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**BACKGROUND GUIDE:  
CABINET OF PAKISTAN**

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# 1. Background on Pakistan

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## Making of Pakistan and Partition of India

The idea of a separate Muslim state in British India first emerged in the 1930s. On March 23, 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, formally supported the "Lahore Resolution," which called for the formation of a new sovereign state in areas which had majority Muslim populations. Following the end of World War Two, the United Kingdom acted quickly to give independence to the Indian people. In June 1947, the British Government confirmed that it would grant full dominion status to the secular state of India and the Islamic state of Pakistan and individual states could freely join either India or Pakistan.

The Partition devastated both of the newly formed states and many lives were lost in riots. Rape and looting were common phenomena. Over 15 million refugees crossed frontiers into utterly foreign lands, leaving their regional homelands based on their religious identities.

# 2. Political Structure

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## Executive

The president of Pakistan, in keeping with the constitutional provision that the state religion is Islam, must be a Muslim. Elected for a five-year term by an Electoral College consisting of members of the Senate and National Assembly and members of the provincial assemblies, the president is eligible for re-election. But no individual may hold the office for more than two consecutive terms. The president may resign or be impeached and may be removed from office due to incapacity or gross misconduct by a two-thirds vote of the members of the parliament. The president generally acts on the advice of the prime minister but has important residual powers.

The prime minister is appointed by the members of the National Assembly through a vote. The prime minister is assisted by the Federal Cabinet, a council of ministers whose members are appointed by the president on the advice of the prime minister. The Federal Cabinet comprises the ministers, ministers of state, and advisers.

## Legislative

The bicameral federal legislature consists of the Senate (upper house) and National Assembly (lower house). According to Article 50 of the Constitution, the National Assembly, the Senate and the President together make up a body known as the Majlis-i-Shoora (Council of Advisers).

Pakistan's democracy has no recall method. However, past governments have been dismissed for corruption by the President's invocation of Article 58 of the Constitution. The President's power to dismiss the Prime Minister and dissolve the National Assembly was removed by the Thirteenth Amendment and partially restored by the Seventeenth Amendment.

## Senate

The Senate is a permanent legislative body with equal representation from each of the four provinces, elected by the members of their respective provincial assemblies. There are representatives from the

Federally Administered Tribal Areas and from Islamabad Capital Territory. The chairman of the Senate, under the constitution, is next in line to act as president should the office become vacant and until such time as a new president can be formally elected. Both the Senate and the National Assembly can initiate and pass legislation except for finance bills. Only the National Assembly can approve the federal budget and all finance bills. In the case of other bills, the president may prevent passage unless the legislature in joint sitting overrules the president by a majority of members of both houses present and voting. Unlike the National Assembly, the Senate cannot be dissolved by the President.

## **National Assembly**

Members of the National Assembly are elected by universal adult suffrage (formerly twenty-one years of age and older but the seventeenth amendment changed it to eighteen years of age.). Seats are allocated to each of the four provinces, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and Islamabad Capital Territory on the basis of population. National Assembly members serve for the parliamentary term, which is five years, unless they die or resign sooner, or unless the National Assembly is dissolved. Although the vast majority of the members are Muslim, about 5 percent of the seats are reserved for minorities, including Christians, Hindus, and Sikhs. Elections for minority seats are held on the basis of separate electorates at the same time as the polls for Muslim seats during the general elections. There are also 50+ special seats for women now, and women are selected (i.e. not directly elected in the general election but given representation according to how their parties performed in the general election) on these seat by their party head: another seventeenth amendment innovation.

## **Judiciary**

The judiciary includes the Supreme Court, provincial high courts, District & sessions Courts, Civil and Magistrate courts exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction. Some federal and provincial courts and tribunals such as Services court, Income tax & excise court, Banking court and Boards of Revenue's Tribunals are as well established in all provinces.

## **Supreme Court**

The Supreme Court has original, appellate, and advisory jurisdiction. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is appointed by the president; the other Supreme Court judges are appointed by the president after consultation with the chief justice. The chief justice and judges of the Supreme Court may remain in office until age sixty-five: now 68 years and this is also another clause of seventeenth amendment.

## **Federal Shariat Court of Pakistan**

The Federal Shariat Court (FSC) of Pakistan is a court which has the power to examine and determine whether the laws of the country comply with Shari'a law. It consists of 8 Muslim judges appointed by the President of Pakistan after consulting the Chief Justice of this Court, from amongst the serving or retired judges of the Supreme Court or a High Court or from amongst persons possessing the qualifications of judges of a High Court. Of the 8 judges, 3 are required to be Ulema who are well versed in Islamic law. The judges hold office for a period of 3 years, which may eventually be extended by the President. Appeal against its decisions lie to the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court, consisting of 3 Muslim judges of the Supreme Court and 2 Ulema, appointed by the President. If any part of the law is declared to be against Islamic law, the government is required to take necessary steps to amend such law appropriately. The court also exercises revisional jurisdiction over the criminal courts, deciding Hudood cases. The decisions of the

court are binding on the High Courts as well as subordinate judiciary. The court appoints its own staff and frames its own rules of procedure.

## Provincial and High Courts

In every province, there is one High Court. Currently all four provinces Punjab, Sindh, Khyber PakhtGujarat's Hindu Solanki rulersunkhwa and Balochistan have High courts, respectively called Lahore High Court, Sindh High Court, Peshawar High Court, and Balochistan High Court. In addition, there are special courts and tribunals to deal with specific kinds of cases, such as drug courts, commercial courts, labour courts, traffic courts, an insurance appellate tribunal, an income tax appellate tribunal, and special courts for bank offences. There are also special courts to try terrorists. Appeals from special courts go to high courts except for labour and traffic courts, which have their own forums for appeal. Appeals from the tribunals go to the Supreme Court.

## Ombudsman/Mohtasib

A further feature of the judicial system is the office of Mohtasib (Ombudsman), which is provided for in the constitution. The office of Mohtasib was established in many early Muslim states to ensure that no wrongs were done to citizens. Appointed by the president, the Mohtasib holds office for four years; the term cannot be extended or renewed. The Mohtasib's purpose is to institutionalize a system for enforcing administrative accountability, through investigating and rectifying any injustice done to a person through maladministration by a federal agency or a federal government official. The Mohtasib is empowered to award compensation to those who have suffered loss or damage as a result of maladministration. Excluded from jurisdiction, however, are personal grievances or service matters of a public servant as well as matters relating to foreign affairs, national defence, and the armed services. This institution is designed to bridge the gap between administrator and citizen, to improve administrative processes and procedures, and to help curb misuse of discretionary powers.

## 3. Political parties

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The main political parties are the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N), Awami National Party (ANP), Pakistan Muslim League (PML), Muttahid Majlis-e-Amal (umbrella group) (MMA), and Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM).

## 4. Government and Political organization

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Asif Ali Zardari, widower of assassinated Pakistan People's Party (PPP) leader Benazir Bhutto, was elected president and head of state on September 6, 2008, replacing former President General Pervez Musharraf, who resigned on August 18 of the same year. Civilian democratic rule was reinstated following parliamentary elections in February 2008. The election was won by a coalition of two former opposition parties, led by the PPP and Yousuf Gilani was elected prime minister on March 24, 2008. Musharraf had dismissed 13 Supreme Court Justices in 2007, and by the end of 2008, the new government reappointed five; three retired or resigned; and five remained out of the court. The new government lifted the media restrictions which had

been created during the 2007 state of emergency, and removed the restraints on unions which Musharraf had set.

## 5. Relations to other countries

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### USA

Roughly two months of its establishment after the departure of the subcontinent by Great Britain, the United States established relations with the Pakistan on 20 October 1947. After Pakistan's independence by the partitioning of the British Indian Empire, Pakistan was founded while struggling with problems involving the national economy, national security, and Soviet influence on Afghanistan and Iran, forced Pakistan's first prime minister Liaquat Ali Khanto cement a pro-Western and pro-American policy. The U.S. government officials were smart enough to understand and to very quickly grasp the mediocre leadership of Pakistan. The U.S. government would use the country to their maximum regional and strategic goals and interests.

But since then, the relationship has been based primarily on extensive economic, scientific, and military assistance to Pakistan. Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances SEATO and CENTO. In 1954 the United States signed a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with Pakistan. Under Ayub Khan, Pakistan enjoyed a strong and healthy relationship with the United States. Pakistan had aligned itself with the United States during the Cold War, rather than with the Soviet Union.

The United States military aide was only concentrated in West-Pakistan, and the economic benefits enjoyed by West Pakistan, not the East. The Anti-Americanism and democracy tendency was great and was stronger in East-Pakistan, the East-Pakistan parliament signed a statement, denouncing the military pact and aide with United States. The United States refrained to provide the military training of the East Pakistan Army and the East Pakistan Rifles, troops stationed at Kashmir province did not receive any training but was managed by Pakistan itself.

During the course of 1976 presidential election, Carter was elected as U.S. President. He announced the determination to seek the ban of nuclear weapons. With Carter's election, Bhutto lost all links to United States administration he had through President Nixon. Bhutto had to face the embargo and pressure from the American President who was totally against the political objectives which Bhutto had set forth for his upcoming future plans. Responding to President Carter, Bhutto launched a more actively aggressive and serious diplomatic offensive on the United States and the Western world over the nuclear issues

However, the closely coordinated military cooperation deepened in 1980s (after Bhutto's death) against Soviet expansion in Central Asia. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 highlighted the common interest of Pakistan and the United States in opposing the Soviet Union. Pakistan found itself in a state of extremely high insecurity as tensions mounted with India and Afghanistan's infighting continued.

In 1989, Benazir Bhutto made a quick visit in the U.S. asking U.S. to stop financing the Afghan mujahideen to President George H. W. Bush, which she marked "America's Frankenstein". This was followed by Nawaz Sharif who visited the U.S. in 1990, but U.S. gave cold shoulder to Pakistan, asking Pakistan to stop developing the nuclear deterrence.

In 1998, Prime minister Nawaz Sharif ordered to conduct first nuclear tests in response to Indian nuclear tests. This was met with great hostility and ire in the United States after President Clinton placing the economic embargo on Pakistan.

After the September 11 attacks in 2001 in the United States, Pakistan became a key ally in the war on terror with the United States. Since 2011, the intensive criticisms and allegations on each other based on their strategies in the War on Terror lowered the relations. Furthermore, the Lahore incident and the black operation in the country which killed the al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, followed by the Salala incident, damaged the relations between two countries even more.

## India

Relations between India and Pakistan have been strained by a number of historical and political issues, and are defined by the violent partition of British India in 1947, the Kashmir dispute and the numerous military conflicts fought between the two nations. Consequently, even though the two South Asian nations share historic, cultural, geographic, and economic links, their relationship has been plagued by hostility and suspicion.

Pakistan has been accused by India, Afghanistan, the United States, the United Kingdom, of involvement in terrorism in Kashmir and Afghanistan. After the Taliban defeated the Northern Alliance in much of Afghanistan in 1996 in civil war, the Taliban regime was strongly supported by Pakistan – one of the three countries to do so – before the September 11 attacks. India firmly opposed the Taliban and criticized Pakistan for supporting it. India established its links with Northern Alliance as India officially recognized their government, with the United Nations. India's relations with Afghanistan, Pakistan's neighbour, and its increasing presence there has irked Pakistan.

In July 2009, current President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari admitted that the Pakistani government had "created and nurtured" terrorist groups to achieve its short-term foreign policy goals. According to an analysis published by Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings Institution in 2008 Pakistan was the world's "most active" state sponsor of terrorism including aiding groups and Pakistan has long aided a range of terrorist groups fighting against India in Kashmir and is a major sponsor of Taliban forces fighting the U.S.-backed government in Afghanistan.

The 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings was a terrorist attack targeted on the Samjhauta Express train on 18 February. The Samjhauta Express is an international train that runs from New Delhi, India to Lahore, Pakistan, and is one of two trains to cross the India-Pakistan border. At least 68 people were killed, mostly Pakistani civilians but also some Indian security personnel and civilians. Prasad Shrikant Purohit, an Indian Army officer and leader of a shadowy Hindu fundamentalist group, was later identified and investigated as a key suspect responsible for the bombing. The attack was a turning point in Indo-Pakistani relations, and one of the many terrorist incidents that have plagued relations between the two.

On 10 February 2011, India agreed to resume talks with Pakistan which were suspended after 26/11 Mumbai Attacks. India had put on hold all the diplomatic relations saying it will only continue if Pakistan will act against the accused of Mumbai attacks.

## United Nations Intervention

### *Kashmir conflict*

The United Nations has played an important role in maintaining peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir since the transfer of Power to India and independence to Pakistan in 1947. Immediately after the freedom a dispute erupted between India and the successor nation-state of Pakistan on the question of the very basis of accession of Jammu and Kashmir by the ruler. New Delhi took this matter to the United Nation and the Security Council passed resolution 39 (1948) and established the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to investigate and mediate the issues:

The Security Council of United Nations on the complaint of Government of India concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir passed United Nations Security Council Resolution 47 (1948).

This resolution required among other things that Pakistan withdraws from the areas of Pakistan-administered Kashmir which it had captured in 1947 immediately and conditions be created for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide the future of the state. The Indian Army should withdraw and maintain a skeletal force to ensure proper functioning of the civil affairs of the state after satisfactory withdrawal of Pakistani tribesmen and forces

It recommended to the governments of India and Pakistan to restore peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir and provide full freedom to all subjects of the state, to vote on the question of accession.

Furthermore, it recommended to the government of India to establish Plebiscite Administration to hold fair and impartial referendum as soon as possible, a nominee of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to be appointed as the Plebiscite Administrator, release all political prisoners, invite the major political groups to share the administration at the ministerial level while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out. UN Official statement: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on the map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. The Dotted line represents approximately the Line of Control of Jammu and Kashmir agreed upon by the Republic of India and the Government of Pakistan since 1972. Both the parties have not yet agreed upon the final status of the region and nothing significant has been implemented since the peace process began in 2004. See UN map of Jammu and Kashmir, accepted by most countries of the world

Resolution 47(1948) also enlarged the membership of the UNCIP and its role to observe ceasefire. India and Pakistan signed Karachi Agreement in March 1951 and established a ceasefire line to be supervised by observers. After the termination of UNCIP, the Security Council passed another resolution 91(1951) and established United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) to observe and report violations of ceasefire.

After Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 the two countries signed the Simla Agreement in 1972 to define the Line of Control in Kashmir. India and Pakistan disagree on UNMOGIP's mandate in Kashmir because India argued that the mandate of UNMOGIP has lapsed after Simla agreement because it was specifically established to observe ceasefire according to Karachi Agreement.

However, The Secretary General of the United Nations maintained that the UNMOGIP should continue to function because no resolution has been passed to terminate it. The military authorities of Pakistan have continued to lodge complaints with UNMOGIP about ceasefire violations. The military authorities of India have lodged no complaints since January 1972 and have restricted the activities of the UN observers on the Indian side of the Line of Control. They have, however, continued to provide accommodation, transport and other facilities to UNMOGIP.

### *Other resolutions*

→United Nations Security Council Resolution 29, adopted unanimously on August 12, 1947, upon having reviewed and in some cases, re-reviewed applications for membership in the United Nations by Albania, Mongolia, Transjordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Roumania, Austria, Yemen, Bulgaria and Pakistan. The Council recommended that the General Assembly admit Yemen and Pakistan.

→United Nations Security Council resolution 622, adopted unanimously on 20 September 1988, after noting the Geneva Accords agreement signed on 14 April 1988, the Council confirmed the agreement to the measures in the letters of the Secretary-General concerning the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan.

The Council therefore confirmed the establishment of the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan in May 1988 and made provisions for a temporary dispatch of 50 military officers to assist in the mission as requested by the Secretary-General. It also required the Secretary-General to keep the Council updated on progress in the region.

→United Nations Security Council resolution 647, adopted unanimously on 11 January 1990, after recalling Resolution 622(1988) and a letter by the Secretary-General concerning the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, the Council endorsed the letter's proposals regarding the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Council then extended the mandate of the Mission for two months, until 15 March 1990, in accordance with the recommendations of the Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and requested him to keep the Council updated on developments in the region.

→United Nations Security Council resolution 1172, adopted unanimously on 6 June 1998, after hearing of nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in May 1998, the Council condemned the tests and demanded that both countries refrain from engaging in further tests. All countries were urged to prohibit the export of equipment, materials or technology that could in any way assist programmes in either country. The resolution recognised that the tests constituted a serious threat towards global non-proliferation and disarmament.

In return for ending their nuclear programmes, the Security Council had offered to help in the settlement of the Kashmir conflict.

### *Current Status*

In recent weeks, Pakistan and India have been trying to address the conflict and achieve a solution that will benefit both nations. Pakistan and India have recently dealt with issues due to trade accusations. "A Pakistani soldier was shot dead by Indian troops on Thursday, the Pakistani army said: the latest casualty from a sudden flare-up of tension on a disputed section of the border between the two countries" (The Guardian). Earlier this month, Pakistani troops accused Indian forces of killing one of their soldiers. Two days later, India claimed that Pakistani forces had killed and mutilated two Indian soldiers, which had caused all of these issues along the Line of Control (LoC) recently. Although there have recently been talks for peace between the two regions, recent disputes have been complicating matters. Both countries have been attempting to mend the relationship and finally come to a solution to the problem, but many analysts were shocked at this random shooting that occurred recently (The Guardian). This occurrence could possibly halt between the two countries and should be taken into consideration throughout the debate. The only way to find the truth, according to sources, is by using the UN Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) (The Times of India). In the past, UNMOGIP has aided in resolving conflicts between the two regions, and many analysts are hoping that UNMOGIP will be able to help with the issue that is currently going on (The Times of India). The UN has recently urged Pakistan and India to respect the ceasefire and to continue to peacefully interact with one another (Press TV).

## **Bangladesh**

In the aftermath of Bangladesh's independence, Pakistan came under the rule of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had been the main political opponent of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founding leader of Bangladesh. Pakistan and its allies, including the People's Republic of China, Saudi Arabia and some other Middle Eastern nations, refused to recognize Bangladesh. In 1972, Pakistan left the Commonwealth of Nations after it extended membership to Bangladesh. For its part, Bangladesh demanded an apology from Pakistan for war crimes committed by the Pakistani military and reparations. Bangladesh's development of close ties with India, which had played a role in securing its independence, also annoyed Pakistan. On the issue of

Bangladesh's application for membership to the UN, China, on Pakistan's request, exercised its veto power for the first time to stall the move, which helped Pakistan to secure in a bargain the release of its POWs and the return of troops to their pre-war positions:

In 1974, the first thawing in the relationship between Bangladesh and Pakistan appeared, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman issued a general amnesty to those involved in war crimes and withdrew the bans on some pro-Pakistan organisations that had operated before Bangladesh's independence. Under pressure from several Muslim nations, Bhutto invited Mujib to Lahore for the annual meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. In the same year, the Parliament of Pakistan authorised Bhutto to extend recognition to Bangladesh. Both nations discussed an agreement in 1975 in which Bangladesh agreed to take up half of Pakistan's pre-1971 external debt provided Bangladesh received half of the country's pre-1971 assets and credit went unresolved.

Relations improved considerably under the military regimes of Ziaur Rahman and Hossain Mohammad Ershad in Bangladesh, which had grown more distant from its war ally, India. Five Pakistani heads of government made official visits to Bangladesh since the 1980s and numerous trade and cultural agreements have been signed.

## **Afghanistan**

Ever since the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Pakistani Government has been a crucial figure in supporting the Afghan resistance struggle and assisting Afghan refugees. Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989, Pakistan cooperated with the world community to give extensive support to displaced Afghans. Due to continued unrest in Afghanistan, many refugees were unable to return to their homeland and even by 1999, over 1.2 million registered Afghan refugees were still in Pakistan. At the time only three states recognized the Taliban regime, and Pakistan was one of them. However, pressures from abroad after September 11, 2001, impelled Pakistan to reconsider its stance, and eventually came to support the U.S. and international coalition in Operation Enduring Freedom to remove the Taliban from power. Pakistan has been a public ally of Afghani President Hamid Karzai, pledging \$100 million for the reconstruction of the state. Additionally, they are working together to enhance cooperation and coordination in the tense border region between the two states.

## **People's Republic of China**

Pakistan was one of the first states to recognize the People's Republic of China in 1950, and relations have only strengthened since then. Pakistan was a strong ally following the Sino-Indian hostilities of 1962, and since then China has provided assistance to Pakistan in a variety of sectors, including economic, military and technical. China supported Pakistan in its opposition to Soviet presence in Afghanistan and is seen to help balance against Indian and Russian power in the region. Favorable relations with China have been and still are a cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy.

# 6. Future of Pak-US relations and the War on Terror

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The bilateral relationship between the United States of America and Pakistan has varied greatly over the last six decades. These include times of extremely cordial ties during the cold war and the Afghan War in the 1970s and 1980s and a whole new era of 'strategic partnership' post 9/11. This also demarcated the lifting up of the sanctions imposed on Pakistan by western states after Pakistan had become a Nuclear State.

A stable, democratic, prosperous Pakistan actively combating religious militancy is what the US wants. U.S. concerns regarding Pakistan include regional and global terrorism; efforts to stabilize neighboring Afghanistan; nuclear weapons proliferation; the Kashmir problem and Pakistan-India tensions; democratization and human rights protection; and economic development.

U.S. leaders for its post-2001 cooperation have praised Pakistan for its counterterrorism and counterinsurgency efforts, although long held doubts about Islamabad's commitment to some core U.S. interests are dramatically deeper in 2011.

Pakistan's relations with the United States, even in the best of times, have never been smooth and wrinkle free, but the manner in which they have remained turbulent since the beginning of 2011 is truly unprecedented.

In particular, since early 2011, Pakistan-US relations have been lurching from crisis to crisis, renewing old wounds, inflicting new injuries, while adding to the existing legacy of betrayals. Recent events leading to a strain in Pak-US relations:

## **The case of Raymond Davis**

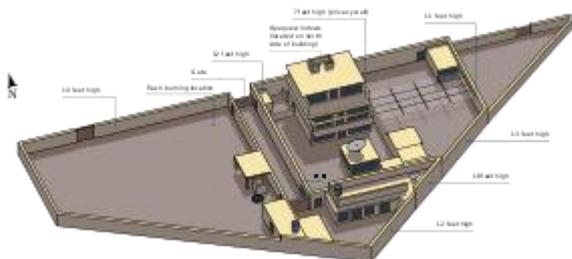
The year 2011 started off with the incident of Raymond Davis in Lahore where an alleged CIA agent and private contractor shot down two Pakistani civilians. This created anti-American sentiments not only amongst the citizens of Pakistan but also in the political and military circles of the country. All Parties strongly condemned this incident yet the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and its former allies; the Awami National Party (ANP) and Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) didn't want any confrontation with the United States. However, the leading opposition party, PML-N along with Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) remained the hard-liners and carried out protests all over the state with the Islamic parties also carrying out widespread anti-American protests. At the same time, PML-Q seemed to take a middle way and though detesting this incident did not take an assertive stance.

This incident also saw the resignation of the former Foreign Minister, Shah Mehmood Qureshi who remained adamant of the fact the Raymond Davis should not enjoy full diplomatic immunity. This was followed by the appointment of a new foreign minister, Hina Rabbani Khar, who kept herself away from this controversy and stated "leave it for the courts to decide."

## **May 2nd raid and the death of Osama Bin Laden**

Later, on the 2nd of May 2011 while the newly joined coalition partners who, despite having a history of distrust, were seen taking oath of the Federal Cabinet, the Americans led a unilateral raid on Pakistan. They attacked a compound in Abbottabad where they found Osama Bin Laden and consequently killed him. This

highly perplexed the government machinery since the Prime Minister initially declared it as a great success but soon started to strongly condemn the violation of Pakistan’s national sovereignty. Similar reaction came from the military leadership.



**Figure 6.1 Diagram of OBL’s hideout, showing the high concrete walls that surround the compound**

Osama Bin Laden, then head of the militant group Al-Qaeda was killed in Pakistan on May 2, 2011, shortly after 1 a.m. by a United States Special Forces military unit. The operation, codenamed “Operation Neptune Spear”, was ordered by United States President Barack Obama and carried out in a US Central Intelligence

Agency (CIA) operation by a team United States Navy SEALs from the United States Naval Special Warfare Development Group (also known as DEVGRU or informally by its former name, SEAL Team Six) of the Joint Special Operations Command, with support from CIA operatives on the ground.

The raid that killed Osama bin Laden was launched from Afghanistan after which, the U.S. forces took bin Laden's body to Afghanistan for identification and then buried it at sea within 24 hours of his death.

Al-Qaeda confirmed the death on May 6 with posts made on militant websites, vowing to avenge the killing. Bin Laden's killing was generally favorably received by U.S. public opinion; was welcomed by the United Nations, NATO, the European Union, and a large number of governments; but was condemned by some, including Fidel Castro of Cuba and Ismail Haneyah, the head of the Hamas administration of the Gaza Strip. Legal and ethical aspects of the killing, such as his not being taken alive despite being unarmed, were questioned by others, including Amnesty International.

According to officials of the Obama administration, US officials did not share information about the raid with the government of Pakistan until it was over. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mike Mullen called Pakistan's army chief Ashfaq Pervaiz Kayani at about 3 a.m. local time to inform him of the Abbottabad Operation.

According to the Pakistani foreign ministry, the operation was conducted entirely by the US forces. Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) officials said they were also present at what they called a joint operation; President Asif Zardari flatly denied this. Pakistan's foreign secretary Salman Bashir later confirmed that Pakistani military had scrambled after they became aware of the attack but that they reached the compound after American helicopters had left.

Al-Qaeda is a militant group that was headed by Osama Bin Laden and was responsible for the 9/11 bombings in New York. This group initially was formed by the United States to curb the soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1970s.

The opposition however including the government partners MQM enraged over this US raid in Abbottabad greatly criticized the attack on the basis that it infringed Pakistan’s sovereignty and subsequently a commission was set-up for fact-finding as to ascertain whether there was any local involvement or not. This further strained the ties between the two states and legislation stating a reduction in Pakistan’s aid was also tabled in the American Congress meanwhile.

## **Allegations against Pakistan**

However, despite the outrage expressed by the people of Pakistan, numerous allegations were made that the government of Pakistan had shielded bin Laden. Critics cited the very close proximity of bin Laden's heavily fortified compound to the Pakistan Military Academy that the US chose not to notify Pakistani authorities before the operation and the double standards of Pakistan regarding the perpetrators of 2008 Mumbai Attacks. US government files, leaked by Wiki leaks disclosed that American diplomats had been told that Pakistani security services were tipping off bin Laden every time US forces approached. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), also helped smuggle al-Qaeda militants into Afghanistan to fight NATO troops.

According to the leaked files, in December 2009, the government of Tajikistan had also told US officials that many in Pakistan were aware of bin Laden's whereabouts.

CIA chief Leon Panetta said the CIA had ruled out involving Pakistan in the operation, because it feared that "any effort to work with the Pakistanis could jeopardize the mission. They might alert the targets." However, Secretary of State Hilary Rodham Clinton stated, "Cooperation with Pakistan helped lead us to bin Laden and the compound in which he was hiding." Obama echoed her sentiments. Obama's chief counterterrorism advisor, said that it was inconceivable that bin Laden did not have support from within Pakistan. He further stated, "People have been referring to this as hiding in plain sight."

## **Limiting of Aid to Pakistan**

The United States of America is the largest donor of aid to Pakistan. Since Pakistan joined America against the war on terror, USA tripled its non-military aid and significantly increased conditional aid to the military sector of the country to help combat terrorism. However, in July 2011, the administration suspended up to \$800 million in planned security assistance to Pakistan and it seems that the USA is still vigorously evaluating Pakistan's performance before releasing further aid.

Again, at the end of the year, in December, the US House of Representatives approved a bill outlining the foreign aid section of the new US spending plan for fiscal year 2012. The legislation allocates \$850 million for a fund to help Pakistan's military develop counter-insurgency capabilities to fight militants within its borders. However, the congress has also passed a massive Defence bill that freezes 60 percent of this amount, until the US Defence secretary provides lawmakers with assurances that Pakistan is working to counter improvised explosive devices (IEDs). This is because the US lawmakers believe that many Afghan bombs that kill US troops are made with fertilizer smuggled by militants across the border from Pakistan to Afghanistan.

Over here, what needs to be kept in mind is that although the USA provides Pakistan with significant amounts of aid, it still undermines Pakistan's efforts to counter terrorism and therefore continues to limit the planned assistance. Thus, the committee needs to address this particular issue of conditional aid and periodic limitations by the USA to meet the national interests of Pakistan.

## **Continued drone Attacks and allegations regarding the Haqqani network**

Continued drone strikes in Pakistani territory and the bombings carried out by the Haqqani network on US Embassy in Kabul have brought the relations between the two states to an all time low. While Admiral Mike Mullen blamed Pakistan's ISI for supporting these attacks, his statements caused quite a stir in Pakistan, especially among the military that previously considered their relationship with Mullen quite amicable. Pakistan's Army Chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani has labeled Mullen's comments "very unfortunate and not based on facts." Kayani further indicated that he was personally affronted by Mullen's finger pointing because the week before Kayani and Mullen had held an extended meeting in Spain, which he called "quite

constructive.” In the same statement, Kayani indicated his surprise at US singling out Pakistan for its connection with the group, as “Admiral Mullen knows fully well which countries are in contact with the Haqqanis.” It was intimated that several EU countries, as well as the US have also had contact with the Haqqanis in view of engaging them in the Afghan reconciliation process.

The Pakistanis have not kept it secret that they consider the Haqqanis a significant player in a post-US Afghanistan, and have engaged with leaders of the network as they see them as major stakeholders in the Afghan reconciliation process. They have claimed to have repeatedly told the US not to misconstrue this contact as undermining the US efforts in Afghanistan.

What would be of great concern for the Pakistanis at this point is whether or not the US is setting the scene for unilateral action against the Haqqani network; building a narrative of Pakistani complicity and unwillingness to cooperate that will support such action. Another strike like that which took out Osama bin Laden by the US on Pakistani soil would be enough to bring relations to a breaking point.

The regional implications of Mullen’s statement mean that any action traced back to the Haqqani network and the LeT can now be reasonably blamed on Pakistan. In a sense it gives regional players a carte blanche to implicate Pakistan, which is especially concerning, given that its neighbors India, Afghanistan and Iran have already accused Pakistan of using proxies to further their agenda in the region. Similarly in Afghanistan, if the recent killing of former Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani is traced back to the Haqqani network, Afghanistan-Pakistan relations will be in dire straits.

This greatly undermines Pakistan’s position in the region, which comes as a blow considering how energetically Pakistan has been refocusing itself regionally, and distancing itself from simply being seen as a US team player.

While the accusation from Mullen is serious, it is obvious that this is a warning shot. If there were any concrete evidence that Pakistan was behind an attack on American installations in Afghanistan, we would most definitely be seeing more than a war of words at this point.

The Pakistani response has also been quite constrained given the gravity of the charge leveled at them. This appears to be a case of pushing boundaries and testing break.

The Haqqani network led by Jalaluddin Haqqani and his son Sirajuddin, based in the FATA, is commonly identified as the most dangerous of Afghan insurgent groups battling US-led forces in eastern Afghanistan. Pakistani officials have consistently deferred on urgent and longstanding U.S. requests that the Pakistani military launch operations against the Haqqanis’ North Waziristan haven, saying that it’s forces are already stretched to the limit. Most observers believe the underlying cause of Pakistan’s inaction is the country’s decades-long relationship with Jalaluddin Haqqani and a belief held in the army and ISI that his group represents perhaps the best chance for Pakistan to exert Pashtun-based influence in post-ISAF Afghanistan. In mid-2011, the Haqqanis undertook several high-visibility attacks in Afghanistan that led to a spike in frustrations being expressed by top U.S. and Afghan officials. First, a late June assault on Kabul’s Intercontinental Hotel by eight Haqqani gunmen and suicide bombers left 18 people dead. Then, on September 10, a truck bomb attack on a U.S. military base by Haqqani fighters in the Wardak province injured 77 American troops and killed five Afghans. But it was a September 13 attack on the U.S. Embassy compound in Kabul that appears to have substantively changed the nature of Pak-US relations. The well planned and executed assault sparked a 20-hour-long gun battle and left 16 Afghans dead, five police officers and at least six children among them. Although U.S. officials dismissed the attack as a sign of the insurgents’ weakness, the ability of militants to undertake a complex raid in the heart of Kabul’s most protected area was seen by many as a clear blow to a narrative which has Afghanistan becoming more secure.

U.S. and Afghan officials concluded the Embassy attackers were members of the Haqqani network. Days after the raid, Adm. Mullen called on Gen. Kayani to again press for Pakistani military action against Haqqani bases. Apparently unsatisfied with his counterpart's response, Mullen returned to Washington, DC, and began ramping up rhetorical pressure to previously unseen levels, accusing the ISI of using the Haqqanis to conduct a "proxy war" in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Secretary Panetta issued what was taken by many to be an ultimatum to Pakistan when he told reporters that the United States would "take whatever steps are necessary to protect our forces" in Afghanistan from future attacks by the Haqqanis.

Following this statement an All Parties Conference was convened by the Prime Minister of Pakistan to discuss the terms of engagement of future relations with United States of America, which was attended by all the Parties including PML-N, PML-Q, PTI, PPP, ANP, MQM and several others. The DG ISI, Ahmad Pasha, COAS Gen Kayani and Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar briefed the conference about the operations and the existing terms of engagement with the USA.



ISLAMABAD: Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee General Khalid Shamim Wyne, Chief of the Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani and ISI chief Lieutenant General Ahmad Shuja Pasha listen to Minister for Foreign Affairs Hina Rabbani Khar during the All Parties Conference here on Thursday. —AFP wirephoto

A unanimous resolution was passed at the end of a mammoth 19 hour long conference, which rhetorically condemned the May 2 raid of the United States and also called for an immediate suspension of drone strikes, which have been the bone of contention in Pak-US, ties for a long time now.

## Drone strikes

Drone strikes were first carried out in 2004. These attacks have been used as counter-terrorism strikes in Pakistan for over eight years now and the Pakistani politicians have passed three resolutions detesting them but to a deaf ear. More recently, the Pakistani Parliament also passed a unanimous resolution on 9<sup>th</sup> may in condemnation of the raid and drone attacks.

Over the last eight years, more than 300 Drone strikes in Pakistan have taken the lives of hundreds of civilians, majority of whom have been innocent civilians. However, this does not imply that these have been counter-productive and after years of deliberation there is a consensus on the need for drone strikes to stop and dialogue to be initiated as agreed at the All Parties Conference.



Pakistan has been stressing upon the need for the transfer of technology to Pakistan which the United States doesn't agree upon and some devastating loss of lives has forced Pakistan to take a stern stance on this issue which is still in stalemate.

Year	No. Of Drone Strikes
2004	1
2005	2
2006	2
2007	4
2008	33
2009	53
2010	118
2011	102

More recently, after one month's halt in these strikes, on 11<sup>th</sup> January 2012, two drone strikes were again carried out in Pakistan.

### NATO attacks on military posts

On 26<sup>th</sup> November 2011 a NATO Helicopter, upon US and Afghan intelligence, bombarded a Pakistani military check-post near the Afghan border, which subsequently led to the martyrdom of 26 Pakistani soldiers. Consequently, this further strained the relations between the two countries and Pakistan's reaction on that raid was strong, firm and full of rage. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar termed this raid as an act of aggression and demanded an immediate apology from the US President Obama, Secretary of State Clinton, Pentagon, Leon Panetta, the NATO chief and the Afghan Intelligence. The air raid on November 26, however, appears to have thrown a monkey wrench in an already twisted relationship, sending a bolt of anger and outrage among Pakistanis. Abandoning its earlier nonchalant attitude to similar episodes, both the political and the military leadership have reacted with unusual speed and resolve.

This has resulted in complete seizure of NATO supply to troops in Afghanistan for more than a month now and Pakistan's Defence Cabinet Committee also chose to boycott the Bonn Conference in Germany which had to discuss the end game in Afghanistan but Pakistan's absence deemed it to failure. This strong response is unprecedented in recent history for which Pakistan's all political parties, opposition and the government alongside the military seems to be on one page for a change.

## 7.The Crisis in Balochistan



### Geography of Balochistan

Balochistan is the largest of Pakistan's five provinces by the geographical area. It shares borders with all the rest of the provinces of the country and also has a long coastline with the Arabian Sea in the south. In the West it has 814 km long

border with Iran; and finally in the west and north-west it has a border of 1096 km with Afghanistan. At 5 %, about 8.5 million Pakistanis reside in the province. Balochistan is home to roughly half-a-million ethnic Punjabis, or nearly six percent of its population, and to an even smaller percentage of Urdu-speakers. About 35 % of the population is Pashtun. Ethnic Baloch population (including Brahui) is about 6.8 million. Of these about 5 million reside in Balochistan accounting for about 55 % of its population. About 27 % Baloch live outside Balochistan, mainly in Sind.

## History of the Province

At the time of creation of Pakistan, Balochistan was divided into two parts: the British Balochistan, comprising Quetta, Pishin, Zhob, Loralai and Lasbela and the native Balochistan, constituting Kalat, Kharan and Makran. Makran became a district within the province of Balochistan, minus an area of 800 km around Gwadar, which was then still part of the Sultanate of Oman. In 1783, the Khan of Kalat had granted suzerainty over Gwadar to Taimur Sultan, the defeated ruler of Muscat. When the sultan subsequently retook Muscat, he continued his rule in Gwadar by appointing a wali (or "governor"). This wali was then ordered to subjugate the nearby coastal town of Chah Bahar (in modern-day Iran). Until 1958 Gwadar was part of Oman. Pakistan purchased it in September 1958. The money for the purchase was generated by way of taxation and donations. It was made part of the Balochistan province in 1977. Balochistan province itself, as we know it today, came into being on July 1, 1970, with the abolition of One Unit in West Pakistan. The administrative divisions of Quetta and Kalat were merged to form this province. Balochistan is the abode of different people mainly populated by Balochis, Barohi and Pathans. A great number of settlers from around Pakistan, particularly Punjab, and northern India have also been settled in the province for generations. They are ironically still known as 'Settler Balochis'.

### *British Era & Sandeman System*

In Late 1800s there were four princely states: Makran, Kharan, Lasbela and Kalat. In 1876 Sir Robert Sandeman concluded a treaty with the Khan of Kalat and brought his territories – including Kharan, Makran, and Las Bela – under British suzerainty. The boundary of western Balochistan was fixed in 1872, when Iran conquered it in the 19th century. After the Second Afghan War of 1878-80, the Treaty of Gandamak concluded in May 1879, the Afghan Emir ceded the districts of Quetta, Pishin, Sibi, Harnai, and Thal Chotiali to the British. In 1883 the British leased the Bolan Pass, southeast of Quetta, from the Khan of Kalat on a permanent basis. In 1887 some areas of Balochistan were declared British territory. This brief summary of events is crucial to note, as it severely undermines the claims made by Baloch nationalists. In summary, Balochistan that existed in 1947 was minus the British Balochistan as noted above as well as minus Gwadar, which was part of Oman. Even more importantly these areas had been ceded 'legally' by then Baloch rulers to other rulers and empires. The other important event that happened during that period was increase in direct autonomy and power of Sardars. The consequence of this was that it undermined the traditional social system and helped deepen class divisions and deprivation. The Sandeman system of administration that was introduced in Balochistan gave the chiefs complete autonomy with respect to their power over their subjects. They were themselves subject to British supervision who paid their salaries. The Khan of Kalat had no direct power to run the affairs of Sardars under the system. He could not even approve the developmental projects. The British political agents supervised this only. This new administration changed the character of the Jirga (adjudicating assembly) altogether: Whereas the Jirga used to be a communal court to dispense participatory justice in the past, a new shahi (royal) Jirga was introduced instead. In this new Jirga only the Sardars and the aristocrats could sit. This gave the British a powerful weapon to control any rebellions against them, broke the last remaining institution of a purely tribal character, reinforced class conflict and gave the Sardars immeasurable powers over the lives and belongings of the masses. The new

Jirga could impose taxes not only in property but also labor and could expropriate women; the decisions could be reviewed only by the Political Agent.

The role of Sardars was extended greatly to the extent that they could make decisions independent of the will and benefit of people. They were made responsible for organizing the law-and-order situation. For this levies corps was established, which recruited tribal personnel under the power of the Sardars. These Sardars used to pay the tribal personals the subsistence salaries and kept in their own pockets what was given for the purpose by the British Army.

In 1893 after fighting two wars with Afghanistan, Sir Mortimer Durand negotiated an agreement with Amir of Afghanistan to fix the Durand Line running from Chitral to Balochistan to as the boundary between the Afghans and the British. The border was drawn to divide the Pashtun and Baloch tribes of the area into the international borders of Iran, Afghanistan and what later became West Pakistan.

The British continued to formulate laws and regulations from time to time to keep their hold on the population. The British Imperialism also tended to strengthen the dependency of Balochistan and stagnate its system.

## **Introduction to the problem**

Balochistan, despite being the largest and immensely resource-rich province of Pakistan remains to be the most sparsely populated province of the country. This is because in addition to being faced by a number of problems there has been a significant lack of development and progress that the region has made since Pakistan's independence in 1947. The reasons for this are many and complex and in order to solve the crisis one needs ample knowledge about the history and demographic changes of Balochistan. The current crisis in Balochistan is attributed to a number of aspects; lack of education and employment opportunities, ethnic diversities and clashes between various tribes, resource exploitation, continuous underdevelopment and lack of progress and above all the neglect faced by the provinces by the ruling elite of the country.

## **Problems being faced by the province since 1947**

The history of Balochistan since 1947 unfortunately represents an unending narrative of continuous conflicts. The long-standing resentments dating back to its merger with Pakistan have led to the present crisis in the province. The issues and grievances, which gave rise to the previous conflicts and present crisis relate to demands and aspirations about the economic, ethnic and political rights of and for the people of the province. The politically aware people all along have known the reasons for the present crisis. However, little or nothing has been done to address and resolve these matters by the successive governments. Consequently the wounds have continued to fester and periodically given rise to bleeding insurgencies and revolts.

There have been five insurgencies in Balochistan since the creation of Pakistan. According to the official estimates, these have resulted in more than five thousand deaths among the insurgents and almost three thousand among the Pakistan army. The recent violence which started in 2005 took a serious turn at the end of year 2009 and became a potential threat to the stability of Pakistani state, as the insurgents spurred and inflamed, and in all likelihood aided and abetted by the outsider international players in the area, gave rise to the separatist movement in the province.

The present government has recently initiated certain measures to address these complaints and grievances. For past two years there is a democratic set up in the province. But the resentments still persist, as no

practical steps have yet been taken to actually tackle the problems. According to the nationalist groups, the government has only provided a lip service to their problems so far. In fact, despite the promises to resolve the problems, the trust deficit between the nationalists and state has not narrowed. It is essential to understand that the crisis is grave and requires serious and urgent action by all stakeholders, at all levels in order to eradicate the root causes of the long-standing conflict.

## **Reasons for the ongoing conflicts in Balochistan**

Conflicts in Balochistan historically have several underlying reasons. The fiercely independent Baloch Sardars have resisted state interference, mainly to protect their continued influence and wealth and to seek rent from the state; the grievances of the masses relating to political, economic and cultural rights, that have given rise to nationalist movement; absence of problem resolution mechanisms, even in the democratic set ups; continued negligence of the well being of the masses that has been the hall mark, though out Pakistan since its creation; religious extremism, and perhaps most importantly continued mishandling of these issues by the Central governments, who on occasions have resorted to brute and unrestrained use of force.

The most recent surge of violence in Balochistan is mainly a recurrence of the longstanding state-periphery tension. The turn and shape, the present conflict has taken, has a lot to do with two sea change factors within Pakistan and the due also to international geopolitical situation. First there has been a tele-media revolution in Pakistan, which has resulted in not only heightened awareness of the situation, but also paradoxically heightened the situation like a positive feedback loop, by providing the insurgent leaders, media exposure that many rightly claim is out of proportion. Internet has also helped internationalize the problem. Second, with nearly two third populations under the age of thirty, the immediacy and acuteness of the problem and its economic root has assumed new and deeper meaning and significance.

Finally, the conflict has had an unintended catalyst in the form of the present global geo-political conflict that rages across the border in Afghanistan. Some external players have continued to taking advantage of the situation and have continued to provide aid, in the form of money, shelter, ammunitions and weaponry to the separatist element. However the attention outside interference gets in the media is far out of proportion to its real contribution to the issues that underlie the whole conflict.

## **Role of Provincial Autonomy and Ethnic Culture**

The grievances of Baloch people are manifold. The martial policy of the centre in dealing with the recent insurgency has added fuel to the fire. The main complaint of the Baloch Nationalists has always been that the provincial autonomy promised in the 1973 constitution has not been recognized and practically nonexistent till today. The Baloch people have demanded the right of self-administration to the province through a process of complete decentralization of powers.

Moreover, the silent but visible war by army and paramilitary in past few years has raised the level of resentment in ordinary Baloch. The action of the government against the Baloch nationalists has also been seen as the imperialism of the state. The setup of military cantonments was also seen as a way to suppress them.

Balochistan like the other three provinces of Pakistan has its unique cultural identity. This, some nationalists complain, has not been given due representation in the centre. Therefore whenever people from different ethnic groups feel their desertion on national levels, they feel being neglected and this creates frustration among such groups. Resultantly they resist any new ideas of development or modernized lifestyle due to the fear that they will lose their traditions and cultural identity.

## **Resource Exploitation in Balochistan**

Baloch nationalist's main gripe and grumble relates to Pakistan's domestic natural gas industry. They complain that the gas industry's well-paid managers and technicians were almost invariably drawn from outside Balochistan; local Baloch, inevitably viewed with some suspicion, were mainly employed in low-end jobs as day laborers. No efforts were made to remedy the shortage of technically skilled Baloch such as providing government funding of technical training institutions in Balochistan.

However the strongest dissatisfaction is about Baluchistan's lopsidedly deficient share of revenues from the government's sale of natural gas. Balochistan receives proportionately only about one-fifth as much in royalty payments as the other two gas producing provinces. This means that poorest province actually subsidizes the richer provinces. The nationalists also maintain that historically very little of the huge earnings of the central government in natural gas revenues was ever returned to the province in the form of development expenditures.

## **Deprivation and Lack of Development in the province**

The complaints and issues of the local people in Balochistan, about the situation of development or the lack of it, are absolutely genuine beyond doubt. There is no doubt that the province has been neglected for six decades and has taken a back seat in the minds of the ruling elite. The basic facilities of life including health, education, communication sources and infrastructures are in poor condition.

Balochistan is much less developed, and in several aspects least developed province according to the statistics of Economic Survey of Pakistan. It has the lowest literacy rate among both males and females, the lowest ranking in the Gender Parity Index (GPI) and the smallest presence of private educational institutes in the country, according to the recently issued National Economic Survey (NES). Poor transport and communication infrastructure is a big hurdle in the progress of the province.

Illiteracy, injustice, oppression of women, ignorance of the individual rights is the socio-political evils that prevail. The Social Policy Development Centre 2005 report discovered, that the percentage of the population living in a high degree of deprivation stands highest in Balochistan as compared to the other provinces [88 percent in Balochistan, 51 percent in the NWFP, 49 percent in Sindh and 25 percent in Punjab]. According to poverty-related reports, the percentage of the population living below the poverty line stands at 63 percent in Balochistan. This again, is the highest among all other provinces [26 percent in Punjab, 29 percent in the NWFP and 38 percent in Sindh]. These factors are mutually reinforcing and continue to aggravate the situation. The province has smallest number of educational institutions.

The resources wealth and developmental projects have never benefited the people of Balochistan. The example is the Natural Gas of the city of Sui. Huge royalties are paid to Sardar of Sui, but the money fails to reach the general public of the province. The federal government gives only a fraction back to Balochistan from what it earns through gas extracted from the province. And that fraction too is not properly planned and spent. There is no disagreement that over the years, the income from natural resources in the province has neither been properly paid nor fairly distributed and beyond doubt, the common Balochi people have not benefited from it.

Gwadar is a classic example of development project that has suffocated in the clutches of a land-grab mafia of Pakistan. The Baloch nationalists claim that it would ultimately favor the Punjabis and not Balochis. They also allege the government that these projects have largely bypassed local communities and have been set up to marginalize them.

A senior journalist Yar Mohammad Badini speaking at the recently held seminar in Quetta, asserted that Balochistan had been “rewarded” with five military operations over the past sixty years in return of the massive resources it has provided to the whole country in the energy sector. He called for an end to the economic exploitation of Balochistan, which he insisted it was the biggest source of discontent and disillusionment in the volatile province. In our recent conversations with a prominent academician (Dr Waheed Baloch) and a prominent businessman belonging to the ‘settler Balochis’, they both reiterated these aspects. Dr. Waheed Baloch said while giving his view about the current situation in Balochistan, that the province (Balochistan) has been deprived of the basic development needs for more than 60 years. He said that the young people on mountains are those, who once had trust in democratic forces for their welfare, but the dilly-dallying on the part of the successive governments has brought the resentment in people to the present level. He said that political solution of ending the crisis is in the hands of the government and it is simple: deliver the promised rights to the people of Balochistan.

Robert Wirsing in his very perceptive study, ‘Baloch nationalism and the Geopolitics of Energy Resources’ says, ‘two important facts should be kept in mind with regard to Baloch demography. One is that many Pakistani Baloch, 23.9 percent of the total if we extrapolate from the figures above, live outside of Balochistan, especially in Sindh. The second is that the Baloch may already be a minority in Balochistan, or they are almost certainly heading in that direction. The fact is that modernization, globalization, Pakistan’s steadily rising population, and the massive forces of change unleashed by economic development are threatening to leave the Baloch far behind. They are among the poorest, least educated, and least urbanized of Pakistan’s population; and they are too easily passed over or pushed aside in the highly competitive social and economic environments now gaining traction in Pakistan.’ He further adds that while this is in part, of course, ‘a structural problem, not lending itself readily to policy manipulation, circumstances did not arise unassisted by the government, whose policies have almost never been designed to give serious attention to Baloch problems’. And this is where, lies the crux of the problem.

## **Religious Extremism in Balochistan**

The state of deprivation has made the people of the province vulnerable to the aggravation and militant tendency promoting religious extremism in Balochistan. Lack of education and awareness, sense of deprivation and acute poverty gave space to terrorist activities by both external and internal enemies.

Abdul Rahim Ziaratwal, former parliamentary leader of the Pakhtunwa Milli Awami Party also alleges that government itself promotes the extremist activities in the province. He pointed out when speaking to a seminar that “This policy had previously radicalized the Pashtun areas of the province but now it had also expanded to the Bravispeaking belt of Balochistan where scores of young people were being inclined towards sectarian militancy and violence.”

Therefore, in recent times we’ve seen how Religious extremists and militant groups have brought about such a great deal of unrest and violence not only in Balochistan, but also in other parts of the country.

## **Insurgency and ‘Geo-Politics of Energy Resources’**

Selig Harrison writing in his book ‘In Afghanistan’s Shadow’ in 1981, predicted ominously ‘A glance at the map, quickly explains why strategically located Balochistan and the five million Baloch tribesmen who live there could easily become the focal point of superpower conflict.’

With the present energy crisis it should be no surprise that energy security in Pakistan, now stands at or near the top of national priorities. Pakistan’s economy is one of the world’s most natural gas dependent. Natural

gas, accounting for about 50 percent of Pakistan's total energy consumption, is currently the country's principal energy source.

Out of Pakistan's proven natural gas reserves two thirds are located in Balochistan. Butwhile Balochistan accounts for about 40 % of Pakistan's natural gas production, butconsumes only a modest 17 percent of it.

Pakistan's current annual consumption of natural gas is about 1.2 trillion cubic feet and fast increasing. This means that there are extreme pressures on Pakistan's natural gasresources coming from industrial, commercial, transport, and residential consumers. Butany more aggressive efforts for domestic exploration and extraction risk militant strikes.

The remedy is to get the ordinary Balochs out of militant mindset and back to political grounds. As long as Pakistan has gas supply, there will always be a flash point for a sharpcontroversy between Islamabad and Baloch nationalists. Therefore the security of thissupply for Pakistan is top of the agenda.

Baloch insurgency directly threatens this energy security. Robert Wirsing points out that this context is related to Baloch nationalism in at least three ways. One is thatBalochistan is rich in energy resources. The most persistent and long-standing grievancethat nationalists have is that these resources have been exploited by the centralgovernment without adequate compensation to the province. Second, Balochistan is atransit route for major proposed natural gas pipelines from either Iran or Turkmenistanto Pakistan and from there potentially to India. Baloch militant attacks are a major threat to any such undertaking. Third, Gwadar is the site of a major port facility andenergy hub.

He further elaborates that this energy context also exerts a powerful threefold impact on Baloch nationalism itself. First, it vastly increases the importance of Balochistan andBaloch nationalism to the central government. Second, the changed energy contextsimultaneously incentivizes the Baloch insurgents to claim control of Balochistan. Thirdand most important however, he states that 'to both sides' advantage, the changedenergy context, which includes the potential for major increases in Pakistan's revenuesand dramatic improvements in Balochistan's economy and Social infrastructure, alsosupplies novel and abundant opportunities to address Baloch nationalist demands in a positive and mutually acceptable manner'.

Therefore to conclude, as in the previous section we again see that the danger and the avenue of hope exist side by side. The choice remains for the Pakistan's government inhow to deal with these matters. Being swift, decisive, fair, just and transparent are the keyto success in the political engagement, which is the only option available to Pakistan.Baloch nationalism has to be accommodated in good faith. The Baloch need to becomepartners of energy development, not its enemies.

## **Insurgent groups in Balochistan**

According to government sources, presently there are five militant outfits operating in Balochistan. Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) is the most prominent amongst them thatseeks separation of Balochistan from Pakistan. Besides BLA, four other militantorganizations including Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF), Balochistan Republican Army(BRA), Lashkar-e-Balochistan and Jhalawan Baloch Tigers have emerged to challenge the writ of the government. These outfits have claimed the responsibility of various sporadic attacks on gas pipelines, power transmission lines, power pylons, security check posts, FC forts, security forces, railway tracks, oil tankers, government offices, pro governmenttribesmen, official residences and civilians etc. BRA is the most prominent among thenewly emerged Baloch militant groups.

Despite the violent resurgence of the nationalists it is still an almost certainty that the voice of Bloch nationalists is not really the voice of all Balochis. While, unfortunately thefact is that general Balochi people

are the ultimate victim of exploitation in the war between state and insurgents. Insurgent groups, in the opinion of many moderate Balochi people, do not represent the whole of province's population. They do not have majority's support as they too do not have any record of serving common people's interests. In fact there is hardly much love lost between different insurgent groups and unity across these is tenuous.

## **Settlers' issue & current situation in Balochistan**

The term 'settlers' is used in Balochistan to describe those 'Balochis' who are ethnically neither Baloch nor Pathan. These 'settlers' in Balochistan have been living in the area for generations. Ethnic Balochis are also themselves 'settlers' under one definition, and so are Pathans, as both ethnic groups arrived a few hundred years earlier and are not indigenous to Balochistan.

The migration of settlers has been going on for at least two centuries. Their first migration took place when Punjab in late 1700s. And the second flow of immigrants was started in 1800s during developmental movements in education, social services and journalism people of Balochistan invited various scholars from UP (Northern India) and Punjab to settle in Balochistan.

By the end of nineteenth century majority of the government employees was Punjabi. The professional entrepreneurial middle class composed of the non-indigenous communities in the province has been an asset to Pashtuns and Balochs for a number of decades. For generations they have provided skilled manual labour from hairdressers and tailors to professional middle class including teachers, educationists, bankers, and lawyers.

According to Assakzai, the contribution of Punjabis in the education sector in Balochistan is tremendous. A number of other journalists in Balochistan, Pakhtun and Balochs alike, have been trained by Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking journalists.

During the current wave of violence in Balochistan, the settlers have been particularly targeted and have suffered immense violence at the hands of the insurgents. In a recent visit to Quetta we met with Baloch, pathan and 'settler' political workers, professionals and settlers. They present a gloomy picture of the situation in city and whole province. The targeted killing of the Punjabi-speaking minority has been going on since the killing of Baloch nationalist leader Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti. Nationalists have described it as revenge killing to avenge the killing of Balochs by the "Punjabi" army during the operation.

There has been a series of target killings of settlers. Nationalist militant group in Balochistan are targeting and killing 'settler' educationists, doctors, professionals and such like. The people from other provinces who had come to work as low earning wage workers are being forced to migrate. This violence is pushing the province to further backwardness through skill and brain drain. These settlers in Balochistan all over Pakistan stand for the ethnic unity of all communities who are being targeted to destabilize the provincial capital.

In general, people are terrorized to the extent that they do not go out freely. Women and children are scared and feel themselves insecure. The major fallout of Baloch militants' violence to be mass migration from Balochistan of Punjabi- and Urdu-speaking people, who mostly live in Quetta. The already deprived province will not be able to fill the gap. Recently, over 70 professors in Balochistan University applied to be relieved so that they can work in other provinces, following the brutal killing of Prof Nazima Talib. In other words if this happens, Balochistan University will simply shut down.

The insurgent groups and their supporters are brain-washing the general people through negative portrayal of the role of state against Balochi people. The Chief Minister of Balochistan Aslam Raisani sees incidents of

target killing and bomb blasts as an aim to damaging Balochistan's economy. He has also linked the recent deteriorating law and order situation in the province to the ongoing war in Afghanistan.

### **Role of External factors and geo-political issues in the crisis of Balochistan**

Despite being a major factor, the backwardness and development lag is not the sole explanation of the insurgency in Balochistan. According to Global Research scholar, Michel Chossudovsky: "In the current geopolitical context, the separatist movement is in the process of being hijacked by foreign powers. British intelligence is allegedly providing covert support to Balochistan separatists (which from the outset have been repressed by Pakistan 's military)...Ten British MPs were involved in a closed door session of the Senate Committee on Defense regarding the alleged support of Britain 's Secret Service to Baloch separatists (Ibid). Also of relevance are reports of CIA and Mossad support to Baloch rebels in Iran and Southern Afghanistan."

In a 2006, a research article on Balochistan was published in Pak Tribune in which, Farzana Shah, a current affairs analyst for Brass Tacks highlighted the role which is being played by a British think tank against Balochistan. Shah writes: "In this regard the Foreign Policy Centre (FPC) United Kingdom arranged a seminar on Balochistan province of Pakistan in collaboration with the so-called Balochistan Rights Movement on 27th June 2006 in the House of Commons, London. It was highly disappointing as it was abashedly a one-sided cheap propaganda rather than discussing the real situation. By a mere look at the panel of the participants of the seminar one could easily figure out that it consisted of only anti-Pakistan elements and some self-styled activists advocating terrorism in the province. There were no representatives from government of Pakistan or even from the elected provincial government of Balochistan in the seminar. It is just unfortunate that the Foreign Policy Centre which is expected to present fair suggestions to the British government to engage a country of their concern for important issues, indulged in such a blatant one-sided propaganda against Pakistan through the said seminar."

The question is that what is the role of international players in Balochistan quagmire and what is at stake for these countries? Balochistan is situated at a geostrategic location. It provides corridor to the warm waters of Indian Ocean, overlooks Strait of Hormuz and major trade and oil routes. It is also full of natural resources, including gas, oil and precious and rare minerals.

One of the objectives for such interference is to destabilize Balochistan by stimulating insurgency and creating violations for its detachment from Pakistan. Gwadar has a key strategic position for shipping gas and oil from Turkmenistan to Arabian Sea via Afghanistan towards western shores. US see Gwadar as port way to the land route through Balochistan into Southern Afghanistan. China is interested in a gas pipeline from Iran through Pakistan into Western China, which US will not likely to accept. US wants to secure the Indian Ocean and its strategic routes, and Gwadar lies at the opening of Strait of Hormuz through which over 40% of world oil passes.

Iran views it unfavorably, since it does not want Gwadar to become prominent and Chabahar to be sidelined, especially since Iran is isolated in the world at the moment. Iran has huge reserves of gas and it would like to extend the trade with India. Iran is also afraid of Jandullah's (the terrorist group of CIA) covert operations against Iran, from Balochistan. Russia would not like trade from Central Asia shifting southwards and therefore would like to keep Afghanistan and Balochistan turbulent.

Afghanistan's soil has been used again and again to cause trouble inside Pakistan. Currently BLA is reported to be operating from Kandahar in Afghanistan. BLA enjoys support from Indian RAW in terms of finances, logistics, and weapons. In a recent report Christine Fair of RAND Corporation says " Kabul 's motivations for encouraging these activities are as obvious as India 's interest in engaging in them.

India is at the moment chief regional ally of US, and NATO. India believes that Pakistan is at the brink of break up and India must focus on building its relationship with Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan, and capture oil and gas reserves from Central Asia and Iran, through Afghanistan and Pakistan. India also believes that an independent Balochistan will likely become a proxy of Iran, India and Afghanistan.

Bharat Verma of Indian Defense Review, writes, "With Pakistan on the brink of collapse due to massive internal as well as international contradictions, it is matter of time before it ceases to exist. Multiple benefits will accrue to the Union of India on such demise."

## **Current Insurgency and Baloch Nationalism**

The current scenario for the conflict in Balochistan started building up when the federal authorities in Pakistan started developing Gwadar Port with road and rail links. The development projects of the coastal highway and the Gwadar port have been also opposed tooth and nail by Baloch nationalists. Balochi resistance to defy government's efforts to start Gwadar was based on the charge that it will change Balochi ethnic culture.

Balochi disaffection grew more in the aftermath of the attack on the Taliban in Afghanistan and the establishment of US bases in Pasni, Gwadar, Dalbandin and Jacobabad in Sindh. This was not so much because of the US military presence, but because the then administration decided to establish some army cantonments in Balochistan.

During the eight years of Musharraf's military rule in Pakistan, the absence of political process that is necessary to deal with the insurgencies resulted in the further alienation of even moderate Baloch nationalist from the Federation of Pakistan. It shut the doors of negotiation process with the Baloch Leaders.

This conflict became more intense, in 2006 when Nawab Bugti, the Baloch tribal leader and ex chief minister and governor of Balochistan was killed in an army operation. Pakistan's government had accused him of carrying out a series of bombings that had led to the killings of his own people. He had also been accused of carrying out the rocket attack on the President of Pakistan at the time. Meanwhile, the nationalists who had died fighting for their cause lauded him as a leader of Baloch and thus he was turned into a hero.

During this time the political parties did not play their role to raise the issues of deprivation and neglect at the serious level. This was not limited to the ruling parties; unfortunately opposition also ignored the Balochistan issue. In the All Parties Conference that was held in 2007, to plan a collective line of action to deal with the different problems faced by Pakistan, the Balochistan problem was not even included in the agenda.

Close analysis tells us that the Baloch nationalist movement is not a unitary force that it may appear. There is not much love lost between the leading tribes involved in the insurgency. There is no single voice that can claim to speak for all. There is no coherent second tier middle class leadership, despite increased support in the Baloch areas. In fact the middle classes may still be on the side of moderate federally inclined Baloch politicians. For some Baloch nationalism only means tribal identity such as Marrior Bugti, at best.

Some Baloch nationalists demand complete independence. Most, still believe that 1973 Constitution is the most workable basis for a 'reconstructed and strengthened' federalism, and all they want is greater autonomy.

Therefore while it is true that anti-state violence has been the chosen tactic of some, for the great majority, federal framework stays the chosen method to address grievances. And it is this that Pakistan government must capitalize on to.

The danger as we mentioned earlier are two-fold. The educated middle class in Baloch towns has started rallying behind nationalists and even Sardars. These sardars will never deliver but like all other Pakistanis, they are being fooled into utopian idealism. Second, various vested local, national and international interests are trying to take advantage of this situation.

Steven Metz has persuasively argued that contemporary insurgency has undergone fundamental change in its strategic context, structure, and dynamics. He asserts that this requires Pakistan's federal and provincial governments to adopt "a very different way of thinking about (and undertaking) counterinsurgency. The real threat posed by insurgency, he observes, is the sustained conflict leading to political destabilization and related socio political pathologies. 'Protracted conflict,' he declares, "Not insurgent victory, is the threat.

To summarise the nationalist's complaints are mix of old and new. Older complaints consist of lack of autonomy, exploitation of resources and lack of development. In addition since then, the new complaints are that hundreds of people are missing in action and there has been a silent war that nationalists allege state is waging upon them.

Above analysis make two things absolutely clear. One that there is virtually no chance that the problems confronting Islamabad arising from the current resurgence of Baloch nationalism can be swept aside. While the actual scale of the rebellion may be a matter of considerable controversy, the danger is present and clear; and the reasons underlying it are genuine and real. Second, there is Considerable Avenue of hope with majority still willing to work within the state framework and through political methods.

## **Government's Neglect towards the province**

The central government's inability and reluctance to identify and tackle the problems for a long period is the major reason for the prevailing situation. But the government in Balochistan has also never represented the genuine interests of the people of Balochistan. The elected representatives of the province have also shown an apolitical and non-democratic attitude instead of highlighting the genuine needs and interests of their people. Conversely the people's representatives supported the criminal's activities in the region through dictating their orders to the local police.

Pakistani central governments on the other hand have attempted to establish a strong centralized state. And in the process they have neglected the basic development rights of people and their peculiarities. The checkered history of Pakistani democratic government has also proved a hindrance in the way of addressing the grievances politically; instead the army rule has almost always favored the military solution over political ones. It was this attitude that led Musharraf to declare about the insurgent that 'they will not know what hit them'. How sad a commentary on a Nation's fate that such remarks are made by the president of the country. In his time, Islamabad adopted a 'virtually zero tolerance' model, allegedly consisting of psychological warfare, public diplomacy, political harassment and intimidation; decapitation of separatist leadership; co-option of tribal leadership, increased deployment of security forces and reliance on military repression.

The failure of the model is clear as daylight. The harassment and hounding of the Baloch, without any tangible benefits to the masses on the ground, only led to increase in the popular support and helping to prove the claim made by the insurgents that the government's real aim is to marginalize them and to reduce them to second-class citizenship in their own land.

## Role of feudal lords

In 15th century Mir Chakar Khan Rind became first king of Balochistan. Empires based in Iran subsequently dominated Balochistan and Afghanistan as well as the Mughal Empire based in India. Nadir Shah and then Ahmed Shah Durrani won the allegiance of the rulers of Balochistan. Later these areas were dominated by Balochis and Pashtun tribes.

The period between eleventh and fifteenth century was important for the transition of Balochi community from clan units to the development of chieftaincies, which is the predecessor of present day Sardar system. The history of Balochi people in this phase went through a fundamental social transformation. Ejaz Ahmad in his article 'The National Question in Pakistan' writes:

*"Permanent chieftaincy was instituted and the chiefs began gradually to accumulate at least a primitive kind of capital, not only through acquisition from outside the resources of the tribe, but also in form of appropriation of labor as well as commodities from members of the tribe itself."*

This gave rise to the class conflict in Balochistan. The system of *sardarkheli* (chieftain's clans) was essentially a feudal system, where sardar was the feudal lord and the other members of the clan were relegated to a secondary position. They then worked for sardars as well as collected revenues for them. Gradually the interests of the Balochi people ceased to be in alignment of the interests of the Balochi Sardari system, as it existed then. Ejaz Ahmad further says 'The great wealth, power and conspicuous consumption of the ruling elite found, at the bottom of the society, its exact equivalent in unspeakable poverty and powerlessness of the great mass of serfs, slaves and labouring peasants.'

This subjugation and exploitation was veiled over by 'myths of tribal solidarity and brotherhood'. As this state of affairs got worse for the ordinary Baloch, the myth of tribal classlessness was propagated with loud noise. It remained a myth nevertheless and 'worked as an opiate on the masses'.

In reality, Baloch people have been crushed between the state and the Sardars. The grievances about social and economic backwardness have escalated due to the entrenched sense of tribalism and deprivation. The Many different Sardars, who rule their respective tribes, have a very poor record of protecting the rights of the tribal people themselves.

The problem started with Prince Karim's invasion from Afghanistan. It was repressed by the state. Since then foundations for mistrust were laid down. The neglect and exploitation continued, with sardars playing their role of appeasing the establishment and never taking any part in the development of Pakistan or Balochistan. For example Bugti Sardars have been paid billions of Rupees. How much of that has been spent on their own tribesmen?

There is certainly weight in the argument that the federal government in Pakistan has neglected the development of Balochistan, but equal responsibility lies with the Sardars of Balochistan who enjoy immense power in their tribes. These very sardars have been part of the ruling elite in the province, both under the military and civilian rulers.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the same Baloch leaders have censured the development plans, which were likely to bring immense opportunities for the progress of their people. Even the horrific human rights atrocities taking place in the province have been defended by the tribal chiefs in the name of their cultural norms.

Prof. Mukhtar Ali Naqvi writes that the demands of a "Fair Deal" have also been set forth by these Sardars and not by the elected members. They are unwilling to come into the mainstream society, have monopoly over the laws and regulations of the state, while they themselves sit in provincial and national parliaments,

yet they don't work for the development of their own people. Through brutal customs, and practices, they target their own people. Their opposition to the development plans stems from the apprehensions that employment opportunities and consequent change will liberate people from their bondage.

Prof Naqvi further pointed out "Since the situation in the province has been the subject of discussion in the country, the news media has presented views of all shades of opinion. Many interviewees belonging to the same tribe exposed the tribal leaders. They gave first-hand information about how people are oppressed and how despicable methods are used to keep them in bondage. The details of captivity in private jails are simply harrowing. The leaders are running a parallel government and consider themselves to be above the law."

## What needs to be done?

Under the circumstances it is difficult to establish exactly what needs to be done to curb this crisis. However, what needs to be realized is that this is not the problem of one class or section. Therefore the response needs to be wholesome. 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 doorstep of the ordinary masses.

For its part, the governing elite needs to learn that the problem of Balochistan must be given urgent attention and top priority in good faith and measure. The government of Pakistan has to be sensitive to the genuine demands placed on the federal government by the Balochis. These demands are protected and guaranteed by the constitution of Pakistan.

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. The situation calls for strongest possible political will to deliver and implement the solution among all concerned. It is true that insurgency still does not command the majority support. This fact must be capitalized on. By taking serious and urgent socio economic measure and by providing justice and fair play as basis of governance, the back of the insurgency can be broken.

There is still an attitude among the Pakistanis establishment led by military that insurgency depends on some individuals. This is no longer the case and grass roots support has widened in past few years. This issue can only be countered by urgent and fair governance. 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.

In this regard following steps can be considered:

- The Government should draw out a clear-cut policy giving due share in natural resources to the province.
- The revenue from the developmental projects in Balochistan must be spent on its development.
- Development work should be carried out in the fields of infrastructure development, water for irrigation and drinking, education, health, energy and productive economic activity.
- The delivery system of basic social services like health, education, water and sanitation needs to be strengthened and easily accessible to common people.
- Royalties, duties, development surcharges and other levies owed to the province by the centre must be paid on fair basis.
- On the political level, the government must involve the political and nationalist groups in the mainstream politics. The Baloch leaders must be engaged by the political leadership to neutralise the extremist/separatist segments of their groups.
- The Baloch must be given due representation in state institutions.

- Balochistan's cities, towns and villages should be given priority and preference for Sui gas, minerals, and other basic necessities of life.
- Judiciary should also play its role- SC must act as to ensure justice in the province and the provision of basic national rights to the Baloch people in capacity of equal Pakistanis.
- Action is needed on the missing persons form federal executive and judiciary.
- Peace and rule of law must be ensured. As an ancillary point this must not be used as an excuse to perpetrate state sanctioned crimes.
- Governance and Economic Management Programs should be developed and implemented.
- Provincial government should tackle education, health, housing, law and order, security, communication, roads and transport as top most priority.
- The long-held fear of the Baloch people that investors may take their resources away needs to be addressed by the safeguard investment policies of assurance by the government.
- The Baloch Nationalists, if sincere with a peaceful resolution of the years old conflict, must negotiate the issues with the political leadership in order to resolve the conflicts.
- By creating major opportunities—specifically, by turning Balochistan into an important energy conduit in the region—to address Baloch nationalist demands in a positive and mutually acceptable manner.

The central government and the establishment should stop seeing this as a foreign instigated phenomenon only, as was done in the case of East Pakistan. This mind set will surely lead to more destruction. The need now is to acknowledge the grievances and deal with them directly, immediately and effectively in a political framework delivered by transparent and fully empowered political forces. While there can be an opinion about whether such a solution is a tall order or not, there can be no two opinions that this is the only way out of the Baloch insurgency. On their part the moderate Baloch forces need to create clear blue water between them and nationalist insurgents and need to challenge the militants' search for an "ideal

Balochistan" where ethnic minorities would have no place or which brings death and destruction at an unimaginable scale just to satisfy egos of certain arrogant sardars or fulfill dreams of certain international powers.

## 8. Cost of War on Terror for Pakistan Economy

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Pakistan's economy is under pressure of the War on Terror intensifying for last four years in Afghanistan. Since 2006, the War has spread like a contagion into settled areas of Pakistan that has so far, cost the country more than 35,000 citizens, 3500 security personnel, destruction of infrastructure, internal migration of millions of people from parts of northwestern Pakistan, erosions of investment climate, nose diving of production and growing unemployment and above all brought economic activity to a virtual standstill in many part of the country. Pakistan had never witnessed such devastating social and economic upheaval in its industry, even after dismemberment of the country by direct war.

After 9/11 Pakistan had to assume the role of a frontline state in the War against Terror. The onset of the War disrupted Pakistan's normal trading activities, as the cost of trading increased substantially because of higher insurance cover. Consequently, economic growth slowed demands for imports reduced with consequential decline in tax collection and inflows of foreign investment were naturally adversely affected, accentuated by the travel bans issued by western governments to its entrepreneurs.

While the economic situation was worsening, a new elected government took power in 2008 and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs constituted an inter-ministerial committee to assess the direct and indirect cost of the War on Terror on Pakistan. The Ministries of Finance, Interior, Commerce and some other relevant government departments plus the representatives of two provinces bordering turbulent Afghanistan participated in these deliberations. After few sessions and valuable inputs from all sides, the committee estimated the cost of War on Terror and its impact on Pakistan's economy and society.

The conclusion was that the War not only caused serious damage to the economy, but also to the social fabrics of Pakistan. Obviously, continuity of War will continue to bleed the economy and society of Pakistan. At the start of the War, the cost of it to Pakistan was estimated at \$ 2.669 billion in fiscal year 2001-02. This calculation was based on the assumptions that: (i) The War in Afghanistan that begun on October 7, 2001 will end swiftly by December 2001; (ii) normalcy will resume from January 2002; (iii) the Taliban government will be ousted and some low intensity fight will continue but life in Pakistan will remain normal; and (iv) the additional increase in freight cargo and war risk premium will be removed. The abovementioned assumptions were not materialized and instead the war on terror continued to gain momentum and became more precarious for the entire region in general and Pakistan in particular as it shifted to its settled areas to disrupt all kind of investment and economic activity. Pakistan became more insecure in its efforts to make the world a safer place to live.

Pakistan continued to pay a heavy price in terms of both the economic and security terms. A large portion of its resources, both men and material are being consumed by this war for the last several years. The economy was subjected to enormous direct and indirect costs which continued to rise from \$2.669 billion in 2001-02 to \$ 13.6 billion by 2009-10, projected to rise to \$ 17.8 billion in the current financial year (2010-11) and moving forward, the direct and indirect costs to the economy is most likely to rise further.

During the last 10 years the direct and indirect cost of war on terror incurred by Pakistan amounted to \$67.93 billion or Rs.5037 billion. The events that transpired after 9/11 in Afghanistan worsened the security environment in the country. As a result, the western countries including the United States continued to impose travel ban for their citizen (investor, importers etc.) to visit Pakistan. This has affected Pakistan's exports, prevented the inflows of foreign investment, affected the pace of privatization program, slowed the overall economic activity, reduced import demand, reduced tax collection, expenditure over-run on additional security spending, domestic tourism industry suffered badly, hundreds; and thousands of jobs could have been created had economic activity not slowed as well as thousands of jobs were lost because of the destruction of domestic/foreign tourism industry; destruction of physical infrastructure (military and civil) massive surge in security related spending; migration of thousands of people from war affected areas and the associated rise in expenditure to support internally displaced persons.

Pakistan's investment-to-GDP ratio has nosedived from 22.5 percent in 2006-07 to 13.4 percent in 2010-11 with serious consequences for job creating ability of the economy. Going forward, Pakistan needs enormous resources to enhance productive capacity of the economy. The security situation will be the key determinant of the future flow of the investment. Pakistan economy needs an early end to this war.

## 9. The Nuclear Issue

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Adding on to the Nuclear Arsenal has become the dire necessity of every nation today. However, when few countries who have always been in the limelight for all negative reasons, start building their own nuclear infrastructure, efforts initiated by the international community for peace processes receive considerable setback.

The complications between all these countries have continued to deepen by time and continued efforts have been made to pacify the vulnerable situation in this particular region of the Asian continent. Though a lot has been achieved in this regard, but there are far more complicated tussles which need immediate attention from the international community.

## **The 9/11 Transformation**

Terrorism and extremism have been the prime factors in dislodging all kinds of peace processes in the Middle-East and South-West Asia. Post 9/11 countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan were in the news for quite a long time for their ongoing socio-political turmoil. Militant outfits in Afghanistan and Pakistan have continued to launch massive armed offensives against US and NATO troops stationed in Afghanistan. After confirming the death of Osama Bin Laden earlier this year, in April 2011, it was quite clear that the Pakistan Army provided shelter to the world's most dreaded terrorist. Though the Pakistani administration was often accused of supporting the militant outfits in Pakistan and Afghanistan, Osama Bin Laden's death magnified and confirmed the general accusation.

## **Increasing Strength of Pakistani Military Forces**

Pakistan's military strength has continued to increase even after serious vigil was arranged by the Western countries to keep an eye on its military activities. Pakistani Army's emphasis on increasing its nuclear strength created more buzz among the socio-political analysts of the world. The generation of an overtly cautious and endangered discussion on Pakistan's nuclear power was quite obvious. This is because of Pakistan's continued support to anti-social elements which are often reported to be engaged in cross-border terrorism and aiding the banned Taliban in Afghanistan. Pakistani administration's double standards have tampered its relations with USA on a regular basis. Though the latter was quite adamant about reviewing its decision to provide military aid to the Pakistani Army, the Pakistani administration took the advantage of the civilian deaths that often occur due to profuse bombing operations carried out by the US troops in the Af-Pak border.

## **Pakistan's Nuclear Promotion and NATO's Concern**

The rise in Pakistan's Nuclear power, which has almost doubled in the recent past, is all set to make Pakistan the fifth largest nuclear power in the world surpassing the Great Britain. After its entry to the "nuclear 100 club", Pakistan's nuclear power may be frowned upon by most of the socio-political pundits all over the world. However, there is unnecessary hoopla about Pakistan's increasing nuclear which is supposed to bring a subsequent change in its international policy. The only reason which the NATO (Northern Alliance Troops Alliance) is worried about is the increasing ineffectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Pakistan has maintained its policy of making nuclear weapons at any cost ignoring all of its other pivotal internal issues which have continued to deteriorate Pakistan's cultural, economic and social framework. As far as figures are concerned, Pakistan has more nuclear weapons than India, but that does not increase its power of deterrent as compared to its neighbour.

In the earlier phase of 2011, Pakistan's naval base Karachi was attacked by the Talibanis once again after 2009. The Pakistani forces faced a tough time while retreating the Talibanis in their 17 hour long battle in Karachi. The NATO after the attack bolstered its concerns for Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and its safety. This attack on Pakistan's naval base was worse than the 2009 attack when the army headquarters were besieged by the Talibani militants. The Talibani attack was immediately followed after the killing of the world's most wanted terrorist, Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan, which is quite close to Pakistan's Military

Academy. Later on after the attack, the Pakistani Taliban which had ties with Al-Qaeda claimed the responsibility for the attack. The Pakistani Taliban is the country's home-grown terrorist organization. Pakistani Interior Minister Rehman Malik informed that the clash killed 10 Pakistani security personnel and 15 more were seriously injured. Four militants were killed in the encounter and two are supposed to have escaped.

## Conclusion

The ineffectiveness of the NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) has made things difficult for NATO and the international community. The Obama administration has rightly warned that nuclear terrorism is supposedly the most dreaded and critical threat for the 21st century mankind. Every single country in the globe is well aware about the insurgency and terrorist activities which have continued to use the Pakistani soil as their breeding grounds to carry out all their heinous acts of bloodshed and violence. The increasing nuclear build-up in the South Asian region continues to haunt the West for a nuclear war in the future. Both India and Pakistan are signatories of the NPT which puts no particular sanction to increase their nuclear power. The only solution is to enhance the authenticity of NPT to these nations (Pakistan in particular) in order to achieve a better picture about the nuclear arms race in this region.

# 10. Target Killings-Unrest in Karachi and Quetta

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In Pakistan, targeted killings have been a rising form of violence and have contributed to security instability in the country. They have become common and have gained attention especially in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city and economic capital and also in Quetta, the capital of the southern province of Balochistan. Police and law enforcement agencies have sometimes come under criticism for their ineffectiveness in locating the perpetrators and investigating their motives. For most part, targeted killings in Karachi have been attributed to political, religious and ethnic reasons. There are speculations about the killing but no real proof has been found against any party.

## Background

Karachi is a cosmopolitan city and consists of many ethnic communities; the city's demographics play an important role in its politics. Ethnic politics have resulted in sporadic violence throughout Karachi's history, often leading to bloody conflicts. Following the Partition of India and the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Muslim immigrants from areas constituting modern-day India migrated in large numbers to the newly-created Muslim nation of Pakistan and became settled in Karachi, the historical capital of the Sindh province. These migrants had educated, middle-class to upper class backgrounds and came from cultured families; they came to be known as Muhajir people (Muhajir meaning "immigrant"). They dominated much of Karachi's businesses, something which was resented by a portion of the province's native Sindhi people and radical Sindhi nationalists.[1] After the breakaway of East Pakistan in 1971 and the formation of Bangladesh, Pakistan accepted a large number of Biharis (known as "Stranded Pakistanis") loyal to the country, trapped in Bangladesh and offered them citizenship. The Bihari migrants assimilated into the diverse Urdu-speaking Muhajir population. Some Bengalis in Pakistan also stayed behind. The Pashtuns (Pakhtuns or Pathans), originally from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA and northern Balochistan, are now the city's second largest ethnic

group in Karachi after Muhajirs. With as high as 7 million by some estimates, the city of Karachi in Pakistan has the largest concentration of urban Pashtun population in the world, including 50,000 registered Afghan refugees in the city. As per current demographic ratio Pashtuns are about 25% of Karachi's population.

Karachi's status as a regional industrial centre attracted migrants from other parts of Pakistan as well, including Punjab, Balochistan and Pashtun migrants from the frontier regions. Added to this were Iranians, Arabs, Central Asians as well as thousands of Afghan refugees who came to Karachi, initially displaced by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; some of the Afghan and Pashtun migration brought along conservative tribal culture, further intensifying ethnic and sectarian violence and also giving rise to mob culture.

## Violence

The ethnic mix has resulted in political parties being affiliated with specific communities. For example, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was founded for the political interests of the Muhajir people. Other social classes also formed their parties. Today, rivalry between groups has seen the rise of social and political chaos and a multiplication in target killings. Religious sectarian parties and Sunni-Shia conflict have also led to violence.

## 11. And more...

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Pakistan continued to be involved in the dispute over Kashmir, with allegations of support of separatist Kashmiri militants being levelled against Pakistan by India— which treats them as terror groups— while Pakistan levels charges that the Indian government abuses human rights in its excessive use of military force in the disputed region. What makes this dispute a source of special concern for the world community is that both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons. It had led to a nuclear standoff in 2002, when Kashmir-militants, allegedly backed by the ISI, attacked the Indian parliament. In reaction to this, serious diplomatic tensions had developed and India and Pakistan deployed 500,000 and 120,000 troops to the border respectively. While the Indo-Pakistani peace process made progress subsequently, it was sometimes stalled by infrequent insurgent activity in India, such as the 26/11 Mumbai attacks. The 2008 Mumbai attacks were twelve coordinated shooting and bombing attacks across Mumbai, India's largest city, by Islamist terrorists who were trained in and came from Pakistan.

Although the government had taken steps to improve relations with the United States and the West, in 2010–11 the anti-American sentiment reached a high level after a CIA contractor killed civilians in the city of Lahore. Pakistan's relations with United States graphically and dramatically went down after a major event of International importance occurred on the soil of Pakistan on 2 May 2011: The Al-Qaeda supremo Osama bin Laden was claimed to have been assassinated in his elusive secret hideout in Abbottabad, by the teams of elite SEALs and DEVGRU commandos, through a daring airborne attack, without the knowledge of Pakistan Government. This secret mission was personally authorized by US-president Barack Obama. The relations of Pakistan and the United States have been weakened and challenging since this operation. While senior U.S. officials openly blamed the Pakistan government for supporting a network of hiding al-Qaeda supremo, it prompted Peoples Party's government and her alliance to review the nation's foreign policy and alliance with the United States. The left-wing alliance favoured alliance with Russia and the Peoples Party's government adopted the elements of foreign policy of its late leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto - it was decided to enhance relationship and cooperation with Russia that was halted in 1970, after Bhutto's removal. Since 2011,

Pakistan blocked all major NATO supply Lines after the NATO attack that resulted in Salala check post. Also since 2011, relations with Russia reached to a maximum level, when President Zardari went to Moscow, the first official trip by any head of state from Pakistan in 37 years. In return, the Russian commander of Russian Armed Forces, Alexander Postnikov, made a surprise and rare visit to Pakistan. Postnikov's trip was the first of its kind by any senior military official from the former Soviet Union in recent years. In 2012, the government made further efforts to establish strong relations with Russia, after the secret trip of country's foreign minister was made.

Following endless procrastination of Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in probing corruption charges as ordered by the judiciary, and treating it as contempt of court, the Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified and ousted him and he resigned from office on 26 April 2012. Raja Pervaiz Ashraf of People's Party took oath as the 17th Prime Minister of Pakistan on 22 June 2012. Doubts are already being expressed on his continuance as he is also facing corruption charges in the Supreme Court. On 15th January, 2013, Pakistan's Supreme Court ordered the arrest of PM Raja Pervez Ashraf and 15 others over corruption allegations, raising fears of a political crisis just months ahead of an election.