

## CHALLENGES TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF BALUCHISTAN

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*“National integration is the socio-psychological and educational process through which a feeling of unity, solidarity and cohesion develops in the hearts of the people and a sense of common citizenship or feeling of loyalty to the nation is fostered.”*

—H. A Ghani

### Abstract

*National integration is a process through which divisive people and cultures are synthesized into a unified whole. It is a process of harmony, common identity and above all national consciousness. Ever since Pakistan has taken birth, it has been in the grip of numerous problems notably in the province of Baluchistan. Baluchistan is a strategic province that promises future economic gains through different ongoing mega projects, rich untapped minerals, pledging bigger foreign investment, better economic opportunities and greater economic schemes in the country. These problems have generated challenges to the very notion of national integration in Pakistan, in general, and Baluchistan, in particular. This paper, therefore, identifies the challenges of national integration in Pakistan with special reference to Baluchistan. The paper also makes an attempt to describe the leading internal/external factors accountable for the violent situation in the province. It is significant in a way that it not only analyzes the current position and policies of the government, but provides policy recommendations.*

**Key Words:** *Baluchistan, national integration, insurgency, socio-economic deprivation.*

### Introduction

The concept of national integration includes two processes — the nation-building and state-building. Nation-building involves doing away with the casuist, linguistic and regional lines on one hand and creating psychological sense of unity on the other. State refers to

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territorial integrity which implies the absence of separatist forces within the territorial boundaries where the administration of central and state government runs.

The important task faced by the leaders of post-independent states of Asia and Africa is to create a national identity out of diverse regional, linguistic and cultural identities. The problem of national integration is a mirror image of national unity. Almost, all the developing nations of Asia and Africa are facing this twin problem of national integration and national identity. Pakistan also does not enjoy immunity in this regard.

Since independence, Pakistan has been in the grip of numerous problems including threat to its frontiers and weaker political system within the country. No individual could safeguard his legal and social interests on account of autocracy preponderance. Political unrest occurred from time to time due to economic disparities, power inequalities, and lack of national integration. These factors are exacerbated by the environment of mistrust, deprivation, and exploited by external elements.

Baluchistan, the largest province of Pakistan, has faced nothing more or less than that. Baluchistan is western most of the four provinces of Pakistan covering an area of 134,050 square miles or 347,188 square kilometres. Its geographical position stretches from the coast of Arabian Sea in the north wards; in the northwest it borders with Afghanistan; on the west with Iran; and in southwest it has links with the Middle Eastern states and onwards to the Gulf Region. Baluchistan is the strategic province that promises future economic gains through different ongoing mega projects, rich untapped minerals, pledging bigger foreign investment, better economic opportunities and greater economic schemes in the country.

This paper identifies the challenges of national integration in Pakistan with special reference to Baluchistan. The paper also makes an attempt to describe the leading internal/external factors responsible for the violent situation in the province. It is significant in a way that it not only analyzes the current position and policies of the government, but provides policy recommendations. It first discusses a theoretical approach towards national integration and situates the case in the context of Baluchistan. In doing so, a number of factors leading to a violent situation in Baluchistan are identified including socio-economic grievances, feudalism, external influence and most importantly the response of the government.

## **Theoretical framework**

Before giving a thought to national integration problems one must be clear about the remarkable marriage of two words;

- a. Nation

## b. Integration

A nation is a historically evolved stable community having a territory and based on common values such as economic life and psychological make-up – no matter having achieved independence or in the process of achieving independence<sup>1</sup>. In other words, the existence of a community on a particular territory having common characteristics of economic and psychological make-up makes a nation regardless of its status as an independent territory. In addition, nation is also defined as a group having self-government through an independent state<sup>2</sup>.

The term 'integration' mainly refers to a community of distinct groups having similar rights by law and these rights are guaranteed by the constitution. According to Dictionary of Political Thought, "Integration means different groups within a jurisdiction may have the same rights in law that nevertheless enjoy unequal privileges and desperate social, educational and recreational institutions, integration is the process, where by all such institutions are made available to all members of the state regardless of creed, race and origin with the intention of forming a unified civil society within the jurisdiction of a unified state."<sup>3</sup>

National integration has been a topic of immense importance among the scholars in recent years. The debate on this important issue draws various conclusions. For instance, in order to foster national integration in a particular country, it is important to establish mechanisms at the national level. Subsequently, these mechanisms should serve as a potential force to leverage a sense of satisfaction for the population, in general, and the system, in particular. For this purpose, consensus by the community members play a vital role in the accomplishment and subsequent formation of a national community.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the essentials for national power of a country has been described by political analysts as its territory, masses, resources, defence capabilities, a political system, technological advances and diplomatic skills.

Internal stability and security strengthens external position in the region, in general and world, in particular. The ultimate goal of a state is always national security often defined and explained in terms of national defence and is equated with a strong and alert military. However, certain queries remain unanswered, for instance issues of internal security such

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<sup>1</sup> Ziauddin Khan, *National Integration in India: Issues and Dimensions*, (Cape Town: Associated Publishing House, 1983), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick H. O'neil, *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2007), 47.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Scruton, *The Palgrave Macmillan dictionary of political thought*, (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 227.

<sup>4</sup> Hameed A. K. Rai and Saeed Osman Malick, *Comparative and Development Politics*, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1989), 339.

as separatism, revolutions, military takeovers, law and order situations, internal turmoils, subversions, ethnic issues and violent struggles for power — that represent a situation where these internal security issues are indistinguishable as internal or national security issues. Handling such critical issues require proper and well-thought mechanisms. Of course, there is no possibility that one can wait and see internal problems getting so-called insignificant and subsequently become a perceived threat. Therefore, an immediate attention to the nature of internal security issues is extremely important for the very interest of the state.

To prevent and cope with these threats nations acquire power may it be military, economic and political. In fact, power can be an important tool to generate prosperity and subsequently may lead to further power which is crucial factor for political system. The main growth factors can be imported where as the political system cannot be imported. The case studies of Denmark, Chile, Brazil, Nicaragua, India and the Asian tigers like China, Japan, and Korea best verify the maximum standards for political stability in their respective countries to foster economic and socio-cultural development.

In the case of Pakistan political strives, insurgency, feudalism and sardarism have been jeopardizing its political policies leading to social institution in disarray. Pakistan has been struggling to achieve societal integration of its ethnically, socially, economically and culturally diverse society. These disturbing organizations strengthened themselves and have worked a lot in all the provinces but mainly in the largest and less populous province of Baluchistan. Frederic Grare explains three main factors leading to the lack of integration and insurgency in Baluchistan, namely expropriation, marginalization, and dispossession.<sup>5</sup> What accounts for instability and violence in the province is a question mark which can be better understood in context of a number of facts:

1. Historical factor
2. Socio-economic deprivation and negligence on part of the centre
3. Feudalism or Sardarism
4. External factor

## Historical factor

To understand the continuing insurgent movements in Baluchistan, one has to understand the historical perspective.

Among the earliest residents of the central Caspian region, until the nineteenth century the Balochs were a sovereign tribal blending. The Durand Line was drawn in 1893 by British dividing British India and

<sup>5</sup> Frederic Grare, *Pakistan: the resurgence of Baluch nationalism*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006. Accessed on 10 August 2015, <<http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP65.Grare.FINAL.pdf>>.

Afghanistan, along with Baloch and the Pashtuns on both sides of the new border. Division plan in 1947 gave both the tribes the choice of joining either Pakistan or India. Baloch leaders disapproved the two choices but demanded for a third way: independence. The last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, held that Baluchistan would not be able to continue on its own and forced it to join Pakistan. Suleiman Khan, a very vocal and dynamic leader among Balochs at that time, later pronounced: "We had no desire to be part of Pakistan but we were ignored and the agreement was eventually forced down our throats. Till the very last moment, they kept us in the dark. All the time we were assured that the Baloch would keep their independent state but instead we were sold down the river."

Outwardly, Baluchistan was calm, but in reality trouble was brewing there as in other provinces of Pakistan. The struggle for provincial autonomy and self-determination has been dealt with a military reaction in 1948, 1956, and 1970s.

Before joining Pakistan, Balochistan had a political structure divided into two main claimants, Khan of Kalat (the Head of the State or the ruler of Baluchistan State Union – BSU) having secondary rulers like Nawabs of Makran, Kharan, Lasbella in the Baloch area, and Nawab Jogezeai in the Pashtoon areas.

Khan of Kalat ruled the area under the power structure designed in Mastung agreement ensuring the secondary *sardars* a complete sovereignty. This sovereignty was further reassured by the British under the Treaty of Gandamak. By the course of events and the administrative division of Balochistan, autonomous status of the *sardars* and the rise of political strife against the breach of contract by the Government of 1948 provoked the armed struggle against the Pakistan Government. The military coup of October 1958 resulted another insurgency lasted for two years led by Nawab Noroz Khan, his cousin and other 13 rulers commanding major tribes including Marri, Bugti, Mengal. All the Baloch *sardars* unanimously decided and took oath on the grave of Mir Mehrab Khan Shaheed (a great nationalist leader), not to carry on relations with their wives unless Baluchistan gets independence. This is known as "Qoal" in Baloch history.<sup>6</sup>

Another insurgency propelled in Baluchistan in 1973-1975 mainly in the areas of Marri and Kalat. The nature of this insurgency was different from the previous insurgencies. This particular insurgency also attracted support from the Soviet Union and some quarters of the Middle East. Thousands of Nationalists fled from the country and engaged in obtaining external and moral support for the insurgency. Provincial assemblies dissolved one after another. The well-knitted alliances kept on changing

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<sup>6</sup> Adnan Adil, *Historical Perspective of Baloch National Movement (Baloch Qomi Tehreek ka Tareekhi Pas-e-Manzar)*, Sangat (monthly magazine) Quetta: January, (2006): 12.

the structure and further dividing into small units. Clandestine supply of arms and cash in Baluchistan has been a bid to bell the political cats. In fact, foreign hands theory applied to this particular insurgency – as there were interests shown neighbouring countries in favour and against. Rather than providing and facilitating a political solution to the issue of insurgency, foreign hands fostered their own interests to the trouble-stricken region. However, the insurgency came to an end leading towards normalization of situation in Baluchistan.

### **Socio-economic deprivation and negligence on part of the centre**

Protecting their national assets is of immense importance to the national interest of a particular country. States engages at any level to protect their resources and make full use of it. Indeed, Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan and naturally a rich land in terms of natural resources such as coal, steel, iron and gold. However, being the lowest populous province, the claims for resource exploitation has been voiced overtime. The natural resources of Baluchistan are estimated at nineteen trillion cubic feet of natural gas and six trillion barrels of oil reserves. In fact, the Government of Baluchistan is least autonomous when it comes to the control over natural resources. It is the federation that controls media, educational curriculum, labour, tourism, welfare and environment. The most critical point is educational curriculum designed by the federal government unintentionally excluding the importance of Balochi language and cultural symbols.

The grievances of Baluchistan against the Centre are longstanding and genuine. Baluchistan is the least developed province, covering about 44% of the country's total land area. Almost 77% is rural with high illiteracy and high poverty incidence. The economic and social backwardness of the province is due to three main reasons: Firstly, it got the status of the province in 1970 — a painful incorporation into the federation — secondly, negligence on part of federal, and thirdly, the most important is tribalism.<sup>7</sup>

Baluchistan enjoys an important strategic position on world map. One of the most charming regions of Pakistan attracted to not only regional but international powers as well. Baluchistan is a richly mountainous region, most of them hard and tough but surely enrich with the hidden natural resources whose economic benefits and long-lasting strategic impacts can never be denied. In fact, it is the responsibility of the government to provide infrastructure in the province. Although, government could easily raise the socio- economic status of the province by establishing road links and target-oriented economic policies under

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<sup>7</sup>Noman Ahmad, "The Baloch Imbroglio," *Dawn*, December 18, 2005.

urgent and a crash development project, but the ruling masters showed little incentives and the Islamabad's decades-old policy of neglect and discrimination has kept the province in underdevelopment trap.<sup>8</sup>

Gas wells were first discovered in Sui in 1960s. This gas is utilized throughout the country from kitchens to the industries except Sui itself. The area continues to remain in a state of extreme underdevelopment. While visiting and witnessing the stark contrast of stone-age wilderness surrounding the area we see reality of "Chiragh Tale Undhera."

A UNDP report on Pakistan illustrates that out of Pakistan's top 20 most backward districts, 50% are in Baluchistan.<sup>9</sup> Baluchistan is the only province among all four with least representation in national services i.e. ex-servicemen in 1995-2008 numbered 6,553 men only. Baloch representation in the armed forces is only 0.8% which is as it used to be in the pre-partition days. In Pakistan's administrative structure, no Baloch has yet been promoted to the high ranks in federal government, even that of the 43 federal secretariats and 72 autonomous corporations, none is headed by Baloch e.g. NHA, CDA, KPT, WAPDA, OGDCL, PPL, PIA, Steel Mill, Port Qasim, Shipping Corporation, Pakistan Railways etc.

By the end of 2008, Pakistan sent 95 missions abroad, of which none was headed by Baloch. Thus, because of their implicit non-representation in Pakistan's socio-political control & policy-making processes, over the last 67 years eloquent Balochs feel that they are living under the same colonial makeup that threatens their very existence.<sup>10</sup>

Over centralization of decision-making has added fuel to fire in creating feeling of annoyance, estrangement and agitation in the province causing involvement of the masses in antigovernment activities. The grievances were nurtured against the Centre. The discontent, never far from the surface, at intervals erupted into a loud protest and low-level insurgency in the province. To a Baloch development stands for deficiency and prejudiced policy structure. His staunch belief is that their cattle never are changing into motor cars, girdans never changing into houses and thumb impressions never into signatures. They have to remain content with scraps like the job of *chokidars*, peons and *malis*.

## Feudalism or Sardarism

The conventional *sardari* system in Baluchistan was once fabricated to encourage and uphold the truthfulness, integrity and autonomy of tribesmen. But in the course of events, it has lost all its integrity and efficacy, and has emerged to be a major stumbling block in

<sup>8</sup> Syed Fazl-e-Haider, "Balochistan Tribalism and Development," *Dawn*, December 19, 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Imran Umer Baloch, "Unrest in Balochistan," *Dawn*, January 13, 2005.

<sup>10</sup> Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy 1971-1994* (U.K.: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 104.

the progress of the province at micro level. The system is still functioning but it works to keep the masses under its thumb, and deprive them of their basic rights of liberty and freedom.<sup>11</sup>

These tribal leaders claim to be the only sincere and patriots of the province. In fact, they have gained a lot, and what people got out of it is 'Nothing'. The Centre is truly blamed for its negligence and indifferent attitude, but what good and fair have these nationalist leaders done with their people? Nothing. If the Centre is held responsible for keeping the province backward, poor, illiterate and underdeveloped, the question is, how many development schemes and projects, i.e., schools, colleges, roads, hospitals, have been established by these decades and decades old nationalist leaders? The traditional rulers have always feared the loss of empire and failure of their manoeuvres if the common man turns educated and well-informed which may end at questioning their lord's supremacy.

In fact, these flag bearers of peace, nationalism, and justice have tried to leap from tribalism into capitalism.<sup>12</sup> They have nothing to do with Baloch people. No amount of rhetoric about socialism and national self-determination can convert the self interest of reactionary *sardars* into a cause worth fighting for. They really don't want awareness, literacy and development in general so that they can maintain their dominant position in society. History shows that they have always kept their ivory towers high and have made people their slaves, who had everything except voice.<sup>13</sup>

The *sardari* or chiefs system in Baluchistan is a centuries old system. It can be traced back to the resettlement of Balochs from Arabia.<sup>14</sup> This *sardari* system nurtured from tribal homogeneity. Each tribe under a tribal chief used to offer commitment and devotion to the *sardar*, grand *sardar* and the head of the association or confederacy, Khan of Kalat.

The British fabricated their rule in the entire Baluchistan by 1876 under the famous treaty of Gandamak.<sup>15</sup> The British established a stronghold and designed garrisons to enforce law and order in the British and the leased areas, while the native Baluchistan remained under the control of the *sardars*.

The *sardars* were not autonomous but engaged to follow the Raj but with a so-called freehand in managing their affairs of tribes without any interference. They formulated their own judicial system which was

<sup>11</sup> Shamsa Ishfaq, "The Scourge of Feudalism," *The Balochistan Times*, March 10, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> Feroz Ahmed, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1998), 175.

<sup>13</sup> Mirza Yousaf Agha, "Crisis in Balochistan," *Dawn*, February 6, 2005.

<sup>14</sup> Rai Bahadur Hatooram, *History of Balochistan (Tarekh-e-Balochistan)*, (Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), 24.

<sup>15</sup> Mansoor Akber Kundi, *Politics in Pakistan: Bending the Rules*, (Karachi: Maktaba-e-Faridi, 2005), 122.

habitually *jirga* based. A *sardar's* word was ultimate in the affairs of his tribe.

The system continued till the establishment of Pakistan. The *sardari* system, distortion of the past, actually intended to endorse and support the integrity and autonomy of the tribesmen, might be of something good to a certain area in the past, but history depicts that under this system the grassroots development has been denied deficiently.

Under the blessings of centuries old system the thousands of square kilometres vast land and people of the province were affected badly. No step was taken towards socio-economic growth or establishment of educational institutions, instead they paved ways for foreign degrees for their own sons and grandsons. The absence of genuine democracy and lack of awareness of the masses supported and strengthened the *sardars* politically, financially and finally they hijacked the whole movement.

### External factors

The strategic importance of Baluchistan cannot be denied as logically presents itself as a big chunk of economic opportunities for the regional and international powers. For the last many years Baluchistan has been in limelight of news due to its promising geophysical position in Indian Ocean. Foreign involvement cannot be over looked as due to some other factors in general and economy in particular, it has accelerated the grim situation and political unrest in the province.

Over the past one decade or half, a faction of American congressmen, some Afghan groups, Baloch nationalist and cohorts have been delineating a political scaffold for an alternative US policy to Southwest Asia. US campaigners for an independent Baluchistan have yet to gain wide support, but their campaign, which now centres around succession, is receiving more attention among policymakers particularly because of the high profile of the recent glitzy events; the congressional consideration on Baluchistan; the comprehensive foreword of a Baloch self-determination bill in Congress; and a exceedingly exposed meeting of the Balochistan National Front in Berlin.

The devotees and followers of the new approach note redrawing of Southwest Asia's political borders through Baluchistan independence would press on American interests on numerous fronts, especially by creating great many new economic endeavours that could counterbalance the cost of Afghanistan intelligent agency WAD, Indian's RAW and KGB of the Soviet Union are evidently active in the area.<sup>16</sup> Involvement causes may be different like:

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<sup>16</sup> Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy 1971-1994*, (U.K.: I.B. Tauris, 1997).

- a. For India to present Pakistan as insecure and unsafe for foreign investment and economic ties. In July 2004, the “discretionary grants” budget was increased by 700 per cent in the Indian consulates in Jalalabad, Kandhar and Zahidan.
- b. For US to contain China. The space is limited — where China gains America loses, and where America gains China loses.<sup>17</sup>
- c. For Iran to counter the growing economic uplift of Gwader Port because due to this Chabahar and Bandar Abbas are at stake.
- d. For Russians the concerns are not in conflict with Americans. In 1960s, the Soviets had asked the govt of Pakistan to allow them to construct a road from Qandahar through Chaman to Mekran coast. They also offered to help in developing one of these ports Jioni, Omara and Pasni. This “philanthropic” offer was not accepted.
- e. For Afghanistan possibility arises from the recent strides of economic and trade developments among Iran, Afghanistan and India excluding Pakistan from any such deal.

Actually, landscape of Baluchistan is such that it offers scores of safe havens, in-accessible corridors to any outsider. It is difficult to make out as who is doing what in those corridors.

### **Effects of the unrest changing Mehar Garh into Qehar Garh**

In 2004, a huge resistance was offered by the Baloch tribal chiefs and tribesmen against an array of federally managed plans and schemes. The oratory between tribal rulers and military has offered the proverbial fuel to the rampant fire. Both have said that it is not 1971, obviously sketching dissimilar conclusions.<sup>18</sup>

For the last 10 years incidents of bomb explosions, rocket firing, landmine explosions blowing up of railway tracks and high voltage transmission lines, disrupting the power supply and operation innocently labelled as “action” on part of the government forces has continued for the last two years. The insurgency encircling Kohlu, Sui, Hernai, Barkhan, Tali, Fazel Chal, Sibi and Turbat is leading the areas to the un-residential status on one side and tarnishing the image of Pakistan on the other, but not developing the power muscles of either side. The sense of deprivation that

<sup>17</sup> Author’s interview with Mehmood Ali Shah, ex-Chairman Political Science Department University of Balochistan, Quetta, May 24, 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Author’s interview with Ali Nawaz Magsi, ex-bureaucrat Balochistan Govt, April 29, 2015

occurred over time has never been managed, spiralling into a situation where angry and infuriated youth is more eager to fight than to negotiate.

The political turmoil and uprising also affects the social and psychological interaction of the people. As existed in all other human societies Baloch psychology is also based on their land, traditions, culture norms and values.

Due to the unrest and inappropriate interactions of feudal system and the Centre, the tribal ideologies have changed into political ideologies. The situation has also given rise to psychological controversial issues in Baluchistan like:

- a. Repressed feeling and ignorance creating inappropriate behaviour.
- b. Deprivation and denial of identity leading to a sense of disassociation.
- c. Discrimination of higher reward and lower cost leading to imbalanced thought, frustration & prejudice.
- d. Social and ethnic distance between public and groups.<sup>19</sup>

An alarming situation has been developed these days in the province. A tug of war is being carried out between the government forces and nationalist forces. Neither of the parties is addressing the real issue but fortifying their power muscles and dominating positions.

Political analysts, educationists, intellectuals and critics have deep concerns about the situation. Some of them are foreseeing grave harm to the federation of Pakistan.

## **Apprehensions & demands of the Baloch**

There are apprehensions among the local people that this sudden love of province is just noting more or less than interest based. They consider these mega projects like Gwadar Port, the Coastal highway and few dams useless and more importantly they don't have any spill over effects for the ordinary Baloch. What really needed in the province are roads, hospitals, schools, railway tracks, drinking water facilities and electricity.

Another fear is that with the development of Gwadar Port they would be changed into minority and due to the multi-ethnic, cultural linguistic flow and interaction in the area a "Diaspora" will be created. Their fear is just, and example can be quoted here of Germany where Turks are decades and decades old residents but socially and politically have the status of guest workers.

In order to bring peace and stability in the province and to eradicate these consternation government should seriously address the demands of the Nationalists. Unrest in Baluchistan is about due share in

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<sup>19</sup> Mehreen Siddique, "Inter-group Politics in Balochistan: Social and Psychological Analysis," *Balochistan Review*, 12-13, (2005): 121.

the existing state power composition. Streamlining and re-visiting hindrances in NFC Award, Fiscal disbursement on the basis of development needs instead of population, just and balanced province-wise gas royalty formula, all should always be kept dear to national harmony programme towards improvement of Baluchistan's poor fiscal position.

All the above mentioned demands come under just two major elements of democracy and maximum provincial autonomy. It means keeping all the powers with the province except foreign affairs, currency, and defence trade and inter-provincial communications and complete internal democracy not sham democracy.

### **Conflict transformation/response of the state**

It is important to recognize that the State's national integration profile today is very different from the picture prior to 2010.

The following indicators are also the major step forward viz-à-viz national integration in Baluchistan, which have strengthened the quest and demand of national amalgamation wave:-

1. Aghaz-e-Huqooq Baluchistan.
2. 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment.
3. 7<sup>th</sup> NFC Award.
4. The incumbent nationalist government in the province.
  - c) Participated in the general election 2011.
  - d) Participated in the Senate election 2013.
  - c) Participated in the local bodies election.
5. Pak-China Economic Corridor (futuristic conflict transformation strategy).

### **Conclusion**

Pakistan today is facing an array of challenges like economic instability, growing poverty, military manoeuvres in the north region, unstable law-and-order situations in Sindh and Punjab, an increasing rise and fall of cold alliance with the US during and post War on Terror, spill-over effects of Afghanistan's insurgency, and of course, the never-ending contention and mistrust with India. It cannot swallow Baluchistan's insurgencies, which owing to the province's vast land, hostile topography, parched climate, and a population resistant to Islamabad's prejudiced policies have been difficult to hold back.<sup>20</sup>

Insurgency in the province is a class question. State is failed to access, analyze and address the situation quickly. Government must involve broadest possible range of ordinary Baloch in the dialogue who are hard to buy and harder to manipulate.

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<sup>20</sup> Author's interview with Jiand Khan Jamaldini, ex-Treasurer University of Balochistan, Quetta, Political analyst and activist, January 20, 2014.

Development process involving the other fundamental facilities should be accelerated because it would open job opportunities and that would allow escape hatch to ordinary Baloch to distance from undemocratic manoeuvres.

If we seek national integration then we have to consider the fundamental elements of integration. A series of more level-headed moves towards progressive future could be a realistic approach on behalf of Centre to place the foundations of a more graceful participatory system of government in which provincial apprehension are addressed in a legitimate framework to revamp their image of incredibility and unreliability of the broken promises. Those who claim to be different from the rest will have to take different initiatives not only in procedural matters but in substantial matters as well; because peace and stability ensures foreign investment and development, not foreign investment and development bring peace and stability at home.<sup>21</sup>

### **Policy recommendation**

There are different techniques through which process of national integration can be enhanced such as the value integration, elite-mass integration, political integration and integrative behaviour. It is important to recognize that the state's national integration profile today is very different from the picture prior to 2010. The need of the hour should be an interpretation of Iqbal's idea of nation:-

“Fard Qaem Rabt-e-Millat say hay Tanha Kuch Nahi,  
Mo'oj Hay Darya Man or Beroon-e-Darya Kuch Nahi”<sup>22</sup>

### **National Policy of education**

Education is of great importance for bringing about national and emotional integration. It is a forceful weapon which can be used proficiently and effectively for the attainment of our national perceptive. Some of the ways and means to favour and promote national integration are as follows:-

### **National cohesion via cultural celebrations**

- a) Celebration of National Days.
- b) Celebration of birthday's of local idols.
- c) Celebrating cultural festivals.
- d) Celebration of successes/epics/heroic struggles.

<sup>21</sup> Author's interview with Shah Mohammad Marri, researcher and political activist, 20 January, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> A person exists due to connection with a nation, alone a person is nothing. The wave exists in the river, outside the river, it is nothing.

- e) Celebration linguistic differences, styles and patrons by countless methods e.g. media involvement.

### **Community cohesion policy**

Recognition of minor groups & clans pave a way towards further pluralistic profile of society. Disparities within communities may escalate chain reaction of disassociation and dismemberment from the nation character.

### **Equality and Human Rights Policy and Legislation**

Social equality will strengthen all groups within a certain society or even isolated groups enjoying same status in certain respects, often including civil rights, freedom of speech, material & mobility rights, and equal approach to social goods and services. However, state will have to ensure concepts of social equity & securities and economic equality.

### **Counter-terrorism Policy**

State has to address the security issue as the utmost priority because at the end of the day it's peace which promises development. A strong, stringent and a comprehensive counter-terrorism policy need to be formulated along with a doable mechanism to address the evil from its buds.

### **Citizenship Policy**

State has to be all ears to apprehensions of dismantle groups by incorporating and approving a national citizenship policy to ensure a citizen to be a national citizen enjoying all perks, privileges, rights and duties regardless of the class, colour, creed, sex, political identity or economic status. By this state will enhance a definition of nationwide definition.

Together, these recommendations would ensure large policy levers target needs more effectively while highlighting the rationale to intervene to support integration endeavour.

The solution to Balochistan problem didn't lie in the gun powders tactics but in political settlement because "TALKS, TALKS & TALKS ARE BETTER THAN WAR, WAR & WAR".

