to Pakistan. It was not an effect of industrial social formation or print capitalism, for Balochistan is the least industrialized region of Pakistan with the lowest level of literacy. It is the most impoverished province of Pakistan, with the lowest per capita income compared with the other three provinces.

Ethnically and linguistically, it is the most diverse province of the country. Baloch is the largest ethnic group in their province that does not constitute a majority. Their number is closely followed by Pakhtuns. The third largest group is Brahui, followed by a substantial number of Sindhis and Punjabis. Interestingly, the majority of Baloch live outside Balochistan, mostly in Sindh and Punjab.

Even before colonial rule Balochistan was a highly fragmented society. The concept of state authority did not figure very prominently in the tribal mode of localized social life. Whatever pockets of power and control existed was based on the internal organization of local tribes. At the juncture, if we reinterpret the emergence of Baloch ethnic national we found it as a response to the imposition of the centralized modern state system, although first by the Khan of Kalat on a limited scale, followed by the British and present day Pakistani respectively on larger basis. First in the eighteenth century, the sixth Khan of Kalat established a unified Baloch army of, 25,000 men and 1,000 camels and organized the major Baloch tribes under an agreed military and administrative system (Harrison, 1981). As a follow up of the understanding Nasir Khan set up a bureaucratic structure of the state by appointing a number of administrators with specific portfolios and duties like management of internal and foreign affairs, collection of revenues from crown lands, tributes, etc.. Best despite these innovations the state did not have an organized bureaucracy that could incorporate various tribes. In the system of the tribes were only a fighting force of the state to be awarded with land grants for the supply of troops and maintenance of order. Therefore, weakness of the structure paved the way for existence of a considerable degree of tension between the centralizing authority of the Khan and the localized powers of the tribal chiefs (Hewitt, 1996). More so, it was a system that owed more to the powerful personality of the Khan than to an institutionalized structure.

4.4 The Strategic British Era

In 1884 the British colonial administration annexing the greater Balochistan, entered into an agreement with the Khan of Kalat and began to exploit the existing tension between the Khan dynasty and the tribes. In the Agreement Khan guaranteed the safety of passage from Sindh to Afghanistan, as the British needed it, but failed to control the anti-British tribes. The British used this as an excuse to attack Kalat and when Khan refused to surrender, he was killed (Swidler, 1977) and thus the one state authority of Baloch history came to an end. Although, in the face of continued tribal resistance the colonial administrator restored the Kalat state with a subordinate position in which the state was not allowed to negotiate with any other state without the consent of the British. In a further strategic step, the colonial administrator started their dividing practices by playing off rival chiefs against each other. In the far west, the “Goldsmid line” assigned

roughly one-quarter area to Persia and the second artificial line called “Durand line” handed over a small trip to Afghanistan in 1893. Only part of Balochistan was named British Balochistan to be centrally administered by British India while the rest of it a truncated remnant of the Kalat state and three puppet principalities.

Likewise, an administrative system called the sandeman system of administration was imposed on Balochistan, which treated it as a political legacy ruled through an indirect rule of the political agent of the governor general. Rather than a direct administrative authority, the political agent acted as an advisor to the Khan of Kalat. In the new arrangement, the tribal chiefs were allowed to devise their own methods to manage their day-to-day local affairs, but when it came to the issue of importance, they were required to consult the British official. Under the Principle of indirect rule a council of chiefs, called Shahi Jirga, was established in which the tribal leaders could politically represent themselves. But the body was not independent one and working under the tutelage of the colonial administration and was answerable to the British chief commissioner. In afterwards, much was done, without affecting Balochistan’s special status and, as a result, colonial intervention increased in the twentieth century and, by 1930s, the powers of Khanate were usurped and the powers of the council, virtually eliminated (Ahmed, 1975).

The systematic economic exploitation and centralized nature of British domination in Balochistan emerged in the form of intervention by the state. Although the highly fragmented nature of Baloch society did not allow the emergence of an organized national movement, yet the sporadic resistance to colonial rule continued throughout. In line, the first successful nationalist campaign was launched in 1929 against state recruitment that turned into an armed mutiny. In next year, 1930, several underground political groups were formed and an anticolonial “Quit Balochistan” was launched, followed by the formation of the first nationalist party, Kalat National Party in 1935. On the eve of the British departure from the subcontinent, the Khan of Kalat declared the independence of Kalat along with three other feudal principalities. Further, as a result of fast political developments, in March 1948, Balochistan became a part of new-formed nation-Pakistan.

4.5 Independent Pakistan and Centralized Balochistan

Unfortunately, at the time Balochistan was annexed to Pakistan, there was no legislative assembly existed in Balochistan, because earlier, the colonial administrator’s reforms towards representative rule in India did not include Balochistan and in terms of centralization Pakistan’s treatment was worst than the colonial regime. Jinnah, one in all at the moment, in keeping with the colonial tradition, constituted a governor general’s advisory council for Balochistan to be ruled direct by

him (Chaudhri, 1973). Further to strengthen his grip on Balochistan and other frontier areas, the governor general created a ministry of states and frontier regions and, in an unparliamentary manner, kept the ministry under his own control. The rule of the governor general in Balochistan was considered as a dictatorial form of government. It culminated in 1955, with the imposition of “One Unit” scheme in Balochistan which amalgamated the four western provinces into one. The new scheme was vehemently opposed in Balochistan than anywhere else, and it was the first defiance of central government’s authority. This is why the army moved first in Balochistan, in 1958, just before the imposition of martial law. It was the beginning of a repressive regime in Balochistan. The unrest further increased when the army demanded that weapons should be handed in at police stations and the tribesmen refused to comply. And after 23 years of the creation of Pakistan, in 1970, Balochistan was granted the status of a province. It led to the formation of a pro-Baloch government of the National Awami Party (NAP), in alliance with Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI), a religious party.

In line, centralized tendency of Pakistan continued in Balochistan even after coming of a democratic government in 1973, in country’s history. However, it found no relief in the new regime and as earlier, centralist tendencies continued. As a result, the province faced the worst repressive measures during 1973-1977 when a strong and violent opposition was raised against the central government. Z. A. Bhutto’s centralist tendencies and his support base in Punjab warranted that a check be placed on the reforms of Balochistan which raised further tensions in centre-state relations. Bhutto, in his letter to the governor of the province, among other things, wrote, “every effort should be made to preserve national integrity. Fissiparous tendencies are not only harmful to the nation but also affect our international relations. Therefore, movements like Azad Balochistan movement, however nebulous, should be firmly put down, and not be permitted to affect our relations with foreign powers, particularly friendly rightwing countries. In fact, from the very beginning the Pakistani state has been insensitive to provincial grievances and oversensitive to the voice of dissent.

As a result of abruptly changed scenario the Baloch people became a part of the independent state of Pakistan yet colonial policies for controlling these tribes continued. The policy of offering incentives to tribal chiefs at the cost of common man has alienated Balochistan with the rest of the federation. The political leadership of Balochistan argues that the British government always treated them differently and they enjoyed special status and relationship with the British Indian government. In the years 1947-1948, because of rapid, unfavorable political developments they accepted the amalgamation with the state of Pakistan, but got apprehensive about the fact that Baloch population was only a small fraction of the total population of Pakistan and hence in a serious danger of

loss of identity if not duly protected. Their apprehension was strengthened by the imposition of “One Unit” system, and later on, political arrangements under long military rules existed in the country. This forced them to rally under the banner ship of nationalism. The Baloch had voiced strong grievances about their lack of representation in the Pakistani bureaucracy, and armed forces, or in the provincial administration of Balochistan. Relations between Baloch nationalists and the central government have been confrontational since the creation of Pakistan, periodically turning violent.

Recently, in the last two decades, the understanding between Baloch people and the central government has worsened further, specially during the military rule of General Pervez Musharraf and thereafter. In 2004, the long-simmering tensions broke out into renewed insurgency. The conflict stems in part from the central government’s imposition of a historical narrative of the creation of Pakistan as a religiously homogeneous country into the ethnically distinct Baloch (Kuciecz, 2012). The military coup in 1999 that brought Pervez Musharraf to power increased general alienation among the Balochs. This is because Balochs see the army as lacking Baloch representation due to its domination by the interests of the Punjabi-the main ethnic group in Pakistan that counts for approximately 45% of the country’s populations (Livingston & O’Hanlon, 2011). The transition from the military government of Musharraf to the civilian government of President Zardari in 2008 till today under the premiership of Nawaz Sharif almost nothing has been done to assuage Baloch discontent. Even today, in the year 2016, as reports appeared in various newspapers and periodical reports, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, extra-judicial and summary execution, disappearances and the use of excessive and indiscriminate violence by Pakistan’s police, military, security intelligence forces have created a war-like situation in the country (*First post*, 2016), Very recently, this trouble-torn province of Pakistan has caught world attention and likely to become a potential political issue of region and the world as well.

CONCLUSION

Concerns of Baloch in Pakistan are one of the most serious threats to country’s federal structure. The history of their relationship (between center and Balochistan) shows a long story of political inaptitude, economic exploitation and unfulfilled promises. Centre in its successive policies and measures have overlooked the sociological and anthropological peculiarities of Balochistan people and harsh economic realities under which they pass their lives, and which over 70 years, have given birth to deprivation. In the years, the deprivation amongst Balochis has caused a number of uprisings against the federal government. Unfortunately, being kept away from the mainstream politics of Pakistan, the Baloch have a number of serious

grievances, which over the time; have developed into nationalistic feelings, posing threat to the federation of Pakistan. The situation in Balochistan during last years evoked concern, with deteriorating law and order situation and strident political demands that threatened the destabilization of Balochistan with a growing sense of deprivation in that province.

At the moment, the Baloch nationalism which to a large extent, is within the precinct of constitution of Pakistan, is trying to retain the Baloch identity while safeguarding the rights of common man in making the developmental efforts of the provinces and the country. It is the high, and perhaps the most suitable time to address this issue seriously which otherwise may foster into separation given the increasing pressure from the sentimental youth of Balochistan. Nationalist terrorism has mainly been witnessed in the province of Balochistan at regular intervals and mainly revolves around the issue of exploitation of resources and threat to the political identity and culture of minorities, sub-nationalities.

Under the circumstances what need to be done is the wholesome response. The most fundamental and urgent requirement is for trust building and the only way this can even begin is, by governance measures from the centre that are urgent, transparent and reach the door step of ordinary masses. For its part, Pakistan needs to learn that the problem of Balochistan must be given urgent attention and top priority in good faith and measure. The governing elite in Pakistan have to be sensitive to the genuine demands placed on the federal government by the Balochis.

The government has to adopt a multi-pronged anti-insurgency strategy to placate the Baloch people. The use of force will not lead to a peaceful solution. History is witness to the fact that suppression further ignites such movements. By taking serious and urgent socio-economic measures and by providing justice and fair play as the basis of governance, the back of the insurgency can be broken. This can be achieved if the federal government in conjunction with the provincial government, applies the will to ensure that the legitimate rights of the people of Balochistan are granted and delivered immediately.

To solve the various problems of national interest through wide consensus, government should work on creating and implementing concrete policies that will lead to socio-economic development and problem resolution. Provincial and ethnic autonomy could enhance the participatory approach which will help to have wide consensus over national affairs. The legitimate grievances of Baloch people must be addressed as of all other deprived areas. For the broader peace and security program in the region, the government must invest in human development, and politically empower the people to take part in economic development through modern but decentralized governance mechanism.

However, the real solution lies in the strong political commitment to implement independent policy decisions in the best interest of Pakistan. Peaceful resolution of the conflict in Balochistan is improbable in the near future because neither side is likely to change its behavior. The military will maintain its strategy of targeting recalcitrant Baloch leaders, while some nationalists will continue to use violence as a means of extorting concessions from the federal government. The state will attempt to negotiate with those it sees as moderate in order to buy as much peace as possible. Failure to do in positive direction could have serious repercussions for Pakistan.

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